A QUALITATIVE EXPLORATION OF FEMALE SURFERS: RECREATION SPECIALIZATION, MOTIVATIONS, AND PERSPECTIVES

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ABSTRACT

A QUALITATIVE EXPLORATION OF FEMALE SURFERS: RECREATION SPECIALIZATION, MOTIVATIONS, AND PERSPECTIVES

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This current study utilized recreation specialization and leisure motivation theory to explore the meanings, perspectives, and behaviors among female surfers. Despite numerous studies previously published regarding recreation specialization and leisure motivation related to activity participation, little research has been conducted on the activity of surfing from a female perspective. Data for this study were collected using in-depth, semi- structured interviews of nine women surfers from the California Central Coast. Content analyses of the data involved coding and identifying key themes, patterns, and categories. The dominant themes significant within recreation specialization included past participation (e.g., preceding activities to eventual participation and wave/swell conditions), perceived skills (i.e., skills important to surfing, perceived skill level), commitment (e.g., central to life activity, central leisure activity, affective attachment, and adoption of social/cultural values), and enduring involvement (e.g., attraction and sensory enjoyment). The major themes that emerged from data specific to leisure motivation included initial attraction (e.g., observing others), initial motivation to participate/actively pursue (e.g., desirable setting and sensory enjoyment) and enduring motivation (e.g., achievement/stimulation, sensory enjoyment, anticipation, attraction and

flow). Major themes emerged from the results of this study identify the varying styles of involvement in the participants. Additionally, results revealed the behaviors and feminine perspectives of participants that identified the meanings and experiences associated with these categories. Participants identified the pre-activity routines they engage in to prepare for surfing addressed how surfing provides them opportunities for relational leisure and self-determined leisure. Lastly, participants' revealed factors that constrain participation and opportunities for relational and autonomous experiences.

Keywords: female perspectives, female surfers, leisure behavior, motivation, recreation specialization, surfing

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“Out of the water I am nothing….”

-Duke Kanhanamoku-

To My Parents, Emil and Marlene Nourbakhsh.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This study will use in-depth interviewing to understand the phenomenological meanings and behaviors of female surfers on the central coast communities of California. This first chapter presents the background of the study, identifies the problem of the study, describes the study's significance to leisure research, and defines special terms used throughout the thesis.

Background of Study

This section of the introduction addresses the developments and changes in the sport of surfing as it relates to industry growth and female participation. A brief overview of the two theories, recreation specialization and leisure motivation, which served as the groundwork of this study, are discussed.

Marine recreation, a burgeoning sector of the leisure and recreation industry, includes activities such as boating, sailing, fishing, diving, snorkeling, surfing, and kayaking (Jennings, 2003). Jennings suggested that each marine-based activity attracts an assortment of participants with varying behaviors, attitudes, and preferences. Differences observed in marine activity participation include level of specialization (e.g., skills and experience levels), choice of location for the pursuit of the activity, utilization of equipment (i.e. requiring minimal or substantial financial expense depending on skill level of the participants and type of activity pursued), and motivational factors (Jennings, 2003).

In general, levels of participation in marine recreation are difficult to ascertain because a various number of sports and participants have not been accurately reported

(Jennings, 2003). However, research indicates participation in marine based activities is on the rise. The National Survey on Recreation and the Environment (NSRE) for Marine Recreation (Leeworth & Wiley, 2001) documented that over 43% (or 89 million) people ages 16 and older participated in at least one of 19 marine outdoor recreation activities/settings. In addition, although the NSRE has not published the 2005 study, they have projected an increase as high as 26% of people age 16 and older that will participate in some marine based activity from 2001 to 2005. They also projected that participants in marine activities would further increase to 39% from 2005 to 2010 (Leeworth, Vernon, Bowker, Hospital, & Stone, 2005).

One segment of marine recreation, the activity of surfing, is a developing and growing market (Darrow, 2006). The diverse motivations, behaviors, and attitudes of the surfing population have quickly become an important commodity for industry professionals and recreation managers, especially where females are concerned (Darrow, 2006). In other words, surfers have unique preferences and orientations regarding the waves they like to surf, what surfboards they like ride, and the type of equipment (i.e., wetsuits, traction pads, surf leashes) they utilize. Retail and recreation companies have taken advantage of the rising consumption of surf related gear and have increased their products, goods, and services for surfers.

Until recently, surfing was a sport dominated by men. In the United States, women made up just five percent of the surfing population in the mid-1990s but by the end of that decade the figure climbed to 15% (Booth, 2001). Booth (2001) suggested that surfers earn prestige and respect among their peers when they have mastered ardent characteristics that may include combinations of "skill, muscular strength, endurance,

cunning, aggression, toughness, and above all, courage" (p. 4). Most men consider this description of strength and physical competence as a masculine trait. Not confined to surfing, comparatively speaking, women are deemed as frail, delicate, passive, and neurotic; therefore in some respects not able to master such power and skill (Booth, 2001; Krauss, 1997). Krauss (1997) suggested women have been regarded and treated as subordinate to males in a variety of respects. He stated, "Women have been considered to be fragile, overly emotional, lacking in technical or business-related skills, and suited chiefly for domestic tasks, such as raising children or maintaining households" (p. 116).

Despite the gendered stereotypes listed above, over the past several decades, a significant shift in gender-related recreation programming has occurred (Bialeschki & Henderson, 1993; Henderson, 1992; Henderson, Bialeschki, Shaw, & Freysinger, 1996). Krauss (1997) believed girls and women increasingly have more opportunities for participation and growth of skills and experience in a variety of activities (i.e. recreation, sports, politics, education, professional careers).

Important to this recent influx of opportunities is an increase in research that has investigated gender differences in sport or recreation experiences (Levy, 2002). Although gender research may enable managers and recreation industry professionals to effectively offer quality services for the growing population of females, it also has addressed the female leisure experience in comparison to the male experience (Henderson et al., 1996; Levy, 2002; Little, 2002). For this reason, gendered research may provide valuable information about the female experiences however it could limit an understanding of the female perspectives of overall leisure participation (Henderson et al., 1996; Levy, 2002; Little, 2002).

Research focusing specifically on female leisure participation may offer more information and a stronger comprehension of women's recreation experiences. Concurrently, using in-depth interviews to investigate the meanings females experience in recreation activities may help determine the benefits of participation (Levy, 2002). Specifically, investigating how specialization affects motivations of women will provide further insight into the process of involvement in the male dominated activity of surfing and add to the current body of knowledge of female leisure motivation and specialization levels. The motivation a female has to participate in male dominated activities (e.g., surfing, boxing, rugby) is significant to understanding the degree of commitment and persistence with such activities (Levy, 2002; Little, 2002). Researchers have suggested that among the many factors that may influence activity participation individual interest, level of recreational specialization, behaviors, and motives for participation are important variables (Bryan, 1979; Chipman & Helfrich, 1988; Ditton, Loomis, & Choi; 1992; Schreyer, Lime, & Williams, 1984; Virden & Schreyer, 1988; Wellman, Roggenbuck, & Smith, 1982; Williams, Schreyer, & Knopf, 1990). This study has used qualitative methods of research to explore the varying levels of specialization, behaviors styles, and diverging motivations of female surfers. Below is a brief introduction to the study's principal concepts, which will be fully reviewed in chapter two.

Recreation Specialization

Bryan (1977, 1979) proposed the concept of recreation specialization to increase understanding of the diverse behaviors and preferences of trout fisherman. He strived to "identify and categorize" each participant's idea of a "quality outdoor experience"

(Bryan, 1979). Bryan (1979) conceptualized recreation specialization as "a continuum of behavior from the general to the particular, reflected by equipment, and skills used in the sport and activity setting preferences" (p. 29). Bryan (2000) emphasized an operational definition of the specialization continuum as the length and intensity of involvement in an activity. As a participant moves across (or develops over a period of time) the continuum from a novice (or general) recreationist to more advanced (or specialized), there is diversification in terms of the meaning and resulting behavior achieved by each individual (Bryan, 2000). Thus, the more specialized a participant becomes the more the individual develops a distinctive identity anchored by reference groups or sub-worlds of the larger "leisure social world" (Bryan, 2000). By recognizing recreational sub-worlds based on levels of specialization within an activity, Bryan believes it is possible to explain participants' varying motives of and experience preferences (Virden, 1986).

Motivations in Leisure Research

From the extensive research established regarding participant motivations and behavior studies, those classified as leisure activities have attracted significant interest. Leisure activities have no obvious external forces compelling individuals to engage in participation (Beard & Ragheb, 1983). Although a variety of motivation theories exist relevant to leisure activities (Beard & Ragheb, 1983; Crandall, 1980; Driver, 1976; Lawler, 1973; Maslow, 1943; Tinsley & Kass, 1978) several approaches to measure motivation have emerged, each incorporating different dimensions (Beard & Ragheb, 1983; Driver, 1977; Tinsley & Kass, 1979).

Motivations are preferred states a recreationist desires to achieve through leisure choice and participation (Driver, 1976). Understanding why people engage in particular leisure activities and the behaviors associated with their choices provides a stronger comprehension of leisure commitments (Manfredo, Driver, & Tarrant, 1996). Supporting Driver's (1976) model of leisure motivation is Maslow's (1943) hierarchy of needs and expectancy-value theory. Driver (1976) suggested that people's needs and desires necessitate satisfactions that drive motivation while helping to explain and predict recreation choice and behavior patterns. Driver's (1976) model proposed that activity preferences and leisure behaviors are influenced by experiences, knowledge, social pressures (subjective norms), personal preferences, and other variables. He argued that people experience gaps related to unfulfilled desires or needs. Gaps are the differences between existing states and preferred states (Driver, 1976). The desire to close the gaps or reach a state of satisfaction is what motivates a person to engage in an activity.

Manfredo et al. (1996) suggested that knowledge of participant motivation increases opportunities to minimize conflicts between users, and to produce participant satisfaction. Crandall (1980) indicated information gained from participant motives allows service provider to predict and provide highly valued leisure choice. Leisure motivation has also been found valuable in determining female perspectives in leisure participation.

Statement of Problem

There are two gaps that exist in leisure research related to this study. The first gap appears in recreation specialization and women's motivations for participating in the

recreational activity of surfing. Although there is a variety of magazine and online articles that discuss subjects related to females and surfing, there is little research in leisure literature focusing on why women choose to participate in the predominately male activity of surfing. Moreover, past research related to recreation specialization (Bryan, 1977, 1979; Bricker & Kerstetter, 2000; Cameron, Schneider, Thompson, & Virden, 2003; Chipman & Helfrich, 1988; McIntyre, & Pigram, 1992; Miller & Graefe, 2000; Wellman et al., 1982) and motivations (Driver, 1976; Hase, 1996; Knopf, Peterson, & Leatherberry, 1983; Manfredo, Driver, & Brown, 1983; Manfredo et al., 1996) have typically used male subjects.

A second gap occurs in the methods used to investigate the progression of specialization along the recreation specialization continuum. Recreation specialization research has typically been quantitative using self-reported questionnaires. Scott and Godbey (1994) have argued, "There has been little effort to develop typologies that depict the actual behavioral and attitudinal manifestations of different styles of involvement" (p. 277). Specialization research has also failed to examine the extent to which activity styles change over time. Bryan (1977) concluded that activity participants become more specialized (versus staying as a casual or novice participator) the longer they invest in an activity. Scott and Godbey further suggested that specialization is a useful tool to categorize and differentiate among user groups but also a process of development and change of behaviors, attitudes, and preferences among each recreator with increasing participation. Therefore a qualitative approach to research may be necessary to understand the conditions activity participants' experience that moves them along the specialization continuum. Therefore, the purpose of this study was to use in-

depth interviews from a phenomenological approach to investigate the varying levels of specialization, motivations, and behaviors from a female surfer perspective.

Significance of Study

For the past three decades investigations of gender differences in leisure experiences have become more evident and numerous (Henderson et al., 1999; Levy, 2002; Little, 2000). Levy suggested leisure research typically addressed the female leisure experience through a comparison of the male experience. Focuses of relevant research have emerged in areas including achievement goal orientation, participation motivation, competitive orientation, and attributions for success (Levy, 2002). Levy and other researchers (e.g., Henderson, et al., 1996; Little, 2000) suggested that while differences among genders provide valuable information in leisure research it may also limit our understanding of the female leisure experience.

Concurrently, literature on the effects of specialization on motivation has identified that differences exist among participants within activities such as whitewater rafting, angling, and bird watching (Chipman & Helfrich, 1988; Loomis & Ditton, 1987; McFarlane, 1994b; Williams et al., 1990). However there is not a clear understanding of these variables among female surfers and many questions remain. For example, how might a surfer's experience level influence her choice of location (e.g., beach break, reef, etc) or the time of year (e.g., warmer months vs. colder months) she surfs? How important is a female's level of experience in defining motivation? Which combination of specialization components (i.e., experience, central to life, skill, or equipment) is likely to influence a female's motivation to engage in surfing and to continue participation? How

does a female surfer understand her surfing experience and what meanings does it hold for her? How might experience be measured differently from a female perspective? Is there a relationship between motivation and behaviors of female surfers? Investigating the answers to these questions from a phenomenological approach is a critical component of this study. Phenomenology investigates the associations, objectivity, and structure of an individual's lived experiences (i.e., phenomena) (Bowden & Walsh, 2000; Patton, 2002). Therefore, this qualitative approach to research will help to identify the relationship of specialization among motives of female surfers that may provide a better understanding of the behaviors and meanings women experience in their leisure activities.

Furthermore, specialization and motivation is an integral part of leisure research that allows for the creativity and justification of management strategies that aim to enhance the leisure and recreation experiences of a variety of diverse populations (e.g., demographic, socio-economic, ethnic, cultural, and gender). In particular, women and leisure research may provide a better understanding of the needs of women in different outdoor recreation activities; address new ideas about how to improve women's leisure and quality of life; provide opportunities to help bring meaning into women's lives; encourage women to find power and independence through leisure; and create quality women's programs.

Delimitations

Subjects were selected for this study until the knowledge and information gained from the interviews became repetitive. Thus, subjects were selected by using a purposive

and snowball sampling strategy. Further, subjects were selected from four specific surfing "spots" (location or specific beach access to a break) throughout San Luis Obispo County that included Cayucos, "studio's"; Los Osos, "Hazards Canyon"; Morro Bay, "the rock"; and Pismo Beach, "the pier". Finally, subjects were selected at the convenience of the researcher who recorded the days and times subjects were approached and selected.

Definition of Terms

Centrality to lifestyle. How important the activity is to a person's quality of life and how much that activity influences other areas of and decision in a life (Bryan, 1977).

Enduring involvement. The affective (i.e., emotional attachment) component of specialization (i.e., enjoyment, importance, self-expression, and centrality to life (McIntyre & Pigram, 1992).

Equipment investment. The type of equipment needed to participate in the activity and the economic investment in the equipment used (Bryan, 1977).

Experience use history. Experience use history (EUH) represents the amount, type, and diversity of information available to an individual through past experience (Schreyer et al., 1984).

Leisure motivation. The psychological outcome expected and desired from recreation participation in a given activity realized from engagement; motives are preferred states obtainable through activity engagement (Driver, 1976; Manfredo, Driver, and Brown, 1983).

Phenomenology. A research method to investigate how people make sense of experience and transform experience into consciousness; qualitatively mapping different ways in which people experience, conceptualize, perceive, and understand various aspects of and phenomena in, the world around them (Patton, 2002).

Leisure behavior. Observable actions manifested from motivations, preferences, attitudes; and the decision-making process "to help people solve problems (or reach preferred states) which they find better solved in recreational pursuits" (Driver, 1976, p. 171).

Recreation specialization. Based on Bryan's (1977) concept of recreation specialization can be defined as "a continuum of behavior from general to the more advanced, reflected through the dimensions of past experience, skill level, investment, and centrality to lifestyle" (p. 29).

Skill level. Self-rating of skill and ability (e.g., novice, expert, etc.) level (Bryan, 1977) and a description in words of the skill and ability in surfing.

Surfing. Surfing is a surface water sport in which the participant is carried by a breaking wave on a surfboard (Warshaw, 2005).

Swell. Swell is generated when wind blows consistently over a large area of open water, called the wind's fetch. The strength of the wind, the length of its fetch and its duration determine the size of a swell (Hull, 1976).

Tides. "The rhythmical rise and fall of the ocean's water levels, caused by the gravitational pull of the moon and sun; tide is one of the three main factors, along with oceangoing swell and near-shore wind that determine surfing conditions at a given spot" (Warshaw, 2004, p. 637).

Wave height and measurement: The average distance between the trough (i.e., area between two crested waves) and crest (i.e., top) of all open-ocean waves that pass by a stationary point over a given period of time (Warshaw, 2005).

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

In this chapter, relevant literature pertaining to the activity of surfing, female leisure perspectives, level of recreation specialization, and the conceptualization of motivation were reviewed. The discussion has been divided into several sections addressing four main topics: An overview of the sport of surfing and the involvement of women; a brief introduction to female perspectives of leisure participation; an in-depth discussion of the early structure and re-conceptualization of recreation specialization; and a review of the motivation and leisure motivation theories with a special emphasis placed upon recreational behavior. Finally, relevant literature was reviewed pertaining to level of recreation specialization, motivations, and females.

History of Surfing

Surfing is one of the oldest continuously practiced sports in the world. Riding with a board to catch the power of an ocean swell historically stemmed from Hawaii and Polynesia about three to four thousand years ago (Young, 1983). Hawaiians used wave sliding or *he'e nalu* in the Polynesian language to describe surfing. Polynesian men and women from all social levels (royalty to commoners) participated in the catching of waves using various techniques (e.g., body surfing, stand-surfing) and primitive equipment (e.g., wooden planks) (Booth, 2001). Stand-up surfing (i.e., short boarding and long boarding), bodyboarding, kneeboarding, surf-skiing, outrigger canoeing, kite-surfing, wind-surfing, tow-in surfing (i.e., a motorized craft tows the surfer onto the

wave) are just some of the activities that have emerged since the Hawaiians began the practice of wave riding.

Early European explorers and travelers praised the skills of Hawaiian surfers, but 19th-century missionaries assigned to the islands disapproved of the "constant intermingling, without any restraint, of persons of both sexes" and banned the pastime (Booth, 2001, p. 4). By the end of the 19th century surfing became an infrequent practice in Hawaii. The sport managed to survive into the 20th century, as Hawaii's reputation as a premier tourist destination flourished. The sport was restored and quickly spread to California and Australia (Booth, 2001; Young, 1983).

Emergence of Female Surfers

Female surfers have been present since the sport emerged in Hawaii and Polynesia (Booth, 2001). As surfing regained its popularity in the early 20th century, leading male advocates of the sport such as Duke Kahanamoku (an Olympic swimmer and one of the first Hawaiian surfers to be recognized) and Tom Blake (big wave surfer and one of the first innovative board designers during the inter-war years) urged the participation of their female counterparts (Booth, 2001). Blake believed "that surfing would help women develop 'beautiful' and 'graceful' figures" (Booth, 2001, p. 4). One of the first females to participate in the sport, 15 year-old Australian body surfer Isabel Letham, was introduced to tandem surfing by Kahanamoku. Letham was already a competent swimmer and bodysurfer who proclaimed to Kahanamoku after riding four waves that surfing was the most exciting sport around (Booth, 2001). Following Letham other females such as Mary Ann Hawkins, Lullie Hudson, Kathlene Musgrave, Gladys

Corbett, May Bowery, and Isma Amor began avidly surfing the waves on the Australian coastline (Booth, 2001).

Although female participation in surfing has been present since the practice started in Hawaii in the early 1800s, the development of the foam board (first known as the "Malibu" board) and the introduction of the novel and movie *Gidget* (written by Frederick Kohner based on his teenager daughter's introduction to surfing and romance at Malibu, California) in the 1950s popularized the sport among females (Oberg, 1988). In a sport primarily dominated by males, Oberg has suggested that men out number females 20 to 1 in the majority of surf locations. Oberg explained that the line up is a competitive playground where the stronger, faster, and more determined surfer often catches the most waves. However, more than brute strength, surfing requires stamina in the complex relationship between the surfer and the unpredictable conditions of the sea. Oberg believed women experience equality with men in the mental confrontation of wits when competing for waves. As the sport gained recognition and was deemed worthy of professional competitions, male and female surfers were required to compete against each other (Booth, 2001). Female surfers including Jodie Cooper, Wendy Botha, Isable McLaughlin, and Pam Burridge regularly competed and had frequent success winning against men in various competitions. The continual success and increasing participation of women in the sport of surfing commissioned the birth of female only heats and competitions as well as boardrider clubs and associations (Booth, 2001; Oberg, 1988). Booth (2001) suggested that despite the success and positive representation of female surfers during the 1960s through the early 1990s, the paternalistic, competitive nature of surfing was overpowering and limiting to females progression in the sport.

Current Trends of Female Surfers

Surfing has gained little attention in the leisure research arena. However, through technological advances on equipment, swell prediction, media, the Internet, and other resources, the surfing phenomena has given rise to interest and participation in the sport (Hull, 1976). Booth (2001) speculated that with technology, the surfing industry has quickly become a prospering and rising consumer of high-end clothing, gear, accessories, and media as well as training camps, summer camps, and adventure travel. In 2006, SIMA (Surf Industry Manufacturers Association) conducted a study on retail distribution that indicated the surf industry had grown from a $6.52 billion industry in 2004 to $7.48 billion in 2006 (an increase of 14.5%) (Darrow, 2006). Additionally, women's only surf camps and adventure vacations have increased dramatically in the past several years (Darrow, 2006). An internet website called "BoardFolio.com: A Surfers Directory," features over 350 links to surf schools, camps, and worldwide surf travel of which 20% offer female only programs (this list or website is by no means exhaustive).

Several studies have indicated that the female portion of the surfing population is the fastest growing demographic, increasing by as much as 25% per year (Booth, 2001: 2005). One particular study conducted by SIMA indicated that in 2003, out of the 2.1 million surfers recorded in the United States, 37% of them were female. Slightly lower in 2004, females made up 33% of the two-million surfers reported (Darrow, 2006). The study also indicated that female surfers who have been surfing consistently for over a year have nearly doubled in 2004 (18% in 2003 versus 34% in 2004). Furthermore,

SIMA reported that in 2003, 48% of frequent female surfers had been surfing for at least five years, compared to only 34% in 2004 (Darrow, 2006).

Booth (2001) discussed four factors to explain a sudden influx of female surfers. First, the continual appearance and recognition of professional female surfers such as the United States four-time world champion (1994 - 1997) Lisa Andersen. Andersen's dynamic and aggressive style put women's surfing on the map. Second, professional women surfers agreed their surfing style needed to match and exceed that of their male counterparts in order to compete for waves. Third, manufacturers realized their need to increase their markets and began producing surfing gear, clothing, and equipment exclusively for women (Booth, 2001). Izzy Tihanyi, a co-owner of Surf Diva, a California-based women's surf camp and manufacturer, claims there has been a bevy of women-specific surf goods that have drawn more women into the sport (Darrow, 2006). This fact reflects the return of the "Malibu" board (specifically designed to catch and ride waves with ease) making it easier for beginners to learn how to surf. "Women want something that's lighter, that feels good under their arms that they can carry," states Tihanyi (as cited in, Darrow, 2006 ¶17). Emphasizing this transformation, Transworld Business Magazine stated in 2006:

> You don't need to be an industry insider to observe that in the past five years, board sports manufacturers and retailers have been stepping up their focus on female consumers. At the same time, more women have been skating, surfing, and snowboarding—or at least embracing the lifestyle elements of the sports by dressing the part. Therefore, more companies are committing resources—both monetarily and by hiring women reps and decision makers—to really understand

> what female consumers want. It seems that for every Nikita, Betty Rides, and Surf Diva, there are several traditionally male-oriented manufacturers adding or developing a lucrative women's division. (Darrow, 2006, ¶1)

Surfing Related Research

Popularity in surfing is increasing and leisure research studies conducted on the sport have mainly focused on surfing as a subculture dominated by men (Hull, 1976). These studies on surfing have included: factors affecting satisfaction in surfing (Hetzler, Lankford, & Knowles-Lankford, 1995) personality differences for sensation seeking behavior of surfers (Diehm & Armatas, 2002); the motivations, values, and culture of surfing (Farmer, 1992); the performance psychology among highly experienced surfers (Bennett & Kramer, 2000); the impact of professional surfing events on host communities (Halsall, 1997); behavioral markets segments among surf tourists (Dolnicar, 2003); and the cultural and technological determents of riding waves (Booth, 1999).

Interestingly, two female researchers from Australia, Diehm and Armatas (2002) investigated sensation seeking behavior differences between the high-risk sport of surfing and the low-risk sport of golf. Sensation seeking is defined as: "the need for varied, novel, and complex sensations, and experiences and the willingness to take physical and social risks for the sake of such experience" (Diehm & Armatas, 2002). Eleven female surfers and 30 male surfers participated in the study. A multivariate analysis indicated that surfers have higher levels of sensation seeking and intrinsic motivation than golfers.

Female Perspectives on Leisure Participation

Feminist research in leisure participation provides insight into the interrelationships of all aspects of a woman's life (Henderson, et al., 1996). This section will examine the feminine perspectives of the meaning of leisure that include: leisure as an affiliation, leisure as self-determined, and constraints to leisure.

Leisure as an Affiliation

Affiliative leisure is defined by leisure experiences that develop and sustain relationships with others (Henderson et al., 1996). Henderson et al., suggested that women search for opportunities to strengthen their family relationships and family togetherness. Additionally, women seek social situations to create positive experiences, which help to develop the emotional and physical well-being of their children (Horna, 1989). For example, a study of lesbian mothers, demonstrated the use of leisure to significantly contribute to strengthening their family relationships particularly in communities where they were not socially accepted (Henderson et al., 1996).

