Mature Girls, Squirrelly Boys, and “Wily” Risk; Gendered Risk
in Outdoor Adventure Education

by

Elisabeth Tilstra
B.A., University of Tennessee, 2011

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in the School of Child and Youth Care

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ABSTRACT

This thesis critically analyzes how gender intersects with risk processes and practices in outdoor adventure education. I focus on how language, binary logic, and societal norms work together to gender risk and offer three ways that risk may be gendered in the context of youth outdoor adventure education courses with youth. First, I discuss the use of hierarchical language, and the gendering practices of order, labeling, and omission that places girls and girls' needs as external or additional to a “neutral” masculine norm. Next, I analyze how an adherence to a rigid binary in the definition and conceptualization of risk parallels and perpetuates a gender binary that prioritizes masculinity and boys above femininity, girls, and non-binary youth. Third, I consider how societal norms influence stereotypes, assumptions, and expectations that gender risk on courses. I also examine seven situational practices that embody and illustrate gendered risk on outdoor adventure education courses with youth participants: gender as a risk, group composition, risk policies, challenge with non-binary identities, mom/dad instructor roles, hygiene instructional lessons, and transformation stories. In my discussion, I offer suggestions for what this research might practically offer outdoor adventure education and youth programming broadly.

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Chapter One: Introduction

Statement of Context

Outdoor adventure education (OAE), one branch of an extensive network of outdoor industries, refers to programming that engages youth and adult participants in multi-day backcountry or wilderness adventure trips. Outdoor education professionals and scholars have criticized OAE for its homogeneity, as it is largely managed and most easily accessed by white, middle to upper class, heterosexual men (Humberstone, 2000; Mitten, 2018; Warren, 2005). As such, race, class, sexuality, and gender are all lenses through which to examine social norms, systems, and experiences within the OAE industry. Of these, in this thesis, I address the dimension of gender and youth OAE through an exploration of how risk may be gendered as part of an already gendered industry. Despite increased inclusion of girls and women as participants in and leaders of youth courses, men tend to dominate leadership of OAE programs as trip leaders and managers, and boys outnumber girls as participants (Straker, 2018).

That the OAE industry is primarily operated by and for men and boys influences how outdoor adventure education is conceptualized, constructed, and conducted (Mitten, 2018). Little (2002) writes that women's experiences in OAE are "often based on the activities of men, grounded in understandings developed by men" (p. 57). This thesis joins a small and growing academic conversation by proposing a theory of how risk may be gendered in youth outdoor adventure education, grounding it in critical feminist theories of gender, and concluding with a discussion of how this research might be practically applicable for field and organizational use. Developing an understanding of how risk is gendered may contribute to the creation of OAE spaces that are more accessible to diverse groups of youth participants, and provide opportunities for learning and growth in OAE organizations and environments.

A Life Outside; (Where this all began)

My own childhood and adolescence set me up for an inquiry into gender in the outdoors: exploring, traversing, and playing outside formed the landscape of my childhood and early teen years. I spent uncountable hours adventuring outside with my brothers, prompting adults to comment—and I myself to later proclaim—that I was "raised as one of the boys." This statement was loaded, carrying with it an assessment of how I explored like my brothers, "tagged along with them," and how kind of them it was to include a little sister in *their* outdoor pursuits. And yet, I *was* raised with the boys: my dad had me carrying my own backpack and gear for overnight trips when I was seven; my brothers began rock-climbing when I was twelve, and I joined in on the new sport; and weekends in high school were spent on kayaking, climbing, and backpacking trips led by my eldest brother and his friends.

Over time I became familiar, and then skilled, with being and adventuring in the outdoors. And still the way in which this familiarity was understood and explained—*even by me* —was in reference to the boys and men in my life. My own knowledge of the outdoors operated under the premise that I was traversing an invisible boundary, was being allowed into a world that was not mine "naturally." It was permitted, and even lauded in certain communities and friend groups; yet because of my gender, it was also understood to be an exception to some rule I had not yet heard vocalized. The praise and encouragement I received for my interests were uncomfortably tied to an unstated assumption that this level of outdoor engagement was unexpected of me, and likely my path solely because of my relationships with my brothers and their friends.

That I was ushered into a desirable "cool girl" outdoor life by my brothers' and father's "permission" to do so, and under their continued guidance and leadership, was not immediately

evident. It was only as I began pursuing outdoor adventure on my own and as a young adult that I recognized that I situated my own experiences of the outdoors in relation to my brothers and my father. At twenty, I went on a backpacking trip with no men present, and it struck me as odd that it was the first time I had ventured on an adventure trip entirely comprised of women. A few years later, I was a student on a two-month outdoor leadership course and, a year after that, I began guiding OAE trips with participants in their teens. I discovered that I was skilled at assessing and managing risks, but that my confidence in assuming I could lead a trip was lacking: I had been "on" countless trips, but had always deferred to the men around me to plan the itineraries and logistics.

In my first season as an instructor guiding youth on multi-day wilderness trips, I began to take note of how the adolescent girls on my trips would engage with each other, with me as their leader, with their boy peers, and with the natural environment. I began to see something familiar in the actions and words of the girls I led. I saw hesitations, reluctances, and a sense of joyful discovery of being "allowed" to explore, to take risks, and to challenge themselves. During my second season, a female coworker and I had the opportunity to lead a girls-only course. Five nights and six days on the Olympic coast of Washington State with nine girls shaped the way in which I conceptualized my then just budding research ideas. On that trip, I sat around a fire with our group and listened to the participants tell of their strengths and abilities; they spoke of their surprise at their own capacity to not only survive, but also to succeed in an entirely girls-only wilderness pursuit. Their surprise told me that they too were familiar with an assumption that they may not "naturally" belong in these spaces.

On mixed-gender trips, I heard boys blame external factors or bad luck for their lack of physical ability relative to the girls on the trip ("I could be as strong/fast as her, but...").

Conversely, I heard girls blame their *girlness* for physical inability or difficulty. I watched prepubescent boys assume they could carry more weight than girls twice their size and five years their senior, or be shocked that the pack I carried weighed more than any student's—even the older and bigger boys'; I also observed girls assume that they should carry less group weight than boys their size and smaller, or believe that *being a girl* is what caused a fall, rather than the fact that rocks covered in algae tend to be slippery when wet from the ocean waves. I found myself explaining that we carry weight based on body size and ability, not on ego and gender, and that the rain did not disproportionally fall on girls, nor did rocks and roots "try" to trip any student more than another. Gradually, absorbing their comments, attitudes, and behaviours, I began revisiting my own previous experiences with and assumptions about gender and the outdoors, and turning them into questions, which would fuel and guide my research process.

Finding my Question

Over the course of two summers and thirteen trips, there were consistently more boys than girls as participants—at about a 3:1 ratio—with the exception of one course. Talking to my co-instructors, who had all been guides for other programs, and our director, who had been in the outdoor adventure industry for over twenty years, I learned that this pattern was not uncommon; rather, it seemed to be the norm. This sparked an interest in me: why was it an industry assumption that there would be more boys than girls on youth outdoor adventure trips that were open to all—when, for other activities, one might expect an even split? An assumption about girls' lack of interest in outdoor adventure pursuits, or a rationale based on natural differences between male and female bodies, and therefore a difference in gendered abilities, seemed insufficient to explain an industry-wide trend of fewer girl participants. The assumption itself became a clue: that a program, open to all genders equally, would consider it "normal" to have

primarily boys as participants was a starting point for understanding how a system might be gendered. That is, the underlying belief that an activity or environment may be naturally masculine, even when nominally accessible to all genders.

From initial contact with students, programs, and fellow leaders, I began to identify the ideas that have shaped this study. Each question I asked led to a series of other, related questions: What barriers exist for adolescent girls that prevent or discourage them from participating in outdoor adventure pursuits? How do beauty expectations interact with girls' engagement in outdoor programs? What is the intersection between female beauty and beauty of nature? What are the implications of having a girl's body on course? How are girls' bodies represented in the outdoors through media and social media? What are the gendered roles on outdoor adventure education courses, and how do they enact, deepen, or interrupt typically gendered social norms? What gendered roles do students play, and how do courses interact with—challenge, confirm or contradict—these roles?

Gravitating continually back to a persistent desire to contribute something of use to OAE organizations and youth practitioners, I began to think again as an outdoor instructor. I considered some of the practical problems that arise during youth OAE courses, and how they may interact with gendered experiences. For example, what about policies that mandate gender-segregated tents, and what they and similarly binary-based, heteronormative rules represent? How do assumptions and expectations about body and ability affect course dynamics? What about periods in the woods, and how “hygiene talks” are given—and to whom, and by whom? These questions led me to think of organizational policy and procedure, which are so often created as parts of risk management strategies. With this, I began to wordplay with the concept of risk, which generated a wealth of research directions: risk management (managed risk), at-risk

(youth, or maybe girls specifically, depending on the audience, funders, and belief system), risky (behaviours, attitudes, situations), risking (vulnerability, or standing to "lose" something).

Research Question(s)

This richness, along with the understanding that addressing risk is a priority in outdoor adventure education—and thus offering the potential to contribute a "useful" analysis to the field—led me to the starting point for my research: how is risk gendered in youth outdoor adventure education? This question can be divided into two more concrete questions: How, procedurally, is risk gendered? How does gendered risk operate on youth outdoor adventure education courses? These two ways of asking the same question are connected, and in this thesis I address both senses of "how" risk may be gendered.

For this research, I intentionally choose language that is both critical and accessible. For example, I use the language of "gendering" in my research questions: the *gendering of risk on outdoor adventure programs*, rather than the masculinization or feminization of risk. While girls may be disproportionately disadvantaged by an OAE system that favors masculine qualities, participants of all genders have likely been affected by a systematic gendering of outdoor adventure education programming. Considering the gendering of risk allows for the experiences of boys, men, and non-binary individuals to be taken into account. I also prioritize the accessibility of this research to OAE professionals by using language that is relevant and known to them. An example of this is my frequent use of the phrase "on course" throughout my analysis, which is a term commonly used within the OAE industry to refer to backcountry or wilderness trips, or "courses." Just as "on board" is used within the nautical industry to refer to people, activities, or community norms while physically on a ship, "on course" can refer to the same, within the context of an OAE trip.

Objectives

From the beginning, a primary goal of this research was to create something of use. That is, to use this thesis to work to generate ideas, thoughts, or new tools that may be purposed by organizations and programs to enhance the delivery or operation of their work with youth in outdoor adventure education. As such, the objectives of this research are: 1) to develop a theory of how risk in youth OAE programs may be gendered; 2) to apply critical feminist and gender theories to the outdoor adventure education process; and 3) to offer suggestions for practical engagement with and reflexivity in relation to gendered practice, policy, and consequential experience.

Method

Using Analytic Induction (AI), I conducted an iterative investigation of gender and risk in OAE. I collected and undertook a textual content analysis of the packing lists of eleven OAE organizations, and interviewed seven leaders, managers, and directors from four organizations. Following the AI format, each round of data collection was followed by a period of analysis, during which time I both reviewed the data and relevant literature and considered where next to proceed with data collection. My analysis uses multiple types of analytic techniques that helped me to conceptualize and think about what my data was and was not telling me; these analytic tools are explained more fully in Chapter Three.

Chapter Summary / Thesis Map

In this introductory chapter I have provide the context for this research, why it is interesting to me personally, and a brief summary of my research question(s), objectives, and method. In Chapter Two, I review the outdoor education literature that has grounded my research, show a gap in this literature that I hope this work will help to bridge, and discuss the

gender and girlhood studies theories that I use to analyze and understand the data I collected. Chapter Three details my methodology, and describes the techniques I used in data analysis. I present my data analysis in Chapters Four and Five, and connect it to the existing literature presented in Chapter Two. In the discussion in Chapter Six, I explore the possible implications of my findings for practice and theory, and identity future avenues for this research.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

This chapter is divided into two parts, which correspond to the two areas of study I use to conceptualize and frame my work: outdoor adventure education (OAE) and gender/girlhood studies. In Part I, I examine the OAE literature that focuses on gender, gender inclusion, and social justice. I discuss the absence of studies that specifically explore the workings of gender in OAE youth programming, and make the case for how this specific research topic begins to fill a gap in OAE research. I also examine how risk is defined and discussed in the OAE literature. In Part II of this chapter, I introduce theories of gender and present the salient ideas, concepts, and definitions of gender and girlhood that I use throughout my data analysis. I identify both the common constructions of girlhood, as well as poststructural feminists rethinking and reworking of these constructions.

When writing about the literature of "outdoor adventure education" broadly, I draw from and discuss research that appears within a wide range of applicable fields. These include adventure education and outdoor learning, experiential education, adventure therapy, and leisure studies. The categorization and terminology for outdoor adventure education varies within and between academic and professional communities, and in this thesis I may refer to outdoor education and outdoor adventure in addition to outdoor adventure education. To find relevant literature, I began with a series of exploratory searches to discover what, if anything, had been published about gender and the outdoors. After finding a few key articles, I then used "reference tracking" (Boell & Cecez-Kecmanovic, 2010) to identify a collaborative academic community publishing work on gender and outdoor education. By focusing on what the community has produced, and following the references of already identified authors of interest, I discovered a conversation calling attention to gendered practices and norms in outdoor adventure and

education spaces. The girlhood and gender studies literature I review focuses on feminist theory, gender performativity, girlhood studies, and pedagogical considerations of gender and power in education.

Part I: Gender Issues in Outdoor Adventure Education

I initially assumed that gender in outdoor adventure education was a mostly unaddressed topic in academic work. Through my snowball method of finding researchers and their literature, I found a community of mainly women scholars that has invested two to three decades of thoughtful work and in depth research into understanding the role of gender in the lives and careers of women outdoor professionals, and addressing the homogeneity of and masculine dominance within the outdoor industry. In this section, I provide an overview of the topics covered in the OAE literature by that community. In presenting the literature, I make the case that most outdoor education research addresses the adult woman's experience as an outdoor leader and educator. The few studies that do focus on girls as participants do so in a way that highlights the use of OAE for girls' empowerment or development, rather than seeking to understand their experiences within the OAE system. This difference is important in that, while issues that affect women and girls are similar, the ways in which they affect each group are distinct and should not be treated as interchangeable.

Women and "The Outdoors"

Women's involvement in outdoor activity and participation in organized groups has frequently been implicitly and explicitly challenged, often by men from those groups, with the question being whether "they" (women) belong in outdoor adventure at all (Straker, 2018). With the conception of the outdoors as a space of physicality, toughness, and strength (masculine qualities from a masculine perspective), men thought that "their" outdoor activities would

become less rigorous as women joined (Straker, 2018). Women, too, have questioned their sense of self in outdoor contexts, wondering if their bodies, femininity, or sexuality were somehow at stake (Allin, 2018; Newbery, 2000, 2003; Mitten, 2018). Despite this, women continue to persist in pursuing outdoor adventure, personally and in organized groups and clubs. Boniface (2006) found that adventure can influence "all aspects of their (women's) lives" (p. 14), offers freedom and a nurturing of the "self" that is free from normalized gendered expectations, and the ability to be authentically oneself.

The concept of "the outdoors" can itself be questioned, as it implies an "accepted version" of what is meant by the term, which may lead to a false assumption that *the outdoors* is a space where participants, regardless of gendered or any other difference, have common experiences and learn similar lessons (Straker, 2018). Straker argues that outdoor adventure spaces are created "by men for men, not usually as a deliberate way to exclude women, but with little thought about how women respond differently" (p. 103). Upon asking women about their own understanding of adventure, Little (2002) discovered that women have articulated a broad and flexible definition of the outdoors and of outdoor adventure that is frequently different from men's definitions. However, because of that difference in definition, women often see themselves as not belonging as "naturally" in outdoor adventure spaces. She found that "not only can adventure be a physical challenge, a heroic quest, or action oriented toward conquest, it can also be a journey, a discovery, an exploration of self" (p. 66). She writes that the common understanding of adventure should be reworked from a "purely remote, harsh, and defined by real physical risk" that is "framed in male experience and expectation" (p. 66).

Outdoor Leadership and Gender

Beyond women's experience in "the outdoors" and outdoor adventure generally, the bulk

of the literature describes the experiences of, barriers faced by, and challenges overcome by women in leadership and as instructors in outdoor education. Authors have discussed the myths of accessibility to outdoor education leadership, egalitarianism in management, and the outdoor "superwoman" that makes heroes of women leaders, obscuring everyday outdoor role models (Warren, 1985), ability and issues of the feminine body (Newbery, 2003), technical and/vs. interpersonal skills (Shooter, Paisley, & Sibthorp, 2009; Warren & Loeffler, 2006), the "glass ceiling" of the outdoor industry (Warren, Risinger, & Loeffler, 2018), and motherhood and career longevity, feminist fatigue, and imposter syndrome (Allin & West, 2013; Gray, 2016). How women experience their roles as leaders, and the practical ways to improve leadership impact and attain gender equity in career goals have been addressed (Allin & Humberstone, 2006; Gray, Mitten, Loeffler, Allen-Craig, & Carpenter, 2017). While girls and women participate and instruct in outdoor education programs, the literature shows that their presence is recognized in the context of the masculinity of the space, and is "grounded in understandings developed by men" (Little, 2002, p. 57). From multiple perspectives, this community of scholars chronicles experiences of the female leader within a masculine and male-dominated space of outdoor leadership.

The concept of hegemonic masculinity appears frequently in discussions of gender and outdoor adventure, education, and sport. Humberstone (2000) defines hegemonic masculinity as "the configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of the legitimacy of patriarchy, which guarantees (or is taken to guarantee) the dominant position of men and the subordination of women" (p. 30). That men dominate the outdoor industry as leaders (Saunders & Sharp, 2002), and their skills, experiences, and *personhoods* are seen as more suitable to, and capable of, outdoor leadership (Sharp, 2001; Warren & Loeffler,

2006) are examples of hegemonic masculinity operating in outdoor education leadership. At the same time, the literature suggests that there is room within outdoor education to interrupt this system of hegemonic masculinity, specifically through women being able to demonstrate physical strength, and men to express emotions (Overholt & Ewert, 2015).

Women's voice and visibility is part of the conversation of the workings of hegemonic masculinity in outdoor education, wherein women find themselves invisible and voiceless, as leaders of outdoor programs and professionals in the field (Gray, Allen-Craig, & Carpenter, 2017). This silence and absence is layered, because it is also sometimes a coping strategy to "retreat and acquiesce" (p. 28). Jordan (2018) explores specific challenges that women face as outdoor leaders, naming microaggressions as "subtle verbal, nonverbal, and environmental signals" that exclude, trivialize, or demean women (p. 223). The effect of sexist language, she writes, can be harmful for leaders and students involved in outdoor education courses, and leaders should openly identify and address any sexist language present in that context. Sexism is not always blatant or explicit, though; it is often perpetuated through "invisible obstacles and covert biases" causing women to feel their position is marked as "less than" or "other" (Gray, 2016). Gray challenges the long-held assumptions that outdoor education is "inclusive, democratic, and egalitarian" (p. 36). She writes that "often, those who act inequitably believe that they are applying gender-neutral standards or operate with unexamined assumptions, not out-right bias" (Gray, 2016, p. 36). Women leaders thus face the challenge of working within a system that assumes itself to be equitable while upholding assumptions and expectations that create additional challenges for them as women.

Technical Skills and Gender

One of the ways women leaders' competence is challenged is on the basis of technical

skill. Leadership skills in outdoor adventure are roughly divided into “hard” and “soft” skills, with hard skills referring to technical or physical skills, and soft skills to interpersonal skills; sometimes, “conceptual” skills are listed as a third skill set, which are decision-making and judgement abilities (Shooter, Sibthorp, & Paisley, 2009; Warren & Loeffler, 2006). While soft skills are not as “easily defined” as hard skills, they are often considered to be “gender-related,” in that “women possess a command” of these more “feminine traits of listening, feeling, cooperating, and nurturing” (Shooter et al, 2009, p. 6).

In a study on whether or not outdoor professionals thought that there should be gender-segregated leadership training or programs, Saunders and Sharp (2002) found that the overwhelming view was that separating aspiring leaders by gender would decrease the level of skill of women overall. Programs that train leaders and guides may prioritize more “masculine” skills, or skills that men prioritize as more important (Sharp, 2001). Shooter and colleagues (2009, 2012) also found that outdoor education participants most highly valued technical ability of outdoor leaders over such qualities as benevolence, interpersonal skills, and integrity. At the same time, while technical skills seemed to have inspired the most trust in leaders, interpersonal skills may be more useful for youth participants in their everyday lives. Sibthorp (2003) suggests that “the life skills, not the hard skills, offered the greatest potential to transfer to the home environment” (p. 153). This “relational work,” Lugg (2018) writes, enhances everyone's experience and so should be undertaken and taken seriously by more than just women leaders.

Warren & Loeffler (2006) examine the privileging of technical or “hard” skills over interpersonal/communication or “soft” skills, and how this adversely affects women as leaders, participants, and career women. They discuss how, through gender socialization, girls and women learn that participating and excelling in technical outdoor activities is “inappropriate and

unacceptable" (p. 109), that they are not to outperform men in any activity, and that their sphere of competence in outdoor activities is limited to feminine tasks. These socializations impact women's confidence in their skill competence, in their ability to attain or practice new skills, and in how they are viewed by peers and students (Warren & Loeffler, 2006). On courses, male co-leaders often teach the "real outdoor skills" that are required of the course—knot tying, paddling techniques, route finding, or how to pack a backpack (Jordan, 2018); simultaneously, women often question their own competency in being able to teach those same skills (Warren, Risinger, & Loeffler, 2018). Mitten (2018) explores how the outdoor education industry values physical and technical skills over interpersonal skills, while at the same time assuming and expecting that women will/must naturally perform the latter.

Physical Ability and Gender

Physical ability is another key concept through which women's place and belonging in outdoor adventure education is understood and challenged. Hegemonic notions of masculinity uphold physical strength as a vital trait in outdoor adventure, which is rooted in assumptions about natural ability and biological differences (Newbery, 2003). In physical education, as in outdoor adventure education, hegemonic masculinity works to reproduce gender differences through a focus on "the expectations and competencies of the male students," which "contributes to the marginalisation of girls and to the connection that the female body lacks the skills and qualities that enable boys and men to play sport" (With-Nielsen & Pfister, 2011, p. 651). Geller (2017) also writes that "Physical differences are less the issue than women's perceptions about their capabilities when it comes to purposeful or task driven movements" (p. 141).

Newbery (2003) discusses the assumptions about the physical ability of a woman's body, and how a performative loop is created that effectively renders feminine bodies weak both

conceptually and in actuality. By examining the construction of identities and femininity that exist in adventure learning and canoe expeditions, she explains the societal and assumed biological constraints on the female body as “an obsessive focus on surface appearance [that] hardly encourage[s] the development of a strong body. The notion of weakness becomes imprinted on the female body in both discursive and material terms through a kind of performative feedback loop. 'Female' is not 'naturally' weak, but is repeatedly both read and performed as weak(er)” (p. 210). That men's bodies, on average, are stronger than women's bodies, on average, is not a point that Newbery disputes. Rather, what is at issue is that physical strength is seen as the definitive marker of successful adventuring in the outdoors. This is an example of one of the ways in which outdoor experiences have been designed and conceptualized by and through men's perspectives (Little, 2002).