Leisure as affiliation also includes interactions with friends, co-workers, and people within a community (Henderson et al., 1996). Henderson et al. suggested that the leisure experiences involving persons outside of the home are often more important than the activities themselves. The *ethic of care* suggests that women tend to put others needs and satisfaction above their own (Little, 2002). Women embodied in this concept put a considerable amount of effort into ensuring that leisure interactions are enjoyable and satisfying for everyone. Affiliated (also called relational) leisure can easily become role-determined or obligatory in these circumstances and generally produce leisure activities

that are primarily caring and nurturing activities that prevent women from enjoying their own leisure experience (Henderson et al., 1996). However, affiliated leisure also provides affirmation and satisfaction of family, development of children, and developing and sustaining friendships and interactions of others (Henderson, 1994a, 1994b ; Henderson et al., 1996).

Leisure as Autonomous

Researchers suggest the importance of distinguishing between affiliative leisure and self-determined, or autonomous, leisure for women (Freysinger & Flannery, 1992; Henderson, et al., 1996). Henderson et al, conceptualized self-determined leisure as participating in activities free from others and making one's own decisions according to one's own desires and needs. Self-determined leisure may include "an expression of self and a determination to do something for oneself that reflects personal interests rather than concern for others" (Henderson, et al., 1996, p. 109).

Researchers suggested that autonomous leisure offers women the opportunity for recuperation and renewal (Freysinger & Flanner, 1992; Henderson, et al., 1996). Henderson et al., explained that renewal may come from relaxation and disengagement from daily demands and commitments. However, self-determined leisure can create renewal experiences in the form of "self-expression, learning and development, challenge and accomplishment, and recognitions and credibility" (as cited in Henderson et al., 1996, p. 106). Henderson et al, suggested that autonomous leisure provides women the opportunity to renew themselves in a way that promotes re-creation of self through the development of life meaning, strength, and possibility.

Henderson (1994a, 1994b) suggested self-determined leisure can liberate women from societal pressures that impose roles such as mother and wife. Additionally, autonomy encourages women to seek opportunities for leisure experiences that are free from family commitments and family interaction (Henderson et al., 1996). Henderson (1994a, 1994b) and other researchers believed that autonomous leisure is a significant source of empowerment for women. They suggested that self-determined leisure can lend itself to women resisting restrictive gendered roles and seek to develop new ways of creating meaningful leisure experiences with and without others.

Constraints to Leisure

Various models have been developed to help conceptualize and understand leisure constraints. For example, Crawford, Jackson, and Godbey (1991) proposed a model that included three categories of constraints: intrapersonal, interpersonal, and structural. Intrapersonal constraints "refer to factors that affect preferences or lead to lack of interest in a particular activity" (Henderson et al., 1996, p. 196). These types of constraints can be stress, socialization, perceived competence, pressure from family, and personal evaluations of the appropriateness of an activity (Crawford, et al., 1991). According to Crawford et al., interpersonal constraints revolve around relationships with others such as the ability to find partners, family obligations, or time availability. Structural constraints are intervening factors that diminish the desire to participate in an activity and actual participation in that activity (Crawford, et al., 1991). Family life stages, financial resources, weather factors, lack of transportation, and lack of time are structural constraints.

When applied specifically to women, intrapersonal constraints have been measured through self-perceived skill, self-confidence, entitlement, and the idea that an activity is considered socially inappropriate or unsuitable which contributes significantly to diminished activity participation (Henderson et al., 1996; Little, 2002). Women are more likely than men to be self-conscious and uncomfortable about their bodies which prevent them from doing activities when spectators or other people are present. Bialeschki and Henderson (1993) also concluded that women may feel they are not entitled to leisure or physical recreation. They believed constraints to leisure occur out of guilt when a woman permits herself to indulge in personal recreation. For example a woman might be interested in mountain bike riding. Without consciously thinking, mountain bike riding may be out of the question because she has to be home to look after her children or it is too dangerous of a sport to comprise her family. The enjoyment or satisfaction she might experience doing this activity may barely cross her mind (Henderson et al. 1996).

Interpersonal constraints can also contribute to the diminished interest in leisure participation for women. Lacking a leisure companion or participating in an activity to please a leisure companion are considered interpersonal constraints. Henderson et al., (1996) indicated that women experience lack a of leisure companions more often after the loss of a partner or husband (e.g., death or divorce) and after a geographic move to a new residence (e.g., city or state). Attempting to please another person, may occur in situations such as going to a theater production with a boyfriend or girlfriend despite being thoroughly bored; watching cartoons on television to please children; taking an elderly relative shopping; or going to a party with a spouse (Henderson et al., 1996).

Henderson et al., indicated that the use of leisure activities to please others seems to be more common among women than men.

Major structural barriers that discourage or prevent women from activity participation include time, financial resources, and community resources such as facilities and program (Henderson, 1991; Henderson et al., 1996; Little, 2002). Women's lack of time for leisure results from the combination of their paid and unpaid work responsibilities (Little, 2002). Little suggested that particularly high time demands are placed on women who work full time in the labor force and have children. Henderson et al., (1996) argued that this group of women is severely disadvantaged mainly because women have income brackets substantially lower than men. Economic constraints affect transportation to and from leisure areas and the availability of affordable equipment to participate in an activity (Henderson, 1991, Henderson et al., 1996). Lack of facilities and programs can manifest in situations where classes or training is not available; programs are not offered at an appropriate time (e.g., when kids are in school), or facilities or programs do not offer a safe and secure environment (e.g., potential of rape, sexual harassment, or robbery) (Henderson, et al. 1996).

Female Perspective Research

This section reviews literature that pertains to female perspectives on leisure. This discussion includes women's personal meanings of leisure participation as affiliation, self-determined, and constraining.

Levy (2002) conducted a study on the personal meanings of competitive female mountain bikers. Using in-depth interviews Levy audio taped nine female subjects with

varying levels of experience in the sport. Levy utilized open-ended and probing questions to draw out responses associated with the meanings female mountain bikers attached to their experience. For example, the question "What does mountain bike racing mean to you?" followed a subject's response with "How would you describe the experience of racing" (p. 112). Levy indicated that several key themes emerged from her study showing the meanings competitive female mountain bikers attached to their experiences. The highest order of themes most prevalent included: self-fulfillment, personal growth, and self-expression. The next order of themes rated by participants to be fairly important included; health and physical fitness, thrill and exhilaration, focus and self control, and affordable. In conjunction with Henderson et al.'s (1996) perspective of self-determined leisure, Levy concluded that through self-determined participation female mountain bikers found an avenue of self-discovery, self-fulfillment, and self-acceptance that can lead to empowerment.

In another study mothers with young children were investigated to explore the factors that constrained their leisure participation and the relationship between physical activity and levels of social support available to the women (Brown, P., Brown, W., Miller, & Hansen, 2001). Methods that included self-complete questionnaires and discussion groups assessed 543 mothers of young children from differing socio-economic backgrounds. Women with children participated in affiliative leisure (i.e., leisure that develops connections and strengthens relationships) activities more than women without children (Henderson, et al., 1996). Consequently, mothers with young children were more likely to experience constraints such as ethic of care, structural, and interpersonal constraints (Brown et al., 2001). Brown et al., reported subjects experienced constraints

that included: (a) a lack of time, money, and energy (i.e., structural constraints); (b) ideological influences (e.g., ethic of care or sense of commitment to others); and (c) access to social support from partners, family, and friends (i.e., interpersonal constraints).

Recreation Specialization

Specialization in laymen's terms describes a particular field of research, a specific profession, or a branch of study (Scott & Schafer, 2001). The term specialist connotes someone who is devoted to becoming an expert in a specific job, skill, or technique and the word specialize is defined as dedication to a specific area of study (Scott & Schafer, 2001). Bryan (1977, 1979) used the various meanings of each of these words, specialization, specialist, and specialize to help define disparity among participants in terms of their motivations, preferences, attitudes, and behaviors in an activity. The following topics will be discussed below: (a) Bryan's conceptualization of specialization, (b) the theoretical perspective behind specialization behavior, (c) the components used to measure specialization, and (d) a review of specialization literature.

Bryan's Recreation Specialization Concept

Bryan developed the specialization concept in response to the lack of research regarding the diversity of recreationists within an activity (Bryan, 1977, 1979). Ultimately, Bryan wanted to provide a model that would aid recreation resource managers in their attempt to understand and explain the multiplicity of behaviors and attitudes associated with a particular recreation activity (Valentine, 2003). Bryan wanted to help support managers and planners who were overwhelmed by ambiguous research

and provide a more serviceable and understandable framework for segmenting recreationists (Valentine, 2003). By doing so, managers and planners could reduce conflict between and within user groups by matching recreationists with the corresponding resources available to meet their needs.

Bryan suggested that recreation research often treated users within an activity as a homogenous group overlooking the varying levels of users that make up subgroups (Bryan, 2000; Virden, 1986). He argued that recreationists go through a process of "leisure socialization," where people approach their sports or hobbies differently, depending on their level of development in the activity. In addition participants desire specific benefits from their experiences (Bryan, 1979).

Bryan's initial research with specialization was developed as a result of his avid participation in the sport of fishing (Scott & Schafer, 2001). He recognized the many different orientations and behaviors that each angler possessed regarding resource and equipment preference, skill level, experience, centrality to life, commitment to, and intensity of involvement (Bryan, 2000). Bryan (1979) defined recreational specialization primarily in terms of behavior. He regarded recreational specialization as "a continuum of behavior from general to the particular reflected by equipment and skills used in the sport and activity setting preferences" (p. 29). A recreational specialization continuum emerged arranging fishermen on a scale measuring the degree and range of experience and commitment to the sport. The degree of specialization refers to the process whereby individuals become increasingly skilled and committed to the leisure activity over time and the range of specialization referred to the orientation, behaviors, and technical aspects used by an individual in a recreational activity (Bryan, 1977).

Bryan's (1979) continuum also described participants from having a general interest and low involvement to specialized interest and high involvement. Therefore, conceptually, each level of specialization transmits into sub-levels of distinct differences, preferences, and behaviors held by individual fisherman (Bryan, 1979). For example, an angler who fishes infrequently, at a lake, with a cane pole (i.e., a rod with fishing line tied to one end and bait at other, no reel used), who considers himself or herself unskilled, and for whom fishing is not a central life interest would be placed at the novice (or general) end of the specialization continuum (Bryan, 1979). Bryan (1979) concluded that the novice angler would likely seek a different fishing experience and a different setting preference, than a more experienced and skilled angler who uses technologically advanced fishing equipment and considers fishing an important part of his or her life.

Recreation behavior of fisherman was investigated through the association of specialization levels. Behaviors, preferences, and values of fishermen were evaluated through questions concerning: (a) the type of fishing technique preferred; (b) the setting or water resource desired; (c) history of interest and participation in the sport (or amount of participation); and (d) the relationship of the leisure activity to other life areas such as family, career or other leisure activities (Bryan, 1979). The main focus of Bryan's research argued that "fly fishing" for trout represented final stage of a progression of angling experiences. This last stage of angling identified the continuum of angling as indeed progressing into to a more "mature or specialized state", giving rise to the specialization process. Development of Bryan's findings of the progression of specialization led to a typology of fisherman.

Bryan's (1977) development of a participant typology contained four categories of anglers that include occasional fishermen, generalists, technique specialists, and technique-setting specialists. Based upon the information gathered from interviews and observation, each participant was placed on a continuum reflecting a degree and range of specialization. The four groups of fisherman were described by Bryan (1977) as:

1. Occasional fishermen: New to fishing, these participants fish infrequently and have not made this activity part of their leisure time.
2. Generalists: Participants have more of an interest invested in the sport, therefore making it a part of their regular leisure time.
3. Technique specialists: Participants who specialize in a specific method of the sport and forego other techniques.
4. Technique-setting specialists: Extremely committed to the sport, these participants prefer specific types of settings or water types to engage in the activity.

Bryan's typology prompted research in other activities that further examined and compared typical behaviors and attitudes of participation styles of recreationists along a continuum of specialization (Bricker & Kerstetter; 2000; Donnelly, Vaske, & Graefe, 1986; Dyck, Schneider, Thompson, & Virden, 2003; Kauffman & Graefe, 1984; Lee & Scott; 2004; McFarlane, 1994a, 1994b; McIntyre & Pigram, 1992; Scott & Godbey, 1994; Virden & Schreyer, 1988). In doing so, Scott and Schafer (2001) concluded that Bryan's (1977) typology is part of a larger framework for understanding the predictable stages of involvement of an individual's process during activity participation. Their research on specialization, regarded Bryan's concept as a "developmental process

whereby recreationists increasingly devote themselves to a particular activity to the exclusion of others" (Scott & Schafer, 2001, p. 324). Bryan (1979) believed that most recreationists resided at the lower end of the continuum. However, he observed that participants who spent more time involved in an activity were more likely to move to more specialized stages along the continuum. Ideally, Bryan (1977) hypothesized that anglers "start with simple, easily mastered techniques which maximize chances of a catch, then move to more involved and demanding methods the longer they engage in the sport" (p. 182).

Bryan (1977) indicated that several determinants demonstrated the movement of a participant from one phase along the continuum to the next. With time, factors including modification of a participant's motivation, orientation towards resources, attitude of management philosophy, and constraints or conflicts, developed along the specialization continuum (Scott & Schafer, 2001). As anglers had become more specialized (move further along the continuum) their behavior or focus of fishing was more likely to change from the activity of catching the fish to one or several factors attached to the experience of fishing (Bryan, 1979). In other words, technique setting specialists (highly specialized angler) were more likely to desire a specific setting such as fishing in a primitive location, more likely to fish with fellow specialists (friends versus family), less likely to emphasize number of fish caught, more likely to have strong equipment preferences, and more likely to take longer fishing vacations or travel longer distances than occasionalists (novice anglers) (Bryan 1979). Concurrently highly specialized anglers showed higher interest in management philosophy that expresses the desire for preservation of a natural environment instead of impacted resource settings or pre-stocked game. Bryan (1979)

believed that over time, progression along the continuum created change from a consumptive to preservation attitude and from an activity specific to a non-activity specific behavior.

Bryan (1977) conducted 263 on-site interviews of anglers, using observation techniques that led to his development of four propositions for the specialization theory. The propositions included:

(a) Fishermen tend to go through an expected pattern of experiences that increase the likelihood of becoming more specialized in the activity. This is characterized by an increasing commitment to the activity. Generalized fishermen were more likely to gain additional information and to acquire a larger range of angling methods and experiences as a result of increased time and dedication to the sport.

(b) Specialists join a leisure social world that sets the standards of behaviors, values, and attitudes for the activity that ultimately provide the angler with a sense of identity within a group.

(c) As an angler becomes more specialized in the sport the focus shifts from a consumptive mind-set to a maintenance and setting attitude. A holistic view of the activity becomes an end to itself. Specialized anglers participate more for the experience of being in a particular setting versus the trophy attribute of catching fish.

(d) As specialization increases the more heavily the angler relies on the resources associated with the sport. As a result, increased control and manipulation of the sport creates a significant difference between luck and skill (p. 45-46).

Bryan (1979) concluded that within each level of specialization, fishermen share similar beliefs, attitudes, and values about their sport. The similarities among these levels form different sub-groups anchored in "leisure social worlds" (Bryan, 1979). Unruh (1980) describes a social world as "an internally recognizable constellation of actors, organizations, events and practices which have coalesced into a perceived sphere of interest and involvement for participants" (as cited in Ditton, Loomis, & Choi, 1992, p. 35). This concept was expanded to describe the phenomenon of social organizations that contain both informal and formal groups or memberships, free from spatial constraints, and lack of a centralized structure (Bryan, 1979). Further, within social worlds occurs a casual unstructured environment that often permeates through mass media (magazines, movies, books, videos/DVD's, internet, etc…) (Manning, 1999). Bryan (1979) suggested that the more involved people become in an activity the quicker they move toward the specialized end of the continuum. As a result, the closer one moves towards a higher degree of specialization he/she integrates into a specific sub group (knowingly or unknowingly) defined within leisure social worlds (Bryan, 1979; Manning, 1999). For example Bryan (1979) found that as fishermen progressed from a novice (i.e., extrinsic reward seeker) toward an expert (i.e., intrinsic reward seeker) along the specialization continuum, they became less concerned with the number of fish being caught and more interested in the experience as a whole. Williams (1988) suggested, "The most highly involved and committed participants make up the leisure social world, and it is they who set the standards for attitudes and behaviors related to the activity" (p. 22). Bryan (1977) suggested that the above inferences are not subject to generalization and more testing was

required. He explained that limited control of variables in his research formed inconclusive evidence of the results.

Theoretical Perspectives on Specialized Behavior

Bryan (1979) used behaviorism to describe why individuals in the leisure social world of sport fishing might become specialized over time. Bryan believed that the variation within leisure social worlds results in recreational activity as a lifelong process of leisure socialization. This approach to leisure socialization or "leisure careers," suggests that individuals approach their sports or hobbies differently depending on their "stage of development" in the activity (Bryan, 1979).

The stages of development are largely influenced by the extrinsic and intrinsic rewards derived from participating in an activity which prompt learned stimulus and response functions (Bryan, 1979; Virden, 1986; Wellman et al., 1982). Extrinsic rewards are payments made to the individual by other people (e.g., praise for winning a race) or by the action itself (receiving a cash prize and spending it). Intrinsic rewards are payments made to the individuals from themselves (e.g., feeling of accomplishment). The progression of learning occurs in the reward structure in an activity, which is influenced by specialization related factors including equipment preference, experience, skill, centrality to life style, and commitment (Bryan, 1979; Wellman et al., 1982). As a result, the more experience an individual has gathered, the more likely the individual is to have developed a specific orientation to a particular activity, thus becoming more involved in the activity as a career. Over time the increased exposure and increased number of

experiences actualizes the activity into a leisure career for the recreationist, therefore increasing the level of specialization (Bryan, 1979; Wellman, et al., 1982).

Bryan (1977) drew heavily on behavioralism to explain the relationship between recreation specialization and why recreationists continue to pursue a particular activity over time. He asserted that the rewards derived intrinsically and extrinsically from an experience linked with a reduced time between one encounter and the next, the more likely an individual is to repeat his/her action. Although Bryan's research showed that increased specialization and the shared values of specialized trout fisherman are learned, he failed to expand on the cognitive concepts of motives and intrinsic rewards that he claimed high specialists share (Virden, 1986).

Virden (1986) expanded on Bryan's conceptualization of recreation specialization as being largely derived from social and behavioral learning theories. He suggested that human behavior and development is a direct result of experience or the accumulation of experiences. Through the accumulation of repetitive exchanges, these stimulus and response interactions become an inherent (i.e., learned) behavior to the individual. Miller described the stimuli as "cues from the environment such as another person or a falling tree and the response as behaviors exhibited by the individual such as waving hello or dodging the tree" (as cited in Virden, p. 42). As the response is reinforced (e.g., the wave returned) the original response is strengthened reinforcing a learned behavior (Virden, 1986).

Behavior is considered the most obvious indicator of recreation specialization; however individuals who become specialists share other important characteristics (Bryan, 1979). Skill level, psychic commitment, activity time investment, economic investment

in equipment and travel, equipment utilization, knowledge, experience, anticipated rewards, management preferences, and vacation patterns are other indicators of specialization (Bryan, 1977, 1979; Chipman & Helfrich, 1988; Dyck et al., 2003; McFarlane, 2004a, 2004b; Miller & Graefe, 2000; Virden, 1986; Virden & Schreyer, 1988). Virden suggested that it is difficult to clearly define specialization based on these characteristics. Virden (1986) argued that Bryan's work did not clearly establish the cause and effect relationships between these characteristics. Virden's (1986) example asked the question, "does skill level actually define specialization or does it result from commitment or a specific motivational orientation" (p. 38)? He suggested that specialization may be an amalgamation of the traits listed above, established through cognitive orientation and the value process of a recreationist. His question indicated the need to further understand the relationship between motivation and specialization.

Components of the Specialization Measure

Subsequent research of specialization has been measured primarily using the dimensions of past experience, setting preferences, and equipment (Bricker & Kerstetter, 2000; Bryan, 2000). Specialization research has expanded to include dimensions such as commitment and enduring involvement, and centrality of the activity to an individual's life (Bryan, 1979; Chipman & Helfrich, 1988; Dyck et al., 2003; Lee & Scott, 2004; Miller & Graefe, 2000; Virden, 1986; Virden & Schreyer, 1988). The components of specialization have primarily been studied using quantitative methods that establish a measure consisting of the degree and range for each participant and placement on a continuum of specialization (Bryan, 2000). These methods have also been helpful to

explain differences among recreationists, but the concept has not been measured consistently (Lee & Scott, 2004; Virden, 1986). Appendix A lists the dimensions used in several past specialization studies. These studies suggest that a participant's level of recreation specialization increases or decreases depending on the degree and range of experience, investment, and other factors. Therefore, researchers suggested that the critical and measurable dimensions supported by clear theoretical foundation have not been agreed upon in the field of recreational specialization (Kuentzel & McDonald, 1992; Watson & Niccolucci, 1992). In this section Bryan's original dimensions of present and past experience, commitment, enduring involvement, skill level, and equipment preference will be discussed.

Experience as a Dimension of Specialization

Several methods have been used to understand the management needs of recreational groups engaging in the same activity. These methods help to differentiate users into segments or subgroups seeking different recreational experiences (Manning, 1999). William (1988) studied the amount and degree of participation an individual has with a particular activity or setting. The use of this method and several others, distinguish users based upon a single item measure of past experience or more elaborate multi-item measures that combine variables to determine several dimensions of experience. Concepts used to segment participants based on activities include experience use history (EUH) as indicators of past experience, and specialization (Watson & Niccolucci, 1992). Originally developed in Williams' Master's thesis (1980), Schreyer, Lime, and Williams (1984), used EUH index to develop a classification model to

segment river floaters. The model displayed total river trips taken, number of rivers run, and number of trips taken on the study river. The six-category scale ranged from "beginners" (first time river floaters) to "experts" (a large amount of experience on several rivers). The EUH system has been valuable as an indicator of differences with on-site behaviors, conflicts between users, attitudes to management intervention, motivations, and motivational structures (Schreyer et al., 1984; Williams, Schreyer, & Knopf, 1990). This approach continues to be used by some researchers as a way of measuring a recreationist's level of specialization or intensity of behavioral involvement in an activity.

Hammit and McDonald (1983) developed a similar measure of on-site experience for river floaters using an index of past experience. Years and frequency of floating on all rivers and the study river were combined to create a scale of low, medium, and high experience. Their findings indicated that more experienced users demonstrated a higher sensitivity to resource disturbance and supported management intervention to control impacts. However, more experienced users were less supportive than inexperienced users of regulatory controls of behavior, facility development, and user services. Hammit, Knauf, and Noe (1989) created a similar experience index to categorize horseback riders based on years and frequency of experience. The scale was significantly related to visitor preferences for facilities and services.

Commitment as a Dimension of Specialization

Commitment to a recreational activity was considered by Bryan (1977) to be critical to the multidimensional specialization construct. Bryan (1979) stated that

commitment is "the extent of the individual's time and effort investments in the sport" (p. 44). Buchanan (1985) used sociological and psychological results to develop theoretical components of committed behavior in recreationists. Committed behavior involves the practice of "pledging or binding of an individual to behavioral acts which result in some degree of affective attachment to the behavior or to the role associated with the behavior and which produce side bets as a result of that behavior" (Buchanan, 1985, p. 402).

According to Buchanan (1985) three factors are essential to the existence of committed behavior as a component of specialization. The first factor of commitment requires the individual to possess a focused (i.e. consistent) behavior free from any other alternate behaviors or actions. Perseverance, over time, leads the recreationist to establish a behavior that engenders the devotion of time and energy to an activity. Side bets is the second function of commitment, which develops as more time is invested into an activity. Important components of side bets that form from increased participation in an activity include actualizing necessary time to develop knowledge and proficiency, creating monetary resources for investment, and forming relationships with others. The last component of commitment involves an affective attachment to the goals and values associated with an activity or an organization. Three general factors of the affective attachment include, (a) the development of continuance or a more intense affective need to continue the current activity than for any substitute activity; (b) the development of cohesion or the emotional ties that create a connection with other participants that becomes indispensable; and (c) the provocation of control which involves recognition and acceptance as well as taking ownership of the fundamental principles and beliefs developed within a social network (Buchanan, 1985).

Relying on tangible components such as equipment is less desirable as an indicator to an individual's commitment to the activity hence his or her degree of specialization (Buchanan, 1985). Buchanan (1985) maintained that reliable specialization measures should include components of an activity such as past experience, centrality to lifestyle, and the degree of investment in a particular activity (i.e. time, monetary, dedication). The measurement of such variables may be useful in defining commitment thus indicating consistent behaviors, the investment of side bets, and the degree of affective attachment. The combination of the three components resulted in what Buchanan (1985) suggests of "appearing to tap the main attributes of committed behavior" (p. 405).

Enduring Involvement as a Dimension of Specialization

Enduring involvement is another concept deemed important to the specialization index (Bricker & Kerstetter, 2000). In consumer behavior research, Gunter and Gunter (1980) suggested involvement is the "the degree and type of the person's investment in an activity or situation" (p. 366). In addition, enduring involvement has been viewed as an individual's dedication and attachment placed on a leisure interest or activity which plays a key role in the difference between a novice and a specialist (Bricker & Kerstetter, 2000; McIntyre & Pigram, 1992). Research indicated specialization is made up of three mutually enforcing systems that include: (a) a cognitive component that relates to the development of skills and understanding of an activity; (b) a behavioral component that includes the amount and intensity of participation in an activity; and (c) an affective attachment (or enduring involvement) component that is comprised of attraction, self-

expression, and centrality to life (Bryan, 1977; McIntyre, 1989; McIntyre & Pigram, 1992). McIntyre and Pigram (1992) measured enduring involvement in their study of vehicle-based campers. They concluded that "attraction" includes importance and enjoyment associated with participation, "self-expression" defines "participation as engendered feelings of freedom from the role of constraints of normal life," and "centrality" refers to "friends or others and social interactions centered on the activity" in addition to "the central role of the activity in the individual's life" (p. 7). In addition to affective attachment, familiarity (estimated annual visitation and number of years since first visit to the study area) and prior experience (number of years camping and number of camping trips per year) were used to measure the recreation involvement model as an extension to recreation specialization. According to the authors, this model "provides a comprehensive perspective on recreation specialization…" (McIntyre & Pigram, 1992, p. 4).

Using cluster analysis, McIntyre and Pigram's (1992) study indicated four distinct groups of vehicle campers. Recreation involvement profiles were created for each group identifying that affective attachment can be an effective extension of the specialization model (McIntyre & Pigram, 1992). For example the vehicle campers indicated, on average, to possess the most experience, to be most centrally involved in camping, and to have the highest level of familiarity (to the study area). Furthermore, there was a positive relationship between this group and high criticism towards management actions. According to the authors, the factors associated with recreation involvement may provide a deeper understanding to diverging degrees of sensitivity towards management actions and communication in a camp setting. Using recreation involvement as an extension of

recreation specialization emphasizes affective attachment versus the "hierarchical notions of increasing skill and participation" (McIntyre & Pigram, 1992, p.12). More recently Bricker and Kerstetter (2000) used enduring involvement as a component of specialization in their study of whitewater recreationists. Bricker and Kerstetter (2000) attempted to expand on the concept of specialization and environmental preferences by conducting a study to examine the "hard to define" meanings recreationists hold for environmental settings. The purpose of their study was to investigate the relationship between level of specialization and place attachment of whitewater rafting and kayaking participants. Adopted from McIntyre and Pigram's (1992) previous research, enduring involvement was measured using sub-components including enjoyment, importance, self-expression, and centrality (Bricker & Kerstetter, 2000). Using a multi-dimensional measurement approach results indicated that level of specialization was significantly related to place attachment (Bricker and Kerstetter, 2000). Highly skilled participants were significantly more likely to have an emotional or affective attachment to the river than participants with lower skill levels (Bricker & Kerstetter, 2000). Concurrently individuals with low skill levels were significantly less likely to agree with whitewater rafting as being central to their lifestyle than medium to high skill level participants (Bricker & Kerstetter, 2000).

Equipment and Skill Level as a Dimension of Specialization

Equipment investment (i.e., preference) and perceived skill are considered valuable dimensions of the specialization construct. The degree of perceived skill has been typically grouped using categories identified as novice, beginner, intermediate,

advanced, and/or expert and has been measured through a self-perceived approach (Bricker & Kerstetter, 2000; Bryan, 1977; Donnelly, Vaske, & Graefe, 1986; Graefe & Vaske, 1987; Hase, 1996; Miller & Graefe, 2000; Oh & Ditton, 2006).

Economic investment is another dimension used to explain specialization. Investment may be referred to as economic commitment toward an activity, normally reflected in the monetary value and type of equipment owned in addition to the amount spent traveling (to and from site, food, drink, and other related expenses) (Bricker & Kerstetter, 2000; Donnelly et al. 1986; Hase, 1996; McFarlane, 1994b, 1996; Miller & Graefe, 2000; Virden & Schreyer, 1988). Although there is a lack of research that has measured equipment and skill level as independent variables these components are deemed important to the specialization construct.

Specialization Review of Research

Bryan (1979) conceptualized the recreation specialization continuum to underlie any recreation activity. He believed the activities themselves could be arranged along a specialized continuum. His research continued with anglers with the use of various typologies and indicator dimensions, necessitating further exploration of his framework with other leisure pursuits (Valentine, 2003). Subsequent research explored specific activities using Bryan's continuum and later expanded and altered the components used to measure the specialization continuum. Research included activities such as birding (Lee & Scott, 2004; McFarlane, 1994a, 1994b, 1996), canoeing (Kauffman & Graefe, 1984; Wellman, Roggenbuck, & Smith, 1982), hunting (Kuentzel & Heberlein, 1992; Miller & Graefe, 2000), hiking and backpacking (Virden & Schreyer, 1988; Williams &

Huffman, 1987), vehicle-based campers (McIntyre & Pigram, 1992), sailing and motor boating (Donnelly et al. 1986), non-motorized whitewater watercraft users (Bricker & Kerstetter, 2000; Kuentzel & McDonald, 1992), mountaineering (Dyck et al. 2003), bridge players (Scott & Godbey, 1994), and surfing (Farmer, 1992). Angling specialization also received considerable attention (Chipman & Helfrich, 1988; Choi, Loomis, & Ditton, 1994; Ditton, Loomis, & Choi, 1992; Hase, 1996).

Leisure research has varied in the exploration and creation of a specialization continuum when exploring relationships between respondents' level of specialization and specific dependent variables. In order to gainfully review the use of specialization in a variety of activities this next section will examine past specialization research in and its relationship to dependent variables such as environmental concerns, motivations, management and setting preferences, and leisure worlds.

Specialization with Environmental Preferences

Environmental behavior is another dimension of recreation that has been studied using the specialization index. Behavior, attitudes, and preferences toward environmental resources have offered important insight to the basic and differential meanings recreation settings carry for recreationists (Virden & Schreyer, 1988). In his study of canoeists, Kauffman (1984) found a positive relationship between level of specialization and attitudes towards the resource. Results indicated that as a participant's level of specialization increases the desire to canoe in whitewater opposed to rivers and streams increases. Concurrently, as specialization increased, preference for specific resource settings also increased (e.g., experiencing wilderness, exploration, skill

development, and equipment use) (Kauffman, 1984). Kauffman's (1984) results support Bryan's (1979) fourth proposition, "what appeals to the specialist is a resource setting which allows for predictability and manipulation, a degree of control so as to be able to determine the difference between luck and skill" (p. 46).

Virden and Schreyer (1988) found a significant relationship between environmental concern and setting preferences of hikers. Supporting Bryan's (1979) fourth proposition, results of this study indicated that as the level of specialization increased, dependence on the environmental resource also increased (Virden & Schreyer). Virden and Schreyer suggested that highly specialized participants became more consistent in their desire to attain critical setting attributes. The authors found that highly specialized hikers preferred physical setting attributes that set them apart from other hikers. For example, the highly specialized hiker was more likely to appreciate untrammeled terrain and very low impacted setting attributes and less likely to be concerned about the availability of pit toilets or firewood (Virden & Schreyer). Moreover, results indicated social setting attributes positively related to specialization. Highly specialized hikers had a low tolerance towards "seeing other hikers on the trail, seeing motorized recreationists, and increasingly preferred not to hear loud recreationists" (Virden & Schreyer, 1988, p. 730).

In a more recent study, Dyck et al. (2003) found a relationship between mountaineer's specialization and their attitudes toward the environment and low impact practices. The variables used to measure specialization of the respondents included past experience, economic and equipment investment, skill level, and centrality to lifestyle (Dyck et al., 2003). Cameron et al. used an overall sum of the variables measured to

provide an index of specialization for each respondent. The authors separated the sample of mountaineers into three categories based on the specialization index that included low (32.8%), medium (35.2%), and high (32.0%) specialists. Concurrently, results indicated that participants were mostly male (60.4 %) and Caucasian (97.7 %). Dyck et al. reported significant differences across the three levels of specialization on attitudes toward low impact practices and environmental attitudes. Specifically, the more advanced a participant becomes on the specialization continuum the more the attitude of this person towards non-consumptive use and protection of resources develops (Dyck et al., 2003).

Specialization with Motivations

Past research suggests that as a person progresses along the specialization continuum, behavior changes (Bryan, 1977; Chipman & Helfrich, 1988; Ditton et al., 1992; Graefe & Kauffman, 1987; McIntyre, & Pigram, 1992; Scott & Godbey, 1994; Williams & Huffman, 1987). Thus, each recreationist potentially desires leisure needs and specific experiences from an activity that differ from other recreationists (Hase, 1996). More specifically, a low specialized recreationist may have different motivations or engagement in an activity compared to a highly specialized recreationist.

Studies on experience use history (EUH) and motivation are reviewed due the relevance as a dimension of specialization. Schreyer et al. (1984) studied the effects of experience use history on the motivations of river floaters. The variables used to measure EUH were: (a) how many times the respondent has river floated; (b) how many rivers the respondent has floated; and (c) the number of total river trips the respondent has taken.

Schreyer et al. (1984) developed a specialization typology of river runners using this model, which consisted of novice, beginners, locals, collectors, visitors, and veterans. Results indicated novices were more likely to value having new and different experiences, spending time with family, and demonstrating the ability to perform the activity to others (Schreyer et al., 1984). In contrast, veterans were more likely to be motivated by achieving a sense of self-satisfaction and personal meaning (e.g., be own boss, personal equipment test and use, personal skills development, develop confidence and self-sufficiency, and develop personal values).

Williams et al. (1990) later expanded EUH by studying the effects of experience level on the multidimensional structure of motivations to engage in leisure activities. These authors suggested that a recreationist generally has more than one motivation leading to participation in a leisure activity. Based on developmental theory, increasing experience level and time commitment to an activity is a significant determinant of motivations to participate (Williams et al., 1990). Williams et al. explained further that the more experienced a person becomes in a specific activity the more likely the person is able to clearly differentiate between motivations to participate. Employing the variables created by Schreyer et al., (1984) to measure EUH (i.e., total river trips, total number of rivers run, and number of trips on the sample river), six categories of experience levels were created among respondents that included: novices, beginners, locals, collectors, visitors, and veterans. Driver's (1977) Recreation Experience Preference (REP) scale was used to measure the participant's motivations (Williams et al., 1990). The results of this study were calculated using matrix factoring to find similarities of motive structures for the EUH categories. This approach was based on developmental theory "which

suggests that the structure of a cognitive domain becomes more complex with increasing experience pertaining to that domain" (Williams et. al., 1990, p. 47). William et al. stated that a cognitive domain is the mind set of a participant that is commonly developed from the individuals "interrelated beliefs about a subject" that "becomes more complex with increasing experience" (p. 17). Findings demonstrated that as individuals' EUH increases (from a novice toward a veteran) differences in motivational structures for participating become more complex (William et al., 1990). For example although novices and visitors had considerable similarities in their motives to river float (e.g., stress relief, relief from daily routine, and escape from crowds), veterans were clearly different in their motivational structure for participating in the activity (e.g., developing personal skills, developing knowledge of area and activity, and exploring other activities). This study supported the argument that leisure motivation may not be generalized across user groups (Williams et al., 1990).

Different from EUH, Hase (1996) conducted a study on the effects of specialization on motivations and management setting preferences of anglers. Most of the selected management setting preferences was not related to specialization; however a positive relationship was present between motivations and specialization (Hase, 1996). Hase's study consisted of 597 respondents of which 90.5% were male and 90.2% were of Caucasian descent. The initial components used to study specialization were past experience, skill level, equipment investment, and centrality to life. The components were tested and refined to include only two of the four original dimensions of past experience (i.e., general experience and recent experience) and a combined component of skill level and centrality to life. This study did not find equipment investment (i.e., total

dollar amount invested in angling equipment) as a significant dimension of specialization. Based on the revised specialization dimensions, a relationship was found between specialization and motivations (Hase, 1996). General experience was the most significant predictor of non-catch related motivations with a p-value. Recent experience and skill level/centrality were the most significant predictors for catch-related motivations. Therefore, as specialization increased, the desire to fish for challenge and sport, develop skill, obtain trophy fish, fish for fun, and fish for experience and adventure increased. This study also indicated as specialization increased attachment and commitment to angling also increased.

Specialization with Management and Setting Implications

Experience level has been identified as a significant predictor to the response and/or perceptions of management implications (Hase, 1996) and setting preferences (Hammitt et al., 1989). According to Bryan (1979) an individual's level of specialization is related to how that person will perceive, evaluate, and behave within that environment. However, not all research has supported Bryan's implication.

Discussed previously, Hase's (1996) study on the effects of specialization on the motivations and management setting preferences of anglers found a relationship between motivations and specialization however the findings were unable to link her specialization dimensions to most of the selected management setting preferences (Hase, 1996). For example, zero percent variance indicated a negative relationship between specialization dimensions (general experience, recent experience, and skill/centrality) and management preference toward access and facilities (Hase, 1996). Conversely, the

specialization dimension of recent experience (i.e., novice or beginner) carried a 3% variance ($p < .01$) indicating a positive relationship towards the management preference for creating more opportunities for alternative recreation (e.g., camping, hiking, picnicking, etc.). Hase's study indicated that as the "amount of experience increased over the 12 months the support for management setting preferences toward more opportunities for alternative recreation decreased" (p. 85).

Oh and Ditton (2006) recently used specialization to identify group differences in anglers' preferences for management restrictions. Their study surveyed a sample of angler license holders who targeted red drum in Texas. Through the use of mail questionnaires, Oh and Ditton measured specialization that included the components of experience (i.e., total experience in last 12 months), skill and knowledge (i.e., self-evaluated fishing skill and knowledge), and commitment (i.e., importance of fishing compared to other activities and replacement cost of equipment). A cluster analysis produced three specialization groups identified as casual, intermediate, and advanced anglers (Oh & Ditton, 2006). A confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) indicated significant differences between casual anglers and those classified as intermediate and advanced. For example, resulting mean values of the cluster analysis indicated intermediate and advanced anglers had higher self-reported fishing skill and knowledge than casual anglers. Furthermore, advanced anglers participated more frequently in fishing, had higher equipment expenditures, and were more committed to fishing.

Specialization with Leisure Worlds

Bryan (1979) concluded that within each level of specialization, participants among these levels form different sub groups anchored in "leisure social worlds." Research indicates, leisure reference groups influence the specialization process encouraging development along the continuum that ultimately set a standard of norms and behaviors (Bryan, 1979; Wellman, et al., 1982; Williams, 1988). Furthermore, leisure reference groups encourage participant behavior to shift from extrinsic to intrinsic rewards (Bryan, 1979). More than one leisure world (commonly called sub-world) can exist within a leisure group as well as the varying levels of specialization (Wellman et. al., 1982). Wellman et al. suggested, "The content of specialization may vary across individuals or groups of individuals within the activity" (p. 339).

Ditton et al. (1992) re-developed Bryan's specialization concept in their study of leisure social worlds existing among salt-water fishermen. These authors defined recreation specialization as "a process by which recreation social worlds and sub-worlds segment and intersect into new recreation sub worlds, and the subsequent ordered arrangement of these sub worlds and their members along a continuum" (Ditton et al., 1992, p. 39). Ditton et al. arranged the sample of sport anglers along a continuum according to the number of participation days within the previous 12-month period, which formed four specialization sub-worlds. Concurrently, these authors tested four specific propositions, which were found to link specialization with the elements of social sub-worlds. Their four propositions included:

(a) As specialization increases sub-worlds will segment around specific resource characteristics and objects and sub-worlds will compete for the same resources

(b) As specialization increases the involvement and reliance on mediated interaction will increase (i.e., as sub groups grow and develop so does their need for media resources)

(c) As specialization increases an increase in extrinsic rewards or activity (e.g., catching fish to eat it) specific elements, will decrease within each sub world

(d) As specialization increases anglers will attach more importance to non activity-specific [e.g., family togetherness] elements [or intrinsic rewards] of the fishing experience. (p. 40-42)

Results of the ANOVA indicated significant differences between specialization groups and the four significant propositions tested. For example, Ditton et al. found high specialization anglers to have significantly higher resource dependency than low specialization anglers. In other words high specialization anglers considered catching a specific size (e.g., trophy fish) or type (e.g., rare breed) of fish an important reason to fish in contrast to low specialized anglers who placed emphasis on being able to catch anything at all.

Scott and Godbey (1994) performed a study using observation and interview techniques, to identify the nature of Bryan's specialization concept in the social world of contract bridge. Scott and Godbey were able to classify participant into four categories (i.e., tournament players, regular duplicate players, regular social players, and occasional players) where they demonstrated differences in "intensity of involvement, meaning of

participation, game and setting preferences, frequency of play, orientation to skill development, and the kinds of commitments made" (p. 292). However Scott and Godbey indicated a negative relationship between participation level and level of specialization. In other words, bridge players did not follow a specialization continuum from novice to expert. Moreover according to past research (c.f., Ditton et al., 1992; Donnelly et al., 1986; McIntyre & Pigram, 1992) Scott and Godbey's study did not support the progression from one end of the continuum to the other over time. Instead Scott and Godbey (1994) indicated bridge players either defined themselves as social or serious. They concluded, "Self-definition is developed and reinforced by sustained interaction with like-minded players" (p. 282). Scott and Godbey emphasized that commitment level was not affected regardless of the participant's affiliation of a particular sub world or group.

Theoretical Framework of Leisure Motivation

Reviewed in this section is the theoretical foundation for examining a motivational framework identifying participant behavior that points to desired psychological and physical outcomes. This portion of the chapter will provide the foundation of motivational research as it relates to leisure motivation, a review of leisure motivation theories, which constitute important theoretical underpinnings of Driver's (1976, 1977) outcome motivation model, and an overview of past and present research related to leisure motivation. Finally, women and motivation research will be discussed.

Leisure Motivation Defined

Motivation has been broadly defined as the forces acting on or within a person that cause the arousal, direction, and persistence of goal-directed, voluntary effort (Iso-Ahola, 1999). Motivation theory is concerned with processes that explain why and how human behavior is stimulated and changed. Specifically, leisure motivation theory has focused on the behaviors related to the drive to engage in an activity and the mental predisposition to initiate and continue in that activity (Beard & Ragheb, 1983; Crandall, 1980; Driver, 1976).

Numerous theories and models have been used to investigate the various factors and variables contributing to leisure motivation (e.g., Beard & Ragheb, 1983; Driver & Manfredo, 1996; London, Crandall, & Fitzgibbons, 1977; Tinsley & Kass, 1979). Despite the magnitude of effort devoted to the study of leisure motivation, there is no single theory of motivation that is universally accepted (Iso-Ahola, 1999). The lack of a unified theory reflects the complex construct of motivation and the dynamic backgrounds and aims of its investigators.

Over time, the major theoretical streams of research in motivation have been classified into two schools of thought: the content theories of motivation and the process theories of motivation (Iso-Ahola, 1999). Content (or need) theories of motivation focus on internal factors that drive and direct a participant's behavior (Iso-Ahola, 1999). In general, such theories regard motivation as the product of internal drives that compel an individual to act or move (i.e., motivate) toward the satisfaction of individual needs.

Process (or cognitive) theories of motivation focus on conscious human decision processes as an explanation of motivation (Crandall, 1980; Lawler, 1973). The process

theories are concerned with determining how individual behavior is energized, directed, and maintained in the specifically willed and self-directed human cognitive processes (Beard & Ragheb, 1983; Driver & Manfredo, 1996; Tinsley & Kass, 1979). Process theories of motivation are based on early cognitive theories, which suggest that behavior is the result of conscious decision-making processes (Driver, 1976, 1977; Lawler, 1973). The discussion and development of need and process theories in this section will be given as they relate to the leisure motivation construct. In reference to these theories, the term motivation has been regarded synonymous with drive, need, desire, expectation, and preference.

Leisure Motivation Theories

Each recreation experience is as anomalous as the individual engaging in the activity (Hase, 1996). Based on Driver's (1976) research, a recreation experience is the combined sociological, physical, and emotional responses of a leisure activity. In other words, each individual develops particular responses to an activity and bring preconceived responses (e.g., mental, emotional, spiritual, etc.) that affect a leisure experience (Driver, 1976; Hase, 1996). The comprehension of the behavior derived from these responses, serves as a vehicle to a deeper understanding of the recreation experience. As the following theories explain, leisure motivation can be viewed as activity dependent, goal-oriented, and related to needs.

Maslow (1943) conceptualized human motivation as a need that is expressed or satisfied. He developed five fundamental levels of motivation where the most basic needs must be fulfilled before higher needs can emerge. His model classified needs (from most

important to least important) as psychological, safety, love, esteem, and self-actualization. Psychological needs are the most basic needs for food, water, and other factors necessary for survival. Security needs include needs for safety in one's physical environment, stability, and freedom from emotional distress. Belongingness needs relate to desires for friendship, love, and acceptance within a given community of individuals. Esteem needs are those associated with obtaining the respect of one's self and others. Finally, self-actualization needs are those corresponding to the achievement of one's own potential. Unsatisfied needs motivate behavior; thus, lower-level needs such as the physiological and security needs must be met before upper-level needs such belongingness, esteem, and self-actualization can be achieved (Maslow, 1943).

Testing Maslow's theory, Bultena and Taves (1961) conducted a study on a sample of anglers visiting forested areas that found a positive relationship between motivations and Maslow's hierarchical model. These authors determined that anglers placed an order of importance on some motives versus others. For example, a considerable number of respondents placed less emphasis on the number of fish caught and more emphasis on an opportunity to fish in a natural outdoor setting (Bultena & Taves). Expanding further on Maslow's theory, Mills (1985) examined the possibility of a hierarchical structure of motivations among downhill skiers. Mills (1985) analysis resulted in a confirmed existence of a hierarchy of participant motivations. A later study conducted by Haggard and Williams (1992) also confirmed the existence of a hierarchical structure among respondents engaging in leisure activities as a form of maintaining their identity. Their study focused on the highest need, self-actualization or self-affirmation of Maslow's model. The authors argued that people possess two identities of 'self' that

include the perceived self and the subjective self. The participation in leisure activities symbolizes the need to bring the perceived self into harmony with the subjective self (Haggard & Williams, 1992). Haggard and Williams (1992) concluded that each leisure engagement represents a set of identity images, which may be seen as a motivation to participate in specific leisure activities.

Driver and Tocher (1970) conceptualized motivation as "experience expectations." An individual's expected outcome of an activity is the force behind certain desirable conditions, thus prompting action. Driver (1976) believed preferred experiences were significant in explaining reasons individuals participate in outdoor recreation. He suggested that people select a specific activity based on previous experiences with and in that activity. Manfredo et al. (1983) agreed that motivation is driven by expectations. The authors hypothesized two specific types of expectations that include (a) an attempt to participate in a leisure activity that will eventually provide specific experiences (e.g., performances) and (b) these experiences as a means to achieve positive outcomes or desired states.

According to Manfredo et al. (1996) the pursuit of a recreational behavior "should be conceptualized as a psychophysiological experience that is self-rewarding, occurs during non-obligated free time, and is the result of free choice" (p. 189). Driver (1976) indicated that motivation is derived from outcomes of ongoing experiences in a selected recreational pursuit or several pursuits. Thus, these enduring experiences are characterized as holistic reactions involving the participants psychological, physical, spiritual, and/or other responses to the activity engagement (Driver 1976). Driver (1976) argued that in many cases, the resulting (i.e., total) experience is either satisfying or

unsatisfying in turn affecting the quality of the recreation experience. Furthermore, the total experience can be broken down into smaller more identifiable occurrences, referred to by Driver (1976) as psychological outcomes. For example, Virden (1986) illustrated that different individuals participating in rock climbing derive separate satisfactions from the activity. He indicated that the first rock climber might seek to participate for thrill seeking and physical exertion while the second climber participates to socialize and to be with friends in an outdoor setting. While each rock climber values the same activity, Driver and Tocher (1970) concluded that the climbers seek to obtain different outcomes to satisfy physiological, physical, and/or other needs.

Driver (1977) hypothesized that outcomes are derived from an activity created by the recreationist prior to the recreation experience (Driver, 1977). Moreover, the outcome pursued from a recreational activity is a result of an unsatisfactory cognitive state referred to as a problem state (i.e., unfulfilled gap) (Manfredo et al., 1996). There is an expectancy to fulfill a need or set of needs through recreation. For example a person overloaded (i.e., problem state) with everyday responsibilities may be motivated to go for a jog on the beach to provide a temporary escape from stress. The motivational force (stress) is satisfied by the recreational pursuit (jogging) (Manfredo, et al., 1996). The assumption was that this person develops the expectation that running will relieve stress.

This psychological theory of motivation suggests most human behavior is guided by desired or expected outcomes (Lawler, 1973; Virden 1986). Lawler (1973) introduced expectancy-valence motivation concepts with his research on work place behavior. Valence reflects the degree (or amount) of drawing power a person or object possesses as a behavioral objective (or goal) and expectancy is defined as a calculated outcome

resulting from a predetermined behavior (Lawler, 1973). Lawler (1973) indicated that an employee's behavior is increasingly a function of both ability and motivation. The desired goal or experience effects to some extent the actions and attitude of the employee. For example, an employee desiring to obtain a promotion from the work place proceeds to acquire new job responsibilities. The undertaking of new responsibilities becomes a 'means' and receiving a promotion is the goal or 'ends' (i.e., expectation or outcome) (Lawler, 1973). Driver (1977) concluded that more than one outcome or expected benefit is sought and realized as a result of the individuals' desire or need.

Lawler's (1973) expectancy model revealed four assumptions regarding multiple outcomes derived from work motivation. He specified that some outcomes are a means to an end, while others are a means to themselves. His model states:

1. Individuals possess a variety of potentially available outcomes.
2. Individuals hold expectations that a specific action will lead to a predicted behavior.
3. Individuals hold expectations that specific outcomes will be attained as a result of their behavior.
4. An individual's chosen action is determined by the expectations and preferences of that individual at that particular time. (p. 49)

Lawler's concepts served as a basis for further research in motivation, however they fail to accommodate for the range of potential variables that influence behavior. Driver's (1977) comprehensive research has provided additional insight into motivation research.