Risk and Gender

Related to both technical skills and ability, risk is operationally understood as the definitional line that separates *adventure* education from other forms of outdoor education (Boniface, 2006; Little, 2002). Stan and Humberstone (2011) explore the concepts of risk and adventure: as something that simply “scares us,” as a personal action or a technical or natural hazard, as the likelihood or probability of some adverse effect caused by a hazard, and as whatever a particular culture dictates as risky. In outdoor education, “risk permeates each action and interaction, that there is always a risk to health, values, self-concept, ethical stances, identity, quality of life, etc” (p. 214). However, with risk and adventure so closely linked, Boniface (2006) notes that research on risk in outdoor education has been conducted largely from a male perspective (p. 11). Warren and Loeffler (2006) address risk and gender, maintaining that “outdoor leaders making decisions have been characterized as rational, objective, and

autonomous. Women have been labeled as irrational, subjective, and emotional" (p. 113), and therefore less able to manage risks—personally or as a leader. Through the maintenance of these beliefs, women can effectively be "unrecognized, invisible, or ignored in risky outdoor activities" (p. 113).

The two primary categories of risk identified in outdoor education literature are physical and emotional (Davis-Berman & Berman, 2002; Newman, Kim, Tucker, & Alvarez, 2018). Physical risks may refer to hazards or the potential for physical injury, and emotional risks include feelings of uncertainty, doubt, and inadequacy (Hoad, Deed, & Lugg, 2013) as well as anxiety (Davis-Berman & Berman, 2002). For Thomas and Raymond (1998), risk is primarily perceived as physical, especially in reference to program or organizational liability. However, Davis-Berman and Berman (2002) make a case for emotional risk being considered more highly in the hierarchy of risk, critiquing industry literature for its imbalanced representation of physical and emotional risks. They discuss actual and perceived risk, noting that the emotional safety of participants may be just as important to monitor and account for as the physical safety, which is often prioritized by leaders and in training. Hayashi and Ewert (2006) also suggest that it is important to cultivate emotional intelligence in leaders, and to further understand how the emotional intelligence of leaders may affect participants. These categorizations and prioritizations of risk relate to gender insomuch as they are assumed to be correlated with gendered skill and ability: women as handling the "domain" of emotional risk, and men the physical (Warren & Loeffler, 2006).

Feminist Theory and Outdoor Education

All of the scholars in the outdoor education academic community discussed above aspire to find a balance between practice and critical (feminist) theory. Some, like Shooter et al (2009,

2012) and Sharp (2001), focus primarily on outcomes and practice; others, like Newbery (2000), use their experience as adventure leaders and practitioners to explore gender theory or to identify the ways in which "society unequally distributes power according to gender" (Warren & Rheingold, 1993, p. 25). Many of those who comprise the community of scholars are women, and they use their own gendered experiences and experiences as queer women and as women of colour to critically engage with the ways in which they have been disenfranchised within their professional fields, as well as the ways in which the industry demonstrates the capacity to adopt and develop critical theory. Newbery (2000, 2003) explores gender identity with reference to her experiences as an outdoor leader and educator, writing about outdoor education from a feminist perspective. She shares her own struggle to conform to the standard of being a "conceptual male" in order to be considered an equally adept leader, and considers the ways in which femininity is upheld and denied by women in the field.

Humberstone (2000) discusses how outdoor education has operated from traditional understandings of gender, gendered traits and skills, and the dichotomous experience of masculinity and femininity. Allin and West (2013) explore how different feminist approaches have theorized gender and the outdoors: liberal feminism's focus on equal opportunity in employment and the career environment, radical feminism's understanding of the power of patriarchy as affecting women's home environment and body politics, and poststructural feminism's focus on binaries and how they maintain and perpetuate systems of power. They acknowledge that each feminist approach has weaknesses and strengths, and encourage practitioners and researchers to continue to engage in the development of feminist theory through reflection on personal experiences and by challenging the "taken-for-granted" assumptions about gender (p. 123). Warren and Rheingold (1993) also discuss how feminist pedagogy can influence

experiential education. In particular, they point to feminist analyses of language as a powerful tool that establishes norms, using the example of the “discriminating language [of] 'two-man tent' and how referring to a co-ed group in the masculine can often lead to a silencing of women's and girls' experiences” (p. 27). They also look at the many intersections between feminist theory and experiential education, including valuing multi/interdisciplinary studies, rejecting either/or thinking, risk taking, student centered learning, attention to process, and valuing experience.

Youth Gap in Outdoor Adventure Education and Gender Literature

While the research discussed above thoughtfully provides multiple perspectives on women's experiences as leaders in outdoor education, there has been little scholarly work done in the fields of outdoor adventure and experiential education that analyzes how gender affects specifically youth participants and how youth outdoor adventure education is gendered. Given the prior research that examines women's experiences in outdoor leadership from a myriad of angles, the next line of inquiry might be: if professional, adult women face barriers to wilderness and outdoor spaces, how might adolescent girls accessing these same spaces as students experience related barriers? How are they similar, and what characteristics are unique to youth as participants?

Much of the literature that does consider adolescent girl participants in outdoor, adventure, and experiential programming focuses on the programs' benefits and empowering effects. They argue, for example, that adventure therapy increases trust, empowerment, teamwork skills, and “recognition of personal value” of at-risk girls (Autry, 2001), that adventure education improves interpersonal skills and promotes non-aggressive relationships between girls (Sammet, 2010), that experiential programming empowers girls (Galeotti, 2015), and that adventure programming addresses “stereotypical gender roles, lack of access and opportunity,

peer and family expectations, self-concept, lack of competence, and material and social barriers," among others (Whittington, 2018, p. 668). Language that points to outdoor adventure education's ability to "empower," "promote resiliency" (Whittington, Nixon Mack, Budbill, & McKenney, 2011; Whittington, Aspelmeier, & Budbill, 2016), and "inspire courage" (Whittington & Nixon Mack, 2010) in girls assumes that disempowered feminine youth require outside (and outdoor, specifically) intervention to help them "become" self-actualized youth. Furthermore, in these studies, the focus seems to be on what girls can gain through their outdoor experiences, portraying them as outsiders to adventure education who may benefit from inclusion in the space, or as vulnerable and needing help, rather than on how their presence in the space is conceptualized or affected by gender.

However, while studies often extol the benefits of outdoor adventure education for youth participants (and for adolescent girls especially), critical research on the gendered systems that operate in these spaces is limited. One example of this kind of work includes a discussion of the ways in which girls challenge normative thinking about femininity by participating in a wilderness canoe course (Whittington, 2006). Whittington found trends which might be expected, in light of the above cited research, such as girls experiencing increased perseverance, strength, and determination, as well as feelings of accomplishment and pride. Like Sammet (2010), she discovered that girls built lasting friendships with other girls from the course. Unlike other research, however, Whittington found that participants on the course questioned ideal images of beauty, and challenged their own assumptions about girls' abilities (p. 211).

Whittington's research, which highlights the experiences of adolescent female participants, approaches gender and outdoor education from a unique perspective, and in a way that seems meaningful for the girls on the trip. She thinks critically not only about what

programs might do *for* girls, but also about how girls interact with the issues tackled by the program itself, such as femininity and beauty standards, and how these may apply to their lives in broader societal contexts. More recently, Boilen (2018) has examined adolescent girls' experiences in the wilderness, exploring the ways in which they challenged normative ideas about their bodies and beauty. She found that girls were surprised by their enhanced sense of their own abilities and strength, and their sense satisfaction with themselves on course. By broadening the focus on outdoor education scholarship beyond adult women to include adolescent girls' experiences, there is the potential to develop a more nuanced understanding of how OAE is gendered.

Outdoor Education and Intersectionality

Finally, the community of scholars argues that outdoor education can be a site for engaging in social inclusion, diversity, and equity work. Feminist research in outdoor education addresses social concerns within outdoor education as an emerging field of research and calls for more research to be done on one of several under-addressed issues, showing the need for specific and diverse inquiries into social issues within outdoor education (Rao & Roberts, 2018; Warren 1998; Warren & Loeffler, 2000). Scholars have made the case that the outdoor industry can, should, and is already a platform for creating and driving social change (Delay & Dyment, 2003; Warren, 2002, 2005; Warren, Roberts, Breunig, & Alvarez, 2014). Outdoor adventure education courses, which are often grounded in experiential education theories, could be a space for challenging status quo thinking, and inspiring participants to think critically about personal assumptions, expectations, and ways of engaging with self, others, and nature (Warren & Rheingold, 1993; Wolfe & Samdahl, 2005).

However, while the growing literature on how gender operates in outdoor education is

small, the literature that addresses issues of race, class, and sexuality in the field is even more limited. These intersections are important to mention prefacing this thesis, because as Place (2015) argues, “intersectionality refuses to treat gender, race, class, or sexuality as mutually exclusive categories” (p. 63). Warren and Loeffler (2000) further acknowledge the need for intersectional social justice research in outdoor education. Examples of this kind of research include explorations of the intersections of gender, ethnicity, race, and culture (Rao & Roberts, 2018; Roberts & Henderson, 1997; Rodriguez & Roberts, 2005), gay and lesbian practitioner perspectives and experiences (Barnfield & Humberstone, 2008), the intersections of colonial power, Indigenous land, and the definitions of “wilderness” (Harper, Gabrielsen, & Carpenter, 2018; Newbery, 2012), Indigenous women's role in as outdoor leaders (Thomas, Taylor, & Gray, 2018), and the intersection of gender and class in outdoor traditions in the UK (Humberstone & Pedersen, 2001).

One way to conceptualize how intersectional social justice work might be realized is by adopting a systems theory lens. Sibthorp and Morgan (2011) examine how OAE courses can be microcosms of learning for youth. Sibthorp and Jostad (2014) discuss further how outdoor courses relate to systems theory, identifying “macro contextual factors,” which “inevitably influence the social group, yet typically remain beyond the influence of an individual outdoor adventure education course” (p. 61). They emphasize how a social or systems theory can provide a better and more contextual way to understand small groups involved in OAE, given the social system that is formed on courses through the intersections of individual (student and instructor) factors, group factors, group goals, and group outcomes. Because of the inclusionary and interpersonal growth methods used in outdoor experiential education, there is much room for social and environmental justice work (Warren, 2005, p. 95). Warren et al (2014) offer

suggestions for exploration in the field—among these, "poststructural feminist frameworks to examine gender" (p. 97). In short, this academic community of researchers has called for social justice issues to be considered and explored within outdoor education for almost three decades; this includes taking into account the integration of theory, practice, and experience. Through this study, I hope to contribute to this understudied area of inquiry.

Part II: Gender and Girlhood Theories

This study is in part framed by the notion that gender is socially constructed. This idea refers to processes whereby ideas about gender are created rather than determined by innate qualities, to the ways in which gender expression is learned and performed, and to the fact that notions about gender vary between cultures, geographies, and temporal periods (Geller, 2017; Paechter, 2007, 2012). Understanding gender as a social construction allows for differentiation between gender identity and expression and biological or chromosomal sex: gender as plural, performed, and intersecting (Burman, 2005). Gender and its relevance in every day life is a product of society and its adherence to a collective fiction, rather than a natural set or sets of human characteristics around which to organize society. This distinction means that things and ideas that are "gendered" are done so by humans, whether through systems of power or collective agreement, rather than by identifying or naming qualities innate to the object or idea itself.

In this thesis, I also draw on insights from scholarship produced in girlhood studies. This includes work that is critical of assumptions and expectations associated with girlhood and that explore such questions as the objectification and subjectification of the girl, the body as a site of contestation, and the spaces girls inhabit, are allowed to inhabit, and transgress (Pomerantz, 2009; Pomerantz, Currie, & Kelly, 2004; Robinson & Davies, 2008). These ideas are particularly

important in conjunction with current outdoor education research concerning adolescent girls, as the dichotomy between the ideas of girls as in need of rescue and girls as powerful social actors shapes how we build programs for and with adolescent girls. Below, I examine aspects of the social construction of gender, and discuss the understandings of girls and girlhood as they relate to this work, and that I use throughout my analysis in Chapters Four and Five.

Sex-Gender-Sexuality System

Researching gender in the youth outdoor adventure education industry is complex, in part because of the frequent and common conflation of sex and gender. Gender is used as a logical and simple substitute for sex in everyday speech (Francis & Paechter, 2015), and yet interestingly, even the term "sex" points to a confusion of ideas: that it is synonymous with gender, and also an act, which infers both identity and orientation (Burman, 2005). Biological sex, determined often (but not always, and not always clearly) by the physical appearance of genitalia at birth, has commonly been the determining factor of assigned gender, or the gender identity given to an infant and with which it will be raised according to dominant societal norms. This practice is not beyond scrutiny, as the binary of biological sex is itself a false dichotomy; although sex is not the lens through which I examine outdoor adventure, that the understanding of biological sex as a rigid binary is as much a social construct as gender adds to the complexity of understanding the intersections of gender and outdoor adventure. As Francis and Paechter (2015) write, "it tends to be the case that we continue to attribute gender as if it were the same as (dualistic) sex, and to analyse performance in relation to (binarised) constructions of masculinity and femininity" (p. 783).

Assuming that sex determines gender and that there are inherent male and female "gender" proclivities is part of what Butler (1990) established as the sex-gender-sexuality

conflation via the term “heterosexual matrix.” In this, she proposed that the accepted model of gender expression dictates that in order for “bodies to cohere and make sense there must be a stable sex expressed through a stable gender (masculine expresses male, feminine expresses female) that is oppositionally and hierarchically defined through the compulsory practice of heterosexuality” (p. 151). This sex-gender-sexuality system assumes that via biological sex, both gender and sexuality are known and static. Heteronormativity, or the assumption that sexuality follows and aligns with the normative gender binary and compulsory heterosexuality, influences and impacts systems and organizations on almost every level, and is explored further in sections below.

Binary Logic

Gender identity and expression are routinely thought of as existing as an either/or binary: girl or boy, woman or man, feminine or masculine, with all predetermined by either female or male genitalia. The tendency to gravitate toward binary thinking is not unique to gender, sex, and sexuality. Geller (2017) writes that “divvying the world up into dualisms, universal in their applicability and hierarchical in their valuation of terms, is pervasive and longstanding in Western philosophical thought” (p. 71). Other binaries used to make sense of the social world include: black/white, old/young, educated/uneducated, rich/poor, West/the rest. Binaries are hierarchical, as in men as more valued than women, rationality as more valued than emotionality, and independence as more valued than dependence (Aapola, 1997). The ways in which the masculine and feminine are defined through inferiority (feminine as less than masculine), by negation (feminine is what masculine is not), and as on-par or in competition (feminine is this, masculine is that) are conceptually masculine ways of hierarchically organizing gender and gender traits, and still rely upon and uphold a binary (Archip, 2014). Hills and Croston (2012)

write that even the “continuing invocation of gender as an explanation for behavior reinforced notions of hetero-normativity and demonstrated the tenacity of binary thinking” (p. 602).

The wholesale acceptance of and adherence to a rigid gender binary often produces what can be termed “gender transgression” (Robinson, 2013, p. 88) wherein children engage in expressions of gender outside of those associated with their assigned gender. This may be expected when a rigid, socially constructed system does not account for or contain the reality of children's explorations of multiple identities. However, when children and youth transgress normative gender behaviours and expressions, they are often met with hostility, fear, or revulsion by peers and adults, showcasing the “regulatory and gate-keeping roles” peers can play in maintaining gender norms. Such hostility and fear have been described as “gender panics” where, when faced with gender performances or identities that break from the binary, people react by “frantically reasserting the naturalness of male-female binary” (Westbrook & Schilt, 2014, p. 34). The strength of the gender binary means that gender variances are not only difficult to understand (because they do not follow the binary normative “logic”), but are also seen as threatening.

This kind of binary thinking is what many poststructural girlhood studies scholars challenge in their research and writing. Burman (2005) discusses the “long-standing theme of feminist discussion to highlight how all those binary oppositions are gendered (and also 'raced', since they map on to the white / black polarity elaborated under western imperialism)” (p. 21). She notes that “if we destabilize (or within current parlance, 'trouble', 'unsettle', or 'queer') the gender:sex binary then new interpretive and political possibilities emerge” (p. 21). The idea of challenging a rigid and traditionally-held binary is revisited throughout this work, in reference not only to gender and conceptions of girls, but also to risk. At the same time, recognizing that

“to queer is not done out of idle curiosity but with the intent of exposing power's production of knowledge, generating new investigative directions, and presenting alternative ways of knowing” (Geller, 2017, p. 68), connects this research to potential practical and significant change within outdoor adventure education systems.

Performed Gender (“doing” and “undoing” gender)

The concept of gender as a performed construct and an identity distinct from anatomical sex and sexual orientation was first introduced through the work of Judith Butler (1990). In this work, gender is understood to be socially constructed separately from and outside of the physical body and its biological or chromosomal makeup. This proposal was a deviation from previous ideas that claimed that gender is tied to or determined by sex, and contends that demonstrated gender identities are are not innate to the body itself, but rather are attributed to the society within which the body resides. The likes, dislikes, characteristics, and norms associated with gender vary regionally, culturally, and historically, and are socially constructed, learned, and adopted behaviours. Butler's ideas were innovative in that they proposed that there was no “natural body” that “preexist[ed] culture and discourse, since all bodies are gendered from the beginning of their social existence” (Butler, 2004, p. 91). She proposed that gender is a “doing” rather than a “being,” and that the performative aspect of gender does not refer to individuals “acting” an innate gender identity of their own volition, but rather that the performance of gender “does” the individual. Gender and its performances, Butler argued, is upheld by “cultures and laws which have a vested interest” in maintaining normative distinctions and expectations of gender and sex (p. 93).

If gender can be “done,” it can also be “undone.” Atkinson and DePalma (2009) discuss the “taken for granted” heteronormativity using the metaphor in the 1999 film *The Matrix*: they

suggest that *un-belief* in the "imaginary power" of the sex-gender-sexuality matrix is the first step in breaking from its dominance, just as the characters of the film disbelieve the reality of the world as it is constructed and are "awakened" to their actual reality (p. 19). Heteronormativity is powerful, they propose, because people believe it to be; disbelieving in its authority and power may be a first step towards being free from its conceptual constraints. The project of moving "beyond gender" or "deconstruct[ing] gender entirely" (Francis & Paechter, 2015, p. 785) may be furthered by challenging male superiority (Hills & Croston, 2012), understanding that femininity and masculinity may be personally defined and redefined, and by grasping how much those categories relate to femaleness and maleness (Hoffman, Hattie, & Borders, 2005). However, the gender binary as presented above is not easily dismantled. Paechter & Clark, (2007) work from an understanding of performed gender to explore how tomboyism is a "stigmatized or valorized identity" for girls (p. 318). In the process of doing or performing gender in ways that run counter to the norm, those non-normative practices can be "co-opted" (Hills & Croston, 2012), and can "modify rather than break" the gender system (Westbrook & Schilt, 2014, p. 53). The belief in the sex-gender-sexuality matrix and the use of binary logic remains strong, with the very act of performing normative gender traits perpetuating and reinforcing the "rightness" of the performance.

Communities of Practice

Carrie Paechter (2007) discusses the concept of masculinities and femininities as being elements of performed gender, learned and understood within the context of "communities of practice." Masculinities and femininities in this way are plural *doings*, rather than singular *beings* of maleness and femaleness, and are formed and exist through "what we do, how we appear, how we think of ourselves, at particular times, and in specific places" (p. 14). As they are

multiple, and exist in relation to one's position in time and place with others as performances, an individual could simultaneously perform one or many different femininities *and* masculinities, regardless of biological sex. Communities of practice are the arenas in which children first learn and practice these socially acceptable and appropriate ways to "do" masculinities and femininities (Paechter, 2007, p. 7). From birth—and even beginning in utero with elaborate colour-themed "gender" reveals staged for friends and family—children are taught by their communities of practice about the ways in which they should develop, express, and perform their masculinities and femininities. They learn from older siblings, parents, classmates, and media representations what is reasonably and "appropriately" expected of and from their gender.

Thinking about outdoor adventure trips and programs, this idea of communities of practice provides space to conceptualize the experiences of women leaders in relation to their youth participants: as mentors of the adolescent participants on their trips, they are active in providing and embodying a community of practice that may confirm or contradict other communities of practice familiar to the youth. As outdoor adventure education defines itself within the realm of experiential learning, Paechter's (2007) concept of masculinities and femininities learned through a community of practice can easily fit into an understanding of how the experiences of adult women working in the outdoor industry may impact and affect the girls with whom they work. In outdoor adventure education settings, mentoring relationships are formed and, it may be assumed, that if the adult women are questioning their own femininity when placed in the "male domain" of adventure education (Allin, 2000; Newbery, 2000; Newbery, 2003; Warren & Loeffler, 2006), this uncertainty could be transferred to the young participants on their trips. Women leaders who have come to their position through performing masculine expressions and practices may create a community of practice in which femininities

are not valued, further upholding outdoor spaces as prioritizing masculinities, and teaching youth participants that girls may not belong "naturally."

Definitions of Girl and Girlhood ("too this" and "too little that")

In this section I examine conceptions of girls and explore what these ideas infer about girls' role and place in society (and in relation to boys and men). While "gendering" is not only about girls, I focus on the definitions of girls and girlhood here because of the ways in which the conceptions of girlhood is politicized, problematized, and positioned. While boys are often allowed a more extended period of childhood, girls are expected to fit into one of a few categories, most of which assume social maturity and adult-like behaviour (Aapola, 1997) and carry the "symbolic meanings that we usually attach to adult women" (Robinson & Davies, 2008, p. 354).

Feminist and poststructural theories about the modern Girl work to redefine the construct of who the Girl is, and what She can do. Researchers like Robinson and Davies (2008), Currie, Kelly, and Pomerantz (2004, 2005), and Gonick, Renold, Ringrose, and Weems (2009), identify the ways in which the definition of the conceptual Girl has limited actual girls and excluded them from having authoritative voices in contributing to their own definition. Pomerantz (2009) writes about girls as "impossible subjects," who are "talked about as either excess or lack, good or bad, nice or mean, chaste or slutty, aggressive or passive, fat or thin, healthy or unhealthy, powerful or submissive, a real go-getter or completely out of control" (p.149-150). Girls, it seems, are either too much of one thing, or not enough of something else. Poststructural feminists, in calling for these standard definitions of girls to be "troubled," "blown up," and "unsettled," are seeking to show how the understanding of girls cannot be reduced to a simple binary—be it subject/object, powerful/needing saving, or as fitting into typically boy/girl, heterosexually normative spaces.

Instead, they offer that there are more complex interactions and intersections involved, including race, class, and girls' own self-perceptions, and that these can and must be part of the discourses that comprise girlhood studies.

Girls as Objects / Subjects

Pomerantz (2009) presents—and rejects—two modern perspectives on the girl that, while touting girls' empowerment and subjectivity, succeed in taking girls' power away from them. She describes how views about the Girl as Object and the Girl as Subject place girls as either seen to be "naïve innocents who are not strong enough, savvy enough, or smart enough," (Pomerantz, p. 150) or as actors in an "ironic and iconic performance infused with youthful energy, style, fun, and capriciousness" (p. 154). In this way, the poststructural feminist discourse acknowledges the neoliberal, modernist, and capitalist projection of girls as "powerful" agents with buying power, as well as "weak" objects in need of rescue. These definitions have been created by societal processes, in ways and at times that are convenient and beneficial to a larger system, but that are not necessarily advantageous to girls themselves. For example, the Girl as Subject narrative is beneficial to the many industries and corporations that stand to profit from a young, feminine market. On the other hand, the Girl as Object espouses that all girls are drowning in what has become known as the "Ophelia complex," which posits that, when girls reach a certain age in adolescence, they become self-destructive or otherwise in need of an outside agent to save them —to *empower* them. Girls' vulnerability and need for adult or external protection, help, or advice is a often-considered theme (Aapola, 1997). Further, these two conceptions of the Girl combine to create industries where Girl as Subject is levied against Girl as Object for her "ability" to be empowered and purchase products that she "needs" to be further empowered. The objectification of girls as literal physical objects means their youth, beauty, and desirability are public goods,

and these are meant to be seen, used, and consumed.