Research by Driver and his associates has become the most inclusive approach to motivational studies in outdoor recreation. As a result of their work, the recreation

experience preference (REP) scales were developed. The REP scales sought to measure the intrinsic and/or antecedent conditions which initiate an individual's engagement in an activity (Driver, 1977, 1991). Driver's (1977) dimensions of motivation were divided into sections called "preference domains," and each domain contains one to several scales. Operationally, the assumption was that several particular scale items correlate to provide information about a broader experience preference domain (Driver, 1977). For example one motivation domain was labeled "enjoy nature," which branches into smaller scales named "scenery" and "general nature experience." Scenery was divided further into two items labeled, "view the scenery" and "view the scenic beauty." General nature experience was also segmented into smaller sections called "be close to nature" and "enjoy the smells and sounds of nature" (Driver 1977, 1991). Driver's (1977, 1991) motivation scales assisted in defining and measuring recreationists' reasons for participating in leisure.

Review of Literature Related to Leisure Motivation

This section will briefly discuss literature on motivation as it has been used in the field of leisure research. Literature reviewed in the section will cover the multi-dimensional construct of leisure motivation as it relates to experience level in different leisure activities and more specifically females and the effects of motivation on behavior and participation.

Leisure Motivation and Experience Level

Although little research exists specifically on motivations of surfers, findings from other activities do suggest the motivation is a multidimensional construct (Ewert, 1993; Falk et al., 1989; Fluker & Turner, 2000; Hsu, 1998; Williams et al., 1990). In other words, leisure behavior is comprised of more than one motive and any one motive may potentially transform physiologically, psychologically, and socially over time (Driver, 1976, 1977; Ewert, 1993; Virden, 1986). Additionally as activity experience increases, motivations for participation are subject to change (Virden, 1986).

Discussed earlier, Williams et al. (1990) used a sample of whitewater rafters to study the effects of EUH on the multi-dimensional structure of motivations to participate in leisure activities. The REP scales were administered to whitewater river runners on 13 different rivers and subjects were segmented by experience level. Results indicated a large variation between expert level and novice level river runners, with the most experienced showing the greatest about of motive complexity.

Six years earlier, Schreyer et al. (1984) used experience as an indicator of motivations for river floaters. A positive relationship was found between levels of experience and participants' motivations for river running. For example, participants with basic experience (i.e., novice) were more likely to be motivated by wanting to experience something new and different, spend time with family, and build their self-confidence, than highly experienced (i.e., veterans) participants. Veterans were more likely than novice's to be motivated by a sense of achievement, self-worth, and personal meaning (i.e., "to be my own boss," "to test and use my own equipment," "to develop my skills,"

"to test my abilities," "to strengthen feelings of self-worth," and "to think about personal values") when participating in river floating.

Past research has also found variation in motivations of other leisure activities. Petrick, Backman, Bixler, and William (2001) investigated the effects of experience on motivations of golfers. The authors segmented participants' experience level using demographic information. Results indicated that motivational differences were significantly related to experience use history of participants (Petrick et al., 2001). Petrick et al. (2001) indicated that golfers with higher levels of experience were more likely to be motivated by competition to engage in golfing. In contrast, golfers with lower experience levels were more likely to be motivated by an opportunity to be at leisure (Petrick et al, 2001). Consistent with Williams et al. (1990), these findings suggested that prior experience or lack of it makes a significant difference in participant's motivations for engaging in an activity.

Ewert's (1993) study on mountain climbers investigated how a successful (i.e., trip outcome measured as reaching the top) summit climb might affect the varying levels of motive importance (i.e., adjusting the value placed on particular motives to have a successful experience). Climbers were asked to indicate their group type (i.e., guided, independent, solo climber) and to self-rate their experience and skill level (i.e., beginner, novice, intermediate, and highly experienced) (Ewert, 1993). Ewert used success of trip (i.e., trip outcome), self-reported experience/skill level, and group type to measure the levels of motive importance of each participant. Using a chi-square analysis Ewert reported a positive relationship between motive importance and success of trip. For example successful climbers indicated higher levels of motivation including

"exhilaration, because of risk, recognition, and to develop climbing abilities" (Ewert, 1993, p. 341). Unsuccessful climbers placed more value on motives including, "to make decisions, disengaging from normal life, slowing the mind down, photography, to experience wilderness, and to view scenery" (Ewert, 1993, p. 341).

Leisure Motivation and Female Participation

Research conducted about females and their motivations to participate in leisure has been useful in understanding the diversity of responses women exhibit towards leisure participation (Little, 2002). Over the last two decades the attention of feminist research has been placed on women in traditionally non-female recreational sports or activities (Chu, Lieberman, Howe, & Bachor, 2002; Levy, 2002; Little, 2002; Menesson, 2000; Mroczkowska, 2003; Oberg, 1988; Scranton, Fasting, Pfister, & Bunuel, 1999; Theberge, 1995). Several consistent themes have emerged from the research surrounding female motives for participating in male-dominated sports. For example, several studies indicated that women were primarily motivated to engage in these activities for an opportunity to exert physical strength and speed, and for love of the sport (Menesson, 2000; Scranton et al., 1999; Theberge, 1995). Other motivations identified in specific studies were a sense of empowerment, self-confidence (Pohl, Borrie, & Patterson, 2000) and a team environment (Scranton et al., 1999; Theberge, 1995). Female motivation research has been important to the understanding of the variations in behaviors, preferences, and attitudes that characterize recreation opportunities for women.

Chu et al. (2002) investigated females and their motives to participate and continued involvement in the sport of rugby. A qualitative analysis of female rugby players was conducted using semi-structured in-depth interviews that consisted of three

main sections: (a) Initial participation of rugby; (b) continued participation; and (c) participating in a predominately male game" (Chu et al.). Chu et al. indicated that 13 of the respondent's initial involvement in the sport was motivated by friends that played and introduced them to the sport (e.g., a friend who played before extended and invitations). Twelve other participants stated that initial participation was motivated by their family's prior involvement in the sport (e.g., "I was in involved in a sport from a young age and was very much involve with rugby because that's what my father loved…") (Chu et al., p. 112). Other reasons stated for why participants began playing rugby included (a) the physical features of the game (e.g., "the physical side, which is sort of missing in the other sports. I really enjoyed getting bashed around") and (b) that the game involves skill and strategy (e.g., "I like rugby because I think it is a very intelligent game. It involves such a wide range of skills.") (Chu et al., p. 113). Chu et al. indicated that participants continued to play rugby mainly because of the enjoyment and challenge of the game (e.g., "…I just really enjoyed it…."; "…it wasn't just the game, it was the friendships and the amount of people involved in the game off the field…."; "…I was getting successful and learning more and more…") (p. 114). Overall, participants indicated that being apart of the Black Ferns rugby team was a positive experience and in many ways "enabled them to develop personally through new learning experiences" (Chu et al., p. 115).

In an attempt to understand the gendered differences of fencing participant's internal and external motivation, Mroczkowska (2003) hypothesized that female (n=29) motives would vary around needs and personal development. Using a seven-factor scale consisting of Sport Rivalry Motives (SRM), a chi-square analysis indicated that females most frequently chose the following motives as reasons to participate in fencing:

movement enjoyment, making friends, and personal development (Mroczkowska). In contrast, Mroczkowska found that girls were less likely than boys to participate in fencing for winning and social appreciation.

Summary of Literature Review

As one of the oldest forms of water recreation, surfing is an area that has been largely overlooked by North American leisure research. Specifically, the investigation of female participation in surfing is scarce. Since surfing is primarily revered as a male-dominated activity the meanings and experiences women develop are deeply embedded in a broader fraternal structure of leisure research. However, the increasing number of women entering the lineup has caught the attention of many recreation and industry professionals (Booth, 2001). The examination of women's leisure perspectives is significant to understanding the gaps that are found in gendered research.

Female perspectives on leisure have given birth to a variety of theories and methods that have been used to explore the experiences of females in leisure activities (Henderson & Allen, 1991; Henderson et al., 1996; Little, 2002; Shaw, 1994). These perspectives contribute to understand the meaning of leisure in women's lives. Women have distinct experiences, which make it difficult to define what each experience means to each woman. Freedom of choice and freedom from constraints are important components of leisure that contribute to satisfying and positive experiences for women. Lack of freedom and lack of choice make it difficult for women to achieve a quality leisure experience and even more so the benefits associated with that experience.

Other important aspects of women's leisure include affiliation and social connectedness with others, opportunities for independent and autonomous action, and time for self away from family and other responsibilities. In addition, women face numerous leisure constraints in achieving a meaningful and satisfying leisure life. Affiliative, leisure as autonomous, and constraints are considered significant female perspectives that have been overlooked in the specialization framework. Closing this gap in leisure research may uncover the diversity among lifestyles of females, the different ways in which women express their lived experiences, and the variations in each woman's experience.

Female research is important to understand the variations in behaviors, preferences, and attitudes of women. During leisure experiences, recreation specialization and motivation have been used to better understand the needs of women as well as men in different outdoor recreation activities and address new ideas about individual diversity between the two populations.

For over three decades Bryan's recreation specialization concept has been constructed and measured in a variety ways to understand the distinctive behaviors and attitudes associated with an activity (Scott & Schafer, 2001). The specialization concept has been constructed in discrete stages, as a continuum, and segmented into selected dimensions. The primary focus of specialization suggests that as individuals become more specialized, they gain knowledge about an activity which translates into numerous and complex representations about the activity (Bryan, 1977). Concomitantly, within the length and intensity of involvement are clusters of attitudes and values as to the activity's meaning, and its centrality to individual identity.

A variety of dimensions have been used to effectively measure specialization that include experience, setting preferences, equipment, commitment, centrality to life, and enduring involvement. These dimensions have been measured and analyzed distinctively and as dependent variables. Various methods have been helpful to explain the differences among recreationists, however the specialization concept has not been measured consistently.

Recreation specialization has proven useful in providing resource and visitor management guidelines by differentiating participants in an outdoor recreational activity. Differences in attitudes and behavior patterns among levels of specialized individuals have provided guidelines for resource and visitor management in outdoor recreation settings. Thus, levels of specialization have supported the segmentation of participants into more discrete categories.

Leisure motivation is a complex and broad phenomena. Leisure has been established as important to satisfying a desire or need for individuals. Concurrently, leisure activities according to Driver (1976, 1977), often are byproducts of attempts to reach expected outcomes or benefits. Understanding that recreation provides a means for participants to reach personal outcomes reinforces the importance for recreation programmers to effectively assist clients in meeting those needs.

In summary, this chapter details research regarding specialization levels, leisure motivation, and behaviors that have been the ground work for this study. Previous research indicated that participants in any outdoor recreation activity are not a homogenous group with respect to their skills, experiences, enduring involvement, and economic commitment levels. Additionally, the differences in these dimensions are

significant enough to segment recreationists into unique groups within a given activity. Lastly, these subgroups can be placed along a continuum because their attitudes, motivations, preferences, and behaviors have a strong potential to be general to particular. The next chapter will discuss the methods used to advance the efforts of previous research through a qualitative approach

Chapter 3, the methods chapter, provides the process of qualitative research employed to collect, analyze, and interpret data. More specifically in-depth interviews were used to explore the diverging levels of specialization, leisure motivations, and behaviors from a female surfer perspective.

CHAPTER 3

METHODS

The subjective aspects of leisure significantly contribute to understanding the meanings of leisure and provide the basis of this study's research design (Little, 2000; Levy, 2002; Shaw, 1994) utilized to investigate the experiences of female surfers. Interviewing is appropriate for capturing the meaning of an experience, allowing respondents to provide personal accounts that are as close to their lived experience as possible (Levy, 2002).

This chapter outlines the research methodology used in this study. The first section describes the location of the study. The second section presents a description of the respondents and the sampling procedures. The third section discusses the operationalization of the study variables included the development of the survey instrument and the method for data collection. The chapter concludes with the procedures for analyzing the data as related to the study's objectives.

Study Location

This study has taken place at four surfing locations (i.e., beach and reef) in San Luis Obispo County, California. The four surfing locations were: (a) Hazard Canyon Reef located in Los Osos; (b) Morro Rock located in Morro Bay; (c) Studio's located in Cayucos; and (d) Pismo Pier located in Pismo Beach. Three of these surfing locations are beach breaks (Morro Rock, Pismo Pier, and Studio's) and the third is a reef break (Hazard). The differences between the two types of breaks are significant in order to gather a broad range of specialization levels of the accessible population of female

surfers. Reef breaks consist of a hard shelf (e.g., made up of coral or rock) that is situated on the ocean floor. Reefs present a dangerous threat to surfers during a surf session if a wipeout (e.g., falling off a wave or getting caught inside on a big set) occurs and the surfer becomes entangled in or thrown against the hard shelf. Reefs can generate heavier and larger waves that are often surfed by more experienced surfers. However, reef breaks tend to be adjacent to a channel (i.e., deep water where waves do not break) that allows surfers to paddle out into a line-up (i.e., a place where a peak or breaking wave generates consistently) without much resistance from breaking waves. In contrast, beach breaks tend to present more of a challenge for surfers when trying to paddle out to the line up, especially in bigger surf. Beach breaks do not seem as dangerous to most surfers mainly because if a wipeout occurred the surfer would hit sand, a softer landing opposed to a hard shelf. Nevertheless, beach breaks may have submerged rocks and sandbars that can be dangerous to an unsuspecting surfer. Most beginner surfers tend to start learning at a beach break because of the less threatening nature (i.e., safety) it presents compared to a reef break.

Data Collection

Sampling Procedures

Purposive sampling was chosen for this study to increase the range of potential subjects. The respondents were chosen from the accessible population of female surfers in San Luis Obispo County. The respondents participated in this study were aged 25 and older. Based on Little's (2000) study, women in this age range have a matured perspective of life, developed from experiences, changes, and choices in their lives. The

approximate age of 30 is considered the mid-adult life period where adults develop deeper expressions of life meaning (Holmes, 1978; Sheehy, 1976, as cited in Little, 2000). Little believed that in order to gain a richer understanding of the behavior of women, mid-adulthood represented a lifecycle period that contained a "critical perspective about the meaning of life and what they ought to pursue" (p. 175).

Based on Bryan's (1977) first specialization proposition (i.e., Fishermen typically go through an expected pattern of experiences that increase their specialization over time, in their activity) women have been actively sought (i.e., purposive sampling) to represent all levels of specialization (i.e., novice to expert). Subjects were continuously selected throughout the study until all groups of women were represented.

Respondent Contact

Female surfers were approached at one of the surfing locations (i.e., Hazards Canyon, Morro Rock, Pismo Pier, or Studio's) for a one on one interview. All female surfers at these locations on the selected days were contacted. The researcher engaged in conversation with each female surfer and related the conditions of the study and asked the individual if she would be interested in participating in the study. The researcher actively targeted female stand-up (short or long board) surfers 25 years of age and older that met the criteria for the study. If the individual was interested in participating in the study, the researcher obtained the surfer's personal contact information (i.e., first and last name, cell/home phone number, and home address). Finally, the researcher contacted each respondent by phone or email and arranged an interview time and place.

Snowball sampling was also used to identify additional respondents. In other words, women found through initial contact were asked to offer information about other female surfers that may be interested in participating in the study.

Design of Instrument

Semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted with the respondents. In-depth interviews were used to focus on the participants lived experience to capture the deep meaning of their experiences in their own words (Fontana & Frey, 2003, as cited in Henderson, et al., 1996). Shank (19) utilized interviewing to gain insight into the meanings associated with limited discretionary time of dual career women. Shank indicated that unstructured interviews provide flexibility to identify issues that puzzle the researcher. In addition the interview process helps to increase understanding and to piece together themes and issues under consideration. A similar study conducted on the experiences of professional female mountain bikers used in-depth interviews to fill the gap that questions the meaning of competitive experiences of female athletes (Levy, 2002). Levy concluded that this phenomenological approach helped to explore the past and present activity participation that integrates the respondents experience into a logical account. Shaw (1994) also concluded that through in-depth interviews, female adventure participants were able to describe the reality of their "lived experience." Through these descriptions Shaw reported that important "meanings to events, processes, and structures of the experiences" of each respondent were discovered which significantly contributed to unfolding definitions of their social situations (p. 161). Patton (2002) stated that in-depth interviewing can provide a greater breadth of data than the other types. Therefore

conducting in-depth interviews requires careful establishment of trust, rapport, relevance, and mutual respect (Levy, 2002; Little, 2002; Patton, 2002; Shaw, 1994).

The use of human subjects and procedures used in this study were reviewed and approved by California Polytechnic State University San Luis Obispo, Human Subjects Review Committee. In accordance with the protocol specified, subjects for this investigation were given a thorough explanation of the motives and intentions of the study and also given assurance of confidentiality. They were issued and asked to read and sign an informed consent statement form (see Appendix B). They were allowed to express concerns or ask questions. Terms that were used in the interview were clearly established and explained to each subject (Patton, 2002). All interviews were conducted in a place considered by the subject to be comfortable and free of intrusions (e.g., subjects' home, local coffee shop, local park, or beach). With the permission of the subjects, interviews were audio tape recorded, allowing the interviewer to capture the actual language used and the context of the verbal statements. Shank indicated that this method also permits the interviewer to be alert to what is being said in the moment and allows notes to be taken related to affect, mood, and emphasis of the informant.

Interview Question Design

The intent of this study was to explore the varying levels of specialization, motivation, and behaviors of female surfers. Additionally, it was important to understand the phenomenological meanings attached to the participants' experiences in surfing. A general interview guide was developed to investigate the concepts that were possibly

relevant to the purpose of this study. The in-depth interview guide can be found in Appendix C.

Specialization

The interview questions pertaining to specialization were composed of Bryan's (Bryan, 1977, 1979) specialization framework and more recent specialization research (e.g., Bricker & Kerstetter, 2000; Ditton et al., 1992; Oh & Ditton, 2006). Bryan previously segmented trout anglers by their respective frequency of participation, setting preferences, technique preferences, choice of equipment, the importance of catching fish, social setting of the activity, and fishery resource management preferences. Further research attempted to re-define specialization in terms of social worlds (Ditton et al., 1992), segmentation of groups by a single dimension of behavior (e.g., Schreyer et al., 1984), and by an attitudinal focus (e.g., Bricker & Kerstetter; 2001; McIntyre, 1989; Schafer & Hammitt, 1995).

Following a discussion of the specialization concepts, subjects were asked to reflect on past and present experience in surfing. They were asked to describe their level of commitment and involvement as well as to comment on their affective attachment (i.e., attraction, self-expression, and centrality to life) to the activity of surfing.

Leisure Motivations

To examine the concept of leisure motivation respondents were asked to reflect on the meaning of surfing in their lives. They were asked to explain why they initially chose to participate in surfing and what motivated them to remain active in the sport. The

behavioral aspects of this study were addressed by asking subjects to comment on their preferences related to how, when, where, and with whom they prefer to surf and why. Finally, a set of questions was developed to identify the socio-demographic characteristics of each participant.

Pilot Study

A pilot study was conducted to check the appropriateness and internal validity of the interview questions and to help improve the delivery and effectiveness of the interviewer (Peat, Mellis, Williams, & Xuan, 2002). The researcher conducted the in-depth interview with pilot subjects in exactly the same manner as it was administered in the main study. In accordance with Peat et al., during the first phase of the pilot study, pilot subjects were asked for feedback to clarify ambiguities and difficult questions. Additionally they were asked to comment on the delivery method and edict of the interviewer and the impact, if any, the interviewer had on their ability to answer the questions truthfully and freely (i.e., without feeling subject to bias or judgment). During the next phase, the evaluator recorded the time taken to complete the interview and decided whether it was reasonable (Patton, 2002). Then the investigator evaluated whether each question permitted an adequate range of responses and established that replies could be interpreted in terms of the information that was required (Patton, 2002; Peat, et al., 2002). During last phase of the pilot study the researcher modified and/or reworked questions that were not answered as expected. After all necessary changes were made the researcher conducted the main study.

Content Analysis

Content analysis requires careful consideration of the process used to examine transcribed descriptions. This process involves "identifying, coding, and categorizing the primary pattern in the data" (Patton, 1990, p. 381). This process has been conducted in three main phases.

The first phase of analysis required the researcher to identify and eliminate personal biases and preconceptions based on personal involvement and experiences in (Bricker, 1998; Patton, 1990, 2002) surfing and the surfing community. The researcher has been an avid surfer for over 14 years serving as a surf instructor for various surf camps and women's surf clinics as well as a judge for several surf contests. She has also been an ocean-lifeguard since 1991 and continues to work in this position. The researcher has participated in surfing at the same surfing locations used in this study and felt that she understood the dynamics of the beach and ocean conditions and the structure of local surf communities. The researcher recognized that after spending over 17 years involved in surfing she greatly appreciates the aesthetic beauty, enduring commitment, attachment, challenge, and sense of community she has experienced. The researcher also recognized that her personal and professional involvement was advantageous to the study. First, she knew the ever-changing nature of the ocean very well and was able to identify with the respondent's descriptions of their experiences. Second, she was very familiar with the surfing locations used and understood the prime periods (i.e., according to tides, swell direction, weather, and storm systems) to surf quality waves. She felt that the surfing locations used in this study were applicable to all levels of surfing skill and development. Additionally, she felt her background in surfing and ocean knowledge

allowed her to relate to each study participant. Once these biases were recognized the researcher acknowledged that all meaning must be accounted for in the analysis. Following this phase of analyzing, the next step was to use a phenomenological (reduction or bracketing which will investigate the structure and essence of experience of the phenomenon) approach to breaking down each verbal transcription (Peat et al., 2002; Patton, 2002).

Bracketing in this study involved several steps that were managed and analyzed by hand (Patton, 2002). The steps to analyze transcribed data were as follows:

1. Identified personal experience, or self-story, key phrases and statements that spoke directly to the phenomenon in question.
2. Coded each transcript according to topic of issues associated with each subject.
3. Generated themes (categories) on an ongoing basis.
    a. Noting regularities or commonalities.
    b. Identifying patterns of belief that link specialization with motivations and behavior.
    c. Examine meanings associated with the significant and recurring features of the phenomenon studied.
    d. Noting and offering tentative statements, or definitions, of the phenomenon in terms of the significant recurring features identified (Peat et al., 2002; Patton, 2002).
4. Using the process of constant comparison to generate ideas or dimensions of categories including relationships in and among categories (Levy 2002).

5. Providing each subject with a personal transcription of their data and have them check for accuracy.
6. A coding scheme was developed from transcribed data utilizing open codes, axial codes, and selective codes.

The third phase of content analysis was to report and interpret the emerging themes and categories. The researcher completed a final review of the data to ensure that the categories, explanations, concepts, and interpretations accurately reflected the experiences of the respondents. Finally, the content analyzed was summarized. Additionally, a review of the material transcribed was available to all respondents upon their request.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

This chapter presents the study results of an exploration of recreation specialization and motivation of surfers from a female perspective. At the conclusion of the transcription process, 218 pages of text were included in the data analysis process. From the data, categories emerged specific to the components of recreation specialization (i.e., present/past experience, skill level, equipment/monetary investment, commitment, and enduring involvement), leisure motivation, leisure behavior, and female perspectives (i.e., affiliation and self-determined). The use of coding resulted in the emergence of 17 selective codes relevant to recreation specialization, 3 selective codes relevant to motivation, one selective code relevant to behavior, and 9 selective codes relevant to female perspectives. A diagram used as an example of the relationship between selective codes and axial codes can be found in Appendix D, Figure D-1. A diagram used to support the relationships between major categories and selective codes can be found in Appendixes D, Figures D-2. The next section will discuss the description of the nine participants in this study.

Description of Participants

The following biographical descriptions are intended to provide information concerning the background and surfing practice of the female participants. In order to protect the confidentiality of the participants, pseudonyms have been used. See Table 4.1 for descriptions of the participants including age, marital status, number of children, and number of years of surfing experience.

Ms. Orange

Ms. Orange was born in California, but was raised for five years in Hawaii where she first attempted to surf at the age of 11. She began actively pursuing surfing at the age of 20, after moving to San Luis Obispo. Ms. Orange holds an AA degree in science. She works as a phlebotomist at a local hospital and is on a wait list to attend a nursing program at a local community college. She currently resides in a small town approximately five minutes from the ocean and expressed interest in shortboarding and longboarding.

Ms. Green

Ms. Green grew up on the east coast and did not begin surfing until she moved to San Luis Obispo County. She began actively pursuing surfing at the age of 24 and has expressed a preferred interest in longboarding. Ms. Green received a Bachelor of Science degree in Agriculture. She resides in a home on the beach and is employed by the local university as an Outreach Coordinator for an organic farm. She also helps operate her husband's business as an office manager/bookkeeper.

Ms. Light Blue

Ms. Light Blue had her first experience surfing at the age of five, while camping on the coast of California. However, she did not actively pursue surfing until the age of 18, as a college student in San Luis Obispo County. Ms. Light Blue has completed her Bachelor of Science degree in Psychology, with a minor in Spanish. She is currently pursuing a teaching credential and works as a substitute teacher and a baristas. She resides approximately 20 minutes from the ocean and prefers to surf on a shortboard.

Ms. Purple

Ms. Purple was introduced to surfing when she was eight years of age on the beaches of California. Her first surfing experience was at the age of 24 in Baja, Mexico. This was also the age that she formed an interest in surfing and began pursuing it consistently. She received a Master's degree in Spanish and works as a lecturer at a local community college. Ms. Purple lives in San Luis Obispo County approximately five minutes from the ocean and expresses an interest in both longboarding and shortboarding.