To be clear, empowerment as an idea or motivation is not itself a destructive force. However, to implement empowerment programs based on the belief that a group is disempowered is limiting to that group. Believing that the Girl is an object that needs saving, simply by virtue of *being,* disallows her from being anything else and, essentially, disempowers her. Alternatively, the perspective of the Girl as Subject, complete with the enthusiastically proclaimed "grrl power," limits girls' experiences to only those that shape them as consumers with buying power, and excludes any spaces which do not confirm this "can do" image. These two ideas are important, because the very way that we define girls—who they are and what they need—underpins how programs are created for and with them, and what expectations "we" set for "them." Outdoor programming aimed at the empowerment of girls or research designed to show the empowering capabilities of outdoor programming may fall into the belief structure as presented by Pomerantz (2009) that girls need external help, and that positions outdoor education as a specific vehicle for that purpose. This positions girls as outside of the "normal" structure of outdoor education, and as being ushered in through a model of empowerment, rather than as fitting in "naturally" and of their own merit and accord.

Defining girls as objects and subjects places expectations on how they will be and interact with the world. Gonick, Renold, Ringrose, and Weems (2009) address the subjectivity and objectivity of girls, through the concept of agency. They advise careful consideration of the interaction between "girlhood, power, agency, and resistance." They argue that it is wise to challenge the idea of a weakened, objectified Girl, instead seeing how "Girls' gendered agency is practiced within normative social, economic and political processes of creating and reproducing gendered identity" (p. 6). Understanding how girls express both their agency and their femininity

is a necessary part of sorting through and understanding the layers in the conception and construction of the Girl. These conversations about girls' agency shape the way poststructural feminists write about and seek to understand girls' experiences and, ultimately, the spaces girls can, do, and are *allowed to* take in society. In regards to outdoor adventure education programs, critically analyzing how the Girl as Subject/Object perspectives are upheld or maintained by the program may inform how OAE programs are offered to adolescent girls, as well as what kinds of "outcomes" are sought for girl participants of such programs.

Girls as Social / Spatial Transgressors

Kelly, Pomerantz, and Currie (2004, 2005) begin redefining the Girl by showing how she already and actively engages in spaces that are typically seen as "boy" spaces. By conducting research with a group of "sk8er girls" who gather in a park in Vancouver, BC, they consider how physical and social places can be sites of transformation. They found that the skater girls in their study were "aware of their nonconformity as girls within the male-dominated skater culture," but that they "liked proving through their skateboarding that they were or could be physically strong and brave" (Kelly et al, 2005, p. 233). In another article, the same authors conclude that, in talking to these and similar girls, "we may begin to hear all the ways in which girls are quietly but powerfully changing the face of girlhood through localized and specific gender struggles" (Pomerantz, Currie, & Kelly, 2004, p. 549). These conversations with the skater girls in Vancouver might shed light on what might be a common phenomenon: that girls occupy "alternative" spaces, or spaces traditionally understood to be masculine, and that they themselves redefine what their experiences as Girls are "allowed" to be.

The idea of girls "transgressing" space is especially interesting in connection to gender "transgressions" that occur when children or youth do not conform to typical gender norms,

causing panic, disgust, and fear among their peers and adults (Robinson, 2013). This links ideas about gender with the notion that there are spaces that are "for" certain genders and inaccessible to others, which results in the idea of "us" and "them"—an in group and an out group—that others and excludes based on gender. That OAE may be a space that is seen as not naturally for girls may be a clue of gendering on courses with respect to risk.

Literature Review Summary

In this chapter, I provided an overview of OAE literature, which included literature from adventure therapy, experiential education, and leisure studies that explored women's barriers faced and experiences in OAE leadership and participation contexts. I also identified a gap in the literature that specifically addresses gendered issues as they pertain to youth participants on outdoor adventure education courses. I then presented the various gender and girlhood studies theories that shaped this study, giving key definitions for terms and ideas that will be used throughout my analysis in Chapters Four and Five. By recognizing the idea of communities of practice and learned gender behaviours, and that outdoor spaces are framed by hegemonic masculinity, how might specific elements of outdoor courses be gendered in a way that affects youth participants? For example, how might risk, a central concern in OAE programming, be gendered?

Chapter Three: Research and Analysis Methods

The literature review above provides a foundation from which to explore my research questions: How is risk gendered in youth outdoor adventure education? More specifically, how is risk procedurally gendered? How does gendered risk operate on outdoor adventure education courses? In this chapter, I present my methodology for this research, focusing particularly on the analytic tools and tricks I used.

Analytic Induction

Howard Becker's (1998) description of analytic induction (AI) as a method of analysis informed how I framed my research process. As Becker explains, AI is useful for unpacking "how" questions, and furthering an understanding of how systems or organizations operate. Becker introduced AI as a method well-suited to topics that concern only one specific outcome, either for practical and important societal concerns, or for particularly interesting theoretical reasons. As Pascale (2012) writes, the "strength of analytic induction [is] its ability to provide a rich understanding of complex social contexts" (p. 40). While Becker (1998) argues that AI in its most rigorous form is useful for certain specific topics like drug addiction or embezzlement, he describes how AI can be useful for topics beyond social deviance, including social ethnographies of "weird cases and comparisons" (p. 207). Researchers of these "not-so-rigorous" cases do not follow the strict AI format, but rather mimic it in process and analysis, as they too hold a primary hypothesis and search for contradictions that could reshape the original conjecture, creating a more clear picture of what *is,* through defining what *is not.*

The outcome I considered is that risk is gendered on youth OAE courses, in that the understanding of risk management, risky behaviour, or risk itself is different based on gender, or constructed in gendered terms and with gendered ideas. Using analytic induction as the basis of

my methodology and analysis, I develop a theory for how risk is gendered on outdoor adventure education courses. Becker may have considered gendered risk in outdoor adventure education another of those "weird" ethnographic cases, specific enough to be suitable for AI. In his words, "the goal of this search for disconfirming evidence is to refine the portrait of the whole – to offer, in the end, a convincing representation of its complexity and diversity" (p. 210). The pursuit of constructing a more complete picture of a complex—yet specific—system makes AI an appropriate form of analysis for understanding the specific outcome of risk as gendered in youth outdoor adventure education programming.

(Not-so-rigorous) Analytic Induction: The Theoretical Process

In my own not-so-rigorous use of AI, deciding how I would understand and unpack the data collected informed how and where I decided to gather that data. I used AI as described above primarily as a method of analysis, which then drove the process and method of data collection. I conducted an iterative investigation, wherein the analysis of each set of data led to a choice about where next to collect data. I adhered to the following process of cyclical data collection and analysis. Given that my interest is in the phenomenon of gendered risk as a concept that is managed on OAE courses, I chose not to investigate individual cases or profile specific organizations. Rather, I collected and analyzed an initial piece of data which consisted of eleven packing lists from youth outdoor adventure organizations. In conducting my analysis of these lists, I asked: 1) who and what is included and excluded, and how; 2) how is gender implicitly or explicitly characterized or identified; and 3) where next should I look for examples that further bring into focus the concepts and population? The next pieces of data I collected and analyzed were interviews with outdoor organization leaders and administrators. Of each interview, I asked: 1) how does this information improve, clarify, and/or change the previous

analysis; and 2) where, again, do I go to seek further clarification. Though this process is indefinite in the rigorous AI format, continuing until all of the possible sources of negative cases are exhausted (Pascale, 2012), I followed this cycle through eight rounds, conducting content analysis of eleven packing lists and interviewing and analyzing interview transcripts of seven OAE leaders or administrators.

“Researcher-Insider” Positioning

I introduced the concept of gender and OAE through personal narrative of my experience as a girl and woman in the outdoors—both as an adolescent, and then as an adult instructor on youth courses. As a woman doing this research, I understand that my own gendered experience is not only a motivator for the research, but is also enmeshed in the conducting of it. In addition, my experiences as an OAE instructor give me perspective, access, and language that another researcher may not have. My perspective on being a girl and woman in the outdoors gave me insight into the potential richness of this topic. As part of an outdoor educator community, I had access, through professional and personal connections in the industry, to interview participants. My experience as a course leader also meant that I had fluency in industry language, which allowed for the cultivation of a level of familiarity and trust with participants, a conversational flow during the interviews, and the ability to ask specific follow-up questions that a non-leader may not consider.

By using methods that position me as researcher-instrument, my relationship to the topic through my gender and professional experience shaped the interview process. That is, if I was aware of how the interview participants' gender may have affected their perspectives, as I will explore below, I also had to be aware of how my own gender—in *relation* to theirs—may have similarly affected their responses to my questions.

Sampling

By gathering and analyzing packing lists and in person interviews from within the outdoor adventure education field, I constructed a theory about how risk in OAE programming may be gendered. As I was not interested in making claims about the efficacy of any one organization or commenting on their programmatic specifics, I was able to theoretically sample from multiple perspectives, representing positions and experiences rather than organizations and programs. My goal in this work was foremost to interpret what was shared, and not to judge or claim what is best, right, or good.

In contrast to the wide academic fields from which I gathered literature pertaining to outdoor education, I focused specifically on youth OAE programming for data collection and analysis. I did this in part as a way to narrow the scope of the project, and also out of an interest in examining issues specific to youth. Throughout this thesis, I use the term outdoor adventure education to refer to programs which guide youth and young adults on multi-day wilderness and backcountry trips. These organizations provide a range of activities (snowshoeing, hiking, canoeing, etc); be for profit or not for profit; tied to a school, community club, or operate independently: multi-day OAE tripping is the unifying factor. As presented in Chapter Two, the distinguishing feature between "outdoor education" and "outdoor adventure education" is risk. That is, "adventure" begins when there is risk involved in the experience—when the possibility of danger is present. Most typically, this means that trips are conducted in the "backcountry," or away from convenient or fast access to hospitals and other emergency services (Boniface, 2006; Little, 2002). This excludes outdoor education programs such as forest preschools, school-based nature programs, or summer camps with an environmental focus.

Procedure

Packing Lists: Data Collection and Analysis

With the insider knowledge that some organizational documents might hold clues to the gendering of risk—or at least, give formal and informal definitions of risk, which may show where risk is or is not gendered (negative case), I chose to use publicly-accessible documents as my first set of data. As packing lists are among the first points of contact between organizations and enrolled participants, and provide substantive information for what youth can expect of and on their trip, they provide an important perspective of youth participants' initial contact with their OAE experience. I analyzed a total of eleven packing lists from youth OAE programs in British Columbia, Washington (state), Colorado, Montana, and Vermont. I chose these eleven lists because they were publicly accessible on the organizations' websites, they represented a variety of outdoor programs and gendered compositions, and they all provide lists for similar trips—multi-day wilderness trips for youth on land and water in the summer months (May through September, typically).

An OAE course packing list is one of the first indicators of what the organizers of an outdoor program might consider risky, based on what and how they emphasize as important items to remember. Similarly, what the list does not mention can also be important: what are the items left off of the list, and to whom might the missing items belong? I analyzed the eleven packing lists using textual content analysis, wherein I was attentive to language that categorized gender, mandated rules based on gender, or made distinctions between "gendered objects" as sources and sites of regulation. To do this, I defined "gendered items" as items that are ostensibly used primarily by one sex, such as hygiene products for menstruation and sports bras. Items not considered gendered are those that have the same name, function, and/or purpose, regardless of

the gender of the user, such as t-shirt, pants, socks, etc. Gender "neutral" terms such as "underwear" versus boxers, panties, etc. are notable choices of wording, as well, as they indicate the choice to avoid a gendered term that might alienate one or more genders. Gender neutrality, however, could be challenged, if a word is considered "neutralized" by simply failing to be "feminine." If this is the case, then neutral is equal to not-feminine, which is itself questionable. This assumes that feminine = gendered and applicable to a minority of students, whereas non-feminine or masculine may be considered not-gendered, neutral, and accessible to all youth, regardless of gender.

Leaders and Administration: Data Collection and Analysis

The second set of data was seven semi-structured interviews with outdoor professionals who work as course instructors or in administrative leadership roles. Prior to conducting interviews, I obtained approval from the University of Victoria's Human Research Ethics Committee (HREB). The selection criteria for participating professionals were that they are or have been a field guide, a program coordinator, or a person in organizational leadership who advises in the development of curriculum and policy. Each interviewee also had direct experience with students on single and/or mixed gender trips. Six of the seven interviewees had worked for multiple organizations during their careers, and drew from varied experiences when responding to interview questions. Of the seven interview participants, five participants held some level of administrative function in an outdoor education organization and had previously guided courses (two of these were still actively guiding, in addition to their administrative duties), and two were course instructors with no organizational leadership or administrative roles. The seven individuals presently work for four different organizations, and have collectively held positions with over three dozen different organizations in past employment.

Additionally, three interview participants worked or had worked for at least one of the organizations represented by the packing lists. Three participants identified as women, three as men, and one as male-presenting genderqueer.

I contacted potential participants first via email, in which I gave a brief explanation of my research, and invited their participation; if they expressed interest in participating, I followed up with an email that included a consent form and further research explanation. In pre-interview emails, all participants expressed interest in discussing gender on courses, offering such reasons as having daughters and being concerned about gender equality, wanting to further push the industry to think beyond the gender binary, and desiring to create more accessible spaces for students of marginalized genders. At the beginning of each interview I verbally reviewed the consent form that I had emailed to each participant, which outlined that participation was voluntary, that there were no anticipated personal or professional risk to participants, and that the participants could withdraw their participants in the study at any point.

Interviews were conducted between September 2017 and February 2018, and were between thirty minutes and an hour and a half in length. One interview was conducted face to face; the other six were conducted over the phone. All interviews were audio-recorded and later transcribed, and I took hand-written notes during interviews. By conducting semi-structured interviews, and in following AI's process of allowing preceding interviews to guide the questions of subsequent interviews, I had both a scripted list of questions—that shrunk and grew throughout the process—as I began each interview, and also followed conversational pathways that emerged during each interview. My interviews built on each other as the interview data presented as interesting. Some questions remained the same throughout all of the interviews, and others were added, altered, or deleted.

Following the iterative method of AI, I allowed time for analysis between each interview, which affected both the content of the interview (questions I asked), as well as the kind of interview participant I chose to speak with next. For example, after having interviewed an individual who had primarily worked in higher level administration, and with a wide variety of programs—which occasionally made pinpointing outdoor adventure work experiences with teens difficult—I chose my next interviewee as a blend of administrative and field leadership expertise. Knowing that my first interviewee offered a breadth of experience, I hoped to gain insight from the depth of this individual's outdoor adventure trip experience, while retaining the range of position, leadership, and responsibility. I also considered gender as I chose interview participants. After interviewing two men consecutively, I interviewed a woman, curious to see how her responses differed or were similar to the men's, and in what ways. Conducting an interview with a woman leader reinforced some of the prior (male) interviewees' perspectives, and offered a new perspective on risk and the youth participant experience. Interviewing a leader with experience solely as a field instructor, and not as an administrator seemed to allow for certain candor and honest insight into the thoughts and intentions of instructors. I interviewed individuals who worked for different organizations, and then work worked for the same organization, to see how responses would vary between and within the organizations.

In my literature review, I identified that the outdoor education literature investigation of gender has focused primarily on adult women’s experiences as leaders. I have attempted to move the gaze towards youth participants by speaking with leaders about their courses, students, and risk management. However, doing so does not necessarily shift the gaze fully from leaders: instructors guide from their own experiences and, often, have been participants on OAE courses themselves. For many of the instructors I interviewed, their ability to speak about gendered

issues within the industry, while certainly focused on their students, inevitably included their own experiences as women guides, queer employees, or memories of being a girl on a trip. Just as my interest in this topic began with my own gendered experiences in the outdoors, so too are the experiences of leaders interwoven with their life experiences. Expectations of who will "handle" which risks are not limited to students on course. In sharing about students' risk and how they are managed, participants drew from their own experiences as leaders, the expectations placed on them, and the roles they have frequently fallen into. As in the document analysis, in conversation and when analyzing the transcripts from the recorded interviews, I listened for language cues: descriptions of processes and situations that were distinguished based on gender, or of people of different genders providing differing explanations and rationale for the same experience or procedure.

Participants took part in the research voluntarily. The information they shared was not overtly personal, nor did it jeopardize their professional roles as outdoor leaders or administrators. In my analysis of interview themes, I was very careful not to disclose any information that could possibly harm the participants, and I maintain participant anonymity by referring to each using a numbered code. When providing longer, "vignette"-style quotes, I provide the participants' preferred pronouns. I was careful in the selection of participants' stories, as many spoke of past students and colleagues; I have been careful to maintain anonymity of each participant and of the stories they told.

Logical Tricks for Analysis

Beyond his explanation of Analytic Induction as method, I also draw on many of Becker's analytic "tricks" to help articulate the ways in which I have thought about the data presented in packing lists and participants' words, as discussed below.

Major / Minor (hidden) Premise

Becker (1998) discusses major and minor premises, and how they relate to researchers' interests. He proposes that, too often, research undertakes the study of a problem's minor premise, without pausing to consider if it may in fact be the *major* premise that ought to be questioned. By not acknowledging the underlying major premises, the implicit social understanding remains intact and continues to influence research efforts and, ultimately, the larger cultural systems. In Becker's words, when people "do things that seem strange" and "hard to understand," researchers can typically make sense of those actions when they "extract and make explicit the major premises that have been left unstated, and see how they arise out of and are supported by the experience of daily life" (p. 150).

In the case of girls' participation in outdoor adventure, I argue that many research studies focus on how experiences in the outdoors benefit girls and young women, promoting resiliency, courage, and empowerment. I was curious whether this research has worked towards disproving a minor premise of outdoor adventure being a uniquely "boy" activity by showing the merits of girls engaging in the outdoors. Working to disprove a minor premise has the potential to hide a larger premise, which may be the more uncomfortable of the two—and the one with broader social implications. The assumption that the problematic premise is whether young women can or cannot, should or should not, or may or may not have positive and beneficial experiences in the outdoors and through outdoor adventure education betrays a deeper belief in the rightness of the gender binary, "known" masculine and feminine characteristics associated with sex, and inherently masculine and feminine activities. Another premise this may be built upon is that there is something inherently "disempowered" about adolescent girls that needs empowering. Making explicit the implicitly held premises, in this case, may mean acknowledging beliefs about gender

and in relation to nature.

Society as a Machine / as an Organism

Two tricks Becker presents to help researchers remember that problems are not isolated to specific moments, places, or cases, include that society is an interdependent organism and that society (and its problems) is a machine. With these tricks, when researching to understand "how" a problem "works," one considers the various aspects that operate together to create the problem, as if that problem were the product of a machine or, alternatively, as part of an organism with multiple organs and tissues, separate but working together as one. Becker (1998) writes that the "society-as-organism view works especially well when we want to acknowledge and make room in our analysis for the independent variation of whole subsystems of phenomena that are neither totally unrelated nor related in any profoundly deterministic way" (p. 43). Using these tricks, one can acknowledge the systems and elements that function together.

In my analysis, I have imagined how gendered concepts are connected to societal power hierarchies. While the small organism of program creation or delivery may be what is studied, it is important to recognize that it exists within the larger societal organism, operating within the rules and mores of something bigger than just "outdoor adventure education culture." I have considered how the fact that men are in more positions of leadership in outdoor adventure means that they are often those that make the rules or norms of the system, and therefore their perspectives and perceptions of the world are those most likely to be shaping the industry. Also, recognizing that youth's experiences of the male-dominated space of outdoor adventure courses are not disconnected from all other aspects and experiences of their lives is important in making sense of the experiences that they do have on OAE courses. They do not go on these trips in isolation from the rest of their lives; the expectations that are placed on them, and the risks that

they encounter on such courses, while perhaps different from their daily lives, cannot fully be separated from their lives.

Concepts are Relational

A related trick to viewing society as an organism or problems as products of a societal machine is the recognition that concepts are relational. This may mean that no problem operates or is created independently of others; also, it can highlight how words spoken imply other, unspoken words. Ideas and concepts exist as "something" in relation to an alternative "not something." That is, identifying something or someone as "good" at risk management implies an other, "not good" risk manager. The same could be applied to the categorization of maturity, which implies an alternate immaturity, or well-behaved, which implies poorly-behaved. I use this trick in my analysis as I consider what the packing lists and participants say—and therefore, may not say—about certain students, genders, and risks. I also take it into account in my analysis of the categories of risk named, implied, and omitted.

Things are just People Acting Together

Objects are given social meaning by the people who use them, and who identify those meanings as more important than other meanings that could be given. Becker (1998) writes that "we give them (objects/ideas) those properties, for social purposes, by recognizing that they have them" (p. 46). This relates to gender as socially constructed, and masculinities and femininities as culturally, temporally, geographically, and politically defined. People, acting together, continuously define, construct, and uphold beliefs about gender. Objects or ideas are gendered not because they inherently *have* gender, but because they are rooted in social and political histories with current manifestations and implications. People may act together in "agreement" about the collective story of how things and ideas are gendered in ways that uphold normalized

gender constructions, or by explicitly defining certain actions or objects as "for" or "by" certain genders.

Research Limitations

There are a number of limitations to this research. If society is an organism, questioning how risk may be gendered on OAE courses is limited if it assumes that all of the "answers" are to be found on the courses themselves or within the organizations or the people of the organizations. The pieces that I examine are not isolated activities: they exist in relation to other processes within society. Further, analyzing documents and interviewing only adults presents a limitation to the extent to which I can theorize on the experiences of youth participants. While the collected data provides clues to youth participant experience from an organizational and leadership perspective, this research does not examine youth experience from the perspective of youth. Another limitation is the amount of data acquired. While the goal of this research was not to make generalized statements about specific individuals or organizations, but rather to develop a theory through theoretical sampling, the size of the data could be seen as a research limitation. Additional research is needed to support the suggested theories, as well as to explore the numerous areas untouched by this study, and detailed in the discussion chapter.

Summary

In this chapter I discussed my use of analytic induction as a method for both collecting and analyzing my primary data, the relevance and influence of my positioning as a researcher-insider, and the ethical considerations and limitations of the study. The following two chapters present an analysis of the data collected.

Chapter Four: Themes

Part I: Gendered Risk in Process

Chapters Four and Five Introduction

In my analysis of the packing lists and the interviews, I paid attention to the categorization of youth participants, objects, and risk. I concentrated on how, during the interviews, individuals of different genders spoke about gender and risk, and how certain genders were discussed more frequently in conjunction with certain risks. I considered how assigning gender to objects on packing lists isolates and defines that object in a narrow or specific way, and what implications that might have on risk management. I focused on what was communicated and what was left unstated via both primary sources, and have used one of Becker's tricks to imagine alternative scenarios to the ones I was presented by those sources that may illuminate more clearly how gendered risk works. For example, when trying to understand why phrasing emerged one way and not another, I imagined how substituting the gender given with another, or how imagining a dominant power hierarchy different than the one presented would change the meaning of the words written or shared.

In this chapter and the next, I use these analytic tools to interpret what the data reveal about gendered risk. This chapter is the more conceptual of the two and, in it, I suggest three processes by which risk may be gendered, grounding each idea with concrete examples from the packing lists and the interviews. I examine how word choice and a hierarchical ordering of language can gender risk, how a physical/emotional risk binary may parallel and perpetuate the masculine/feminine binary, and how dominant cultural assumptions and expectations based on gender can have implications for risk and risk management. The next chapter examines the practical consequences of these processes. There I explore a second set of themes that illustrates

how gendered risk operates in youth outdoor adventure education through gender *as* a risk, group composition, policies that prioritize physical risks on courses, non-binary identities creating a challenge for course leaders and administrators, the gendered "mom/dad" roles of leaders, period and "hygiene" instructional lessons, and transformation stories. Figure 1 below shows how these seven themes of practiced gendered risk (Chapter Five, Themes Four-Ten) appear in the intersections of how risk may be gendered (Chapter Four, Themes One-Three).

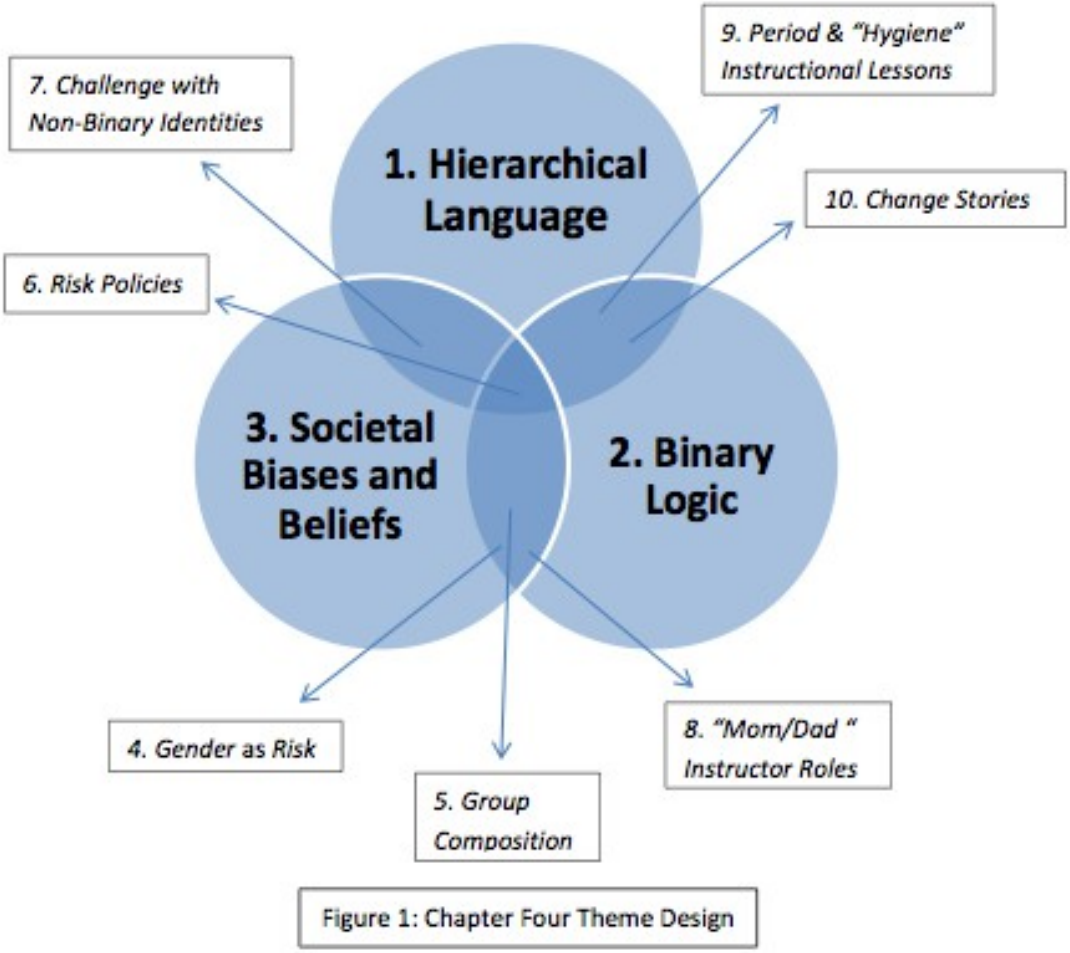

Figure 1: Chapter Four Theme Design

Throughout both chapters, I draw on theories from OAE, gender, and girlhood studies as a way to unpack and understand the themes identified, many of which I examined in the literature review. In the instances where analysis led to thinking or theories beyond the themes and studies discussed, I introduce new literature. Occasionally, the themes include examples that

seem to show how organizations or individuals operate in ways that contradict "typical" gendered norms and the gendering of risk. Following analytic induction, I use these negative cases to further expand a theory of gendered risk rather than assuming that the negative cases refute it. These resistance stories appear throughout this analysis; rather than detracting from the idea of gendered risk, they confirm its presence and demonstrate ways it is both seen and addressed by leaders individually and by the organizations for which they work.

Theme One: Risk is Gendered by Hierarchical Language

In my analysis of the packing lists, I paid attention to how course documents implicitly and explicitly communicate gendered risk. Packing lists instruct students about what items they need to bring in order to be properly prepared for the course. They give specific instructions to course participants about what they do and do not need to pack in order to experience a successful, safe, and comfortable trip. Noting which items are listed and which are not was one point of interest; noting the reasons given for why an item was necessary was another. "What to bring" and "what *not* to bring" are central aspects of an outdoor adventure: both for students, with the pre-trip nerves of wondering if they have everything that they need, as well as for instructors, who prepare for the inevitably forgotten items. Failing to pack the right items, be it wool socks, a stove, or a pair of rain pants, can put a student at risk, just as bringing disallowed objects might also pose a risk.

Nine of the eleven documents studied describe the list as essential for students' safety and comfort; this explicit mention of safety infers risk or risk prevention and management, with the implication that without the items on the list, students' experience on the trip may be unsafe or uncomfortable. By extension, only those items listed are considered as contributing to students' safety and comfort and unlisted items are considered nonessential to this goal. Signs of

gendering risk on these lists can be found through words chosen that imply importance, that categorize by gender, or that assign gender to objects; where and in what order objects are listed; and which objects are omitted from lists entirely.

Language can gender risk by creating a hierarchy of need that privileges boys and excludes, separates, and others girls and girls' needs. Each of the eleven packing lists have four categories of need: required, optional, if necessary, and girls. “Required” items make up much of each packing list and are not listed with any additional comments, annotations, parentheses, or quotation marks. This category includes such items as rain gear, wool socks, and quick drying, non-cotton t-shirts and long pants. For six of the eleven lists, this category was implicit, with the other five explicitly heading the section as “Required” or directly instructing that “uncategorized” items are required. “Optional” items are connected more to students' comfort than their safety, and are those objects that might add comfort or be personally meaningful to the student. This category includes objects such as cameras, journals, and travel towels, and are listed as based on personal preference and or choice. The “if needed/necessary” category is made up of items that are necessary for the safety of certain students, but not all students, such as prescription eyewear and medications. They are listed in the “required” portion of the list, often with “(if needed),” “(if applicable),” or “(if prescribed)” after each item. That they are listed in the “required” section, but are not applicable to all students, assumes the ability of students to self-assess if they specifically need to bring that item. The fourth and final category titled “girls” (or “females”) included such items as sports bras and period products, and was used by three of the four documents that listed these items. Because of their similarity in referring to some but not all students, this analysis focuses on these last two categories of “if needed” and “girls,” and the objects they include. Table 1 below provides a content overview of these categories in each

Table 1: Packing List Categories

List	Course Gender	Purpose of List / Mention of Risk	Sports Bras	Underwear	Period Products	Prescription Eyewear	Medication	Swimwear Qualifiers
1	All Girls	"comfortable"; "warm and dry and happy"	"Required"; Out of Order – End of Section	"Required"	"Required"; "Tampons and/or pads,"	"If Needed"	"Required"	No Qualifier
2	Single-gender trips; Mixed List	"health and happiness"	"Females"; Out of Order – End of Section	"Required"	"Females"; "Feminine Supplies"; Out of Order – End of Section	"If Necessary"	Not Listed	"Optional"; Option to have one sports bra and shorts replace swimsuit
3	Mixed	"comfort and safety"	Not Listed	"Required"	Not Listed	Not Listed	Not Listed	"Easy to move, paddle, and swim in"
4	Mixed		Not Listed	"Required"	Not Listed	Not Listed	Not Listed	"Ladies, we recommend a one-piece suit with non-cotton shorts"
5	Mixed	"safety and comfort"	Not Listed	"Required"	Not Listed	Not Listed	Not Listed	No Qualifier
6	Mixed	"safety and fun"	"Girls"; Out of Order – End of Section	"Required"	"Ladies"; "feminine hygiene products"; Out of Order – Within other Item Description	"If you wear them"	"Required"	"Girls, sports bras and nylon shorts are perfect for a swim. A one- or two-piece suit is acceptable for water activities, but you will also want nylon shorts over your swimsuit while rafting so the rubber on the raft doesn't chafe your legs. Boys, nylon shorts will work great for swimming."
7	Mixed	"safe and comfortable"	"Women"; Out of Order – End of Section	"Required"	"Women"; "feminine supplies"; Within other Item Description	"If needed"	"If you use..."	"Ladies, you may choose to bring a swimsuit or use a pair of shorts and a sports bra for swimwear. No Bikinis."
8	Mixed		Not Listed	"Required"	"if applicable"; "tampons or pads"	"Required"	"Required"	"if a 2-piece bathing suit, must be appropriate for active water enjoyment"
9	Mixed	"help you to survive"	Not Listed	Not Listed	Not Listed	Not Listed	Not Listed	Not Listed
10	Mixed	"safety and comfort"	Not Listed	"Required"	Not Listed	"Required"	"if prescribed/ recommended by a physician"	"must be one-piece"
11	Mixed	"avoid being cold and uncomfortable and prevent dangerous chilling (hypothermia)"	Not Listed	"Required"	Not Listed	Not Listed	Not Listed	Not Listed

packing list, and may be a useful reference for this section.

I struggled with falling into the trap of conflating gender with sex, knowing that the assumption that a sports bra or menstruation products have as much to do with gender as sex would be misguided. At the same time, I was curious if paying attention to these objects might offer some clues to gender more broadly; risking the critique of focusing on sex rather than gender, I approached the packing lists with these objects in mind. For example, the lists themselves often denoted these female "sexed" items as "for girls" or women, assigning gender to something that relates to sex rather than gender. This reflects the complexity of this research, wherein the line between sex and gender is often blurred, ignored, or misunderstood. Paying attention to how certain objects are gendered can demonstrate how risk may be gendered. Objects are gendered through categorizing them as "Girls", explaining the object's need as related to gender, or attaching "feminine" to the objects (as in the case of "feminine hygiene products"). Gendered objects I examine include bras, period products, and swimsuits. Whether on the list itself or in the description of the item, every document except for List 1 (whose audience is exclusively girls) and List 8 specifically gendered sports bras and period products. Swimsuits become gendered particularly when instructions are given to girls that are laden with assumptions and expectations about sexuality, sexualized risks, and the responsibility of girls to manage these risks through choice of clothing. The connection between "Female," a term identifying sex rather than gender, and "feminine" reinforces the common conflation between sex and gender, wherein gender is assumed by sex. As indicated by List 2, objects that have been gendered by words such as "feminine," "ladies," and "girls" are listed within the category "Female." Unnecessarily assigning gendered language to describe certain objects, placing gendered objects at the end of a list, or separating them via a conflation with sex may show how

risk is gendered.

Sub-theme: Labels; Girls and Girls' Objects as Separate

An assigned hierarchy of need genders risk, with the "normal" required list containing all of the "neutral" needs, and girls' needs separated from and treated as additional to that norm. By virtue of items being necessary for some students but completely irrelevant to others, "if needed" items and "for girls" items could be listed in the same way. List 8 is the only document that, without gendered distinction, lists "tampons and/or pads" in the toiletries section, followed by "(if applicable)." List 2's inclusion of "Female" and List 7's use of "Women" as categories suggest that the items they describe exist in a class of their own, beyond the realm of "optional" or "if necessary," even though their usage by the group as a whole is similar to other items in this category. However, List 8's use of "(if applicable)" indicates the possibility of listing period products without assigning gender to the object. Prescription glasses/contacts and medications, for example, appear as required "if needed" items, without assignment of physical or mental ability or health to these objects. Further, including a "for girls" part of the list creates a distinction that perhaps assumes that students may not be able to assess whether they need pads, tampons, or a sports bra, as they must with other "if necessary" items.

The separation of "feminine" objects, while a form of othering, may also be critiqued for excluding students who do not fit neatly in the gender binary. Labeling period products as "feminine hygiene products" instead of "menstruation" or "period" products—or, more simply, pads and/or tampons, as they appear in Lists 1 and 8—genders the objects and identifies them as distinctly for feminine persons, again excluding other persons who may menstruate, but who do not self-identify as girls. Identifying objects in this way presumes gender based on sex, and excludes trans and non-binary youth who may or may not need these items. The choice of

labeling sports bras, pads, and tampons as for “Females” could also exclude girls who are flat-chested, who may not have started their period, or who are on a birth control that restricts their period. This directive labeling also assumes that all girls will and do choose to wear bras in the first place. Rather than listing all items that are possibly needed by all students and letting them decide what is personally applicable, the list sets apart certain objects meant for certain participants as “separate” from the typical list.

What the packing lists suggest is that, unlike other participants with specific needs—such as those requiring prescription eyewear or prescribed medication— “feminine” items, and by extension perhaps the participants who need them, are uniquely singled out. Whereas glasses, contacts and contact solution, and medications are listed as non-gendered, possibly needed items, with students of any gender asked to assess whether or not they need to take a particular item on the trip, sports bras and menstruation products are listed separately and appear as non-optional for one assumed gender. Thinking of Kelly, Currie, and Pomerantz's (2005) work on the gendered space of skateboarding culture, these packing lists could be seen as preparing students to enter a masculine space, where the boys' experience is considered to be the neutral norm, and the female experience as a gendered deviation, with girls' needs as additions to that norm. When typically girl/feminine items are marked as “Females,” girl participants reading the packing list may subconsciously place themselves as an addition or afterthought to the “general” participants; their items are differentiated and explicitly called out.

Sub-theme: Order; Girls and Girls' Objects as Additional

Just as listing items separately shows hierarchy, so does the *order* in which these objects appear. Only in List 1 were sports bras and menstruation products listed within the clothing or toiletries categories, respectively, with no distinction or order change; as the list is that of an all-

girl program, this is not altogether surprising. For the mixed-gender programs, and the one program sampled that has single-gender courses with one packing list for all (List 2), these items were sequentially positioned at the end of their category: menstruation products followed all other hygiene items, and sports bras appeared at the end of the clothing list, rather than with underwear/socks/long underwear, where they might logically and categorically belong. While not necessarily significant in practice, placing these objects at the end or after the "typical" list may be another signifier that these items are additional to the norm. On lists that explicitly emphasized that they were intended to ensure the safety and comfort of youth participants (all but Lists 4 and 8), the safety requirements appear to position masculine needs as the gendered norm or as "gender neutral" and feminine needs as additional to or a deviation thereof.

Similarly, during the interviews, when identifying physical risk and emotional risk as the two primary "types" of risk faced by students, six of seven participants named physical risk before emotional risk, and all seven listed specific physical risks either first or exclusively when providing examples of these risks. Also, when participants mentioned "risk" alone, with no descriptor of what kind of risk they meant, context showed that their intent was to describe, explain, or provide an example of a physical risk. Emotional or other non-physical risks, on the other hand, were always given that additional descriptor. Privileging physical risk in this way prioritizes and normalizes the masculine experience as the "standard" and "neutral" experience.

In Theme 2, I explore how physical and emotional risks form a binary that parallels the gender binary, with physical risks associated with masculinity and boys/men, and emotional risks with femininity and girls/women. The "masculine as neutral norm" becomes visible in the connection between physical risk and boys, where physical risks are *gendered* as masculine; however, within the construct of masculine as norm and "gendering" as feminization, these risks

are seen as neutral, rather than gendered. Given this distinction, the consistent trend of prioritizing physical risks over emotional risks follows the same logic as positioning “girl” or feminine objects at the end of a packing list. If the binary of physical and emotional risks are part of the gendered landscape of outdoor adventure education, then referring to “risk” to imply physical risks also assumes the norm of masculine or male risks, with emotional risks being the deviation thereof.

Sub-theme: Left Out; Girls and Girls' Needs as Unaddressed

While sports bras and tampons/pads are found at the end of packing lists, are buried in the list description, or have “Females,” “girls,” or “ladies” labels on four or five lists, respectively; the other seven/six leave them off the list entirely. Interestingly, every list that does not mention sports bras at all does list underwear as required. This is worth mentioning, because it suggests that there is no categorical avoidance of addressing and detailing students' undergarment needs; the omission, then, of the complete set of underwear seems to overlook students' needs. It could be argued that the packing lists that omitted sports bras did so under the assumption that girls would be able to discern that, for them, “underwear” may mean both bras and underwear. However, if it cannot be assumed that students of all genders would know to bring the proper number of underwear, socks, or prescription eyewear, it seems unlikely to then assume that students who may need and/or want a bra would know to bring the appropriate type or quantity to bring when given the sole directive to bring “underwear.” Similarly, the six lists that omit menstruation products as necessary items ignore and exclude a need of some students. By not including items that some participants need on a list explicitly designed to prepare students for the course, the students whose needs are excluded not only become othered as atypical students, but also may face additional risk by not bringing the relevant objects. For those needing sports

bras and/or period products unlisted on some program packing lists, the implication is that those items are not needed for their comfort and safety—or at least, that they are not needed by the typical student which, in this case, might be assumed to not be them.

It could be inferred that required objects on lists designed for "safety and comfort" directly contribute to the safety and risk management of students. So, when specific needed objects are not listed under the "required" heading, even as "if needed," those students' needs are unaddressed as "real" risks warranting "required" items to mitigate or manage that risk. These may all be examples of the kind of microaggressions evident in outdoor education that Jordan (2018) discusses, wherein subtle verbal (or written, in this case) elements exclude and trivialize the experience of girls. With the items missing consistently being bras, pads, and tampons, certain bodies are most frequently left with unaddressed and seemingly less prioritized needs. Without these items, student are placed in a position of risk while on course; when the items unaddressed correspond to gender, as many of the packing lists seem to do by referring to "girls," "ladies," and "feminine" products, then this in turn genders the risk faced by some students while on course.

Implications

In an effort to identify how risk in youth outdoor adventure education programming is gendered, the packing lists sampled, which are designed for "safety," provide two clues. First, girls' items are sometimes left off of packing lists, are included as an addition or an aside, and/or are separated from the "normal" needed items. Second, risks disproportionately experienced by girls may not always be included as risks faced by participants more generally. Their risks are not considered "neutral" or "normal" enough to be included in the rest of the typical list, and within the same categorization structure as other items needed. If objects are gendered by using some

words rather than others, by relegating feminine items to the end of the packing list, or by excluding those objects entirely, then the same could be true for kinds of risks, risks faced more often by girls or non-binary youth, or by choosing words that uphold a standard of boys as norm. These all may be tools to gender risk in that they create a document wherein "risk" or "safety" may be seen as neutral, but the specifics of who is mentioned and how gives preference or preferential space to a select gender. These ideas form one foundation of the ideas that are discussed in future themes.

Theme Two: Risk is Gendered by Binary Logic

Similar to being attentive to how items are categorized and ordered on AOE packing lists, considering the ways in which interview participants spoke about risk as binary offers clues to how risk may be gendered. Participants defined risk as the "chance that there would be an incident or an injury based around the activity" (Participant 2), when "you don't know that everything is going to be okay" (Participant 3), the "possibility of an unfavorable outcome" (Participant 4), and the "unknown" (Participants 3, 4, 5, and 7). Three participants mentioned assessing risk tolerance as an organizational tool to define risks that leaders should be willing to take with students. The tolerance assessment tools discussed included red/yellow/green risks which indicate the severity and degrees of tolerance—stop, proceed with caution, go (Participant 2); comfort circles that define the limits and kinds of risks (Participant 3); and a risk matrix stipulating the likelihood and consequence of a potential risk (Participant 6). Three others mentioned actual and perceived risks, with actual risks referring to instances when the chance of incident or injury is a likely possibility, and perceived risk referring to situations when possible risk is largely mitigated, but students benefit from being challenged or pushed by a perceived risk, or by the belief that the risk is still present or likely to occur.

Invariably, interview participants' definitions of risks included, or were clarified by using, couplets that suggested a conceptualization of risk as a series of dichotomous binaries. These dual conceptualizations, in addition to actual / perceived risk, included risk as objective / subjective, environmental / behavioral, as characterized by the use of hard / soft skills, and, most frequently, as physical / emotional. Participants identified and provided examples for the actual, objective, environmental, use of hard skills, and physical risks which included the risk of physical injury, inclement weather and other environmental hazards, or common sense laws of nature, like gravity causing rockfall. It seemed more difficult for participants to identify and provide examples of the perceived, subjective, behavioral, soft skills, and emotional risks, given that the discussion of these risks tended to be briefer or they were constructed as secondary to the other categories of risk. Some examples of these risks later include homesickness, vulnerability, fear of failure, fear of success, fear of injury, and fear of rejection.

Defining risk using either/or binaries can gender risk in two ways. The first is to conceptualize risk in a manner that parallels and perpetuates an understanding of gender as either masculine *or* feminine, and that explicitly connects boys with one kind of risk and girls with another. During the interviews, participants most commonly referred to risk as either physical or emotional, which they directly linked to boys and girls, respectively. The second is to think of risk as physical and *not-physical,* with the physical as the neutral norm, from which all other risks are defined as "other." If boys and masculinity are linked to the physical risk norm, then other non-physical, non-emotional risks become coded as emotional and feminine, and may be overlooked or ignored. Risk is gendered through binary thinking that codes all non-physical risk as emotional, and therefore as feminine, or "of/for girls." Interestingly, some of the risks identified as emotional risks have physical consequences or elements, such as bullying or

unwanted sexual advances. Participants did not, however, discuss these as hybrid or even nuanced risks, and categorized them rather only as emotional. Hierarchical language was also evident in the gendered characterization of risk; for example, participants' consistently prioritized physical risk over emotional risk, and tended to construct physical risk as the unlabeled norm, with emotional risk as identifiably "different." I suggest that the physical/emotional risk binary could be seen as operating on a spectrum similar to the masculine/feminine gender expression spectrum, and that the physical/emotional binary may exclude other key characteristics and types of risk.

Sub-theme: Boys as Physically Risky, Girls as Risking Emotionally

Binary constructions of risk parallel the normative gender binary, with soft-skills, subjective, emotional risk associated more frequently with girls, women as leaders, and feminine characteristics, and hard-skills, objective, physical risk with boys, men as leaders, and masculine characteristics. Interview participants explicitly and implicitly connected physical and emotional risks to students' genders. Explicitly, participants linked boys to physical risk, stating that they "charge ahead" into physical risk (Participant 1), are more likely to engage physically, and need more supervision (Participants 2 and 5). They described girls as being "quicker to come to" emotional vulnerability and risk-taking (Participant 3), and as more likely to think through risk, ask questions, and be engaged with the risk process (Participants 1 and 4).

Interestingly, when speaking of physical and emotional risk, participants often suggested that physical risks are an external factor that happens *to* a student, whereas emotional risks are something a student actively *does.* Physical risk might result in an injury that occurs as a result of *risky behaviour,* or as a consequence of factors out of the students' control, like the weather. Conversely, participants described emotional risk as *risking,* or *being* vulnerable, or *sharing*

when there is a risk of rejection. Emotional risks seemed to be perceived as positive actions, whereas physical risks were seen as harmful or negative consequences of an action or inaction, whether negligent or ignorant. Participants described vulnerability, speaking up, and taking risks within the group as actions that emotionally adept and mature students undertake, whereas the physical risk of injury was seen as something that happens *to* a student—perhaps because of poor judgement, but due to external factors nonetheless. In this way, participants assigned more agency, but also more adult-like responsibility, to girls.

The notion that girls are seen as more able to risk emotionally is consistent with Boniface's (2006) findings that women are not more fearful than men, but are "more willing to admit their fears" (p. 15). Given the way in which participants gendered risk, with physical risks associated with boys and masculinity and emotional risks associated with girls and femininity, boys are permitted to be less "in control" of their risk environment than girls, who are expected to engage with risk actively and with care. The construction of subjectivity/objectivity emerging out of the interviews presents an interesting juxtaposition and addition to Pomerantz's (2009) argument that girls are defined as either neoliberal subjects acting in the world, or as objects needing outside help. In the context of youth OAE courses, however, girls seem to be given more responsibility for their and others' actions, and are perceived as subjects *risking* positively, whereas boys are seen as finding themselves in situations where risk is thrust upon them, are perceived as less responsible, and are excused for their risky behaviours.