Ms. Brown

Ms. Brown grew up on the Northern beaches of California. She moved to San Luis Obispo County at the age of 20 to attend college. She holds a Bachelor of Science degree in Kinesiology and is currently attending nursing school. She began actively pursuing surfing after her first experience with the activity at the age of nine. She works as a massage therapist and phlebotomist and lives approximately 20 minutes from the ocean. Ms. Brown prefers to surf on a shortboard.

Ms. Pink

Ms. Pink has been surfing since the age of 10. She moved to the central coast of California in 1979 and lived there until she graduated from high school. At that time she moved to Hawaii for eight years and then returned to San Luis Obispo County in 1987 where she currently resides approximately five minutes from the ocean. Ms. Pink has a high school level education with some college. She is self-employed as a construction

laborer and invests in the stock market. Ms. Pink has expressed an interest in longboarding and shortboarding.

Ms. Mustard

Ms. Mustard grew up on the coast of California where she had her first surfing experience at the age of 17, while attending high school. She began actively pursuing surfing at the age of 29 after moving to San Luis Obispo County. Ms. Mustard holds an AA degree in Film and Business. She is self-employed as a website designer and provides online marketing for various companies. Ms. Mustard lives approximately 20 minutes from the ocean and expressed a preferred interest in shortboarding.

Ms. Midnight

Ms. Midnight grew up in central California where the closest beach was two and a half hours away. She has been an active participant in surfing since the age of nine. During and after her college education Ms. Midnight Blue was heavily involved in competitive surfing. She holds a Bachelor of Arts degree in Communications and is self-employed as a realtor and works with her father in his construction business. She resides in a small town approximately five minutes from the ocean and has expressed a preferred interest in shortboarding.

Ms. Black

Ms. Black was born in Switzerland and moved to El Salvador a few years later. She became actively involved in surfing in El Salvador at the age of 12. She relocated to the east coast in the United States at the age of 18 and had several moves until her final

residence in San Luis Obispo County. She received a Bachelor of Arts degree in Modern Language and Literature and a single subject teaching credential. She is employed as a Spanish teacher at a local high school. Ms. Black resides in a small town and has expressed a preferred interest in shortboarding.

Table 4-1

Description of Participants

Name	Age	Martial Status	Children Y/N	Overall # of Years of Surfing Experience
Ms. Orange	25	Single	No	5
Ms. Green	29	Married	No	5
Ms. Light Blue	25	Married	No	7
Ms. Purple	40	Married	Yes	16
Ms. Brown	27	Single	No	18
Ms. Pink	46	Single	No	36
Ms. Mustard	30	Single	No	1
Ms. Midnight	30	Married	Yes	21
Ms. Black	32	Single	Yes	14

Experience Level

The selective codes relevant to the female surfers' experience level included present participation, past participation, and setting preference. The bracketing framing the relationship between the open codes, axial codes, and selective codes is shown in Appendix D. Each specific selective code is detailed below.

Present Participation

The selective code, present participation, consisted of two axial codes including frequency of participation and duration of participation. Each of the participants commented on their present participation experience as consisting of the past "surf season" that began in September 2007, through the date of their interview in the month of March 2008.

*Frequency of present participation***.** The axial code, frequency of present participation, emerged from the participants' comments regarding the amount of time they currently spend surfing. The findings illustrated that the female surfers varied in the number of days, weeks, and months they participated in surfing. Ms. Light Blue described the varying and inconsistent nature of her participation in surfing:

> Presently in the past three weeks I've been surfing at least two to three times a week. Almost directly before I had been studying a ton, I had been once every two to three weeks.

This participant described her present participation experience in terms of how many days a week she surfed. In contrast Ms. Orange described her present participation in terms of days per month:

> Presently at the moment I have not been surfing very much. I had to go through surgery and working at the hospital going in at 5 am getting off at 2 pm… a lot of times, it's blown out…so I feel more like the weekend warrior these days…say over the past three months…five days combined in the last 3 months.

Ms. Orange's present participation has been contingent upon health issues, work obligations, and weather conditions. She talks about feeling like a "weekend warrior" suggesting she surfs mainly on weekends. Similarly, Ms. Purple's present participation in surfing has been affected by similar conditions. However Ms. Purple has a unique aspect to her present participation that has allowed her to be more involved in surfing:

> For the past year and a half I started surfing more, consistently. I started surfing with a mom's group where we watch each others kids every Monday and we meet every Monday basically rain or shine, without fail…I have been surfing pretty consistently at least twice a week, once a week there would be maybe…a couple weeks would go by and you wouldn't surf, or three weeks here and there. I surfed a week and a half ago. For some reason this winter I haven't surfed as much and I think it is because of the pollution and the water has kept me out. Last time I surfed late November early December I had a sinus infection and my ears really bothered me.

The involvement of a surf mom's group was an important factor contributing to this participant's ability to surf. Ms. Purple described the mom's group as meeting "rain

or shine, without fail" which has allowed her to negotiate her surfing time and participate more frequently than if she had not had this group affiliation to depend on for child care.

Duration of participation. The axial code, duration, has been described by all nine participants as the amount of time spent surfing in a single surf session. Seven of the nine participants reported having a minimum duration time of one hour. In contrast, one of the participants, Ms. Purple had a minimum duration of 45 minutes and Ms. Pink had a minimum duration of two hours.

All nine participants reported a normal surf session lasting less than two hours. For example, Ms. Brown stated, "one hour per session" and Ms. Green stated "about an hour to two hours." However, Ms. Light Blue described a unique circumstance to the duration of her surf sessions:

> I like to think that they (surf sessions) last about an hour, at least. When my wetsuit had holes in it, I was out for 45 minutes… right now um…a minimum of one and a half hours to two hours…and two and a half hours is like an amazing day.

This participant reported that having poor equipment limited her ability to stay in the water longer. She also commented that currently she is in a newer wetsuit that allows her to last longer in the water. Additionally, she described that surfing over two hours "is like an amazing day" and therefore may be abnormal for her and somewhat of an indulgence or special occasion.

Past Participation

The selective code, past participation, was comprised of two axial codes including preceding activities to eventual participation in surfing and frequency of participation in surfing. Several of the participants described previous activities that introduced them to the ocean and the idea of surfing before actually engaging in the activity. They also discussed the events leading to their initial participation and commitment to actively pursue surfing. Each of the participants commented on their frequency of participation since their initial decision to actively pursue surfing.

Preceding activities to eventual participation. Supporting the axial code, preceding activities to eventual participation, several of the participants credited their eventual participation in surfing to the activities they engaged in previous to their knowledge and interest in surfing. Ms. Mustard stated, "I started boogie boarding when I was like 12…so I have a little bit of water knowledge" and Ms. Pink described her introduction to surfing by saying, "We had always been around the ocean, body surfed when we were just babies." Ms. Orange stated that being part of a family that surfs led to eventual participation, "When I was younger I would go with my dad and brothers on 'dawn patrol' missions and sit there and watch them surf the whole time and take pictures." Ms. Purple interest in the water began at age eight, "I think my dad threw me out there when I was eight and I would bodysurf three or four hours a day, when I was 12 or 13." Although Ms. Purple was introduced to the ocean and riding waves at a young age she still had several other experiences with surfing that led to an interest in pursuing the activity much later in her life:

> I have traveled the world and have been to some very famous surf spots before I started surfing. A whole year before I was ever introduced to surfing I went to Ragland, Indo, I traveled with surfers to lots of places in Australia, Malaysia, Thailand… It never crossed my mind to do…actually that's not true, in Australia I had a girlfriend I met there and she was surfing.

This participant's travels to various famous surfing locations may have been an important factor to her initial participation and decision to pursue surfing on a regular basis.

Frequency of past participation. The axial code, frequency of past participation, was described by many of the participants as varying over the length of time they have been surfing. Most of the women describe their past experience in surfing as having gaps or phases. When asked if she was surfing everyday after her decision to actively pursue surfing, Ms. Black described her past participation in surfing having several major gaps:

> No not every day…because I lived in the capital and it was about a half an hour from the ocean. But I would go about 4 times a week for sure…I went through a stage where I did not surf because I moved to Switzerland, and there is no ocean there and then I did not surf for about four months. And then I moved to Venezuela, where I lived two years, and we lived in an area where there were not waves. I did not surf during this time…But I would always go back to El Salvador in the summer and maybe surf maybe a month out of the year. Then I moved to North Carolina. And in North Carolina we also were not near the ocean…during all that time it was on and off until I came to California in 2000. And in 2000 I came here …I felt I had to learn again…I did not have to work. I was going to school and my daughter was going to preschool. Yes I would say I was surfing

four to five times a weeks. It also depends on the conditions. We don't get waves every day or perfect conditions.

Ms. Green also described her past experience in surfing as stopping for a year then picking it up and basically "go through phases." Ms. Light Blue also found that her past surfing experience started with going "once a month and some months…two weeks in a row." She explained that later on she started going "two to three times a week" and if she was busier she would go "once or twice a week."

In contrast to the unpredictability of some of the participants' past surfing experience, two of the participants reported having fairly consistent past surfing experiences. Ms. Pink began pursuing surfing at the age of 10 and since then has surfed on a regular basis:

> …at 10 ya know…every summer we would get a place on the beach and surfed all summer, an everyday thing…I got my license at 16 and I was going to school in Santa Barbara and I surfed before, during, and after school. Then my senior year, my parents asked me to move up here…I surfed around here quite a bit and went to Cuesta College and surf was the main focus…and a friend of mine moved to Hawaii and so I decided to take the semester off and moved to Hawaii …I lived there for 8 years and the surf was ideal, I was in my lifestyle…I moved to Italy cause my brother lives there…I was surfing all the time in France…then when I came back from there a couple of years later…I just moved here and surfed around here and surfed around there…and just traveled ever since, Costa Rica, Hawaii, and now Mexico is my favorite.

Likewise, Ms. Midnight described her past experience with surfing as free from any major gaps except when, "I got mono and I did not surf for two months and when I had a baby I surfed until I was about five months pregnant and did not surf until he was about one month old." She stated that being pregnant was the "longest stretch" she had gone without surfing.

Setting Preference

The selective code, setting preference, consisted of five axial codes including weather conditions, wave/swell conditions, environmental conditions, time of year, and surfing location. The participants discussed their preference for how the weather, size of swell, type of waves, crowds, and pollution affected their surfing participation. The participants discussed the simultaneous effects of several conditions playing a role in affecting their surfing participation opposed to each condition being a distinctive factor in their surfing. The categories are discussed below in an inclusive format.

Several of the participants commented on how their interest or ability to surf has been dependent a lot on weather conditions, wave/swell, and time of year. Ms. Brown stated, "I surf mostly winter and summer…big waves and better conditions (winter) for California and summer I have more time and it is hot and warm." Ms. Green declared that she surfs mostly summers because she likes to be "warm after surfing…and longer days actually, for me, I just feel like I have more time to surf." Ms. Orange also surfs summers because of the warm weather and longer days, but she also says her surfing participation "depends on if it is too windy…wind in this area is a huge thing…and it will

affect where you are going with the swell." Ms. Pink also discussed her preference for specific conditions based on weather, swell, and the time of year:

> Well a really good day is when you wave up and it's glassy and it's a NW swell and the sun's out, and the surf's good size and a couple of feet over head, its really fun and un-crowded, or when it rains, immediately I click into the rock, when it rains it's offshore and raining, usually when it's stormy, when I know a good swell is coming. I will go out in any conditions so long as it's off shore or….when the water is 80 degrees.

Other participants discussed how their surfing is affected more by environmental pollution versus the weather, wave size, and time of year. Ms. Midnight stated:

> I surf in all conditions. I am not the kind of surfer that goes out when it's good…I like to go out all the time cause I like to get the exercise and I like to get in the water. And doing competitions you kind of have to surf in really bad weather all the time. I try not to surf after it rains cause I don't want to get sick.

Likewise, Ms. Mustard describes that weather and swell conditions do not significantly affect her surfing. She declared that she "only started surfing like last year" and will go out "when it's cold or hot, or rainy," unless there are heavy storms and "the water gets dirty…it keeps me out of the water."

Several of the participants discussed that their preferred surfing location was dependent on convenience, comfort, and the type of break (i.e., reef, sand, point break). Ms. Midnight commented that she "end's up" surfing in Cayucos "all the time" because her mom lives there and watches her child while she goes surfing. She also stated, "I love surfing the Canyon or the Sand Spit" because they are "close by." Ms. Pink

explained that she enjoys surfing the Rock because she is familiar with most of the people that surf out there and "it's generally all around better, it's good size, it handles a crowd, and it's convenient." Ms. Mustard described that she surfs "North County" beach breaks because they are "less rocky" and she stated "I don't like the rocks." Ms. Light Blue prefers to surf the Left Spot, because it's a reef break. She stated, "They (reef breaks) are just so smooth and predictable…so you can get in the exact spot that you know you can manage to take off." Ms. Purple declared that she likes to surf A-Beach because she feels "pretty comfortable at the same spot…because of familiarity."

Perceived Skills

The varying participation levels and exposure to a range of surfing specific settings can influence the perceived skills and skill level of a participant. The selective codes that emerged from the data specific to the participants' perceived skill included skills important for surfing and self-perceived skill. The framework detailing the relationships between open codes, axial codes, and selective codes is shown in Appendix E. Each specific category is detailed below.

Skills Important for Surfing

The selective code, skills important for surfing, was comprised of four axial codes including physical abilities, mental abilities, ocean knowledge, and surfing techniques. All participants reported on the skills important for surfing, as a combined phenomena opposed to each skill having a discrete significance. Ms. Mustard suggested that skills necessary for surfing should consist of "patience and endurance…upper body strength of

course, being able to control your fear…stay calm." Ms. Green also found that patience was necessary for surfing along with "a certain degree of physical health and well-being." She commented further by saying, "you don't have to be super strong…it is definitely work…you get tired especially in the beginning...more than anything is just patience and a good spirit." Ms. Brown suggested several important skills that included, "…balance, stamina, understanding ocean conditions, be afraid, understanding equipment, positioning on your board, how to paddle, get through waves, and manage waves with the equipment…that is a big one."

In contrast to Ms. Brown, Ms. Orange had a difficult time describing skills important for surfing because she felt surfing has been "so ingrained" in her and has "fallen into place." She stated, "that you have two arms….and know how to paddle…that just like any sport and you need to pick it up by trying and going out there and getting on a board. Ms. Black described that while participating in surfing requires specific skills it is also a constant learning process:

> It is important to be a good swimmer…are you afraid of the ocean, how is your comfort level, how in shape are you? So I think those would be important skills. And then other skills would be of course, learn how to paddle, learn how to catch a wave, how to stand up. It seems like surfing is a sport that never ends…there is always something to work on. And when you think you got it…you go the next time and it's like you are a beginner again.

Ms. Light Blue declared that "balance and coordination…body awareness" are important for surfing. She also felt that getting used to the ocean and having mental

abilities including “courage,” “bravery,” and a sense of adventure are beneficial to succeed in surfing.

Self-perceived Skills

The selective code, self-perceived skills, consisted of three axial codes including the perceived skills participant’s have that are an attribute, perceived skills participant’s would like to improve, and self-perceived skill level. The participants reflected on their individual skills in regards to their physical abilities, mental abilities, ocean knowledge, and surfing techniques.

*Perceived skills as attributes***.** The axial code, perceived skills as attributes, emerged from discussion with all participants’ indication of strengths as a surfer. Ms. Mustard was fairly new to surfing and described her strengths as a surfer:

> I think my best skill as being a surfer right now is paddling out, duck diving, and just being out there in the line up. Not so much catching waves right now…just having the knowledge of being able to paddle out on any sort of particular degree of wave whether it is big or small and being able to handle my board, where I don’t let go of it or hit anybody else with it.

Ms. Orange, also felt that her strengths as a surfer consisted of “paddling” as well as being able to “read the water…the way the currents are moving…and what direction the swell is.” Ms. Green discussed her strengths as having “patience,” “a really good time,” and “not getting easily frustrated with herself.” Ms. Green also commented that compared to when she first began surfing she has become “progressively less intimidated by the ocean.”

In contrast to Ms. Green, Ms. Purple described her surfing qualities in terms of her surfing techniques and what she is able to do with a wave:

> I know which way to go on the wave. I can go right or left and I am god at maneuvering the wave and taking very little and using it and enjoying it…so I can float up and down and around and keep it going. I feel confident in my surfing.

Perceived skills that need improvement. The second axial code, perceived skills that need improvement, was discussed by all the participants. Most of the participants described their improvements in terms of surfing techniques (e.g., handling a board, paddling, pop-ups, maneuvering board, where to catch a wave) rather than psychological (e.g., overcoming fear, courage) or ocean awareness (e.g., reading the waves, adjusting to tides, understanding wave dynamics) abilities. Ms. Mustard discussed that she would like to improve her "pop-up" and "placement in a wave" which may enable her to catch more waves. Ms. Brown stated that she would like to develop the ability to have more "board maneuverability, pumping, and driving to make more sections of the waves." Ms. Green stated that she wants to become more proficient in "duck-diving" and "handling the board in general." Ms. Black and Ms. Midnight were the only two participants that stated how they would like to improve their "barrel riding" skills.

Other participants discussed the desire to become more proficient in their physical abilities. However, they discussed using activities other than surfing to help them enhance and condition their overall surfing abilities. Ms. Black desired to return to surfing after her pregnancy. She explained that she plans on "doing more cardio to help get back into shape for paddling." Ms. Purple also commented on specific training exercises she uses to help improve and enhance her surfing:

> My paddle out…I would like to be able to improve that…have strength at all times…maintaining that strength. So if I am surfing consistently I will have strength. But if I am not, I am doing pushups or whatever it is to keep that strength. I do Yoga because it helps.

Ms. Orange was the only participant who described a desire to develop a mental attribute including having "the drive to go every day." Similarly, one participant described her desire to enhance her ocean knowledge. Ms. Purple stated that she would like to become "more comfortable with the beach." Ms. Purple's comment was directed towards the lack of familiarity she has in surfing beach breaks.

*Self-perceived skill level***.** The axial code, self-perceived skill level, emerged through the manner that the participants rated themselves as surfers. The participants viewed their skill level in terms of their overall experience in surfing. Additionally, each participant varied in the format used to describe and measure her skill level. Ms. Black explained the way she evaluates her personal skill-level:

> Well, I like to rate myself for myself…not compare what I do to somebody else, 'cause I think that I am surrounded [by] people that are great surfers…I am going to tell you how I rate my-self. From a 1 to 10… well, like I said…being pregnant is not a good time, I am going to say just before I got pregnant…I am going to say a 7. So taking into consideration of the time [I] have put [into] the places I have gone, the different conditions, and where I want to be as far as my surfing I think 7 is a good number.

In contrast, Ms. Midnight measured her skill level based on the skill level of others and how others might see her:

> I think I am…I am a local standout but I am not great, you know…like there are those people that are really, really good…I don't think I am quite like that…at that level, I think I am like a notch below…a couple notches below…I think I am pretty good and people are like "oh wow she can actually surf" or "who's that guy," but not to the point where your like "wow that's amazing." Yeah I think I am above average…I think I am par with most really good guys…so for a girl I am better, so for a guy I would say I am in the mix.

Ms. Mustard described her skill level as "an amateur." Even though Ms. Orange has been surfing a few years longer than Ms. Mustard she described her skill level as a "bump up from beginner" and "still learning." Ms. Purple felt that she was "not a novice and not an expert" but a "good surfer." Ms. Pink was the only participant to rate herself as being at an "expert level" and as having "the most fun."

Equipment/Monetary Investment

The number, type, and value of equipment owned along with the financial commitment invested in an activity may address an individuals' personal economic investment in surfing as a component of recreation specialization. The category equipment/monetary investment consisted of three selective codes including overall inventory of equipment owned, desired additional equipment, and most expensive monetary investment of one overnight surf trip. The framework detailing the relationship between open codes, axial codes, and selective codes is shown on Appendix F.

Inventory of Equipment

The selective code inventory of equipment consists of two axial codes, including type and size of surfboard(s) owned and other surfing specific equipment.

*Type and size of surfboards***.** Three of the participants described the axial code, type and size of surfboards owned, as what they share with their significant other, husband, or partner. Ms. Black stated that she has "many boards" and is very luck because her "boyfriend is really involved." This participant described her collection of surfboards by saying "between my collection and his collection we have about 10 boards." Ms. Green declared that she has "access to a lot of boards" because her "husband surfs." Ms. Light Blue discussed that she and her husband also share boards, but there are boards that are specifically used by him and some by her. She states, "we have an epoxy 9'2", a really nice 9'6", that one is [his]…and the 6'4" is mine…the 6'2" is kind of both ours but I am more into it."

Several participants discussed the significance of why they own different lengths and types of boards and how these boards affect their style of riding. Ms. Mustard explained "my board is an old '80s, 5'11, pretty thick, but it floats really well." Ms. Purple illustrated that her "7'll tri-fin" is a "fun-shape" with a "gun tail" and she likes it because "it has a lot of play." This participant also described a new board she had hand shaped that has "a lot of rocker" because she wanted "something that could get" her "into the wave" and "paddle easier." Ms. Pink described the reasons she owns specific surfboards:

> I have a 6'5 Baywood board, made here locally. It's a fun all around trifin round pintail…and it's [a] fun good board to travel with. I ride shortboards almost like a

> long board. I can almost run around on it…I am kind of all over the board. The 6'5 I can ride in any conditions small or big, and I have a 6'3 swallow tail, and it's fun to use [on a] fast round wave…and I can always get a board from anyone I know.

Ms. Midnight stated that she has a "wide range of surfing equipment" because she enjoys surfing many types of waves in various conditions. Concurrently, Ms. Black shared that she has many different sizes and types of boards because it is "important to have different boards, because there is different conditions, different [kinds of] waves, different sizes [of waves], and equipment makes the difference in the way you surf."

Other surfing specific equipment. The axial code, other surfing specific equipment, emerged based on a discussion of other equipment used by the participants that may be considered necessary or optional for surfing. Most of the participants listed other types of equipment they use in addition to a surfboard, in terms of body gear and board accessories. Ms. Midnight explained that she has "two wetsuits at a time" so that she will "always have a dry one to put on." This participant also stated that she has a "rash guard-hood" and a set of "booties." Ms. Purple stated that she has "two pairs of booties, cold weather and reef," "two old wetsuits" and one new wetsuit, and a "hooded rash guard." Ms. Green declared that she has "two wetsuits, two pairs of booties," "a rash guard," a rash guard that has a hood," and "surf racks on" her car. Ms. Orange stated that she has a "4/3 wetsuit," "two leashes," "roof racks," and "wax."

Desired Additional Equipment

The selective code, desired additional equipment, consists of two axial codes including motives to purchase selective equipment and prevention from purchasing equipment. The two axial codes are discussed inclusively in this section.

Each of the participants commented on the desire to purchase a new surfboard. However, the participants varied on the type and reasons they wanted a new surfboard as well as what was preventing them from acquiring the new equipment. Money was the most significant factor preventing the participants from acquiring additional equipment. Ms. Pink explained that she "would like a good board to travel with" but the board she desires is "$700 bucks" and she does not feel "it's worth it." Ms. Orange stated that she would like a "fish" for "smaller days" and a "longboard" for when she has "friends that come into town [and] want to try surfing." Besides money, Ms. Orange also explained that she is dissuaded from buying additional equipment because she "is not surfing as much right now" and as a student "there are a lot of other things" she could "use instead of surfboards." Concurrently, although Ms. Brown desired to purchase "a gun for big waves" and a "longboard for small waves," she is a student and explained that "it's [surfing] not my priority and [I] don't have the money right now."

Contrary to money, other participants described alternative motives that prevented them from purchasing additional equipment. Ms. Black declared that she "always wants to purchase surfing equipment" and that being pregnant is the only thing preventing her from acquiring new equipment. Ms. Light Blues described that her desire for a "shorter board" that "will turn fast" and that she can surf in "bigger waves." This participant also described a unique circumstance that has discouraged her from buying more equipment:

> I don't want a ton of stuff. I feel like when I look around and see the things I have…I'd rather just have less and less material things if I can…I feel like living simply… honestly [if] I have the money I probably would not go out and buy six more boards, I might buy one more board.

Ms. Purple described that if she "had the money" she would purchase a "9'0 longboard" to do "headstands" and "dance moment." She also wanted to purchase a "fish" because of its "maneuverability" feature.

Most Expensive Monetary Investment of One Overnight Surf Trip

The selective code, most expensive monetary investment of one overnight surf trip consisted of three axial codes including destination, overall approximate cost of trip, and length of stay. The participants discussed their experiences on an overnight surf trip in terms of where they went, how much it cost them individually, who they went with, the logistics of their trip, and the length of time they spent at their destination. An outline detailing the relationships between the open codes, axial codes, and selective codes is shown in Appendix F. The axial codes are discussed together in this section.

The participants varied on the length of stay and the description of the logistics of their surf trips. In addition, many of the trips taken by the participants were outside of the United States. Thus, most of the participants stated that the minimum amount spent on the surf trip was $900 dollars. Ms. Green described that her three week trip to Cost Rica with her husband, cost her $1,500. She felt that this was "real cheap," especially since it included the cost of the airline ticket and car rental. Ms. Light Blue traveled to Central America for two months and it cost her "approximately 3,000 to $4,000 dollars." She also

explained that the "sad irony" of the trip was that she "hardly got to surf" because she was "with a group of people and a couple of them did not surf." Ms. Purple has been on several surf trips but stated the most expensive destination was to Tahiti. She felt she was "lucky" to have been able to stay with friends because her personal trip costs were approximately $2,200 for three weeks. Ms. Orange's only surf trip was to Mexico for 10 days, and she "camped out, rented a car, and flew there and rented a board" for approximately $900.