Sub-theme: Either / Or; Limiting Risk to a Binary

There is a contradiction in understanding risk as either physical *or* emotional when OAE leaders use actual and perceived risk as a learning tool. As one participant suggested, instructors minimize actual physical risk to a great extent on adventure education trips, with the knowledge

that “perceived (physical) risk can still have the same results for the participant as actual (physical) risk, without actually putting them in actual risk” (Participant 3). However, with reference to vulnerability, or emotional risk, the same participant noted that, while instructors “attempt to create this space in which there isn't danger, there isn't risk from the group [...] there isn't risk of judgement,” there is something innate about vulnerability's internal risk that “we (instructors) can't mitigate.” She concluded that emotional risk is a “wilier” risk than physical risk, and one that students “are going to have to embark upon without us able to preemptively mitigate anything” (Participant 3).

Just as gender identity and expression are understood to exist along a continuum, risks faced and undertaken by students on OAE courses may also be understood to be on a spectrum, as illustrated in Figure 2:

Figure 2: Risk Continuum

The “wilier” emotional risk may be seen as such because it has less standing in the “physical” environment of outdoor adventure. Ironically, emotional risks outside of physical challenges, such as the risk of vulnerability, fear of rejection, and homesickness are harder to mitigate, and so remain “actual” risks, while many of the physical risks present are perceived, having been mitigated by instructors. As actual physical risks are lessened, students primarily experience perceived physical risks and the “wilier” emotional risks. Through leaders' mitigation of actual

risks, physical and emotional risks become intertwined. Often, what participants identified as "physical risk" could more accurately be described as "perceived physical risk," or fear of physical risk, or emotional response to physical risk. With most actual risk replaced by perceived risk, the risk students experience with physical challenges and obstacles may be more of an emotional risk. Participant 3 discussed a student who thought he was experiencing physical risk on a steep trail; however, as an instructor, she knew that the risk of falling was quite low (and injury in the chance of a fall even lower), and so what he experienced was primarily fear, or an emotional response to a perceived physical risk.

Assuming that risks are either physical *or* emotional, and attributable to boys or girls, respectively, may limit risk awareness and management. Given *how* risk is gendered, with boys as seemingly "detached" from emotional risk, yet confronting actual or perceived physical risk via emotion, boys may be disadvantaged in their ability to acknowledge their experience with risk. It may be no wonder that girls are seen as "doing risk better," because girls are associated with emotional risks, and most of the risks experienced are emotional—whether through actual emotional, or perceived physical risks.

Sub-theme: Exclusion; Non-Emotional, Not-Physical Risks Unrepresented

Understanding risk as existing on a spectrum like gender identity and expression, as presented in Figure 2, may allow for a more fluid understanding of what interview participants present as strictly *either* "physical" *or* "emotional" risk, and for breaking down the mutual exclusivity of physicality and emotionality as risk characteristics. This dichotomy may also exclude other risk characteristics. Defining risk as either physical *or* emotional, or even as somewhere on a continuum between the two, limits the definitional possibilities of risk and creates the potential for risk situations of multiple kinds to be misinterpreted or invisibilized.

Risk can be multi-dimensional and can change over time or in different circumstances. As one participant noted, “homesickness... in itself is a risk that can lead to more physical risks, and then endangering the group” (Participant 6).

All the interview participants across all levels of leadership named physical risk as an “obvious” risk, and expressed the idea that it had a “softer,” non-physical opposite. However, this “not-physical” risk, while unanimously present, was not consistently labeled. The physical / “other” risk binary, in addition to being defined as physical / emotional, was also identified as: physical / mental, physical / mental health, and physical / socio-emotional. While not mentioned by participants, another binary might be physical / spiritual. Each of the “not-physical” risks identified by participants does not necessarily and always equate to emotional risks. However, while mental health, emotional, behavioral, and socio-emotional risks may not be interchangeable, they are all categorized as a “not physical” opposite to physical risk, and five of the seven participants categorized them solely as “emotional” risks. In this way, “emotional risk” had a working definition of all risk that was *not-physical.*

If, as suggested above, not-physical risk must not always and necessarily mean emotional risk, but could also include mental health, mental, sexualized, racialized, socio-cultural, or socio-emotional risks, the trick is to conceptualize physical and emotional as two, non-mutually exclusive characteristics that could describe risk, but that are not the only definitions of it. That is, rather than consider risk as either physical *or* emotional in a dichotomous manner, the two categories could be seen as two (of many) possible properties of risk. In this way of assessment, physical or not-physical, emotional or not-emotional, and any number of attributes X or converse not-X could be attached to risk. This model allows for an expansion of risk characteristics that, rather than be classified as non-physical and therefore emotional, could be seen as having their

own unique attributes, outcomes, and implications. This also makes risk more multi-dimensional: rather than viewing risk as a gradient scale with "physical" on one end and "emotional" on the other, risk could be seen as having a far greater number and combination of characteristics. This might look like Table 2 below:

Table 2: Multi-Characteristic Risk Table

Physical (P)	Emotional (E)	Mental Health (M)
+	+	+
+	+	–
+	–	+
+	–	–
–	+	+
–	+	–
–	–	+
–	–	–

When presented as a "risk table," the combinations for how risks may be defined are many. A risk represented by the first row would have physical and emotional qualities, but would not include mental health, whereas a risk represented by the sixth or seventh row would be exclusively emotional or mental health related, respectively. The final row, negative for each of the given characteristics, allows for the development of a new risk characteristic, if needed. Each aspect of this risk table is on its own continuum, from X to not-X, or X-1, X-2, etc.

This analysis uses the trick of thinking about concepts as relational, in that considering something to be one thing necessitates that it is not its opposite. Physical risk cannot simultaneously be "not physical risk." However, the mistake comes from equating not-physical risk with emotional risk, wherein the conclusion could be that the presence of physical risk means the absence of emotional risk. Thinking about risk as either/or, and especially as either physical or emotional, excludes all other definitional possibilities of risk. If emotional risk and "not-physical" risk are seen as synonymous, and physical risk is prioritized over emotional risk,

then the range of risks seen as important is limited. Then, when adding the idea of the physical boy and emotional girl, the needs of and risks experienced by girls are secondary to the needs of and risks experienced by boys; if not actually, then symbolically and procedurally.

Implications

Risk conceptualized as a binary and, specifically, as a physical / emotional binary, offers two more clues to how risk may be gendered. First, the connection of boys and men to physical risk and girls and women to emotional risk is explicit gendering. Categorizing risk in a way that is explicitly and implicitly linked to gender gives way for potential prioritization of risks, risky situations, and students' safety. Risk divided into "physical" and "emotional," "socio-emotional," or "mental-health," i.e. *not-physical,* which parallels the gender binary of masculine/feminine, boy/girl, man/women, categorizes certain risks as being for or of certain youth and, simultaneously, as more important than others. Second, the omission of non-physical, non-emotional risks in the conceptualization and discussion of risk, or the wholesale categorization of these risks as "emotional," may exclude them from policy, procedure, and leadership training. When all non-physical risks are considered emotional, any other risks and their consequences become potentially more hazardous to youth participants, because they are not identified, named, or planned for. Not naming those risks does not necessarily *create* more risk, but it does create a riskier situation on the course, because all possibly scenarios are not accounted or planned for.

Theme Three: Risk is Gendered by Societal Biases and Beliefs

Participants' explicit reference to societal or external influences that shaped students' experiences, as well as their own implicit gendered assumptions and expectations, also point to how risk may be gendered on course. Outside context matters, because the broader society has shaped and affected the students well before they show up on course, and outdoor adventure

exists in the “context of dominant ideologies and cultural preferences” (Humberstone & Stan, 2012). Participants acknowledged a structural system or societal influence at play both in their own decision-making and guiding processes, as well as in how and with what beliefs students arrive to and participate on course. Participant 5 admitted that his personal identity as a white, cis-gendered, straight man matching dominant systems of power could result in perpetuating gendered biases. Another participant asked, “what is my bias, and what is my actual observation” (Participant 4). Others mentioned a social history of not seeing girls as capable, and of caretakers/parents having “trepidation” about “young women and risk” (Participant 3). Participants spoke about the “boxes” into which boys and girls are placed, stating how external social expectations may have more to do with boys' lack of emotional risk engagement than an innate lack of emotional skill, and that girls are “taught early on as to what your role is, what your place is, what you can do, what you can't do” (Participant 1). These examples indicate participants' self-reflexivity with respect to gender biases and suggest that risk may be gendered through the adherence to or by challenging dominant social biases within the micro-environment of an OAE course. Leaders' awareness of their own biases, assumptions, and investment in societal expectations may offer a space to interrupt situations where risk is gendered to match societal expectations.

Beyond the explicit discussion of biases and societal influences that affect instructors and youth participants, participants offered more subtle references to dominant social forces during the participant interviews. First, many participants explicitly identified and used gendered stereotypes to generalize students based on gender, despite the fact that many interview participants expressed that they either did not generalize youth, or that they saw youth as individuals rather than as part of gendered groups. Second, participants' responses included

implicit assumptions about youth's ability, maturity, and sexuality based on gender, and consequential expectations of behaviour. Stereotypes, assumptions, and expectations can operate in complex ways. In the first sub-theme, I suggest that an awareness of stereotype may be useful for OAE leaders and organizations in order to recognize students' gendered experiences. However, in the next sub-theme, I critique the assumptions and the expectations that emanate from them limiting students and, at times, creating the stereotypical realities that participants acknowledge and criticize. One of the ways to unpack this complexity is through the idea of "stereotype threat," wherein a stereotype affects the outcome of an event or situation in such a way that confirms the original stereotype. Tellhed and Adolfsson (2017) write that stereotype threat can "threaten the negatively stereotyped group members in contexts where they become evident" (p. 189) and that "women may sense stereotype threat from very subtle, or implicit clues" (p. 190).

Sub-theme: "They're the Same / They're Completely Different;" Stereotype and Gendered Experience

Participants who named stereotypes that students both face and enact on courses also critically analyzed why those stereotypes exist and how to address them as an organization or as leaders. I suggest that leaders' willingness to acknowledge gendered stereotypes that affect students prior to and during courses matters in the gendering of risk on course. Throughout the interviews, participants engaged in concerted effort to be inclusive of gender and to avoid repeating stereotypes. Knowing the topic of my research, participants may have been conscious of using words or providing examples that might highlight differences, particularly as they pertained to girls. Eliminating stereotypical language in order to present a neutral or "politically correct" stance does not necessarily mean that participants did not believe in the validity of

stereotypes or the gendered practices based on them. One participant spoke explicitly of the use and veracity of stereotypes, saying that “The reality is that stereotypes come from reality. They wouldn't exist otherwise. And the danger is in too broadly applying them. Too broadly applying them, I think. But, a stereotype wouldn't be a stereotype if there wasn't some basis in reality” (Participant 4). While related to the notion of stereotype threat, this assumes that although stereotypes make generalizations about populations, they are also likely true of that population. And so, while the interviewee cited above later expressed discomfort in the interview about voicing stereotypes, her belief that there was some truth in them was evident.

Participants were not consistent with how to deal with stereotypes, which may be indicative of industry-wide inconsistencies and tensions, manifested routinely on courses. When asked directly about differences between genders, participants responded with variations of the difficulty to generalize, or seeing everyone as individuals and distinct from groups. For example, one participant shared that: “There really isn't a divide between genders, it's more, how they've been raised, and what their experiences are in the past” (Participant 3). Often, participants' answers that “there is no difference” was in direct response to a question about girls, specifically; this type of question seemed problematic, whereas the same participants offered multiple ways that girls and boys interact with risk differently. The juxtaposed ideas of: “they're the same,” and “they're completely different” shows an incongruence in how participants conceptualized students in relation to gender.

Participants seemed to understand girls as “different” in traits and in inherent *being* from boys, yet “the same” in regards to needs and treatment. This could be the equivalent of recognizing that some students will need sports bras, but failing to put them on the packing list. Among participants, there was a neutralizing of gender in that all youth and all risk were seen as

similar or the same, or not to be generalized by gender, and to be given equal treatment. However, as in the case of the packing lists, this may more effectively erase or isolate girls' experience by assuming a masculine norm, rather than creating an equal access environment that seems to be the goal. Assuming or stating that students are "all the same" ignores and erases the gendered experiences that have shaped how students experience and respond to the course, instructors, and peers. Gender matters, and has likely shaped the experiences and expectations of students coming into course; not acknowledging the stereotypes students carry with them would be to ignore their life circumstances prior to the course, and the ones to which they will return once the trip has ended.

Interview participants who articulated stereotypes willingly talked openly about students, and even questioned their own biases. However, those who did not want to stereotype along gendered lines did so both subtly and overtly later in the interview, stating opinion or dominant societal assumptions as fact. One of the tensions I encountered is that participants' unwillingness to make gendered generalizations may have suggested an unwillingness to navigate along the unclear boundary between what *is*, and what *ought to be*. Commenting on students' engagement with emotional risk, one participant stated with a sigh, "It skews the way you would assume" (Participant 3), sharing how boys and girls she works with reproduce the stereotype of girls being more emotional or emotionally-savvy than boys. She went on to say, "but I think that ultimately, everyone has that capacity to get there." Participant 3 acknowledged a reality in which youth perpetuate gender stereotypes while also recognizing what *could be.* While girls may not "have to be" more adept at navigating emotional challenges on course, and boys may not "have to be" quicker at approaching physical risk in the field, they have been socialized to behave in this way. Studies have shown that, from an early age, boys have been encouraged and rewarded for risk-

taking and risky play, while girls have been cautioned to be careful in outdoor play (Morrongiello & Hogg, 2004). Mothers are more tolerant of son's injuries than daughters', there is more emphasis on daughters' vulnerability than of sons', and boys (and their mothers) attribute injuries to bad luck as opposed to behaviour for which they are accountable (Morrongiello & Dawber, 2000; Morrongiello & Rennie, 1998).

Even after expressing the desire not to make generalizations about or stereotype students, participants used overt stereotypes when sharing a story or providing an example. Examples of this include calling girls "girly girl," "prissy" (Participant 1), or "indoor princess" (Participant 3). While they may not typecast all girls in these ways, they know that these stereotypes exist and use them to help further a description or explanation, even as a negative example (as in, "she wasn't an indoor princess").

Sub-theme: Assumptions and Expectations of Ability, Maturity, and Sexuality

Participants did not articulate differences in the risks faced by boys and girls. They did, however, seem to hold assumptions about which risks boys and girls "naturally" engage in, and expectations about how they would do so. Expectations extend assumptions from passive ideas of who students are and what they might naturally be like, to more active ideas of what they ought to or will likely do, and how they may need to be treated, based on gender. Table 3 below presents interview participants' stated conceptions of youths' ability, maturity, and sexuality:

Table 3: Assumptions and Expectations of Student Ability, Maturity, and Sexuality Based on Gender

	Ability	Maturity	Sexuality
Assumptions (on Being)	Girls: slower, weaker, fragile Boys: can hike further than girls	Girls: mature, insightful, intuitive, thoughtful, better leaders Boys: immature, aggressive, unaware	Both - heterosexual
Expectations (on Behaviour)	Girls: may need shorter, less strenuous trips	Girls: responsible, more willing to express maturity, attentive, ask questions, careful, open to exploring	Both: sneaking into the woods together, sexual/romantic liaisons, policies need to prevent

		actions, will think about consequences, is safer to express fear, think before doing Boys: “risk, what risk?”, rushing in to risks, charge ahead, will not talk about emotions, does not like to acknowledge feelings	pregnancy, single-gender tent (sleeping) groups

Ability. As with stereotypes generally, most participants seemed very reluctant to talk about students' physical ability on the basis of gender. They described the expectation that girls' physical abilities were lower than boys'. One stated that physical ability was the “biggest divide between the genders,” with girls tending to be “naturally slower” (Participant 3), and another admitted to “struggl[ing]” with a bias “that boys can hike further than girls” (Participant 6). However, the former also attempted to explain why her statement might be the case by invoking the idea of girls as not “playing sports as much” in school (Participant 3); this created a tension where she acknowledged a gendered stereotype and explained it as such, but also tied it to an assumption stated as fact. Conversely, participants expressed frustrations with organizational rules that limit all-girl course itineraries, sharing that the itineraries of girls' trips were “easier” than the boys' trips, and did not offer the same mountaineering opportunities and level of challenge to girls (Participant 5). According to Participant 5, these itineraries and course offerings had been set that way “for a long time,” and she had immediately questioned them, but was met with resistance. She recounted that the organization administrators had justified the itineraries by saying that this was the way things were, and girls were uninterested in more strenuous/mountaineering trips, evidenced by the lack of “sign ups.” Each of these participants articulated a common assumption—whether their own or within their organization—about girls being weaker than boys, and needing accommodation for that weakness.

Newbery (2003) writes that the “female body has a long history of being understood as a weak body, frail, something breakable and easily 'damaged,' a body that requires protection”

(209). None of the participants seemed to condone or believe in the idea of a weak feminine body; however, it was mentioned as a belief that "is out there," therefore adding another dimension of how risk is understood outside of outdoor adventure education, from the perspective of those within the system. In other words, by virtue of being an idea participants actively rejected, it is evident that this idea exists not necessarily within their belief system, but elsewhere. Girls' fragility as being a false assumption is an example of a negative case, wherein the lesson gleaned is that there may be cases where girls are viewed as inherently fragile and at risk. One participant identified that parents feel "like they're risking something (with daughters) more so than with sons" and that there is a "perception that they're (girls) fragile and they're going to get hurt in a way that boys won't" (Participant 3). This calling out of a false belief that "isn't real" points to its existence *as* a belief, albeit not one that the participant personally subscribed to.

One of the ways assumptions about ability was discussed was through a confidence/competence lens. This refers to situations in which a student's ability to do Physical Thing X is dependent both on competence to complete the task or challenge, and confidence to attempt it. Three participants spoke about this relationship, with each stating that girls tend to fall more predominantly into competent/not confident, and boys more frequently into confident/not competent. They also linked this to confidence and competence, wherein actual competence may be present, but when presented with a negative stereotype of their gendered or social group, even implicitly, confidence and performance decreases (Tellhed & Adolfsson, 2017). These participant observations confirm literature that shows that women hold "lower competence beliefs for male-dominated domains" (p. 189). Expectations about ability gender how risk will be managed, and what risks will be considered "suitable" for students. The case of lighter itineraries, or no

mountaineering trips for girls is an example of how assumptions lead to tangible expectations, whether explicitly stated or implied through the creation of gendered course requirements. The competence/confidence grid points to the idea that limiting or lowering the expectations on girls' ability may only confirm or match their confidence levels. If they are given external cues that they are in more physical risk, or less physically able to succeed, than boys in similar situations, they may taken that as an indication of their actual abilities, and how they are expected to act. This relates again to the idea of stereotype threat, where the recognition of a stereotype produces that stereotyped effect through a type of performative feedback loop.

Maturity. Among participants, most behavioural expectations seemed rooted in the assumption that girls are more mature than boys. Participants' assumption about girls' maturity was ubiquitous, and appeared in the form of girls being considered more thoughtful, careful, and intuitive; conversely, boys were described as less willing to talk about emotions, and more likely to engage in inappropriate conversations. Participants linked maturity to attentiveness, responsibility, organization, thinking through consequences of actions, and asking questions about activities. One participant described girls as more "willing to express maturity and act in a more mature manner" and stated that girls are more "intuitive" with an "appreciation of risk," whereas boys will ask: "risk, what risk?" (Participant 1). Another commented that girls are "more mature, just developed more, better behaved, they're easier to talk to," and described boys as being less "well behaved... they feed off each other, there's more competition... they just don't bother to behave very well" (Participant 3).

The concept of the mature, "good girl" is not new. Literature suggests that adolescent discourses expect girls to be responsible, taking care of themselves and others. Aapola (1997) describes how girls' adolescence is thought to be connected to "early physical and social

maturation" (p. 55), whereas boys are the "prototypical adolescents" and allowed and expected to grow up more slowly emotionally (p. 66). However, transferring these generalizations to conclude that girls may be better than boys at risk assessment and management in the outdoors is interesting. Literature supports the idea that the outdoor industry is male-dominated, with girls and women as "invisible" (Gray, Allen-Craig, & Carpenter, 2017); this image of girls as outsider does not fit easily with the suggestion that girls are more skilled at risk assessment and management, two skills needed and valued in outdoor adventure. One way to make sense of this juxtaposition is to consider the idea that the "well-behaved" and "mature" girl is less of a subject, and more of an object who is acted upon, or whose actions are used for purposes beyond the girl herself, rather than acting as an independent subject (Pomerantz 2009).

The "use" of a mature girl becomes evident in the expectation that girls engage with risk more as adults than do their boy peers. One expectation linked to the assumption about maturity is management, and what is "needed" in order to manage boys and girls. To have an expectation that boys will not be "well behaved" genders risk in that it assumes and expects a certain performance from one group. It allows for less "well-behaved" actions from boys, while still expecting that "good" behaviour from girls. It is assumed and expected that boys will engage in physically risky behavior, and that the girls may or will likely not. This creates a behavioral double standard among participants, based on a gendered assumption about maturity, which is a social construct. If maturity is development towards adulthood, then to say that girls are more mature is to expect them to act more like adults, and to excuse boys for "juvenile" behavior. The idea that girls are expected to be more adult-like is evident in participants' unanimous but seemingly unintentional or unnoticed use of the term "women" or "young women" to describe adolescent girls, while referring to adolescent boys primarily as "boys" or "guys," occasionally

as “young men” (Participants 1, 3, and 6), but never as solely “men.” This subtle labeling identifies girls as somehow older than they are, who are expected to behave and carry themselves as more adult-like than the boys on course.

This assumption first identifies and categorizes the “types” of risk that are assumed to be linked to boys and girls. It is assumed that boys will engage with risk “head on,” whereas girls will take time to think it through. Expectations with regard to behavior may stem from these assumptions. Participants noted that boys tend to “rush in” to risk (Participant 3), whereas girls are more cautious. This is tied to maturity, in that the expectation is that girls “mature,” develop, or age more rapidly, and thus approach risks as more adult-like, cautiously, or with more thought than boys. This expectation gives boys permission to *risk* in a way that girls cannot and “progress a lot faster in, like, gaining skills” (Participant 4) because of their perceived ability to try and fail, without being expected to think carefully through each risk. These type of behavioural expectations directly gender risk through the explicit expectation that certain genders will do or perform certain tasks or risk management behaviors. Expectations about behavior based on gender create a scenario where the *risk* connected with the behaviour is gendered.

Participants' assumptions about boys' maturity specifically manifested in the expectation that boys engage in negative or even harmful “topics of discussion.” These were described as the negative ways that “young men refer to young women... the slang and the derogatory this and thats” (Participant 1) and “crude” (Participant 4), “sexist” (Participant 3), or “locker room talk, if you will... it's posturing amongst young males, because that's how they think they're gonna gain power amongst their peers” (Participant 6). While participants did often identify this language as sexist, crude, and harmful, only one specifically mentioned the language as relating to “unwanted

sexual advances" (Participant 6). Mostly, participants described this as typical "boy" behaviour. However, the "normal" language participants discussed could be categorized as gender-based harassment, a category of sexual harassment, which is defined as "verbal and non-verbal gender-based hostile/derogatory communication or gender related name-calling" (Kaitiala-Heino & Marttunen, 2016, p. 1193). Leaders spoke about the conversations that boys tend to have when in a boys-only group, especially if unmoderated by leaders or, as discussed below, by girls on the trip. One participant specifically noted that with "acceptable behaviour" and topics of conversation, "if the standard is lowered with the boys, it tends to spiral even lower throughout the course," adding that these are then "more of an emphasis" with boys than with girls (Participant 2). Girls face (or report facing) sexual and gender harassment more often than boys; this emotional risk is gendered in *who* it affects more often (Kaitiala-Heino & Marttunen, 2016).