Ms. Mustard was the only participant to describe her most expensive surf trip taking place in the United States. She explained "I haven't been on too many but when I do I usually go camping, so it's really inexpensive." Ms. Orange stated that her surf trip was a "total of $100 for the weekend at the most" for gas, food, and a camping permit.

Commitment

The category commitment was comprised of five selective codes including focused behavior, centrality, investment of side bets, affective attachment, and adoption of social/cultural values. These categories emerged as factors and experiences that the participants discussed as significant to their dedication to surfing. The framework detailing the relationships between the open codes, axial codes, and selective codes is shown in Appendix G. Each selective code is explained below.

Focused Behavior

The selective code, focused behavior, was comprised of two axial codes including activity specific devotion of time and energy and non-specific activity devotion of time

and energy. The time and energy spent actively pursuing and engaging in surfing as well as the time and energy spent in consideration or deliberation of surfing were both influential on participants' behaviors to commit to surfing.

*Activity specific devotion of time and energy***.** Three of the participants explained their devotion to surfing in terms of the amount of time and energy they spend participating in surfing compared to other activities. Ms. Orange described that she has spent more "time and effort" in surfing than any other activity. Ms. Purple stated that her "free time" is based around surfing. Ms. Midnight explained that she chose a specific line of work so she could "take off in the middle of day [to] go surfing."

Non-activity specific devotion of time and energy. Several of the participants explained their devotion to surfing in terms of the amount of time and energy they spend thinking about, evaluating, or preparing for surfing. Ms. Orange stated that she "spends the most money" on surfing. Ms. Mustard described that she is "very passionate" about surfing and "thinks about it every day." She also explained that "during the summers I really like to do 'dawn patrols'…get up early with the sunrise and go do that." Ms. Mustard spends her time and energy conditioning for bigger surf. She described her preparation for surfing in big winter swells:

> I feel like winter times are usually heavier and actually a lot of times [I am] just conditioning myself to work out. I will have in my head, "surfing, paddling out," how I want to get ready for bigger surf…by doing pushups…part of my exercise which I do anyway encompasses the fact that I am going to be surfing so I want to have my conditioning…I will do specific exercises to keep me going with the surf conditions.

Ms. Purple described that she also uses other activities to condition her for surfing. She stated that she is "more committed to Pilates and Yoga" because "those two things are a means to surfing." She explained that she "had a back injury and I know its [Yoga and Pilates] going to keep [me] surfing the longest." Ms. Purple illustrated further that she devotes other non-activity specific time and effort to surfing by "checking the tides, talking about the swells," "getting her daughter a wetsuit this year and going to the beach as a family."

Centrality

The selective code, centrality, was comprised of two axial codes, central leisure activity and central to lifestyle. Some of the participants revealed their thoughts and meanings associated with how surfing is the activity they participate in most often and the activity that determines their life decisions.

Central leisure activity. Several of the participants indicated that there is no substitute activity for surfing or that surfing is the main focus of their leisure participation. Ms. Brown indicated that she "definitely" makes surfing her "holiday and vacation activity." Ms. Orange stated that she is not committed to any other activity "more than surfing." Ms. Green stated that in her leisure time there is "no substitute for surfing" and it is her leisure "priority." Ms. Pink expressed that she would always "rather be surfing" than any other activity. Ms. Mustard described an interesting circumstance:

> I got certified to teach Yoga and that was kind of like…I was spending a lot of my free time on that…and then when I started surfing I kind of put that on the back

> burner and surfing became my foreground instead of Yoga….yeah surfing just kinda of took over.

This participant had been practicing Yoga for several years, however when she decided to try surfing, it quickly became the focus of her leisure time.

Central to life. Most of the participants explained that their commitment to surfing is more than an activity interest, it is apart of their life and lifestyle. Ms. Pink expressed that surfing is something that has always "predicted" her "next move" in life:

> It rules my life, it rules my vacation I take…My commitment to it is everything…where I am going, where I am going to be going and traveling or whatever…it is always based around surfing… I have just followed the waves and it will always be that…

Similarly, Ms. Midnight explained that surfing was the motivation to what she was "going to do" and where she was "going to go to school" and where she "chose to work." Ms. Green shared that she has "enjoyed surfing from the beginning" and she plans to surf "for as long" as she can. Likewise, Ms. Orange explained that she "pictures [surfing] always being in [her] life" and she will "never want to live" away from the ocean.

Inconsistent with other participants, Ms. Light Blue described a unique perspective of her circumstantial commitment to surfing:

> I'd say as long as I am on the Central Coast and here I will probably surf for the rest of my life. However…my husband loves the mountains and I love the mountains too and once I have kids I wonder how surfing is going to be second to my family and my kids…and so I am open to the idea of moving away to central

> or northern cal [California] and so if that happens I won't hardly surf…I hopefully will keep a board or two and we'll go on vacations and it will still be apart of my life…I would say as long as we're here even if I have a kid I will do it as much as possible, but surfing is not going to shape my life, my life decisions, I am not going to move away from the Central Coast cause I want to surf.

This participant shared that living in California is very expensive and she does not want to "struggle financially...to live near the ocean."

Investment of Side Bets

The selective category, investment of side bets, was comprised of three axial codes including investments for future gain, social investments, and affective attachment. Each of these codes related to the participants' long term material, social, and psychological investments made to surfing. This data emerged from participants' descriptions of how they would be affected if they no longer participated in surfing; how they have made sacrifices for surfing; and how important surfing is to their life.

Investments for future gain. Several of the participants indicated that they have made various material investments and/or sacrifices for their future participation in surfing. Ms. Purple explained that she "bought a camper" for her truck so she could "lock the camper and keep [her] board and wetsuit" in it. Ms. Orange stated that she has "spent the most money" on surfing than any other activity. She also explained that she would "always have a wetsuit" and "always have a board." One of Ms. Pink's sources of income is stock investment. She explained that "financial for me is really important…it's a fun game cause it enables me to live the lifestyle (surfing) I like." Ms. Purple illustrated that

she has made several sacrifices that have enabled her to invest her time and money into surfing:

> Well I definitely have made a lot of sacrifices as far as like money, jobs…I chose to work for a surfing magazine and try to be a pro-surfer, and I think that shows commitment in that I did not do something else…you know I didn't become a doctor or lawyer or CPA or try to get a 9 to 5 job…the same thing I do real estate and construction because I had a flexible schedule…

Ms. Mustard described that instead of spending money she "traded a T.V. and video game and video game player" for a surfboard. She expressed that the trade was a "healthy" investment for her future well-being.

Social Investments. Participants discussed the formation and development of relationships through surfing that are significant and in some cases indispensable. Ms. Black explained that her social network and who she dates has been influenced by surfing. She indicated that she is "very committed" to surfing and that "her friends are surfers" and her "boyfriend is a surfer." Ms. Green stated that her husband surfs and that "most of her friends" are surfers. Ms. Brown shared that surfing allows her to connect with friends:

> [I] definitely hang out with people that surf. We connect for sure. That's a big part of it the more…I enjoy hanging out with people that surf because you can go and surf for half a day and hang out…that to me is so much fun the other people cannot understand that. But when you get around people that know that feeling you can relate…I do have a social network, I have ocean oriented friends. Even

people that might not surf, but enjoy being at the beach and swimming, the whole environment in itself.

Ms. Midnight explained that working for a women's surf school had enabled her to meet and surf with more women, "…that's why I started working for Surf Diva…it was the best thing…they gave you this phone list of all these girls…I love surfing with other girls." She no longer works for the surf school and indicated that because of her son, she has joined a "Surf Moms" group that enables her to surf with other moms. Ms. Purple shared that she often surfed alone before she had children. However, similar to Ms. Midnight, after having children she became part of a "Surf Mom's" group:

> … a woman approached me just through a friend and said I am going to start this women's surf group that has children…she said let's meet, what times work for you and there was six of us. We said Mondays…every Monday and I think that is so key, you show up with your kids whether the waves are good or not…we were the core…we were committed…it was a social thing getting together with the other moms who like surf, being very grateful…that there are mothers who surf that enjoy surfing, that your kids get to know, they watch your kids…

This participant regarded the "Surf Moms" group as an opportunity for her and her children to develop relationships with others.

Affective Attachment

The selective category, affective attachment, emerged as participants described what they might be giving up or missing out if they stopped surfing. This category was

comprised of five axial codes including attraction, importance, achievement/stimulation, health/fitness, and being close to nature.

Attraction. Participants regarded their affective attachment gained from surfing as satisfying, relaxing, and enjoyable. Ms. Midnight explained that surfing "always" makes her "feel refreshed and renewed afterwards." Ms. Orange expressed that surfing allows her to "release stress" and that it is something that is "beyond exercise." Ms. Brown also shared that surfing is a source of stress relief:

> …lately I feel I have stopped surfing, I mean not completely, but I think I give up apart of …emotional stability…I guess because it is therapeutic and helps reduce stress…I can go running and running reduces stress but there is something with surfing it only…not only reduces stress but gives you this refreshed feeling that another sport can't give you…

Ms. Light Blue expressed that surfing provides her with a drug-like state, "…it just makes me so happy…I feel like I have done a drug afterwards. I like get out of the water and just [feel] so relaxed." Ms. Mustard explained that if she stopped surfing she would compromise a feeling of relief gained from the activity, "I feel like if I wasn't doing it, I would stop gaining this like peace, like this inner peace…" She also acknowledged that surfing clears her mind, "it clears it…it calms me…it does a lot for me."

Importance. Several of the participants expressed surfing as a strong desire or significant to their well-being. Ms. Mustard regarded surfing as a "passion." Ms. Midnight shared that, "If, I don't surf, I start dreaming about it…so there is definitely this strong desire to keep surfing." She also expressed that surfing provides her with a sense

of "spirituality." Ms. Black indicated that surfing provides her with a unique feeling that is significant to her, "I know the feeling, I know what it is and how much I need it to make me feel good…it is part of who I am."

Achievement/stimulation. Participants acknowledged that they would be compromising benefits including feelings of accomplishment and excitement if they stopped surfing. Ms. Mustard described surfing as something that "scares" her, but that she also gains "courage" from the activity. Ms. Light Blue described surfing as being "stoked." When asked what stoked means to her, Ms. Light Blue stated, "kind of like excited or enthusiastic." Ms. Green indicated that she felt "invigorated" after surfing "instead of tired and exhausted."

Health/fitness. Two participants described surfing as having fitness attributes. Ms. Green indicated that surfing was a "unique workout." Ms. Midnight expressed that surfing was good "exercise" and "keeps you in good shape."

Being close to nature. Several participants shared nature-oriented benefits of surfing including enjoying and being close to nature. Ms. Midnight explained that she experiences the enjoyment of "nature…being outside or being in the ocean" that is unique to surfing. Ms. Orange described that surfing is "beyond exercise" that there is a "definite connection of just floating in the water." Ms. Brown indicated that she enjoys "just being there in the water and the sun."

Adoption of Social/Cultural Values

The code, adoption of social/cultural values, was comprised of three axial codes including, embracement of lifestyle, increased value for environment, and

acknowledgement or compliance of accepting a surfing edict. These codes emerged from the participants' discussions of their commitment to the values, beliefs, and expectations that embody the surfing sub-culture.

Embracement of lifestyle. Several participants described how their lifestyle has been affected through their involvement in surfing. Ms. Mustard indicated that she has adopted a "less materialistic" lifestyle since her involvement with surfing:

> I think it opened another door that really helped minimalize things in my life. All over the board, clothes is just kind of a metaphoric example…but a lot of my thought processes have changed too…I guess it becomes part of a lifestyle…if you want to surf all the time you have to have minimal bills and minimal things going on, like clutter free sort of…so you can kinda of have the time to do it. So I guess it kinda simplifies…and it I used to think, oh when I get a Land Rover or something…I would never think that now…why would I want to get one of those…it's just like [a] huge payment, when I could be a thousand more times happy at the beach surfing…put things in perspective a little bit.

Ms. Midnight described being a "high stress, over-achiever" in high school and when she started surfing it "simplified" her life and she stated, "you do start slowing down…if definitely affects your whole life." She also described other lifestyle characteristics and one physical feature unique to surfing, "well in our house we only have pictures of waves…we have a big board in the garage and surfboards [and I have] big shoulders from being a surfer." Ms. Pink described a unique picture of her involvement in the surfing culture:

> I think since I have been surfing for this long and doing what I am doing, the culture kind of revolved around us. If you looked at a movie and surfing and it shows those guys, Buzzy Curbox and all those boys back in the old days…my lifestyle was exactly that…and I did not even now it was that, it was…I took off to Hawaii and started surfing around So Cal beaches and ended up in the islands and when I finally came back I lived on a boat and now that I have a home I just travel to surf…it's just a lifestyle…

Ms. Pink identified with the surfing culture by self-proclaiming herself as someone who originally helped create the culture.

Ms. Purple indicated that the surfing culture "becomes a part of you." She explained that she purchased a tide watch (i.e., a watch used by surfers to have easy access to the ocean's tidal changes) not because she needed it, but because she admited, "I love my tide watch and it's part…not that I have an identity…I noticed I like my watch and [it] lets me know I am surfing and I am very proud of that." She also explained that her family's lifestyle has taken on surfing features including "keeping my wetsuit in my car at all times with my kid's beach stuff" and "putting [surf] racks on our Euro Van."

Ms. Brown indicated she has adopted a "surf style" in the clothes she wears that is "relaxed" and "definitely not high maintenance…really casual." Ms. Light Blue also expressed that she "dresses more casually" and often wears "flip-flops and my surf pants."

Increased value for the environment. Several participants attributed surfing as contributing to their adoption of values including a concern for the environment, enjoyment of nature, and being more outdoor oriented. Ms. Black expressed that she has

gained "respect for the ocean" and "just being…near the ocean and nature." Ms. Midnight described an increased value for the environment:

> I was going to say environmentally, like I think that is a huge cause you are in the water every day and like we talked about earlier about getting sick… and you see the runoff and the pollution and you see sick animals…you will see trash on the beach, or you can look back in the water and look back and see where you are and see beautiful landscapes…sometimes you get a perspective on the environment, like what's going on, 'cause you are actually in it…instead of being behind closed doors…so I think you adopt a value for the environment.

Ms. Brown also indicated that she has developed a "respect for [the] environment…and an outdoorsy quality…like to be with nature." She continued to explain that, "I definitely associate that with the culture of being out and respecting the ocean [because] we get to play in it and we want to play in it forever." Ms. Orange described that "people that surf tend to be more of an outdoor person…more easy going…a little less stressed."

Acknowledgement or compliance of accepted surfing edict. Several participants acknowledged that surfing embodies a set of unwritten rules that govern the surfing culture. Ms. Orange explained that "people are not very talkative" out in the water and that "it is kind of known that you just don't paddle out there and start striking up conversation with anybody." Ms. Midnight described that "there is a certain amount of respect you have to learn about being in the lineup and to respect other people." She added that, "there is an unwritten set of rules and you try to abide by them." Ms. Green

has been surfing for a few years and described certain surfing guidelines that she tries to follow:

> I try to follow…respect…offer respect…I kinda know what the edict is so I definitely try to abide by that edict. [I] stay out of people's way, pretty much defer to the person who is deeper in the wave…who's been out longer. If there is a huge group of people I would try to mindful of storming somebody's spot that they have had, and ya know probably be discrete about calling all my friends on the cell…If I ever borrow anybody else's equipment I would try to take really good care of it and…bring it back clean.

Ms. Pink has been surfing significantly longer than Ms. Green and offered a different perspective on her acknowledgement and acceptance of a surfing edict:

> Well first of all that's the whole point about the new way surfers, there is no more rules like there used to be…like when we were kids we did not have surf cords or wetsuits, cords were the leashes…if you lost your board you had to swim for it…which made everyone else get a turn which was the natural way…there is edict…there is definitely edict about it and it's unfortunate that it has become such an aggressive thing...there is a lot of animosity out in the water and it's no fun like that and …I am over it, I have seen it progress into a really [bad] deal, and that localism thing I feel…I think that is a lot of crap too…

This participant indicated that there is an accepted edict in surfing that has evolved considerably since she began surfing.

Enduring Involvement

The category, enduring involvement, was comprised of four selective codes including attraction, introspection, social bonding, and sensory enjoyment. These categories emerged from participants' discussions of the various feelings and emotions they experience through surfing and the importance of these experiences. The framework detailing the relationships between the open codes, axial codes, and selective codes is shown in Appendix H. Each selective code relevant to enduring involvement is discussed in this section.

Attraction

Attraction was comprised of two axial codes including enjoyment and hard-to-define values. Participants describe their surfing participation as fun, satisfying, and at times, indescribable, that led to their continued involvement in the activity.

Enjoyment. The participants commented on various satisfying, joyful, and relaxing experiences from surfing that have affected their overall involvement in the activity. These axial codes are discussed in a collective manner below to assist in describing the participants meanings derived from their experiences.

Ms. Light described feelings of "joy" and being "relaxed and happy" from her experiences in surfing, "…it makes me feel peaceful and relaxed and it makes me feel more simple." Ms. Green also indicated feeling "very peaceful and calming" in her surfing. Ms. Orange stated that surfing provided her with "usually a lot of happiness…I feel like I have the perma grin when I am out there." She continued to state that after surfing she felt "invigorated and refreshed." Ms. Brown indicated that sometimes it's

"torture" to put on a wetsuit on a cold day, but "once I catch a wave and I make the wave I feel so good." Ms. Mustard indicated that surfing provides her with a "refreshing sense of peace" and "clarity."

Hard-to-define values. Several of the participants indicated an indescribable or indefinable value derived from surfing that in some cases cannot be duplicated or substituted with another activity. Ms. Pink indicated that "there is something about it [surfing] and it's addicting." Ms. Midnight expressed that surfing "does something for your soul" and "it is difficult to explain to somebody who is not a surfer." Ms. Light Blue explained the indescribable nature of surfing, "I don't know how to describe it. It's totally different than any other sport for me and I have run for a long time and it is totally different than anything I have ever done before. Similarly, Ms. Purple described that surfing provides her with a sensation that is quite different than any other activity:

> I have been a cyclist, a marathon runner, a triathlete, a swimmer, gymnast, a yogi, dance, and …its jut like running, running is very specific…nothing is quite like running it has a different sensation…for me there is nothing quite like surfing.

This participant also explained that she has felt "a yearning and a part missing" when she is not able to surf.

Introspection

Introspection is comprised of two axial codes including spirituality and gratefulness. Ms. Midnight indicated that she is "thankful to be a surfer and to be in the water." She explained that surfing puts her life into perspective:

> [Surfing] isn't a sport, it's a lifestyle, a spiritual thing…it is more like being in the mountains or being in the ocean…like say looking at a sky full of stars, a spiritual experience where you feel so small…maybe that's like the ocean experience…or you just take a step back to observe nature and see that we're part of this natural living thing. It's not just this rat race that we have kind of created for ourselves. It gives you time out, in that respect.

Ms. Midnight commented that surfing makes her "feel closer to God." Ms. Purple indicated that she experiences "love" and "gratefulness…for being alive." Through surfing she also stated that "I think that is where the word stoked comes from…just stoked, that pretty much encompasses it."

Social Bonding

Social bonding was comprised of the axial code, being with others. Ms. Light Blue stated "I love hanging out with my friends in the water." Ms. Green stated that surfing is a "social outlet" for her and she tries "to share it with other people." Ms. Brown indicated that the social aspect of surfing is important to her involvement with surfing:

> …being around friends and we are all having fun and we are just out there not thinking bout other stuff going on in our lives and we could just focus on that time and play time together…and we are out there together and we are all just kind of surviving it…it's a good feeling, everyone can feel, together…

Ms. Midnight described surfing as a "shared experience" that she can talk about with other surfers and "they can understand that feeling…"

Sensory Enjoyment

The selective code, sensory enjoyment, consists of two axial codes, sensation of movement and sensitivity to the natural environment. These axial codes are discussed together below.

Sensation of movement/Sensation from the natural environment. Participants described experiencing several sensations from surfing that contributed to their enduring motivation in the activity. Ms. Midnight described that "the waves have energy and the ability to clear your mind." Ms. Pink stated enjoying the sensation of "riding a wall of water" and explained that it's "addicting once you get that rush." Ms. Green specified that the "cold water is just refreshing." Ms. Brown described enjoying the sensation of "riding the wave…just a nice physical feeling." She also described the feel of riding a wave as "smooth and it's just [a] nice feeling of speed with a nice fluid motion."

Leisure Motivation

The selective codes relevant to leisure motivation included initial attraction to surfing, initial motivation to actively pursue surfing, and enduring motivation. The framework detailing the relationships between the open codes, axial codes, and selective codes is shown in Appendix I. Each specific category is detailed below.

Initial Attraction

The selective code, initial attraction, consisted of one axial code observing others. This axial code emerged based on the features of surfing that participants described as first catching their attention to the idea of surfing.

Observing others. Observing others was referred to by each of the participants as significant to their attraction to surfing. Ms. Black described that the "healthy, tan, look of male surfers was attractive." Ms. Mustard was an avid body boarder when she became attracted to surfing and it was after watching her friends surf when she "grabbed a board and decided to try." Ms. Midnight indicated that although she began body boarding at an early age, she did not become attracted to surfing until she "watched her dad surf. Ms. Brown also indicated that "watching my dad" as well as "watching other kids" attracted her to the idea of surfing. Ms. Purple described the people who revolved around the sport as one of her first attractions to surfing:

> I think for me the first thing that attracted me to surfing was that group of people that…cause that's really when I became attracted to it…it was something [I] hadn't really thought much about…so I think what attracted was the people who surrounded the sport and their love for the sport, and the enthusiasm…I rarely met people who are willing like that to share…

Ms. Green described her "first striking memory" of surfing occurring at the age of 10, "I remember seeing huge waves and seeing people surfing them and being totally amazed by the whole process." She continued to state that she was "struck by like wow that's really cool." Ms. Pink stated that her attraction to surfing came from "just the people around us when we were kids in the water."

Initial Motivation to Participate/Actively Pursue

The selective code, initial motivation to participate/actively pursue, consisted of three axial codes including, physical stimulation, desirable setting, and sensory

enjoyment. These axial codes emerged from participants' reasons to participate and actively pursue surfing.

Physical stimulation. One participant suggested that the physical stimulation to surf was a motivating factor affecting her continued participation in surfing. Ms. Black explained that she was motivated to pursue surfing because it offered a "challenge," "a little adventure, difficulty," and it was "not the common thing."

Desirable setting. The second axial code, desirable setting, emerged from discussions with several participants whom stated that desirable and supportive conditions of their first attempt at surfing were factors in their continual participation. Ms. Purple stated that several factors during her vacation in Mexico led to her decision to actively pursue surfing, "It was a sunny day and so I think it had to do with the warm water, the right situation, [and] the right people." She also stated that after initial participation she was motivated to learn surfing, "I came back… first thing I bought a wetsuit." Ms. Green indicated her initial desire to participate in surfing was an issue of having the right setting:

> I think when I moved out here I knew it was something that I always would do. Then it was just really a matter of convenience as far as being around people who had the equipment that I needed and were willing to take me out. I did not want to go by myself, so I did kinda wait until it fell into my lap. But just convenience…

Ms. Black also described how the overall setting and encouragement of a friend was a positive influence in pursuing surfing:

> I was 12 when I first grabbed a surfboard and went surfing…I went with a friend…it was a bigger board. Ya know I got pounded. It was fun because it was warm water and it was exciting to be there.

This participant described initial participation in terms of the warmth of the water, having a friend to go with, and having suitable equipment to create a positive experience.

Sensory enjoyment. Enjoyable sensations, sensation of movement, and indescribable feelings were cited as contributing reasons to participants' initial desire to pursue surfing. Ms. Orange described the sensation of surfing that encouraged her to learn the activity, "feeling it and feeling yourself do it after watching [it] being done so many times definitely forms the motivation…" Ms. Pink shared the experience of catching her first wave as a reason to keep surfing, "I thought, wow what a blast…and it became the most funnest thing, so I always wanted to do it". She continued, "just riding a wall of water moving at you…just one of those kid things…nothing is as fun… your zipping, your going fast…it's just fun".

Likewise, Ms. Mustard explained that her "motivation came from the first wave that I caught…it was a way different experience than being on a boogie [bodyboard] and having that sensation was probably the best motivation for me." Ms. Midnight also commented on excitement of catching her first wave, "I don't know how to put it into words…it's such a great feeling…so that's what first attracted me to surfing and then once I got into it I loved [it]."

Enduring Motivation

The selective code, enduring motivation, is comprised of 11 axial codes including, escape from others, enjoy nature, achievement/stimulation, health/fitness, anticipation, learning, sensory enjoyment, attraction, to be with others, introspection/spirituality, and flow. Each of the participants cited more than one motivation to describe their continued participation in surfing.

Escape from others. Only one participant described, escape from others, as a motive for continued involvement in surfing. Ms. Purple indicated that one reason she continues to surf is because it is an opportunity for her to be alone:

> …an enjoyment for me, myself, my soul…Surfing has always been, even though the social aspect brought me into it…its always been a very individual soul sport…I have no problem surfing by myself. As a matter of fact, I prefer it…my best memories are me alone looking at the horizon and that's why I surf, cause [its] for me to be alone…I prefer to surf by myself.

Enjoy Nature. Enjoyment of nature, being around nature, or being close with nature was specified by several participants as reasons they continue to surf. Ms. Pink described that she enjoys "just being in nature…the smell, the sight, I have watched beautiful sunsets, beautiful sunrises." Ms. Light Blue expressed that she keeps surfing because she "love[s] the ocean…it's beautiful." Ms. Black indicated that she enjoys being "near the ocean and nature."