Sexuality. A heteronormative understanding of sexuality can gender the risk experience of trips. Barnfield and Humberstone (2008) write about the "heteronormalizing culture" of the outdoor industry and among outdoor educators. One of the ways in which this heteronormalized culture becomes evident is through language, policy, and procedure that assumes students are straight. The mention of pregnancy or sex as a likely risk associated with mixed gender trips points to an assumption about heteronormative sexuality based on gender. Situations may exist where students' sexuality could matter for risk management, such as the physical risk of pregnancy, sexual safety, or emotional risks stemming from exclusive relationships forming within the group. However, if these risks are only assessed or addressed based on an assumption about heterosexuality, then—with the exception of pregnancy—those risks not only still exist for non-heterosexual students, but also may go undetected, as not all students' experiences or identities are taken into account. If policies or practices are based on the assumption about the

heterosexuality of its participants, any potential risk that is mitigated by those policies or practices is likely to be only partially addressed, and only for some students. Participant 1 shared that “the main tenet” of risk management on courses is to have “no loss or gain of life,” and with mixed-gender courses, “there's always the romantic liaison that's going to potentially develop.” Having policies that assume sexuality based on gender, but that are presumably for the safety of all students, genders risk. It assumes that only straight students may be at risk of sexual harassment or unwanted sexual advances, or could develop exclusive romantic or sexual relationships that pose (physical or emotional) risks to the group. Barnfield and Humberstone (2008) suggest that “less blinkered perceptions and more critical reflections on current practice” can interrupt heteronormativity in outdoor education.

The convergence of sexuality and gender with explicit expectations of behaviour and assumptions about sexuality is evident in several of the packing lists' qualifiers on swimwear (Table 1). The parenthetical descriptions of swimsuits gave implicit indications of the kinds of risks organizations are aware of and manage. In the descriptions of the kind of swimwear needed for the course, many lists seem to address a potential sexual risk through inferences about modesty. Among the nine documents that listed swimsuits as a needed item, seven gave qualifying statements on the options for how to meet this course need—only one of these seven descriptions referred to boys. Three offered the option of bringing a sports bra and a pair of shorts in lieu of a swimsuit; another suggested bringing a one piece with shorts, and still another stated that shorts would be a welcomed addition to a swimsuit. One specifically and explicitly stated “no bikinis,” though another wrote that “if” a student brought a two-piece bathing suit, it must be “appropriate” for active water enjoyment. In an alternative social and gender reality, where girls' bodies are not objectified or thought to be responsible for the attention paid to them,

might boys' modesty also be central in the description of swimwear? Would there be a rule about "no speedos," or comments on the kind of swim shorts "appropriate" for active play? Or, might there be no references to modesty based on gender?

Implications

Stereotyping is a tool of gendering risk when it becomes a method by which to construct reality, rather than describe it. The difference between the belief that stereotypes are rooted in reality and stereotypes as societal constructs that produce reality is an idea that underlies much of this research. If stereotypes are descriptors of reality, then identifying students' or leaders' adherence to gender stereotypes would be inconsequential. However, if stereotypes are stories that shape reality, then recognizing how courses reinforce these stories can illuminate where there may be leverage points for productive cultural shifts in OAE. Recognizing assumptions and expectations that are rooted in societal can be a starting point for dismantling the idea that these beliefs not only *are* true, but that they *must* be true.

Chapter Five: (Intersectional) Themes

Part II: Gendered Risk in Practice

This chapter focuses on specific and practical situations in which the themes discussed in Chapter Four are present during and in the planning of OAE programming. Identifying stories that lie at the intersections of hierarchical language, binary thinking, and societal biases and beliefs, I analyze how these stories illustrate the process of gendered risk (Figure 3). I also discuss tensions that exist when exploring gendered risk examples, as in the case of personal hygiene lessons. Identifying sites of gendered risk does not simplify or reduce the challenges and choices that leaders and organizations must make; sometimes the multiple and contradictory layers of gendered risk are messy. However, identifying practices that illustrate gendered risk

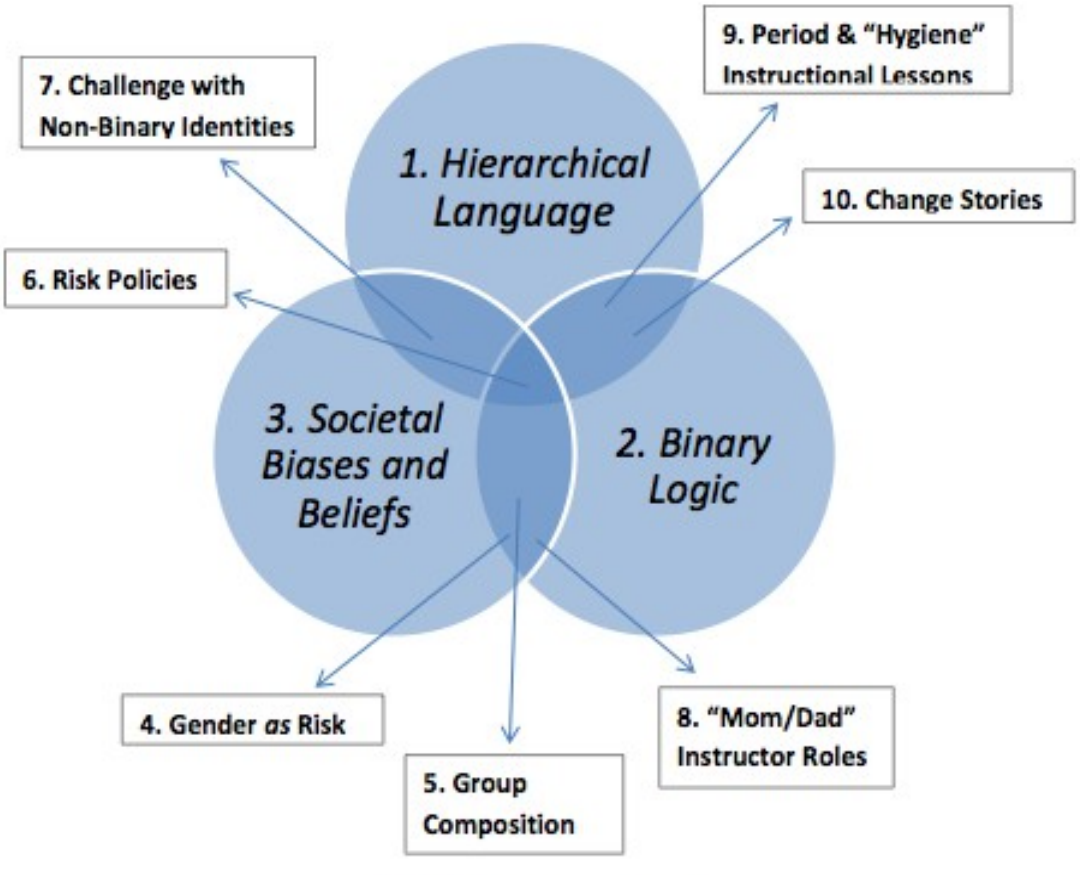

Figure 3: Chapter Five Theme Design

may allow for follow-up questions to be asked: Is this kind of gendering necessary? What are some alternative scenarios?

Theme Four: Gender *as* Risk; Girls Moderating Emotional Risk

The expectation that (assumed) "hard to manage" boys (Participant 1) will engage in "horrendous" conversations (Participant 4), alongside the expectation that (assumed) mature girls will "do" emotional risk well (Participant 3), creates a gendered risk environment in which girls moderate the boys' risky language and behavior. Each interviewee cited boys' words and "topics of conversation" as being detrimental to the group in general and to girls in particular. This dynamic played a role in instructors' experiences, they mentioned it as an impediment to the boys' experiences and growth, and they identified it as a potential risk factor for girls on the trip, particularly if they were greatly outnumbered by boy participants. Despite the overwhelming examples of boys' conversations and language being a type of risk primarily for girls, and although this risk was conceptualized as emotional or *non-physical*, the binary logic that categorically associates boys physical risks, as presented in Theme 2, was still upheld.

According to interview participants, primarily boys engage in harmful and inappropriate behaviour—they create the emotional risk—while primarily girls are affected, or "at risk," as a result of this behaviour. The risk faced by girls is first in the overhearing or being present during the boys' conversations, and then in taking the emotional risk of speaking up and facing rejection by the group. In taking that risk, girls step into a risk management position, mitigating and moderating the actions and words of the boy(s). This risk lands squarely between expectations about boys' behaviour, and the gender roles wherein girls "do" emotional risk management—even their own. That is, they are responsible for moderating boys' conversations and behaviour when it is inappropriate or harmful, even when it is directed at them. This results in a situation

where, although boys are identified as the perpetrators of emotionally risky behaviours towards their peers, it is the girls' role to call out the behaviour, to ask a leader for a change mid-course, or given the option beforehand to not attend the course to mitigate that risk. Risk is gendered because boys are not held accountable for their words, because of the assumption that they tend to push the boundaries on what is acceptable and engage in inappropriate conversations, due to their immaturity—or at least, "less" maturity. Meanwhile girls, who are implicitly linked to emotionality and emotional risk "naturally," are expected to step up and into confrontational situations with boys, because of their assumed maturity and emotional adeptness to handle the situation:

> And on, um, this course I worked last summer, there were three girls on the course, and nine boys, and I was the only female instructor and I had two male co-instructors. And, um, the girls after the—at the end of the, the first ration period the girls approached me privately and asked if they could keep their girls tent, because they had overheard some of the boys talking at night, and it had made them feel uncomfortable. The way that the boys were talking—kind of crude, and stuff. (Participant 4, she/her/hers)

And:

> Those like, well okay, so there's the cross-gender callouts of like, 'Hey, that's really rude what you just said.' Or, sexist and misogynistic and whatever, so like, suddenly that burden falls on that one person. […] So just, if a guy says something really sexist, like it kinda falls to A) it falls to the girl to say, to, it's her burden to say something about it, or not. And also, they get uncomfortable about what they've said because she's there, but then it kind of becomes her fault that they're uncomfortable, instead of what they said being the problem. […] To be, like, if all the guys are in their own shit show, that's fine,

> they're going to learn from that. But if one girl is in the guys' shitshow […], then she has to hold this lone burden, and with like, no allies. (Participant 3, she/her/hers)

There are two related patterns at work in the above stories: girls needing to be protected from boys' conversations (as objects), and girls needing to moderate boys' conversations (as subjects). Neither of these patterns places the onus of responsibility on the boys and their conversations. Girls "hold the burden" of either staying silent and enduring the conversations and group culture fostered by them, or speaking up and risking "making the boys uncomfortable." The idea of girls carrying this burden is not in question—rather, the "burden" of emotionally dealing with sexism, through silence or callouts, is mentioned three times in the above interview—the issue is only whether a girl has to do it alone. The constant is the boys' actions and conversations, with the variable being the responses of girls and of the leaders to or for the girl.

To expect cross-gender callouts is to expect girls to carry a high level of emotional risk engagement, which fits with previously explored assumptions that this is a naturally feminine trait. However, it is also a high and perhaps unrealistic expectation: calling out a peer for sexist behavior or words can be incredibly challenging at best, and isolating or even dangerous at worst. The gender neutral term of "cross-gender callouts" implies that there are some situations in which boys call out girls for inappropriate or unwanted language; and indeed, it should not be assumed that girls are powerless objects that will always be the victims. However, in the study, no participant mentioned this dynamic between students, or even alluded to the kind of actions or words girls could engage in or use that might warrant "cross-gender callouts" from the boys. That the language for these call-outs was thus neutralized may support the idea of the masculine neutral norm where, in this case, a risk (inappropriate language) that is said to be specifically brought about by boys is labelled neutrally, as is a risk that is most often undertaken by girls

(cross-gender callouts).

Along with the heightened emotional risk girls take on through calling out boys' conversations, these callouts create situations of imbalanced emotional labour, with girls being emotional teachers to and moderators of boys and boys' behaviour. Emotional labour can be defined as "the act of inducing or suppressing feelings for the benefit of others," (Goerisch & Swanson, 2015, p. 452), and as involving "the induction or suppression of feeling in order to sustain an outward appearance that produces in others a sense of being cared for in a convivial safe place" (Gray, 2010, p. 349). The expectation that girls perform this emotional labour is not entirely surprising, as emotional labour has frequently been considered women's work (Goerisch & Swanson, 2015; Gray, 2010; Lugg, 2018), and adolescent girls are often expected to behave with adult-like maturity and adeptness of emotion (Aapola, 1997).

Interview participants also discussed the idea of "protecting" girls on all-boy OAE trips in relation to the concept of gender *as* risk: that the kinds of remarks and conversations on all-boy trips would be untenable for adolescent girl students. Participants normalized the fact that girls may be "at risk" given the presence of boys on course, but also identified this as a risk to be minimized if possible. Participant 3 stated that, if a girl were scheduled on a trip that was otherwise entirely boys, she and her family would be called and offered a different course. This highlights the idea that gender is a risk factor serious enough to potentially cancel or alter a students' participation in a course. It assumes that the risk for girls is *so great,* and *so detrimental*, that the best mitigation plan is to eliminate participation entirely. In the risk tolerance tools provided by Participants 2, 3, and 6, this risk is considered a red risk, a life and limb risk, or one of great likelihood and great consequence, and therefore not taken. And, despite the good intentions behind the practice of suggesting that the girl be removed from an all-boy

course, the strategy focuses on removing the youth affected by the risk, rather than those creating it. Another participant acknowledged that the first choice would be to not have a lone girl on a course, and then spoke about what that unlikely and unideal situation would look like:

> I think if there's only one female student, for one thing I think the admissions team would work really hard to make them not be the only female student. […] Um. But, if that dynamic did happen, that there was only one female student in the entire student group, um. (sigh). I think we would make it a real point to make sure she's heard. Um, one-on-one and in group settings. […] Um, so making sure that that girl has a, has a mentor that she feels comfortable with, and that she feels able to voice her thoughts and feelings, and then also being an ally for her in the group setting, um. Like, bringing her voice forward, and... um, keeping an eye out for anything that might be, um, sexist towards her, or make her feel uncomfortable. Just make sure that she has a voice, and she has somewhere comfortable to talk. (Participant 4, she/her/hers)

The scenario participants described in which one girl participates on an otherwise all-boy course is an example of a potentially unsafe situation based on the premise that gender *is* a risk factor. The gendered risk here is that masculine students may put non-masculine students at risk with their words and actions, and that non-masculine students are then expected to manage and moderate that risk. This concept of gender *as* a risk also shows how the definition of the Girl is contradictory. In these stories, girls are seen first as subjects, and then as objects. Girls are simultaneously expected to use their voices to *call out* sexist behaviour among the boys, and then are also deemed in need of protection by the instructors, requiring help to avoid *voicelessness* in the group. This may be an example of how girls are expected to (somehow) find the balance between child and adult roles (Robinson & Davies, 2008).

Another issue that arises with respect to the idea of gender *as* a risk relates to consistency and accountability. If and when girls are present on courses with boys, they are expected to perform cross-gender callouts, calling the boys out for inappropriate or harmful language. However, if a girl does not witness or is not targeted by this language, would the boys still be held accountable for their words? Given the expectation that boys will be "poorly behaved," perhaps not. Then, if the risk is created by boys, why is much of the management work placed on girls—as if their "voicelessness" is the risk, rather than a group culture which fails to keep them safe from this emotional risk? Two participants did emphasize the importance of creating a culture of accountability on OAE trips. One participant spoke about being personally committed to "nip that in the bud" (Participant 5) and another shared that "we just don't tolerate (those conversations). Period" (Participant 6). While the positions taken by these two participants hinted at reflective leadership management practices, they also point towards a gendered risk that continue to need management.

Theme Five: Single- and Mixed-Gender Group Composition

Despite girls experiencing increased risks in the face of boys' conversations, most participants stated that mixed-gender environments were preferable and more beneficial to students than single-gender courses. More salient than *which* group type participants preferred, however, were the reasons *why* they preferred it, as this suggests the reflective processes leaders and administration use to think of their students' experiences and exposes whose needs are prioritized, met, and overlooked. Participants who had at one point or who were presently employed guiding single-gender courses had a clear preference for separate all-boys and all-girls trips. They argued that single-gender trips create a space in which status quo thinking can be challenged through adult mentorship and critical engagement with social constructs. In other

words, youth in single-gender spaces are able to more comfortably discuss and challenge gendered norms through interactions with their peers and such contexts maximize growth and learning:

> I know that um, like I grew up in a small town in the Midwest and, in that town, um, I was expected to play sports, to be an athlete, um, and to provide for my family and, um, my mom was the caretaker of the house and had a job, my dad had a job, I never—I've seen my dad cry... twice. In my life. […] And so the value for having all boys trips is creating a space where role models can be expressive, be creative, be vulnerable, um, enjoy some of these, um, these less dominant, um, characteristics and express those things, express that to people. Um. And see that in their peers. And I think that it's a closer step than moving further into, um, like this idea that gender is fluid. And we do address that, but again, when you look at conflict and how to help people grow, there, people, like... there is a physical comfort zone, and there is an emotional—or socio-emotional comfort zone. And if we push people too far into the socio-emotional panic zone, no learning happens. (Participant 6, he/him/his)

And:

> The girls tend to be more comfortable with themselves and with each other. They're more likely to step out and take risks, because there's less of a perceived negative consequence of failure—like there's more of a group, team supportive atmosphere. Um, it's—there's less pressure to perform... and so, therefore, they tend to perform more, because there's less fear of failure. It feels more emotionally open and safe. Um. It's a lot of fun! (Participant 4, she/her/hers)

Participant 6 above was the only participant who spoke positively about all-boy trips. More, like

Participant 4, expressed strong support for all-girl courses. Among these, there seemed to be an understanding among interview participants that, while all-girl courses may be more beneficial to girls than mixed-gender courses, all-boy courses are *more* detrimental to boys—and their leaders:

> I'm thinking about women, when I'm thinking about mixed gender or single, because. I honestly think that guys benefit from women being there. Um. And I think that there is, there are a lot of benefits in those mixed gender patrols for both. I think having the option for older female students, so like 16 and up, to be in single-gender patrols, I mean with no, we're not, I don't know if we'll ever be able to do it, because at that age – like, I want to be where the boys are, um – even if you feel so disgusting that's like the last thing on their mind. Um. […] I think there's a lot of inherent value in female only patrols at that age. Um. And also, there are benefits from that, that dual-gender, or multi-gender environment. (Participant 3, she/her/hers)

Here, Participant 3 begins by saying that boys benefit by having girls on courses. She then acknowledges that there is value in having single-gender girls' trips, especially for older girls, while also saying that she is unsure if "we'll ever be able to do it," and concludes by restating that there is benefit from a multi-gender environment.

While the above participants expressed preference for single-gender courses (even if with little hope of that preference becoming mainstream practice), other participants expressed clear preference for mixed-gender courses. For many, the rationale for this preference was that single-gender boys' trips are so unruly and tiring for instructors that they should be avoided, and that mixed-gender trips provide as much or more counter-stereotypical role learning and growth. The participants described the challenges associated with single-gender boys' trips as follows:

> For the most part, instructors are not stoked to work with dude patrols ... you always

> know it's going to get kind of squirrelly. (Participant 3, she/her/hers)

And:

> Working with all male populations can create unique and challenging dynamics. Umm, throwing a whole bunch of testosterone together in a mix can, can be difficult. So, there's maybe a little bit of that was thrown in there. If we do all female with female instructors, and then we give all these guys to the guy instructors, what's the impact going to be in that group, versus on the other group. (Participant 1, he/him/his)

The expectation that girls will moderate boys' actions and words on trips was a reason articulated by some participants to organize mixed gender trips: girls are desired participants *because of* their ability to moderate boys' behavior and to provide instructors with a degree of relief on OAE courses. This idea is fairly timely and politically relevant, given current conversations about women being held responsible for men's words and actions, especially those directed at them. To allow boys' behavior to dictate girls' experience, in that the possible negative experience of boys on all-boy trips disallows the benefit of all-girl trips for adolescent girls and young women, provides a somewhat troubling understanding of girls' role and "usefulness" on adventure trips. Is the preferred participation of girls in mixed-gender trips meant to "buffer" and "dilute" (Participant 1) male testosterone and "squirrelly" male adolescent behavior (Participant 3)? If so, then it would appear that the trips themselves are still formulated and facilitated with priority given to boys, with the girl participants used as tools for boys' growth.

The idea that girls are "desired" as course participants does challenge the theory that girls are excluded or somehow less welcome in wilderness spaces because of their gender. However, when desired because of their role as emotional moderators, the needs of the girls are secondary to those of the boys and of the instructors; they are preferred because of their ability to help

create a positive learning experience for the boys, possibly at their own expense. Whether or not their experience is augmented by being in an all-girl environment is not considered as highly as their role in "helping" leaders manage boys' behavior and conversations.

In contrast to a preference for mixed-gender groups based on negative expectations and assumptions, one participant argued that mixed gender courses provide a space in which gender roles can be candidly addressed:

> You know and I think, um, the, the outcomes are greater if you have the opportunity for the, the mixed courses. I think. […] I think there's more opportunity for real time learning. You know, and like, working with the opposite sex and, boundaries, and what's acceptable, and having those more candid conversations that otherwise may not have happened if they are separated. (Participant 2, he/him/his)

However, even while highlighting the benefits of learning and growth with a mixed-gender group, this participant referred to the idea of learning "boundaries, and what's acceptable." This hints at the possibility that such learning might be realized through the crossing of boundaries, or by boys doing or saying things that are unacceptable—and then relying on girls' emotional labour and engagement to create those learning moments.

Gender exclusive spaces may offer students a unique opportunity to experience the outdoors free from gendered assumptions and expectations. Exclusive space may offer more freedom, even though the idea of being exclusionary in order to increase inclusion is a novel one. And yet, is inclusivity inclusive if it is still singling one gender out as "outsiders"? Until boys and girls can read the same packing list and feel confident that it was written with them in mind, perhaps not. Perhaps, for girls and young women, exclusive inclusive spaces are what is needed in order to fully engage with the outdoors free from the competitive, performative requirements

of simultaneously socializing with boy peers.

At the same time, in the binary system, an all-boy or all-girl OAE trip option may not meet the needs of gender-nonconforming youth, especially if the organization is not explicit about or committed to gender diversity. For participants and instructors who do not identify with the gender binary, this "excluding to include" option is simply exclusionary. One participant commented about the need for "trips that are specifically for kids that are queer or questioning" [7]. Mixed-gender trips might allow for freedom of gender and sexuality expression—especially when referred to as mixed-gender, rather than dual-gender—and yet the challenges discussed above with mixed-gender courses still exist. That participants differed in the preference of and reasoning for gender segregation or mixing is supported by literature, which argues that "depending on the material and ideological context in which it occurs, segregation can be a vehicle for continued oppression or a strategy to enable resistance and transformation" (Theberge, 1997, p. 185). There is no easy resolution to this tension when organizing OAE programming and trips; however, when OAE organizations begin to ask the critical questions about the rationale behind the composition of groups, it may be the start of a reflexive process attentive to what kind of experience is created for youth.

Theme Six: "Anecdotal" and Case-by-Case Risk Policies

Unlike physical risks, for which there are industry-wide standards, protocols, and policy requirements, participants described non-physical, emotional, and socio-emotional risks as less regulated. With physical risks linked to boys and emotional risks linked to girls, the feminine gendered risks are those that are less present in organizational policy. This is connected to the layered concept of which genders *do* which risks. At one level of analysis, there are assumptions about and expectations regarding risks as being "naturally" handled better by different genders:

girls with emotional risks and boys with physical risks, for example. On another level, though, there is the question of which risks may be *faced,* not necessarily by election, preference, or ability. For example, the emotional risks illustrated in Theme Four are disproportionately experienced by girls and non-binary youth. Hence, downplaying emotional risks in policy minimizes the experiences of those who may experience them more directly.

That physical risks are well understood and thoroughly accounted for in policies, while emotional risks are more "anecdotal," represents one of the possible repercussions of risk being defined in binary terms that parallel the gender binary. In a masculine-dominated industry, risks associated with femininity may not be fully articulated or represented in risk management policies and procedures. Participant 6 addressed this point as it pertains to emotional, or socio-emotional, risk:

> We've made a real push to try to define more of the socio-emotional risks involved, as well, um, and build risk management systems around that. Um, there was no real—and I've struggled to find this is the outdoor industry as a whole, but um, there is a lot of the socio-emotional risks and systems are anecdotal, or they're like, oh you just have to be a good person; there's no specific system, um, where it's like… you know, for example, um somebody takes a fall and uh, hurts their neck or hurts their back and um, they need to be airlifted. We have a system for how that whole process works. Um. We don't have… we don't have a specific system for if, if some sort of, like, umm, unwanted sexual advance happens. Right? It's just like, oh! Like, somebody, somebody makes a sexual advance, great, okay, um, now we're moving them off of the trip and, then we're evacuating them. But, like, what about the person that's been victimized, what about the perpetrator, like, what—those things. Those things just don't, don't exist. Um, and so I think that, um, for

> our organization and the outdoor industry as a whole, it's uh, things are more focused on the physical side of things than on the socio-emotional side of things. (Participant 6, he/him/his)

The gendering processes in OAE policies that address the physical needs and risks of students, but fail to sufficiently develop emotional, mental, or socio-emotional risk policies suggested that physical risk is understood as the neutral masculine norm. The prioritization of physical risks in risk management policies and procedures may be an outcome of the masculine-centred history of the OAE industry. This leads to a scenario in which there are more policies and procedures established to manage physical risk than emotional risk, even though most physical risks are minimized, mitigated, or eliminated.

Interview participants shared that emotional risks are addressed with youth through framing and facilitation early in the course—often on the first day or evening of the trip. Participants discussed these framing conversations in terms of being part of a set of "non-negotiable" course guidelines that establish emotional ground rules, an inclusive group culture, and trust between leaders and students and among the group as a whole. That these framing conversations are non-negotiable implies a certain degree of rigidity by creating defined rules about something that is perhaps more nuanced. All seven participants mentioned this as the kind of preventative emotional risk management process. These are the type of "anecdotal" incidents about which Participant 6 spoke. However, having "good people" as staff does not necessarily prevent emotional or mental health risk from occurring, just as having "safe people" or "careful people" would not necessarily eliminate all physical risks. While participants consistently mentioned framing as the key management tool for addressing emotional risk, discussing emotional risks primarily at the course start may be limiting. Contrastingly, physical risks are

addressed at the beginning of a course too, yet they are also addressed as they arise and throughout the duration of the course.

In addition to policies being "anecdotal" with respect to emotional risk needs, specific and inclusive gender concerns are often not addressed. One participant shared how she is troubled by her organization's lack of gender inclusive language on their website. Although the organization is open to gender non-conforming youth participating in trips, their participation is treated on a case-by-case basis, and there is no publicly accessible acknowledgement or notification that this is the organization's internal policy. As with "missing items" on packing lists, when certain groups are omitted from the "normal" list, website, or policy, how can they be certain that they will be welcomed as a "full" participant? Others discussed "case by case" procedures when it came to students who may self-identify outside the gender binary:

> So the first section of time, um, everyone is in the same-gender tent group and, um, of course with people who are not, completely either-or genders, we take that into consideration and figure that out on a case by case basis, but um, they sleep in single-gender tent groups. (Participant 4, she/her/hers)

These omissions in practical policy and procedure, as with items that are omitted from packing lists, create an environment in which non-binary youth are "othered," and their experiences made to be extra-ordinary or excluded entirely. *Not* having explicit policies does not give the up-front acknowledgment that a program will be open or welcoming to gender variation.

Theme Seven: Challenge with Non-Binary Identities

Gendered risk shows up when non-binary identities are omitted. In Theme Two, I discussed the general use of the binary to discuss student youth. Here, I look at examples of when this binary usage intersected with non-binary identities, and how the labeling of students

can be associated with risk. Participants tended to assume the gender binary, and answered questions based on an understanding of male and female sexes presenting as masculine men and boys, and feminine women and girls. At the same time, just as there was a reluctance to making overtly stereotypical remarks or ones that could be seen as sexist, there was a distinct lack of the use of gender neutral language. Language referring to "both genders" and "girls and boys" was common (Participants 1, 2, 4, and 6); however, one interviewee did make an effort to correct her use of "bi-gender" to "multi-gender" (Participant 3). Participants' use of language that referred to "both genders" made apparent how language can affect how students are understood, policies that are made, and how risk is therefore gendered. In the packing lists, there was much more of a "neutralizing" of gender; with the exception of the all-girls camp (List 1), packing lists did not reference students' gender, but rather described youth instead as the "camper," the "participant," or the "teen."

> One participant shared an example of two non-cisgender and gender questioning students: Two female students who identified not completely cisgender female. […] They were both, uh, like physically female, um, but were kind of trying to figure out how they thought of themselves. Um, one identified herself as female to the group, but then later during the course she confided to me that she saw herself as lesbian. (Participant 4, she/her/hers)

In this example, the participant indicated that the first student "identified herself as female," and then recounted that the student later told her that she was lesbian. Her negation "but then... lesbian" to the fact that the student self-identified as female suggests that the student's sexuality did not conform to her initial "gender" identity or expression. This fits within the sex-gender-sexuality matrix (Butler, 1990), where sex defines gender, and gender dictates sexuality.

Participant 4 proceeded to provide more details about the second student:

> Um... she in her enrollment paperwork put 'they' as her preferred pronouns—so I guess I shouldn't be saying she this whole time. But, um, we didn't actually know that. Um, except for one of our I-team had happened to read that in her paperwork. But she... um, related to the group as a 'she,' and a female—she used female words to refer to herself. And, um, we were kind of wondering, like, do we advocate for her with the group? Do we try to change the culture, but she's not advocating for herself? And that was kind of weird. […] So it was already identified and established in the group that she was a she, and there was no question around it, like there wasn't even, like it never would have co—like it never came up. […] And when we transferred the group off to the next section after us we talked with, um, one of the incoming instructors about that situation, and she specifically tried to set up a comfortable space to give that student, like, permission to 'out,' and she never did. So. We were like, 'I don't know what to do with... I don't know how to best support this person.' […] Her mentor had a conversation with her about it. And she said: you know I prefer that, it's a preference but whatever, I don't care that much, but I don't feel strongly enough to make everybody do it. And so we couldn't tell if it was like, being nervous, or actually not having that strong of a preference. (Participant 4, she/her/hers)

With this student, Participant 4 had previously explained how this course was a multi-week trip, and was divided into multiple sections with different leaders on each segments; she was a leader for the group on just one of the middle sections. She describes that the student had made their pronoun preferences known pre-course, but leaders had either not seen or not been aware of the preference. When specifically asked about their pronouns by another instructor mid-way through

the course, the student had confirmed the preference, but said that they found it easier to stay with what was "already established." When the participant and the rest of the instructor team became aware of the student's preferences, there was conversation and concern for the well-being of the student, but there seemed to be a lack of understanding on how to practically handle the situation both with the student as well as with the group as a whole. She was aware that there may be need to "change the culture" to create a more welcoming space for the students' preferred gender expression and pronoun use, and yet she found it "weird" that the student was not advocating for themselves.

As with expectations that girls attend to and mitigate boys' conversations through cross-gender callouts, the above situation suggests that the student in question was largely responsible for creating and maintaining a safe space for themselves. Placing this level of responsibility on a student asks for immense emotional vulnerability and risk. The onus of responsibility was less on the leaders being attuned to the student's pronoun preferences, aware of group culture, educated on gender, and able to create the space needed among the other students. While there might be an assumption that girls and other marginalized genders are better able to "access" emotional vulnerability, this may be an inappropriate amount of responsibility for a teen entering a new environment with a group of peers. With reference to heterosexist bullying, Barnfield and Humberstone (2008) write that "The failure to establish safe working and learning environments, to tackle heterosexist bullying and the inappropriate use of language associated with sexuality and even to remain silent may only give a message of consent to heterosexist bullying" (38). The responsibility lies with the leaders not only to talk about what *not* to do, but also about what *to* do, which is a challenge facing the field:

We know what not to do, but I think that we're still struggling to figure out what, what to

> do. It's a lot of like, okay, this is what inclusion looks like and what it feels like, and here are some things that you can do to facilitate more of that. (Participant 6, he/him/his)

Speaking of their own experience with this gendered risk, one participant shared feelings of isolation and discomfort on courses and in the industry, which as an instructor, might provide insight to students' experiences:

> Do I like, do I belong here? Is this a place that even wants me... um.. to exist in this space? Because I don't fit into the like, the neat, like there's going to be boys' trips and there's going to be girls' trips. […] I just felt so alienated, there were comments that were made around me that made me feel like I didn't belong there. (Participant 7, they/them/theirs)

If a student feels that, at a core level, they are unwanted or do not belong on a trip, they may not be able to engage with the activities and learning of the course. And, when a student is uncertain whether they are safe to disclose their gender identity to leaders to the group, it adds another layer to the question of gendered risk.

Theme Eight: "Mom / Dad" Instructor Roles

Gendered risk also shows up in "mommy/daddy" leader roles, with students seeking support from instructors in a stereotypically gendered pattern, going to men for technical problems or physical risk and skill development, and to women for interpersonal dilemmas or emotional risk and skill development. Five participants explicitly named this specific set of roles performed by leaders on courses, whether by choice or through the assumptions and expectations of students and/or other leaders (Participants 1, 3, 4, 6, and 7). This shows gendered risk in part via assumptions about who will do what risk management, which is connected to the physical-masculine / emotional-feminine binary and the idea that women and girls "deal with" emotional

risks and men and boys with physical risks. Interestingly, Participant 7 drew attention to the idea that women are not the only ones who undertake the “mom” role; rather, the role is associated with femininity, or “less masculinity.” Gendered risk is visible through which (masculine/feminine) instructor is thought to handle which (physical/emotional) risks, inferring that there is a gendered division with regard to “whose” skills best address certain risk types.

This gendered risk becomes especially important when thinking of leaders as teachers and mentors of students. In their position, they are able to perpetuate, interrupt, or challenge the normative gender assumptions, expectations, and binary thinking as it relates to risk and skills. One participant briefly mentioned hard/soft skills in her definition of risk, as she described how to think about physical and emotional risks. This division between hard and soft skills is highly gendered. Warren and Loeffler (2006) define “hard skills” as technical skills, while “soft skills” are “interpersonal, communication, and leadership skills” (p. 107), which matches with participants' descriptions of the kinds of risk that are divided between the “mom” and “dad” roles that they either take on or are given while on course:

> I definitely see in the courses I've worked where I'm the only female, I am the one that students come to with emotional things. Hands down. Always. […] I know it's very easy for me, with a male co-instructor to fall into the good cop/bad cop role, where I'm the good cop, and they're the bad cop. (laughs) Like I'm looking out for the emotional safety, and they're laying down the law. It's very easy to fall into that. […] I do think that, uh, students who are struggling more, in this unfamiliar environment outdoors, tend to gravitate towards the female instructor. Unless the female instructor presents as very burly. […] Um, so I do think that students who are struggling feel emotionally safer with a female, and I think that is my femaleness, besides just my human traits of empathy and

> stuff. I think, because it's like, you know where you're sick, and miserable you want your mommy, (laughs) you know—we don't ask for our daddy, we ask for our mommy. And I've been called 'the mom' on a course more than once. And I've tried to combat that, and I also want to be present and supportive for the people, you know? (Participant 4, she/her/hers)

And:

> For the most part, from my perception, it is that typically that is a role that regardless of whether or not it is something that you're naturally predisposed to, um, if there is someone on the trip that's more feminine—being that like a person that's a woman or like a queer man—that that person is going to be designated as the person that will provide mental health support. […] I think it's something that typically men will just be like, um, 'you're just so much better at that than I am. (laughs) So I'm so glad that you're better at it than I am, so you can do it.' […] But for me it's never explicitly stated it's just like a, it's like a role that we both fall into. (Participant 7, they/them/theirs)

The kind of emotional work described in the mom/dad and good cop/bad cop scenarios seems more specific to youth trips, and goes beyond the emotional labor of adventure guides on trips who are tasked with ensuring safety, generating fun, and encouraging a sense of community (Sharpe, 2005). By playing these roles, leaders reinforce the gendered division of certain tasks, risks, and skills as being "for" certain students and not others based on gender. For a myriad of reasons, women are both expected to achieve the level of technical skill that men have, but without having access to the privileged advantages from which their male colleagues have benefitted (Warren and Loeffler, 2006). However, they are then placed into the "mom" role, teaching soft skills while men teach the "real" skills of the course (Jordan, 2018). Technical skills

are prioritized as a leadership asset, yet women are not given as much opportunity to use and practice those skills. Simultaneously, they are modeling for their youth participants a gendered role of managing the "lesser" emotional risks, all the while expecting girls to do the same, and initiating the same cycles by which boys can learn the technical skills of their male leaders more quickly and easily.

While none of the participants spoke of this "mom/dad" situation as enjoyable or even beneficial—rather the opposite seemed to be true—for many it seemed to simply be "the way things are." Sometimes, as Participant 7 mentioned, the roles were allocated by a masculine male colleague, who simply expects the woman or queer man co-instructor to handle emotional situations because "you're just better at it." This is consistent with literature that maintains that women are stereotyped to be "more nurturing and emotionally expressive" (Cottingham et al, 2015, p. 377), and emotional work is considered to be "women's work" and the "role of the mother in the family" (Gray, 2010, p. 350). Warren & Rheingold, (1993) write that there should be a balance of power in co-teacher relationships, which may need to be negotiated between instructors on each course (Vernon, 2011). As Lugg (2018) writes, "relational work" is "messy and complex," and it is also necessary work that enhances everyone's experience and, therefore, should be taken on and taken seriously by more than just women leaders.

Participants also spoke about trying to "change up" the gender roles that they typically "fall into," or that students expect of them. However, even when both leaders actively address and work to reverse these roles with each other's help, as described by Participant 4, the students were "thoroughly confused." In this way, the entrenched gender roles appear to be co-created by both students and instructors. Students go to the leader they assume is "responsible" for the risk/situation they are experiencing, and thereby perpetuate assumptions about gendered roles. At

the same time, Participant 6 discussed the practice of instructing field leaders to "reverse gender roles" in teaching technical and interpersonal lessons to youth does not show an absence of risk being gendered but an acknowledgement of and push-back against a gendered norm. This move shows gendered risk by upholding the idea that certain genders "do" specific risk management tasks.

An expectation that women perform the "mom" role on OAE courses relates to the expectation that girls provide emotional labor in the form of cross-gender callouts and take care of the emotional needs of the boys and the group as a whole. These expectations, based on the assumption that girls and women (and non-binary or feminine men) are "naturally better" at emotional or mental health risk management may be part of what grooms girls and women *to* be better at these skills. It stands to reason that if a girl has been trained to perform the emotional work needed by a group, she will reach adulthood with that skill more finely tuned than her male and masculine peers and colleagues.

The idea that these roles play a part in the mentorship of and modeling for youth by adult leaders strikes at the heart of why exploring how gender operates on youth OAE courses is important. Youth pay attention and watch their leaders, learning what is expected of them—as students, and as developing adults, engaging with their peers and the world. Youth and leaders are engaged in a "community of practice" while on course, with gender roles and expectations performed, observed, and transferred (Paechter, 2007). One participant commented that "They (adolescent girls) pay attention all the time. Like, 100% of the time, they're like, taking in these little cues that you're giving" (Participant 5). The issues raised about women's careers in the outdoor industry that are related to pay, advancement, leadership and responsibility are all observed by girls and boys on course, and are being learned through this community of practice.

Theme Nine: "How to Deal with Your Period in the Woods" and Hygiene Instructional Lessons

Gendered risk also shows up in discussions about hygiene. There appears to be an assumption that hygiene is a "girl issue" and that girls need to have better hygiene than boys. In the context of OAE courses, there is the danger that an inexperienced instructor who is put in charge of handling a gender issue they know little about could create additional risks for some students. "Period" conversations and issues of hygiene are interesting to discuss in an analysis of *gendered* risk, as they refer to differences in bodies based on sex rather than gender. However, talking about periods or personal hygiene becomes gendered when gender is conflated with sex; some packing lists illustrated this with the gendering of period products, bras, etc. In part, this stems from the stigma attached to menstruation, and the societal taboo against speaking about it in "mixed company" (Johnston-Robledo and Christler, 2013; Kowalski & Chapple, 2000). Many of the participants brought up the idea of periods and hygiene in the backcountry as a risk that is distinctly gendered, primarily by way of being a risk primarily experienced by girls more than boys, as Participant 4 described:

> Um, and what do you do if you get blood on your only pair of pants, because you're only bringing one pair of pants for a month, you know? Boys don't have to think about that. […] And, um, something that I've noticed with my male co-instructors is they, typically, don't go into enough detail when they talk about bathroom hygiene in the woods, um. It's just like, they give the overview, and that's all there is to it, and... done. And girls are just like... bu-wha-uh-uh... but they won't ask the question. Especially in a group setting. […] And I've even seen it where the male instructor has taught the 'how to deal with your period in the woods' as a, they're the, it's the male teaching that because, with the intent

> that we're breaking down the barriers of actually talking about this with the other gender. Um, but I... I don't know if that's actually that helpful, because males have never had to deal with it on their own, and they can't explain it very well. So on my last course, I didn't want to undermine my male co-instructor's bathroom talk, so I managed to find a ruse to get all the girls together, and go to the bathroom together, and then I showed them what I had in my toiletries bag and how I used it, and they were like 'Ooooh, Thank you!!! You should do this on every course you work because this made all the difference for us, cause after he gave that class, like we still had no clue what we were supposed to do.' […] I did it as, um, not a formal lesson, just a like, we happen to all be in the woods together at the same time, so I just showed this, but I like, tried to make it happen that way. Umm, but as far as like, I think it's... it's, in the... in the feeling I've gotten from other instructors, it's kind of discouraged to have a whole group lesson, and then say 'Okay girls, come over, this is now your lesson,' because then it makes everybody see the girls as more high maintenance, and... um, like it, like it puts a stigma that doesn't necessarily need to be there. Um, but I do think it's important to speak to girls specifically, and I also think it's important for it to be all girls, because they're not going to ask their questions otherwise. Like I think, I don't know, I just feel like the girls get a better opportunity to know what they need to know if it's a female instructor with all female students having that conversation. But it doesn't necessarily need to be... like, a public, like the whole group is seeing you have this conversation. That's not helpful. […] So that's a risk that girls take on that boys don't. Dealing with their period in the woods. (Participant 4, she/her/hers)

The challenge raised by this participant is how to teach students what they need to know without

making a public scene that portrays them as “high needs” or additional to a masculine norm, and yet that also recognizes the stigma attached to the conversation and ensures a safe space in which students may freely ask questions and have their needs met. By segregating students, leaders may communicate not just the information, but also the “guidelines for communication” and what should and should not be talked about in a public forum (Johnston-Robledo & Chrisler, 2013, p. 12). In this, the need to address physical risk concerns of some students intersects with emotional risk and group dynamics, in relation to a highly stigmatized and gendered issue.

The idea that girls may experience an additional risk on their course that their boy peers may not experience suggests that this is a “new” risk that does not apply to all students. In many participant examples, it became evident that *the way* bathroom and hygiene “lessons” are delivered to students can be gendered, and can create added risk to students of all genders, based on gendered assumptions. Menstruation activists argue that not all women menstruate and not all people who menstruate are women, which creates a challenge for a program with respect to who teaches what, and to whom (Bobel, 2010). At the same time, viewing all personal hygiene as solely a “girl” problem, because “girls, physically, are much more prone to infections” [4], regardless of who does the teaching, excludes boys from conversations about cleanliness, whether intentionally or by framing the lesson as “for girls.” This could lead to situations like the one Participant 6 described:

> Whereas, within men, there wasn't a conversation around that (personal hygiene). It was like, ah, okay, like, you know, and then we started looking at some of the physical issues, like self-care issues that the young men might have, in terms of, like, I've seen young men get yeast infections in their butt because, like, they don't take care of it, and they don't keep themselves clean, um, and so like, looking at it and going like, no this does

happen for both genders. (Participant 6, he/him/his)

This is an example where because of assumptions about personal hygiene risks being solely applicable to girls, boys are left out of the conversation and without necessary information. Gendering a risk like self-care and hygiene can create problems for those who are not considered "at risk."

The gendered dynamic between the leaders is important to note here. The idea of wanting to "break down barriers" by not separating the group can actually creating learning gaps for the students in the process. Participant 4 shared that her organization seemed to be purposively combatting making girls seem "high maintenance" within the group by not having "their" hygiene lesson as extra or additional. They do this by having a male instructor teach the entire group the hygiene lesson that includes instruction on periods. However, in trying to create an atmosphere of gender "not mattering," students receive less information than they need, because the lesson was passed to men who have no experience or expertise in how to practically deal with menstruation—in the wilderness or otherwise. The idea of breaking down gendered norms by having male leaders teach about bathroom, hygiene, and periods is particularly interesting, because it seems to be more about the gender of the instructor, and less about the quality of information relayed to the students. Peranovic and Bentley (2017) found that men and boys have "largely negative, stereotypical, and uninformed views" on periods (p. 114), given that they are often not provided with accurate or accessible information about menstruation. Likely, as in the case of this participant, women instructors present this hygiene lesson based on personal experience and knowledge; someone who does not menstruate, then, may have a more difficult time. Simultaneously, the boys who are present are likely hearing this how-to and practical information for the first time, due to widespread sexual education segregation practices

(Johnston-Robledo & Chrisler, 2013). And yet, while boys and men may need more accessible and accurate information from adults (parents and educators) to de-stigmatize menstruation, is outdoor adventure education the place to do it?