Achievement/stimulation. Several participants described that pushing limits, a sense of accomplishment, endurance testing, experience excitement, and testing abilities

motivate them to continue to surf. Ms. Mustard explained that surfing challenges her endurance:

> I have always been into endurance and I felt like if I could conquer paddling out and duck diving my surfboard and have the endurance to be out here for a couple of hours, trying to paddle into waves, whether I catch them or not, was a factor too. [Be]cause I felt strong and I had never really done a sport that required a lot of upper body strength, so it felt good to have muscles too, forming and feeling stronger mentally and physically.

Ms. Light Blue indicated that she continues to surf because of "that feeling of accomplishment…challenging fun and a little scary and you are getting better…it's a cool combination for me." Ms. Orange explained that she is an "adrenaline junkie" and surfing enables her to "just to push myself to those limits is so great."

Health/fitness. Feeling healthy, staying in shape, getting exercise, and physical fitness were cited by several participants as reasons to continue surfing. Ms. Brown described that surfing is a "very healthy hobby…you're not putting any substances in your body, it's just a natural high." Ms. Black indicated that surfing "keeps me in shape." Ms. Green stated that she continues to surf because it's "physical exercise."

Anticipation. Two participants cited anticipation, as a motive to keep surfing. Ms. Mustard described that she looks forward to "get out in the water every day to see what the next wave might be like because sometimes it may be a long wave, but you almost like forget it…so you need to catch another wave...." Ms. Orange also explained that the remnants from a previous surf session "make me crave the next session."

Learning. Learning was cited by several participants as a motive to continue surfing. Ms. Black indicated that "at times it is not that easy and there is always something more to learn." Ms. Midnight also commented that with surfing there is always "something new to learn." Ms. Mustard explained that a reason she continues to surf is because she experiences "many learning curves."

Sensory enjoyment. Enjoyable sensations, sensation from the natural environment, and indescribable feelings were cited as contributing reasons to participants' continued involvement in surfing. Ms. Mustard described sensations from the natural environment that can be attributed to her continued participation in surfing:

> …it looks so unreal, and you are almost in a dream state, and it's such a good feeling that I think that is why you forget it…because it's just a weird sensation…and a wonderful sensation…the element of the moving water.

Ms. Black indicated that surfing provides her with a feeling "I don't get from other from sports." Ms. Pink felt that surfing provides her with an "indescribable feeling" that contributes to her continued participation in the activity. Ms. Orange explained that she continues to surf "to get out, to feel the sun on your face, to feel the water on your face…" She added, "…it makes me feel pure and being out there and feeling that rhythm of the water…and the waves that you are not catching rolling over you….and I can feel and even see the curvature of the earth."

Attraction. Several participants cited enjoyment, satisfaction, and relaxation as motives to continue surfing. Ms. Midnight explained that, "I do keep coming back to it, and I think that it's just…I just love surfing…I get fulfillment and enjoyment out of it and it's what I love to do the most." Ms. Purple also indicated that her "love" and enjoyment

for surfing contributes to her enduring participation in the activity. Ms. Light Blue stated that she "likes the way" surfing makes her "feel relaxed and happy…simplified and good."

Social. Several participants cited, being with friends and a social aspect, as reasons to continue to surf. Ms. Brown explained that she enjoys "being out with my friends who surf…it is a social thing for me." Ms. Green also stated that she continues to surf for the "social aspect" of the activity.

Introspection/spirituality. Two participants described surfing as a time of contemplation and spiritual connection that motivates them to continue in the activity. Ms. Green explained that surfing provides her with a time for "prayer" and "reflection." Ms. Orange described that surfing is "somewhere you can reflect on everything…helps me put everything into perspective in my life."

Flow. One participant discussed the concept of flow as being a reason she continues to surf. Ms. Midnight described her continued experience in surfing:

> So if you have an activity that is too difficult you get frustrated then you stop, or if you have an activity that is too easy and your skill level is way above it then you get bored, then you don't' like it. But if you have the right in the middle flow where it's just challenging the right amount and your skill level is up to the challenge then its perfect and I think surfing is always like that…I feel that flow, that challenge that you kind of meet to it, so I can go out….like I just learned a new move….I have been surfing this whole time…

This participant continued to explain that surfing is "mentally challenging" and that she feels as though she is always "trying something new."

Surfing Behavior

Surfing behavior relates to the time, target, context, and action in which the surfers participate in surfing. The selective code relevant to participants' surfing behavior was pre-activity routine. This selective code emerged as participants described their typical preparation before a surf session. The framework detailing the relationships between the open codes, axial codes, and selective codes is shown in Appendix J. The selective code is detailed below.

Pre-activity Routine

The selective code, pre-activity routine, is comprised of four axial codes including time (time of day), (action) preparation activities, target (location), and context (surf with or without others). Each axial code is discussed below.

Time (time of day). All the participants commented on the time of day they typically plan to surf. Most of the participants expressed a desire to surf in the mornings, however the specific time in the morning varied for each participant. Ms. Orange explained that she usually plans to surf "kind of early in the morning." Ms. Black indicated that, "I usually like to surf in the morning…that is just to start the day right." Ms. Brown described that she "surfs in the morning time" because she enjoys "the scene and conditions…maybe getting to see the sunrise."

Action (preparation activities). All the participants described the various actions they typically perform to prepare for surfing. Ms. Mustard described her preparation for surfing:

> Well my surfboard is usually in my car along with all my gear, so usually it's maybe just grabbing a towel or a banana or something and just driving out to the water…and just suit up and just head out there…little bit of stretching before I go out.

Ms. Brown also explained that typically her gear is already in her car and she normally "wake[s] up with coffee, music" then when she arrives at the surfing location she sits "for five to ten minutes checking out the conditions, figuring out where to surf."

Some of the participants that have children described their surfing routine assuming they are without their children. Ms. Purple indicated that some of her gear is already in her vehicle. She continued to described that she takes about "five minutes to 'lolly-gag'…get my stuff on…do a handstand or two on the beach…put my leash on and walk out…turn my board over and get the wax cold." Ms. Black described her surfing routine from the night before:

> I wake up many times if I know it is going to be good or challeng[ing]. Many times I don't sleep well that night. I get anxiety…and I get up get ready, start thinking, get my coffee, get my board, my backpack with my wetsuit…make sure I dress warm and a bottle of water…and then in the car…well it's pretty exciting especially when I am getting to the place. I get anxiety…I want to be there…I really enjoy the walk to the spot and looking at the waves…I put on my wetsuit…as I am doing that I am looking, watching [and] getting an idea where should I go, or which wave should I ride, if I want to go left or right, or stay on the inside or outside. And then start paddling…

Target (location). Participants discussed where and why they typically travel to specific locations to surf. Most of the participants described that they normally do not travel to more than two spots to check the surfing conditions. Ms. Green indicated that "it irritates" her to drive around to "check different surf spots" and "usually" she "heads to one place, maybe two places." Ms. Orange stated that "usually depending…I check two spots…if one is good I don't even go anywhere else, I just go out there." Ms. Mustard described that she "usually" travels "to the same spot unless somebody called." Ms. Purple explained that she usually travels "straight to" one spot because of her obligation to her kids she does not have a lot of time.

Context (surf with or without others). Some of the participants discussed their pre-surfing behavior contextually as surfing with others or surfing alone. The participants varied on whether or not, calling friends before surfing was a component of their surf routine. Ms. Brown indicated that although she enjoys surfing with her friends, "calling up friends" to surf with was a "maybe" and she "normally [surfs] alone." She continued to explain that, "I think I go more alone just because of my schedule, but I will definitely call my friends on a day that I can surf more."

Another participant, Ms. Orange indicated that sometimes she tries "to meet up with people," but she usually surfs alone. Ms. Mustard also explained that there are times she has time to surf with friends, but surfing with others is not a part of her surf routine. However, she indicated that, "I don't usually go out in spots that there is nobody out there." Otherwise stated, this participant may surf without her friends, but she will not normally surf if the surfing location is completely devoid of any other person.

Ms. Purple described that there are specific circumstances when she may surf with other people, but because of convenience and time, she mainly surfs alone:

> On the weekends my husband's friends call to see, or we will call them…if we are going to surf with them…or if they're doing the drive around to check where is good or not as good…I don't call anybody…I used to call one of my friends but she moved away…and then I surf with the Surf Moms. We have certain days that we can surf…if I have time to surf…and then I think I end up surfing by myself cause it's really super easy and I don't have time to coordinate with other people…it slows you down…but it's such a small town that you end up seeing everybody out in the water anyways. So you can go around and look for somebody's car and be like, oh I can surf with Lisa today…

Affiliative Meanings Attached to Surfing

The category, affiliative meanings attached to surfing, is comprised of one selective code identifying surfing as relational leisure. This selective code emerged from participants' perspectives of surfing as creating opportunities to establish new relationships and to strengthen and develop existing relationships. Thus, the selective code includes evidence of the participants' experiencing attributes of surfing as caring for others and a responsibility towards others. The framework detailing the relationships between the open codes, axial codes, and the selective code is shown in Appendix K. The selective codes are described below.

Surfing as Relational Leisure

The selective code, surfing as relational leisure, consists of two axial codes including establish new connections with others and developing and sustaining relationships with others.

Establish new connections with others. Several participants described surfing as advantageous to creating new connections with others. Ms. Mustard indicated that through surfing she has "met a lot of really cool girls…I can relate with more…more than anything, which is a huge thing for me that I love right now." She continued to explain that she enjoys "hanging out with other girls that share the same interest" and "a majority of them are successful and well balanced." Ms. Pink described that surf has "taken me around the world and I just meet great people along the way." Ms. Black indicated that she has "met many people through surfing."

In contrast to other participants, Ms. Orange described that she has not established many new relationships from surfing. She explained that, "I don't end up meeting too many people out in the water…I don't think there is much as a social…when you are in the water."

Developing and sustaining relationships with others. Several participants cited building and maintain relationships with others as an attribute of surfing. Ms. Midnight described that surfing has been a major influence in developing and maintaining her family relationships:

> Well we have talked about my dad before. That's probably the biggest one, [be]cause we have the opportunity to go and surf together and talk about our lives and what's going on. That maintains our relationship...Thinking about my

> husband I have been able to surf with him and…I think on our third date we went surfing together…oh definitely builds and strengthen my family togetherness, especially with my husband...like yesterday we took a little surf trip down to the Ranch and that was like instead of spending a ton of money…that's the time we spend together…that's the best. So it definitely maintains our relationship that way…

This participant also indicated that she enjoys taking her son "to the beach to play in the sand" but how she also does not "want to push surfing on him." However, she explained that "it would be great if he wants to surf" but "I'll let him be his own person."

Ms. Brown described that surfing "has definitely connected me with my family, [be]cause my family is all surf…always the big center of talk around the table." Ms. Orange also indicated that surfing was a "bonding time" for her and her family. Ms. Light Blue explained that her "sister surfs now…that's really fun." She continued to state that "I guess it really develops our relationship through surfing, [be]cause it was time we spent together that we both loved." She also commented that she met her husband through surf, "I am married to a guy I met through a surfing connection." Ms. Purple described that surfing with the "Mom's Surf Group" has been a "positive experience" for her and her children:

> When we were going on a weekly basis, it kept us connected, it kept our kids connected…our kids are growing up together on the sand and the beach. Often on Saturdays we have a family…husband and the wife and the kids are all meeting…so then the parents are there together with the kids and that's been nice.

Several participants shared that although surfing has been beneficial in developing relationships with others, it has not been a significant source of developing their relationships with their spouses. Ms. Green described the circumstances that embody the surfing relationship with her husband:

> Well we were at really different levels and at the very beginning it was really hard…we did not surf together at all. He would try to teach me stuff and it was not a good fit. He is way better than me, but he has back issues so he's kind of moved on to not surfing at all or using a long board. So we tend to more…well he still surfs waves bigger than me but, yeah we paddle out together and it's something we look forward to do. So we paddle out together but we don't sit right next to each other the whole time [be]cause he is definitely more competitive and will be like… Go, Go..And that definitely freaks me out. So I enjoy going with him but we don't always stay right by each other.

Similarly, Ms. Purple explained that she and her husband "don't really surf together" but "I enjoy it when we do." She indicated that "we don't usually surf together because he is very picky…which is unfortunate."

Autonomous Meanings Attached to Surfing

The category, autonomous experiences with surfing, is comprised of the selective code including self-actualization, introspection/spirituality, recuperation/renewal, health/fitness, and attraction. This selective code emerged from participants' meanings associated with participation in surfing as self-determined and self-fulfilling. The

framework detailing the relationships between the open codes, axial codes, and selective codes is shown in Appendix L. The selective codes are detailed below.

Self-Actualization

The selective code, self-actualization, consists of two axial codes including meeting personal challenge, increased sense of achievement, and self-expression. Participants indicate that surfing has helped to develop their self-confidence, increased their sense of empowerment, created enjoyable experiences, and helped them to discover their individual potential.

Meeting personal challenges. Challenging one's self, conquering fears, and a sense of accomplishment were cited as meanings participants' experienced through surfing. Ms. Orange stated that surfing is "about me catching the wave and pushing myself that extra 5 strokes…" Ms. Brown indicated that "surf definitely…it challenges me in the physical sense." Ms. Purple described that surfing has been significant to understanding her potential:

> I'd say moving beyond my comfort zone. Pushing myself and getting there, getting to the spot…I remember not caring how big it [surf] is there, for whatever, big is there for that…you don't care how big it is, all you want to do is get out there and charge…you know I am so fortunate that I experienced that…but I know what that feels like and sometimes you know I can have…you know when I am out there [and] it's like a little bigger than I…then you make it…it feels good.

Ms. Green described that she has experienced personal achievements through surfing including "conquering fear in my life," "challenging myself," and feeling a "sense of accomplishment."

Increased sense of achievement. Several participants cited self-confidence and an increased sense of competence as meanings derived from surfing. Ms. Light Blue explained that surfing increases her self-confidence, "…makes me feel good about myself when I surf on a big day, so I think it builds my confidence and I feel like I accomplish something different." She continued that she "feels proud" of herself and it "crosses over to my social life…and it helps me especially working with kids…helps me to be confident, so take charge." Ms. Midnight described that surfing makes her "feel competent" and good about herself:

> …you feel strong…I have always tripped out on that, like it's so amazing especially when surf gets big and I am able to like swim in the ocean and be comfortable…ya know that soccer player would not be able to be out here and swim in this kind of water and get back to shore and feel competent and safe and in that way it makes you feel better about yourself.

She continued to indicate that "I think I get an ego boost from it for sure."

Self-expression. Some participants described surfing as an opportunity for self-expression. Ms. Brown described that "I guess in a way just the fact that I surf and when people look at me, they see I am expressing myself…they see me as a surfer." Ms. Midnight explained that she expresses herself artistically through surfing:

> I kind of feel like it's my art form in a lot of ways…I am not a painter…I think surfing allows you to be spontaneous and you know you choose on the wave what

> you are going to do, from the boards you are going to ride and the moves you are going to do on the wave to which waves you are going to catch and where you are going to surf…I think that is an art form in a lot of ways.

Introspection/Spirituality

The selective code, introspection/spirituality, is comprised of the axial code introspection and spirituality. Participants state that surfing has created autonomous opportunities for observation and examination of one's self and one's meaning in (i.e., purpose) life.

Introspection and Spirituality. Several participants cited surfing as creating opportunities for personal reflection and spiritual satisfaction. Ms. Pink described surfing as providing her with "a spiritual experience," a "healthier mind," and "maintenance for her soul." Ms. Midnight explained that surfing helps her "focus on what is important in life." Ms. Orange indicated that surfing has been a "reflection time" that encouraged her to understand important realizations about her life, "when I paddle out I will have the reflection time and realize then that the world is not only about me…there is so much more going on."

Recuperation/Renewal

The selective code, recuperation/renewal, is comprised of two axial codes. The axial codes indicated by the participants include release and recuperation from life's demands, and renewal of self.

Release and recuperation from life's demands. Several participants cited surfing as providing stress relief, time alone, and recovery from life's demands. Ms. Orange indicated that surfing "definitely is a release…certain days will feel like a release from the whole year." Ms. Light Blue explained that surfing "helps me de-stress, it helps me monitor my emotions..." Ms. Brown also indicated that surfing "reduces stress" in her life.

Other participants described surfing as creating inner peace and helping them to recover from stressful circumstances. Ms. Mustard indicated that surfing "helps with inner frustration" and has made her a "calmer person all around to work, to love, to business, to family relationships." Ms. Green described that she experiences "a sense of calm…after surfing." Ms. Brown stated that surfing is "therapeutic" when she is having a bad day." Ms. Purple indicated that surfing contributes to changing "my moods and I think that it plays a factor for sure in keeping me happier."

Renewal. Experiencing attributes of re-creation and renewal were cited by some participants as meanings derived from surfing. Ms. Brown described that surfing "gets me back into a better rhythm…get myself on track with new things…it kind of refreshes me sometimes." She continued, "...I have been away from it for a while doing other stuff and I go back, it definitely brings back a sense of this feels right…things feel good now." Ms. Midnight compared feeling renewed from surfing as "cleaning you slate."

Health/Fitness

The selective code, health/fitness, is comprised of the axial code physical satisfaction. Most of the participants state that surfing provides self-determined opportunities for physical exertion and fulfillment.

Physical satisfaction. The axial code, physical satisfaction, was cited by several participants as experiences derived from surfing. Ms. Black indicated that surfing "keeps me in shape…my whole body just feels good." Ms. Brown stated that surfing provides her with "physical conditioning" and Ms. Purple described that she experiences "physical exertion." Ms. Green indicated that surfing is a "physical outlet for her" and Ms. Mustard shared that surfing is a "physical activity that's fun and exciting."

Attraction

The selective code, attraction, is comprised of two axial codes including enjoyment and satisfaction. These two axial codes are discussed together below.

Enjoyment/satisfaction. Several participants cited experiencing feelings of personal enjoyment and satisfaction derived from surfing. Ms. Pink described that surfing "fulfills" her and makes her "feel more complete." She also explained that surfing "makes me enjoy my life and makes me happy." Ms. Black stated that she "mainly" surfs for the "enjoyment or fulfillment" and that "it makes me feel good." Ms. Green indicated that after surfing she "leaves with a good feeling."

Constraints to Surfing

The category, constraints to surfing, consists of three selective codes intrapersonal constraints, interpersonal constraints, and structural constraints. These selective codes emerged from participants' descriptions of factors that prevented or discouraged them from participation in surfing. The framework detailing the relationships between the open codes, axial codes, and selective codes is shown in Appendix M. The selective codes are detailed below.

Intrapersonal Constraints

The selective code, intrapersonal constraints, consists of two axial codes labeled entitlement and perceived competence. Several of the participants indicate experiencing a lack of self-confidence in their skills and a lack of freedom in their personal time that prevent or discourage them from engaging in surfing.

Entitlement. Two participants cited experiencing unjustified and selfish feelings that have discouraged involvement in surfing. Ms. Light Blue described feelings of guilt that contribute to her decreased participation in surfing:

> I feel bad when I can surf…I have all these open days and Ryan [my husband] is working seven to three and so that kind of discourages me from surfing…cause I feel like I need to do something that is productive…doing something around the house or paper work, I don't know something that's like…maybe if I was single I wouldn't feel at all guilty about surfing life for our five days a week, but since I am with him...

Ms. Midnight described experiencing a sense of guilt that has discouraged her from feeling entitled to surf:

> …in some ways I wonder what I would have done with my life had I not been a surfer, like I would have been more productive in society, help other people out more…that's the one thing about surfers is you're really selfish…so sometimes I wonder how that has affected my life.

Perceived competence. Several participants cited experiencing feelings of low self-confidence or lack of skills as constraints to their surfing participation. Ms. Black indicated that "in the beginning it [surfing] was hard" and at times "very big and dangerous." She commented further that "I know my limitations and say I know I better not go today." Ms. Brown described that her lack of self-perceived skill level has prevented her from surfing, "…if there is like a lot of really good surfers in a certain spot and I know I am not going to catch waves if my skill is not there I don't want to paddle out…" Ms. Purple described that she feels constrained from surfing if she is "in a funk" and has "not been surfing regularly…it seems bigger" and it looks "beyond" her skill level.

Interpersonal

Most of the females described that their surfing participation is constrained by factors affected by interpersonal relationships and interactions with others. The selective code, interpersonal constraints, is comprised of three axial codes including perceived crowding, attitudes of other surfers, and family obligations.

Perceived crowding. All the participants cited crowds as a constraint to their surfing participation. Ms. Orange explained that she becomes "uncomfortable" and "frustrated in crowd." Ms. Purple described that she "makes an effort to surf where there is not as many people." Ms. Pink and Ms. Black indicated that "crowds" discourage them from surfing.

Attitudes of other surfers. Attitudes of other surfers, was cited by other participants as discouraging them from surfing. Ms. Light Blue indicated that "I dislike the attitude of surfers in the water sometimes…they can't even smile 'cause they're so intent on shredding this morning." Ms. Green stated that "I don't like knowing that there is people who are super territorial…a little 'showoffy'…that kind of annoys me." Ms. Purple also explained that she has a "disdain for certain attitudes" that prevents her from surfing:

> I'd say attitudes toward surfing…I would get really pissed at men…more of a disdain for their attitudes towards women surfers…so like being cut off…I was cut off because they probably think I can't take the wave...

Ms. Pink also indicated that the "hype" and "attitude" in surfing is "over done." She continued that "there is a degree of that I don't like…they [surfers] lost the whole idea of sharing and stuff…" Ms. Brown also described that part of the "surf culture" discourages her from surfing, "…a lot of it I don't' like…the ego-centric, self-centered mentality some surfers have and the way they treat people that don't surf…it doesn't feel as loving…"

Family obligations. Several participants cited family, work, and other obligations as preventing them from surfing. Ms. Purple explained that "having children,

having those other obligations all play into me not surfing as much as I probably would or could." Ms. Midnight also explained that "kid obligations" prevent her from surfing. Ms. Black commented that "being involved with other things and family…those are important things for me" and this discourage her from surfing.

Structural Constraints

All of the women state structural factors that prevent and discourage their surfing participation. The selective code, structural constraints, is comprised of work/school obligations, money, and environmental/weather conditions.

Work/school obligations. Several participants cited work and school commitments as constraints to their participation in surfing. Ms. Orange, Ms Light Blue, Ms. Brown, and Ms. Black indicated that "work" prevented them from surfing.

Money. Money was cited by some participants as a constraint. Ms. Light Blue stated that surfing was "expensive." Ms. Pink indicated that "money" kept her from surfing "into areas I want to be" and that she "could not get it fast enough."

Environmental conditions. Several participants cited pollution, weather conditions, and swell/wave conditions as a constraint to their surfing participation. Ms. Midnight explained that "I don't want to go [surfing] if it has been raining and it's polluted." Ms. Green also shared that "water quality" and the "water conditions discouraged her from surfing. She also commented that she does not surf when she is menstruating because of her fear of sharks, "I don't surf when I have my period…shark reasons." Ms. Purple agreed that "pollution" and fear of getting sick and not being able to care for her children prevent her from surfing, "I have two kids I have to take of, I don't

want another sinus infection." Ms. Pink explained that "the one thing that does discourage me around here is the cold…I don't like it and it forces me to go where it's warm."

Summary of Results

This chapter explained the results found from the investigation of recreation specialization, motivations, and behaviors from a female surfer perspective. Recreation specialization consisted of five categories including experience level, perceived skills, equipment/monetary investment, commitment, and enduring involvement. The selective codes relevant to experience level were present participation, past participation, and setting preference. The selective codes relevant to perceived skills were skills important for surfing and self-perceived skills. The selective codes relevant to equipment/monetary investment were inventory of equipment owned, desired additional equipment, and most expensive monetary investment of one overnight surf trip. The selective codes relevant to commitment were focused behavior, centrality, investment of side bets, affective attachment, and adoption of social /cultural values. The selective codes relevant to enduring involvement were attraction, introspection/spirituality, centrality, social bonding, and sensory enjoyment. The category leisure motivation was comprised of three selective codes including initial attraction to surfing, initial motivation to actively pursue surfing, and enduring motivation. The selective code relevant to surfing behavior was pre-activity routine. The selective code relevant to affiliative meanings attached to surfing was surfing as relational leisure. The selective codes relevant to autonomous meanings attached to surfing were self-actualization, introspection/spirituality,

recuperation/renewal, health/fitness, and attraction. The selective codes relevant to constraints experienced in surfing were intrapersonal constraints, interpersonal constraints, and structural constraints.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

This study sought to explore and describe recreation specialization, motivations, and behaviors of female surfers in the central coast communities of San Luis Obispo County. Purposive and snowball sampling was used to select nine individuals who primarily surfed at surfing locations within San Luis Obispo County. Each individual participated in an in-depth interview process to share their thoughts on (a) surfing experiences that demonstrated development of behavior along the recreation specialization continuum, (b) their motives that were significant to their initial and continued motivation to surf (c) how surfing has contributed to the development of relationships and personal development, and (d) the factors that have constrained participation in surfing.

At the conclusion of the transcription process 218 pages of text were utilized in the data analysis process, and 76 axial codes were grouped into 33 selective codes. These selective codes comprised 10 main categories that were used to address the purpose of this study. The open and axial codes provide additional support and evidence for the selective codes. This chapter will summarize key findings from the research, offer recommendations for future research, and discuss implications for the recreational surf industry.