Theme Ten: Change Stories

Gendered risk shows up in the gendered assumptions and expectations that girls "grow beyond" limiting femininity. This risk is related to how certain kinds of gender presentations and expressions are experienced by leaders, and what expectations there are that that student change their actions or behaviour. Among the participants, the language about transformation emerged mostly in reference to traditional understandings of gender and gender performances, rather than as "growing up" experiences. Participant 1 shared the following story:

> I had a girl that kind of fit a traditional model […] I remember right from day one she kind of presented herself as kind of the little prissy, you know, girly girl. […] she'd be out there kind of primping and doing her thing on these trips that we were doing with crews in the woods, um, and we were coming up on a wilderness trip. So this was one little thing that played out. The wilderness trip, I was told, that you know, I won't be able to go on the wilderness trip. And initially, the information she was giving my instructors was, you know, there's no place to use a hair dryer out there, you know, and I won't be able to use my curling iron, and and, what am I going to do about my make-up, and, um you know, and it's like: you know, you're not going to need any of that stuff you know, and there's no place to plug that shit in out there anyways, so don't worry about it. (laughs) […] Um, she wound up going out, she absolutely was a rock star, you know, after she kind of settled into it. Uh, she came back, and she wound up actually continuing with her girly girl aspects, uh she was homecoming queen in [her hometown], uh, she was

> involved in a lot of sports at school and everything, um, I mean she's a great kid, and she wound up actually um, getting a job working for the US forest service, on the fire crew. […] But.. yeah, it was a pretty major transformation, but when you look at going into things, you have to be willing to say that what people are presenting is what they're willing to show you. And it may be accurate, and it may be malleable. (Participant 1, he/him/his)

The idea presented here was that this student's girly-girlness assumes masculinity as the neutral norm, and this perpetuates the notion that girls need to "grow" to fit that norm. This parallels an assumption that boys fit naturally and easily into an outdoor environment, and that girls need to become "conceptually male" to fit into it (Newbery, 2003). That this story was told as a "success" story highlights the notion that discarding feminine attributes makes a girl more of a "success" on OAE courses. It is important to recognize, too, that departing from certain gendered traits or identities may be or seem dangerous for some students, if that transformation is seen as a transgression, resulting in marginalization (Robinson, 2013) by peers or family. Girls must balance being seen as competent, without being stigmatized as a "tomboy and an outsider" (With-Nielsen & Pfister, 2011, p. 653). That girls might lose their femininity hints that gender performances might be a factor "at risk." For example:

> I had a student once, and this was at (a prior organization), and within like the first hour she was like, 'I don't like the outdoors, I'm a diva,' and I said to her, 'I'm so glad you're here, because we need more divas in the outdoors,' and then by the end of the week, she was like, 'I like the outdoors.' And I was like, 'Good, because now you're an outdoor diva.' (Participant 7, they/them/theirs)

The rejection of the outdoors because of its perceived conflict with her identity as a "diva" is

similar to what Paechter (2010) observes about the resistance against and embrace of "girly-girl" or "tomboy" characteristics, in order to claim and maintain a specific identity. Participant 7, however, offered a new perspective on how "girly girls" might fit in an OAE course as a necessary member of the group, rather than a too-feminine or ill-fitting participant, needing to change. Participants shared other stories that ran counter to the typical transformation story. One such story was recounted by Participant 5 about her choice to wear pink on trips in order to perform one version of femininity that she sees as underrepresented on courses. While this may not have been typical for her in the outdoors or in her personal life, wearing pink was a calculated choice designed to demonstrate a way of "being" in the outdoors that contradicted societally gendered stereotypes, and to encourage students to present in the way that they desire.

Summary of Chapters Four and Five

I presented the themes from my research in two parts. In Chapter Four, I laid out three conceptual tools by which risk may be gendered on outdoor adventure education courses. I identified how hierarchical language may be a tool for gendering and how the construction of risk as a physical/emotional, or a physical/not-physical, binary may parallel and affirm a masculine/feminine binary. I also discussed the perpetuation of societal assumptions about boys as naturally risky and girls as being naturally mature, and the expectation of girls as responsible for the management of emotional risk presented to them and/or the group by boys' words and actions. In Chapter Five, I explored seven practical situations that illustrate where this gendered risk is visible in outdoor adventure education programming. These include situations in which gender is seen as a risk, as in girls and feminine students experiencing heightened targeting of inappropriate conversations; preferences for mixed-gender groups because of the benefit of having girls moderate boys' behaviour; risk policies that prioritize physical above emotional

risks, or that assume the heterosexual matrix; situations in which non-binary identities or expressions ignored, omitted, or underserved because of instructors' lack of knowledge of what to do; the expectation of and adherence to gendered instructor roles; the ways in which hygiene lessons are constructed and delivered for students; and change stories that prioritize certain gender expressions and performances above others. In the following chapter, I discuss possible implications that these themes may have for OAE organizations and their youth programming.

Chapter Six: Discussion

My thesis builds on the work of critical feminist scholars, including their examinations of language and its relationship to power structures, their exploration of binaries as they relate to gender, and their analyses of socially constructed gender norms and how they limit and marginalize individuals and groups. As such, in this work I have focused on the systems and structures that uphold gender and risk, a key instructional and experiential element in the outdoor adventure education field. I have suggested that the ways in which OAE practitioners think about risk are connected to the ways in which we think about gender, implicitly and explicitly, and have offered examples of where gendered risk may be visible on OAE courses, and how this connection may affect youth experience and participation.

What initially drew me to this research topic was personal experience. Now I return to reflection, considering how my thinking has grown, shifted, and deepened. In this final chapter, I assess how I have approximated my research goals. I discuss what I have learned through the process of interpreting the primary data I collected, including what worked well and what I had trouble with. I also present ideas for future research that would enhance understanding of gender in youth OAE programming, and offer recommendations for the application of this research in the outdoor industry and on youth adventure education courses specifically.

Research Summary

This research critically analyzes how gender affects risk processes, procedures, and policies in outdoor adventure education. With the goal of applying critical feminist and gender theories to the outdoor adventure education process, in this thesis I paid attention to how language, binary logic, and societal norms work together to gender risk. From these themes, I developed a theory that begins to address how risk may be gendered on OAE courses with youth.

First, I discussed the use of hierarchical language, and the gendering practices of order, labeling, and omission that places girls and girls' needs as external or additional to a "neutral" masculine norm. Next, I examined how an adherence to a rigid binary in the definition and conceptualization of risk parallels and perpetuates a gender binary that prioritizes masculinity and boys, and delegitimizes femininity, girls, and non-binary or agender youth. Third, I explored how social norms provide stereotypes, assumptions, and expectations that gender risk on OAE courses. I then discussed seven practices and processes that illustrate how risk is gendered on courses and with youth participants: gender as a risk, group composition, risk policies, challenge with non-binary identities, mom/dad instructor roles, "bathroom" instructional lessons, and transformation stories.

While I originally thought that this research would be most effective if centered on the experience of youth via youth as interview participants, I found value in speaking with adults working in the industry. I was able to see how their experiences, beliefs, and values impacted their actions and how they interacted and engaged with youth. When I began to conceptualize this work, I was singularly focused on studying just girls and girls' experiences in the outdoors and outdoor education. I soon recognized that in order to consider any element of outdoor adventure education as it pertains to girls, I would need to think in terms of gender more broadly, and consider how masculinities and femininities are non-mutually exclusive performances. This helped me understand participants' stories as not actively or intentionally marginalizing girls, but rather as being part of a system where femininity is low on the hierarchy of value. Thinking about gender has allowed me to see how "girls" are not a special or unique participant on OAE courses, but rather that femininity generally is minimized and deprioritized.

I have learned that the ways in which risk may be gendered are interconnected and

relational. For example, the concept of "girls as mature" shows up not only in the use of language, but is also based on societal assumptions and expectations. Similarly, using (or not using) gender-binary language signals challenges with the existence of non-binary gender identities and ideas. To use Becker's trick of thinking about society (and problems) as a machine, if gendered risk is seen as a product of a "risk gendering" machine, then there are many cogs, wheels, and levers that have worked together to create that specific outcome. An assumption may turn into an expectation, which may trigger particular language use, which may then prompt an action or situation present in one of the seven themes presented in Chapter Five. Use of language may be a means by which to communicate assumptions and expectations; it can also be an indicator that assumptions or expectations may be present. Rather than see any of these patterns as separate silos of thought or results, it may be better that readers see them as multiple ways of describing the data set that emerged; they each attempt to make sense of the information from different perspectives, and show how those perspectives interact, overlap, and inform each other.

What I thought I knew about gender has shifted, too. My understanding of the ways in which gender is performed and how those performances are situated within a societal hierarchy has deepened. I have learned that gendering risk as masculine or feminine is only one half of understanding this project. The other half is to think about and explore what is assumed and expected of gender, and how identifying and labeling stereotypes alters treatment of youth participants. Boys and men hesitate to acknowledge and express or "do" femininities, and girls and women sometimes conform to masculine-dominated spaces by shedding or suppressing some of their own femininities. I have been aware of the assumption that "gendering" means "of girls," much like gender studies is assumed to be really about women's studies. I have learned that gendering can be assumed to be negative, or something to avoid, which is not always

necessary. However, when gendered becomes synonymous with “feminized,” or used as a hierarchical tool, wherein items or ideas or risks gendered masculine are prioritized, and items, ideas, and risks gendered feminine are minimized, then it matters.

Since I began this research, movements within North American society generally and the outdoor industry specifically have shifted the conversation from what I originally thought it might be. When I began, I was proposing work that had largely not been done elsewhere. In academia, the last few years have seen the development of not just research about women and women's experiences in the outdoors, but also critical explorations of gender *as* a construct to be studied theoretically and in OAE practice. In 2018, the same community of outdoor education researchers published a collection of over fifty written contributions from over eighty collaborators, all turning their attention and voices to gender issues within the outdoor industry (Gray & Mitten, 2018). Outside of academia, the last two years has seen the emergence of the #metoo movement in the film and media industries and beyond, REI (a large outdoor equipment retail store in the USA) began a women outside initiative, conferences for women as adventurers and OAE leaders and participants are gaining traction, and an outdoor lifestyle magazine created by and for adventuring women was founded, to name a few of the cultural shifts in recent years. I am encouraged by these movements, and by the idea that this research can join the conversation at this time. One participant expressed curiosity about “how this summer plays out, in light of the the past year's events” (Participant 5), referring to movements like #metoo and the shifting focus of outdoor retailers and companies to be more inclusive of gender and marginalized bodies. These movements are not just about sexualized violence, or women participating in outdoor adventure; they are about the abuse of power, and recognizing and correcting imbalances of power.

At the same time, in their "how to" toolkit on gender inclusivity in outdoor education, written fifteen years ago, Delay and Dyment (2003) addressed similar topics as could be called for today: understanding competence and confidence, labeling traditionally feminine traits as positive, and hiring and training socially aware role models. Articles that were written ten, twenty, and even thirty years ago could be read as if they were current. Authors I have read and shared here explore similar topics over decades, and while noting that there are more women participating both in these academic conversations, many of the issues are unfortunately still the same. Gray and Mitton (2018) write that while women are becoming more prominent in outdoor education, they feel invisible. While not the focus of my research, the stories shared by women and genderqueer interview participants supported this: they recognized that they were in a "dude enterprise" (Participant 3), they questioned "if this was a space they were even wanted" (Participant 7), and they took responsibility for situations in which "if I weren't a woman it would have been better" by saying "he wasn't intentionally sexist... it was just how we played off each other" (Participant 4). If these are representative of the experiences of women and queer men in the field, and if we accept theories of mentorship and youth learning from observing and interacting with their adult instructors, what lessons are being taught to girls and gender-nonconforming youth on outdoor adventure education courses?

I have learned that studying gender in the outdoors goes well beyond thinking about girls and their experiences. Non-binary, queer and agender youth, trans youth, and feminine boys—or anyone with an identity that does not conform to typical constructions of masculinity—may well experience difficulties in pursuing outdoor education. Beyond gender, though, the idea of "queering the outdoors," or challenging the industry to think beyond its conceptualizations of normal, might also look at the white affluence of outdoor education. Not only are most leaders

and participants men and boys—they are also overwhelmingly white and wealthy or middle-class (Humberstone, 2000). Considering intersectionality in the outdoors would mean moving beyond an analysis of gender to take into account the ways in which race, class, and sexuality interact with outdoor education. I touched briefly on ideas of mental health, sexuality, and sexualized violence/safety in my analysis of risk, but each of these could be further studied and understood. The attention I gave each remained on the surface, and they could be explored more deeply.

Future Research

Indeed, each of the seven "intersecting" practical themes explored in Chapter Five could be the focus of future research. The expectation that women should undertake emotional labour —whether as girls through cross-gender callouts or as women leaders through playing the "mom" role—maintains gender norms and the paradigm in which women are subordinates to or in service of men. The issue of emotional work also emerges in the decisions that inform what kind of group demographic an organization will work with: whether considering gender as a means to achieve the end of a more peaceful and easy to manage group, or as a source of learning and challenge to the status quo itself.

Taking this same research further might necessitate more youth-engaged research methods. If I were to continue this research, I would delve into two specific sources. First, I would examine youth perspectives, and see how youth participants experience risk and gender in OAE courses. Second, I would further analyze organizational documents. This time, I would examine risk management policies, as well as instructor training modules. Future researchers might consider other intersections that affect youth participants, including mental health, non-binary, transgender and agender identities, sexuality, race, and class. These all intersect not only with risk, but also with other key elements of adventure education. A focused study on specific

performances of masculinities and femininities on courses might be illuminating, as would an inquiry into how gendered roles are enacted and understood by participants and leaders. I find myself echoing past scholars who have called for comprehensive critical research and dialogue on a wide range of intersecting and overlapping ideas.

Recommendations for Outdoor Leaders and Organizations

In one of my final interviews, a participant who is a program director asked about what I was finding, and how these ideas were taking shape from the multiple perspectives I was gathering. From the beginning of this research, it was just this type of question, from individuals in just this kind of position, that I was hoping to ultimately be able to address. The third stated goal of this research, and the driving one from the beginning, was to find, articulate, or synthesize practical suggestions that would be helpful in the creation and delivery of programs for youth. Having done this research, and with the development of the theory that risk is gendered through the conceptions that leaders have about gender and of risk, my ideas for how this work may be useful to organizations can be summarized through a call for increased education and training, and self-reflection. Engaging OAE leaders and future leaders with critical thinking of gender and gendered risk could help create spaces of increased inclusion for youth participants, as well as spaces that promote engaged experiential learning.

A more specific set of recommendations for outdoor adventure educators and organizations would include:

1. Training instructors and leaders on gender literacy: offering strategies for understanding and identifying stereotypes, exploring the ways they show up on courses, and teaching how to name, challenge and dismantle them.
2. Challenging instructors and leaders to self-reflect and understand their own roles in

maintaining gendered expectations.

3. Expanding and creating policies, procedures, and protocols for non-physical risks, giving careful reflection and consideration to word order, choice, and what/who may be left out.
4. Addressing labels, order, and omissions in written texts. How are youth's specific needs being represented, acknowledged, listed among the overall group's needs?

The theory that risk is gendered through the use of hierarchical language, a perpetuation of binary thinking through a risk binary, and the presence of societal assumptions and expectations may be useful for creating OAE courses that are sensitive to issues of gender and how gender impacts the lives of students and staff alike. Teaching leaders about how risk is gendered, and what this gendering may mean for students and students' experience on course, could be part of pre-season leadership training: a model wherein words, assumptions, and expectations are challenged, empowering leaders of all genders to look at their courses through a gendered lens.

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Appendix A: Written Consent Form

Understanding the Gendered Nature of Risk in Outdoor Adventure Programs

You have been invited to participate in a study entitled Understanding the Gendered Nature of Risk in Outdoor Adventure Programs that is being conducted by Elisabeth Tilstra.

Elisabeth Tilstra is a Master's student in the department of Child and Youth Care at the University of Victoria and you may contact her if you have further questions via telephone (_____) or email (_____).

As a graduate student, I am required to conduct research as part of the requirements for a degree in Child and Youth Care. It is being conducted under the supervision of Doug Magnuson. You may contact my supervisor at (_____) or (_____).

Purpose and Objectives
The purpose of this research project is to contribute to the literature on female experience in outdoor education. A primary objective of the research is to develop a theory about the gendered nature of risk in outdoor adventure education. By looking at how risk is understood, managed, and addressed with youth, this research will garner a sense of the ways in which risk is gendered, both from an organizational perspective, as well as an individual experiential level. This will contribute in part to the larger question of how outdoor adventure education is gendered, and how that gendering is experienced by adolescent participants.

Importance of this Research
Research of this type is important because there is a hole in the research regarding girls' place in outdoor adventure; what little research exists largely focuses on adult female leaders' experience, rather than that of adolescent participants. The gendered nature of outdoor adventure and adventure education have not been well researched, especially in regards to participant experience. The research of this study has the opportunity to add an important (and missing) piece to the current and growing conversation.

Additionally, learning more about how outdoor adventure education is gendered, how this is experienced by and affects adolescent participants, and developing a theory for the gendered nature of risk within outdoor experiences may result in tangible ways to better support youth participants of outdoor adventure programs. Both in its contributions to a minimally studied field, as well as the potential to positively impact programs' practice, this study has the opportunity to be substantive and useful.

Participants Selection
You are being asked to participate in this study because you work in the outdoor adventure education industry, either as an outdoor trip leader, or within an administrative/organizational leadership capacity.

What is involved
If you consent to voluntarily participate in this research, your participation will include

participating in an in-person interview conducted by Elisabeth. If a face-to-face interview is not feasible, due to distance or time restraints, then the interview will be conducted either over the phone or via a web-based technology, depending on what is most convenient for the interviewee.

Audio-tapes and written notes will be taken during interviews, and a transcription will be made after the interview to assist in analysis.

Inconvenience
My hope is that participation in this study will not be of major inconvenience to you; however, choosing to participate will include a time commitment of scheduling and conducting the interview. I appreciate your willingness to fit me into your schedule.

Risks
There are no known or anticipated risks to you by participating in this research.

Benefits
The potential benefits of your participation in this research include being part of research that has the potential to benefit our field of work. Your data can be made available you if you would like.

Voluntary Participation
Your participation is entirely voluntary. You can choose whether or not you wish to participate, and you can decide at any time to stop participating or withdraw from this study.

Researcher's Relationship with Participants
If there is a relationship between the researcher and participant, the following steps to prevent coercion will been taken: acknowledging the relationship and potential conflict or influence; participant's verbal consent that she or he understands the choice to participate or opt out, as well as the ability to withdraw themselves from the research at any point.

Anonymity
In terms of protecting your anonymity, a pseudonym of your choosing can be used in the analysis of this data. Additionally, information about your employer/organization can be described but not named.

Confidentiality
Your confidentiality and the confidentiality of the data will be protected to the best of the researcher's abilities, through maintaining sole access to any copies of data produced and protecting the identity of participants. Limitations to this confidentiality may exist if the professional position of participants are well-known in the community, or the participant became aware of the research via another participant.

Dissemination of Results
As I am completing my Master's degree, the results of this study will be used for the completion of my thesis, and published online through the University of Victoria. Subsequent publications may take place.

Disposal of Data
Data from this study will be disposed of after a period of seven years.

Contacts
At any point, you may reach me, the primary researcher, at (_____) or (_____).
You may also contact my supervisor, Doug Magnuson, at (_____) or (_____).

In addition, you may verify the ethical approval of this study, or raise any concerns you might have, by contacting the Human Research Ethics Office at the University of Victoria (_____).

Your signature below indicates that you understand the above conditions of participation in this study, that you have had the opportunity to have your questions answered by the researchers, and that you consent to participate in this research project.

Name of Participant	Signature	Date

A copy of this consent will be left with you, and a copy will be taken by the researcher.

Appendix B: Verbal Consent Form

Understanding the Gendered Nature of Risk in Outdoor Adventure Programs

You have been invited to participate in a study entitled Understanding the Gendered Nature of Risk in Outdoor Adventure Programs that is being conducted by Elisabeth Tilstra.

Elisabeth Tilstra is a Master's student in the department of Child and Youth Care at the University of Victoria and you may contact her if you have further questions via telephone (_____) or email (_____).

As a graduate student, I am required to conduct research as part of the requirements for a degree in Child and Youth Care. It is being conducted under the supervision of Doug Magnuson. You may contact my supervisor at (_____) or (_____).

Purpose and Objectives
The purpose of this research project is to contribute to the literature on female experience in outdoor education. A primary objective of the research is to develop a theory about the gendered nature of risk in outdoor adventure education. By looking at how risk is understood, managed, and addressed with youth, this research will garner a sense of the ways in which risk is gendered, both from an organizational perspective, as well as an individual experiential level. This will contribute in part to the larger question of how outdoor adventure education is gendered, and how that gendering is experienced by adolescent participants.

Importance of this Research
Research of this type is important because there is a hole in the research regarding girls' place in outdoor adventure; what little research exists largely focuses on adult female leaders' experience, rather than that of adolescent participants. The gendered nature of outdoor adventure and adventure education have not been well researched, especially in regards to participant experience. The research of this study has the opportunity to add an important (and missing) piece to the current and growing conversation.

Additionally, learning more about how outdoor adventure education is gendered, how this is experienced by and affects adolescent participants, and developing a theory for the gendered nature of risk within outdoor experiences may result in tangible ways to better support youth participants of outdoor adventure programs. Both in its contributions to a minimally studied field, as well as the potential to positively impact programs' practice, this study has the opportunity to be substantive and useful.

Participants Selection
You are being asked to participate in this study because you work in the outdoor adventure education industry, either as an outdoor trip leader, or within an administrative/organizational leadership capacity.

What is involved
If you consent to voluntarily participate in this research, your participation will include

participating in an in-person interview conducted by Elisabeth. If a face-to-face interview is not feasible, due to distance or time restraints, then the interview will be conducted either over the phone or via a web-based technology, depending on what is most convenient for the interviewee. Audio-tapes and written notes will be taken during interviews, and a transcription will be made after the interview to assist in analysis.

Inconvenience
My hope is that participation in this study will not be of major inconvenience to you; however, choosing to participate will include a time commitment of scheduling and conducting the interview. I appreciate your willingness to fit me into your schedule.

Risks
There are no known or anticipated risks to you by participating in this research.

Benefits
The potential benefits of your participation in this research include being part of research that has the potential to benefit our field of work. Your data can be made available you if you would like.

Voluntary Participation
Your participation is entirely voluntary. You can choose whether or not you wish to participate, and you can decide at any time to stop participating or withdraw from this study.

Researcher's Relationship with Participants
If there is a relationship between the researcher and participant, the following steps to prevent coercion will been taken: acknowledging the relationship and potential conflict or influence; participant's verbal consent that she or he understands the choice to participate or opt out, as well as the ability to withdraw themselves from the research at any point.

Anonymity
In terms of protecting your anonymity, a pseudonym of your choosing can be used in the analysis of this data. Additionally, information about your employer/organization can be described but not named.

Confidentiality
Your confidentiality and the confidentiality of the data will be protected to the best of the researcher's abilities, through maintaining sole access to any copies of data produced and protecting the identity of participants. Limitations to this confidentiality may exist if the professional position of participants are well-known in the community, or the participant became aware of the research via another participant.

Dissemination of Results
As I am completing my Master's degree, the results of this study will be used for the completion of my thesis, and published online through the University of Victoria. Subsequent publications may take place.

Disposal of Data

Data from this study will be disposed of after a period of seven years.

Contacts
At any point, you may reach me, the primary researcher, at (_____) or (_____).
You may also contact my supervisor, Doug Magnuson, at (_____) or (_____).

In addition, you may verify the ethical approval of this study, or raise any concerns you might have, by contacting the Human Research Ethics Office at the University of Victoria (_____).

Appendix C: Sample Interview Questions

For Outdoor Leaders:

- Context: what kind of trips do you lead?
  - Make-up of students, staff, etc?
  - Where lead trips, and for how long?
- What is your or your organization's definition of risk?
- What risks do you consider as you prepare for trips?
- What risks may your students undergo before or after the trip, related to attending?
- How does your organization prepare you to handle the the potential risks that the students may face?
- What staff training is required to manage physical, emotional, and social risks of youth participants?
- Have you led single and mixed-gender trips? What differences (if any) have you noticed?
- What kind of problems and situations do you plan for when guiding a group of girls? Of Boys?
- How are risks expressed to the participants?
- What are the expectations on the students to manage their own risk(s)?
- What risks are considered to be "student managed," and what are "adult managed?"
- How are students made aware of risks before coming on the trip?
- What kind of risks are addressed prior to arrival/trip?
- What kind of objects are the students asked to bring/not bring that address possible risks faced on course?
- How is the bringing of these objects handled? (ie, a student shows up with electronics, cotton *everything,* or perfume/cologne)

For Outdoor Administrators:

- What is your or your organization's definition of risk?
- What risks do you consider as you set up trips?
- How does your organization prepare staff to handle the the potential risks that the students may face?
- What training is required to manage risks of youth participants?
- What risks may your students undergo before or after the trip, related to attending?
- How are possible risks relayed to students prior to trips?
- What are the expectations of the students to manage their own risks?
- What kind of risks are considered for an all girls trip vs and all boys trip?
- How is emotional risk understood by the organization, and translated to trip leaders?