Key Findings

Recreation Specialization of Female Surfers

The theoretical concept of recreation specialization is characterized as "the degree and range" of experience across several dimensions (i.e., level of experience, skill level, equipment/monetary investment, enduring involvement, and commitment) that measure a participants unidirectional development of an activity along the specialization continuum (Bryan, 1977). Participants' responses to each of these five dimensions as specified in this study vary with their specialization level which supports previous specialization research (Bricker & Kerstetter, 2000; Dyck, Schneider, Thompson, & Virden, 2003; Hase, 1996; Lee & Scott, 2004; Miller & Graefe, 2000; Schreyer, Lime, & Williams, 1984; Scott & Schafer, 2001; Watson & Niccolucci, 1992). In addition, according to Bricker and Kerstetter's (2000) implications for future research, this study's use of qualitative analysis contributes to identification of original concepts that may be useful in the specialization index.

Female surfers' experience level has been measured using present and past participation in surfing. Separating participation into sub categories of present and past participation fails to present any new evidence concerning experience level. However, qualitative analysis of participation experience has been largely overlooked from the majority of past specialization research. Although several researchers have measured participation with questions containing frequency of participation including the number of trips taken in the last five years, average number of trips taken in a lifetime, number of years of activity experience, number of trips per year, and total number of days of participation in the last 12 months (Bricker & Kerstetter, 2000; Bryan, 1977; McIntyre &

Pigram, 1992; Oh & Ditton, 2006), these descriptive findings fail to paint a picture of what participation entails.

This study reveals two significant findings from qualitative analysis of female surfers' participation in surfing. First, qualitative data of the female surfers illustrate the large variation that exists between participants regardless of the number of months, days, or years an individual has been surfing. For example female participants with seven or less years of experience have considerable variation in their participation levels. Ms. Light Blue describes her present participation in terms of days per week because of her school schedule. In contrast Ms. Orange describes her participation as days per month because of her work schedule. Consistent with Hollenhorst's (1987) findings, these results suggest that surfing expertise may be more a function of frequency of participation rather than years of experience.

Similarly, participants with 8 to 15 years of experience show discrete participation levels throughout their years of surfing. Ms. Black describes that her involvement in surfing has had large gaps since she began surfing due to frequent moves to locations that have limited access to surfing areas. Ms. Purple describes her surfing participation as in gaps from changing employment, changing relationships, and having children.

Reasons behind this disparity in participation are likely steeped in participants' family life stage and leisure career stage. For example, although several women in this study may have been surfing for approximately the same amount of time, evidence suggests that female participation in surfing is dependent on marital status, number of children, employment, and/or educational goals. Therefore as women's lives evolve and change so does their involvement in surfing.

These findings may also conflict with Scott and Schafer's (2001) conjecture that although some participants do progress to an expertise level of specialization, a majority maintain a fixed or unchanging level of involvement or simply decrease their participation. The results of this study suggest that female involvement in surfing increases and decreases along the specialization continuum. Thus, results indicate that skills may increase or decrease along with involvement causing participants to not necessarily re-learn specific skills, but regain strength, rhythm, and familiarity of riding waves. For example, Ms. Black states that after each long gap in her surfing career she has to build up her paddling strength and get used to the waves.

The results also reveal another factor that affects the level of involvement of the female surfing participant, relating to setting preferences. Weather and swell conditions has a significant impact on the female surfer's participation levels. Ms. Orange explains that the weather sometimes creates "blown out" conditions and Ms. Midnight describes that the "pollution in the water" decreases her participation in surfing. The findings of this study may indicate that involvement phases during a participant's surfing career are more likely affected by weather and environmental conditions than many other recreational activities.

Results also indicate that while setting preferences may become more specific as participation increases (Hammit & McDonald, 1983), it appears that the environmental character of the site (e.g., beach break versus reef break), at least in the case of the female surfers in this study, is not a significant attribute preference. It appears that setting preferences relate more to the weather and swell conditions and possibly to the convenience and time available for participation. Ms. Green states she prefers surfing

"summers" because of longer days. Ms. Midnight expresses that she surfs in virtually any weather or swell condition however she surfs mainly in Cayucos because her mom resides there and "watches the kid" while she goes surfing.

Within experience level, this study identifies an additional dimension, preceding activities to eventual participation in surfing, which may be an effective element for determining the degree and range of a participant's specialization level. In addition, this dimension demonstrates that the experience level index encompasses more than an approximate number of days or trips a participant has engaged in an activity. This dimension of preceding activities may increase understanding of prior experience in a surfing related activity that ultimately affects the experience level of a participant (Bricker & Kerstetter, 2000). Ms. Mustard explains that her prior experience in "boogie boarding" provides her with "water knowledge" that contributes to her participation in surfing. Ms. Orange states that she grew up with surfing in her family, but that she was more of an observer than a participant in the activity. She explains that she would "sit there and watch" her siblings surf which provided her with knowledge and understanding of surfing. Additionally, Ms. Orange also has experience with other ocean related activities including "fishing," "boogie boarding," and "swimming." Her experiences with her family and other ocean activities became "so ingrained" in her that although the physical aspect of surfing was initially difficult, she was fairly comfortable with the idea of surfing and had already formed a good foundation of ocean knowledge. These findings suggest surfing specialization is a function of both frequency of experience in surfing and the preceding experience in activities relevant or related to surfing.

Use of technical equipment has been proposed as one indicator of recreation specialization (Bryan, 1977, Bricker & Kerstetter, 2000; Schreyer et. al., 1984; Wellman et al., 1982). This study found that equipment is not an accurate predictor of specialization level. Some participants have many types and sizes of surfboards and technologically advanced wetsuits and surf gear, however they have only a few years of surfing experience. In comparison, some women with many years of surfing experience have just one or two surfboards and a basic wetsuit and surf gear. This finding may suggest that females have little access to accurate or gender appropriate information and advice about equipment needs and purchases. Women may receive a majority of information from other surfers who are predominately male. It may also be that some of the females have more discretionary income compared to other females or that some women do not have the desire or need for the latest and/or more equipment. For example, Ms. Pink has been surfing for 36 years and explains that she mainly utilizes two surfboards. She desires to purchase other boards but states that "they are too expensive" and she would rather spend her money on more surf trips. Ms. Light Blue has been surfing for seven years and states that even if she has extra discretionary income she would not buy new boards. She explains that she would "rather just have less material things" and that she enjoys "living simply."

Consistent with McIntrye and Pigram's (1992) findings, commitment to surfing, at least in the case of female surfers, has little to do with media subscriptions (e.g., magazine subscriptions, online subscriptions) or club memberships. Many of the female participants state that they do not purchase or subscribe to magazines on a regular basis. It appears that surf magazines and online surf subscriptions that are available to them

primarily come from their live-in male roommate or spouse. These women state that their main reasons for not purchasing or attaining surfing subscriptions is because of the overwhelming abundance of surfing ads compared to surfing articles, objectifying women in sexual or demeaning fashion, and the desire to spend money engaging in surfing rather than reading about the activity. This finding may indicate that women are less stimulated by media material than men and the availability of female appropriate media resources that women are able to relate with are scarce.

Buchanan (1985) found commitment to consistent of three essential factors including focused behavior, investment of side bets, and affective attachment. Focused behavior includes an individuals' time and energy spent in an activity free from any other alternate behaviors or actions. Contributing to Buchanan's conjecture, findings from this study reveal focused behavior to include activity specific devotion of time and energy and non-activity specific devotion of time and energy. Activity specific refers to time and energy spent in surfing and non-activity specific refers to time spent thinking about, evaluating, or preparing for surfing. For example, Ms. Brown indicates that while she is not participating in surfing she will physically and mentally prepare for surfing by doing "push-ups," "jogging," and meditating on technical aspects of surfing. Ms. Pink states that she spends time looking at weather forecasts on the Internet to help her predict and prepare for the next swell to surf. This finding demonstrates a different degree of commitment, which has been rarely mentioned by previous specialization research (i.e., Bryan, 1977; Bricker & Kerstetter, 2000, McIntrye & Pigram, 1992). Non-activity specific devotion of time and energy, may contribute to further understanding of the cognitive, behavioral, and affective commitment of participants within other activities.

With respect to commitment, centrality to a predominate theme among the female surfers for commitment. Previous research mainly views centrality in terms of how an activity is central to one's lifestyle (i.e., Buchanan, 1985; Kuentzel & McDonald, 1992; McFarlane, 1994a, 1994b; Wellman et. al., 1982). However, findings reveal two sub-categories of centrality including surfing as one's central leisure activity and surfing as central to one's lifestyle. For example, Ms. Brown indicates that she "makes" surfing her "holiday and vacation activity" and Ms Green states that surfing is her priority leisure activity. Both women indicate surfing as their central leisure activity. In contrast, Ms. Pink indicate that surfing "predicts" her "next move" in life and Ms. Midnight explains that surfing became her motivation for where she went to school, whom she married, and where she chose to live. These women describe surfing as central to their life.

The results suggest that although surfing is the main recreational activity engaged in by a participant, may or may not be a necessity or central to the life of the participant. For example, Ms. Light Blue states that surfing is her primary leisure activity, but she does not confine herself to living by the ocean the rest of her life for surfing. On the other hand, Ms. Brown and Ms. Orange indicate that they will always live by the ocean and desire that surfing is always a part of their lives.

Consistent with Kuentzel and McDonald's (1992) and with Lee and Scott's (2004) findings, the results of this study indicate that commitment level in surfing may not develop into distinct progressive stages along the specialization continuum. For example an individual's participation and skill in surfing may increase but commitment level may stay stationary, while other individuals' involvement (e.g., females that

become pregnant or get injured) in surfing may decrease but they may have a higher level of commitment.

Additionally, surfing as an activity may not play a key role in determining the commitment level of the participant. The cultural, social, and lifestyle aspects of surfing may contribute to the degree of commitment an individual has to surfing more than the activity itself. This study reveals that embracement of lifestyle, increased value for the environment, and acknowledgement or compliance of accepted surfing edict are significant dimensions of commitment.

Many of the female surfers indicate that surfing affects their lifestyle. Some women describe surfing as "simplifying" their life and "slowing" them from life's fast paced and materialistic environment. This concept of a simplistic lifestyle stems from early surf history concerning the stigmas and stereotyping attached to surfers. According to Booth (1999) surfers bared labels and images including "nomads" and "wanders" among other stereotypes that reflected the "soul-surfing," irresponsible, and "jobless-junkie" nature of their lifestyle. Today, however, female participants may be referring to the calming and relaxing influence surfing has on their everyday lives.

It is also important to note that the culture of surfing, much like the culture of high-society socialites, varies within coastal communities. For example, several participants describe that they enjoy the relaxed style of dress of the surfing culture but highly disfavor and disassociate themselves from the "OC" (Orange County) style of high-end and pretentious surf style of dress.

Another interesting finding is that several females indicate that surfing increases their value for outdoor settings and encourages preservation and protection of natural

resources. This supports the formation of organizations including the Surfrider Foundation, the Clean Ocean Foundation, Save the Tubes Foundation, and a host of other non-profit environmental groups dedicated to protection and preservation of the ocean. Supporting Bryan's (1977) typology of fisherman, as specialization level increases, consumptive attitudes diminish and are replaced by higher levels of environmental concern.

The females also describe their understanding of and conformity to the unwritten laws that govern the surfing culture. Consistent with Scott and Godbey's (1994) findings, the acceptance of unwritten regulations varies with the level of involvement in surfing. Scott and Godbey, in their study of bridge players, found four styles of involvement, which were inconsistent with the recreation specialization concept of progression along a continuum of behavior. In other words, the sub-groups of bridge players did not reflect obstinate behaviors and attitudes. This may hold true for the female surfers in this study. Their style of involvement (serious surfers, casual surfers, longboarder riders, shortboard riders, or other types of involvement) has an affect on their knowledge and adherence to the surfing edict.

It appears that centrality and lifestyle dimensions of surfers have a significant affect on a female's commitment to surfing. Additionally, the findings suggest that commitment has limited relationship implications with experience and specialization level. In short, if commitment and centrality to surfing increase, participation may not necessarily follow and progress in a similar fashion or at the same rate.

Affective attachment has also been previously proposed as an indicator of commitment. The findings of this study reveal that the affective attachment category of

commitment is iterative of enduring involvement. This would make sense since the original implication for enduring involvement was drawn from commitment (McIntyre, 1989; McIntyre & Pigram, 1992). McIntyre and Pigram (1992) found affective attachment to involve mutually enforcing components of importance, attraction, self-expression, and centrality to lifestyle. Consistent with McIntyre and Pigram, many of the female surfers in this study describe attributes of satisfaction, enjoyment, creative outlet, and relaxation in both commitment and enduring involvement categories.

Exclusive to enduring motivation, the participants also indicate affective attachment dimensions including hard-to-define values, introspection, and sensory enjoyment. Several female surfers' describe feelings of an "indescribable" nature derived from surfing. Ms. Light Blue indicates that she sometimes does not know "how to describe" the sensations she receives from surfing and Ms. Purple explains that surfing provides her with a distinct sensation that she does not achieve from any other activity.

In addition, sensory enjoyment and introspection has significant value for females' involvement in surfing. Ms. Pink describes the overwhelming sensation she achieves from "riding a wall of water" and Ms. Brown describes enjoying the "smooth" and "fluid motion" of surfing a wave. With regard to introspection, several females describe feeling "closer to God" and experiencing a "spiritual" experience while surfing.

Leisure Motivations of Female Surfers

This study also investigates the leisure motives for female participation in the activity of surfing. The results suggest three categories of motives: initial attraction to surfing, initial motivation to actively pursue surfing, and enduring motivation. These

findings are consistent with themes found in related literature on leisure participation (Crandall, 1980, Driver, 1976; Ewert, 1993; Levy, 2002; Manfredo et al., 1996; Maslow, 1943; Mroczkowska, 2003; Petrick et. al., 2001; Virden, 1986: Virden & Schreyer, 1988).

Consistent with Manfredo et al. (1996) findings on initial attraction to recreation activity, this study identifies participant's initial attraction to surfing as observing others as a primary motivation in their interest in surfing. Ms. Black states that the "healthy, tan, look of male surfers was attractive" and Ms. Midnight indicates that she became attracted to surfing by watching her dad. Ms. Green became attracted to surfing by watching "huge waves and seeing people surfing them" and Ms. Purple describes attributes including "love and enthusiasm" of surfers that led to her interest in surfing.

The female surfing participants typically start becoming seriously active in surfing at an older age. It appears that the influence of a family in terms of familiarity with the beach environment is important, but it seems that male figures are the predominant influence in encouraging these women to have an initial interest in surfing. This finding conflicts with Chu et al. (2002) study of female rugby players, where female friends are the predominate influence for interest and participation in rugby. Simultaneously, this finding confirms the precept that surfing continues to be saturated by males (Booth, 2001). Therefore it is important for female surfers to serve as role models for future women surfers.

Sensory enjoyment is a component of the participants' initial motivation to actively pursue surfing that is an important finding in this study. Mroczkowska (2003) found joy of motion to be a dominant theme among girls in sport motivation. According

to Levy (2002) sensory enjoyment, is a key second order theme in meanings experienced by female mountain biker competitors. While Levy reports that female mountain bikers enjoy the thrill of riding, exhilaration, and the sensory enjoyment of riding itself, several female surfers in this study indicate sensations including fluid movement, feeling of speed, and indescribable feelings gained from surfing. Ms. Mustard explains surfing on her first wave and "having that sensation was probably the best motivation for me." Ms. Pink describes several times that she has been motivated to surf from "riding a wall of water."

It is important to note that sensory enjoyment is also a significant theme of participants' enduring motivation. Several of the women describe experiencing sensations from the moving water, feeling the warmth of the sun, and lapsing into a dream state when surfing that contributes to their continued involvement.

The sensory enjoyment evident in female surfers could suggest important internal motives that should be studied further. Mroczkowska (2003) indicates that the joy derived from motion experienced in an activity is a significant factor to stress relief and an important overall motive for females' initial involvement in leisure activities.

Further findings of enduring motivation provide general support for dimensions of the Recreation Experience Preference (REP) scales (Driver, 1976, 1977; Manfredo et al., 1996) and insight to the meanings connected to these dimensions. Consistent with Manfredo et al., results of this study indicate other enduring motivation domains including achievement/stimulation, heath/fitness, learning, escape from others, introspection/spirituality, and flow. The most notable of these is achievement/stimulation. While participants describe endurance testing, a sense of accomplishment, and

competence testing as derived from surfing, the deeper meanings found in achievement/stimulation go beyond the REP domains. Consistent to Levy's (2001) findings, at least in this study, participants view surfing as an opportunity to explore and develop aspects of their personality not available to them in daily life. Additionally, surfing is viewed as a difficult and very dangerous activity. Surfers contend with many unknown elements (e.g., ocean sea life, submerged rocks, weather shifts, failing equipment) that are a constant threat to their safety. The point being, overcoming the challenges and difficulties of surfing, takes participants to another level in their persona. While surfing, females may no longer feel leashed to gendered stereotypes and according to Henderson et al. (1996) are encouraged to re-create life meaning.

An interesting finding is that few participants describe socializing with friends as contributing to their enduring motivation. In other words socializing with friends is not considered a primary motive for surfing. An obvious point is that surfing is not a team oriented activity. Participants describe that when surfing with other friends or spouses they typically paddle out together but most of the time surf different areas along the break. Furthermore a majority of the participants indicate that they typically surf alone. Availability of time, varied schedules, and convenience are factors that affect participant's ability to surf with others.

The socialization of surfing revolves around the relationships and meaning embedded in connecting with others who surf. Several participants with children describe surfing with a "surf moms group" that supports their commitment to surfing and helps them to connect with other moms who surf. This group, like many other surf clubs along the California central coast, is another sub-culture or community of surfing that

needs to be explored. The supportive roles encased in groups like the "surf moms" would provide valuable insight to research on negotiation of constraints, entitlement, and empowerment of women through recreation (Bialeschki & Henderson, 1993; Henderson, et al., 1996; Little, 2002).

Surfing Behavior

Surfing behavior of female surfers addresses gaps existing in previous leisure behavior research. Results of the behavior segment of this study are encased in pre-activity routine of the participants. Several of the more experienced participants describe surfing in the early morning to "start the day right," "watching the sunrise," or catching the best conditions. In contrast, less experienced females indicate that they surf whenever they have time, in the mid-morning, or when their friends are available. Consistent with Bryan's (1977) conceptualization of specialization, the more specialized a participant becomes the desire for specific settings increases.

Another important finding is that as surfing specialization increases the more likely the desire to surf alone increases. Several participants comment that their past behavior in surfing includes "phone calls to friends" and "hooking up with friends." However, participants describe their current participation as "not waiting" on friends, feeling more focused "surfing alone," and the enjoyment of surfing alone. As mentioned previously, it appears that frequency of participation corresponds with socializing in surfing. In short, participants have more opportunities to surf when they are alone simply because scheduling with others can be difficult and time consuming. For example, Ms.

Brown indicates that she would surf more with friends but because of her "schedule" she typically finds herself surfing alone.

Affiliative Meaning Attached to Surfing

Consistent with Henderson et al. (1996), affiliative meanings attached to surfing appear to provide important insight into the building and strengthening of participants' relationships with family, friends, and others. Pohl, Borrie, and Patterson (2003) indicate that females develop a connection to others during their wilderness participation experiences. Affirming Pohl et al's findings, in this study, female surfers indicate experiencing maintenance of relationships with others, bonding and connecting with others, and an increase in a supportive network of other female surfers. These relationships have been discussed in terms of spouses, children, and friends, male or female. Ms. Purple describes that her involvement with the "mom's surf group" has been a "positive experience" that has supported her and her children in connecting with other families involved in surfing. Ms. Midnight explains that surfing supports the strengthening and "maintenance" of her marriage and Ms. Brown expresses that surfing connects her with her family.

Surfing's ability to promote a healthy, physical, and enjoyable environment is often ideal for connecting with others. It appears that surfing may be important to promoting empowerment of participants through relationships with other female surfers that are conducive to everyday life. Supporting Pohl et al's (2003) conclusions, connections with others through surfing, spills over into participants' everyday lives in

the sense that they reach out to other people with whom to converse and share their experiences.

Autonomous Meanings Attached to Surfing

Supporting Henderson et al. (1996) findings, this study reveals the self-determined or autonomous meaning participants' experience in surfing. Particular attributes of surfing contribute to self-actualization and self-expression through surfing. Several participants indicate meeting personal challenges, conquering fears, and a sense of accomplishment from surfing. It appears, experiencing the challenges of surfing promotes participants' self-confidence, self-sufficiency, and personal growth. Ms. Green describes that pushing her limits and "conquering" her fears helps her gain more confidence in herself.

Building on Pohl et al's (2000) conjecture, the building of one's confidence and exceeding personal expectations appear to filter into everyday lives of the female participants. For example, Ms. Light Blue explains that surfing increases her self-confidence which "crosses over" into her social life. Ms. Midnight states that the strength, endurance, and stamina needed in surfing makes her feel "competent" and good about herself.

Henderson et al.(1996) conclude that females use leisure as an opportunity for recuperation and renewal. Several participants express that surfing provides them with alone time, stress relief, and a recovery from everyday stresses. Others state feeling "closer to God," having "a healthier mind," inner peace, and feeling spiritually satisfied. Pohl et al. (2000), found mental clarity as a common attribute derived from wilderness

participation among females. It appears the environmental, physical, and mental dimensions found in surfing revolve around solitude, freedom of the mind, escape, expressions of joy, release of frustration, conquering of fears, and self-expression that are conducive to mental clarity. Ms. Midnight describes that surfing helps her to "focus on what is important in life." Ms. Orange explains that surfing is her time of "reflection" and a "release" from life stresses. Ms. Light Blue explains that surfing helps her to "monitor" her emotions.

Pohl et al. (2000) conclude that wilderness participants that become absorbed in the environment around them become fully involved and have deeper experiences and a deeper understanding about their life meaning. Supporting Pohl et al. results, this study suggests the recuperation and renewal derived from surfing provide mental clarity that leads to rationalization, processing life events, deciding what things are important, and addressing fears**.** Ms. Midnight indicates that surfing makes her feel like she is "cleaning her slate" after having a bad day. Ms. Black explains that surfing allows her to release tension from a stressful day. Ms. Brown states that surfing helps her get back into "better rhythm… it gets me over a lot of stuff and I can get back into a flow." She adds that surfing helps her to focus and getting back on track with things in her life.

As advocated by Henderson (1996), Levy (2002), and Pohl et al. (2000), continuing to explore the core meanings associated with recreational experiences is valuable to the development and implementation of strategies to increase involvement and retention of female participants in leisure activities.

Constraints to Surfing

The findings of this study suggest that definitions of constraints are consistent with previous conclusions suggested by Henderson et al. (1996), Henderson and Bialeschki (1993), and Little (2002). A conceptual framework of constraints as interpersonal, intrapersonal, and structural (Crawford, Jackson, & Godbey, 1991) laid the foundation for the participants' descriptions of factors that discourage or prevent them from surfing.

With respect to intrapersonal constraints, the results show that sense of entitlement is a notable dimension of participants' constraints to surfing. Henderson et al. (1996) suggest that women experience feelings of guilt or selfishness that occur when they allow themselves to indulge in personal recreation. For example, Ms. Midnight explains that she experiences a sense of guilt from feeling that she could have been "more productive" in society, had she not been a surfer. Ms. Light Blue describe that she does not feel entitled to surf if she is not contributing as much time to working (e.g., employment and housework) as her husband. She indicates that if she was single she would not feel as "guilty about surfing four or five days a week."

Another notable finding related to interpersonal constraints, are the attitudes of other surfers that prevent participation. Several participants describe disapproval of the "showoffy", ego-centered, and "super territorial" behaviors exhibited by mainly male surfers. It appears that the fraternal sub-culture of surfing contributes to the attitudinal constraints experienced by the participants (Booth, 2001). Although the participants feel discouraged by unfriendly and abrupt attitudes of others, most do not feel it is an attack on their gender. Rather, the sub-culture of surfing seems to carry an overly confident and

localism tone attached to the activity. Insights into these factors are important, however this is not easily controlled or eliminated. Further research into the structure of behaviors and attitudes within the sub-culture of surfing may provide useful information that could minimize interpersonal constraining factors for female surfers.

An interesting finding reveals that participants whom are mothers, indicate that children are only a slight constraint to their surfing participation. This may be because of several factors. Several participants indicate being members of a "mom's surf group" where the moms take turns surfing and watching each other's children. However, not having enough moms that show up on a particular day may prevent the groups from being effective. Another factor, as indicated by the participants, is trading off caring for the children and surf time with spouses or boyfriends. However, a limiting factor indicated by the participants is the decrease in time spent surfing with a spouse or a significant other that affects time for building and strengthening relationships.

Structural constraints the participants describe that are consistent with findings of Crawford et al. (1991) are money, work, and school obligations. However an interesting finding, limited in constraints research, relates to environmental conditions. For example, several participants state that pollution and water quality discourage and often prevent them from surfing. Ms. Purple indicates that she has developed several sinus infections from surfing that has kept her out of the water for several days to several weeks.

The constraints the participants experience reveal the comprehensive and complex range of elements that discourage women from surfing. However, it is evident that

women's resistance to these constraints leads to negotiations that provide access to their leisure opportunities (Bialeshcki & Henderson, 1993; Little, 2000).

Evidence from this study demonstrates that the constraints the participants experience varies. Several women experience powerful entitlement constraints, intimidating attitudinal influences, financial burdens, and environmental discouragements. In effect, their ability to adjust and negotiate to participate in surfing has been an unconscious effort found throughout their interviews. As suggested by Little (2002) the ability of recreation managers to understand the entirety of participants' behaviors will lead to a more absolute picture of their inter-connected place in society.

Limitations

There are several limitations in this study. First the use of qualitative research has been necessary to discover the deeper meanings associated with females' experiences in surfing. However, the small sample size limits the ability to generalize to other populations, activities, and settings. Additionally, the findings are not generalizable to the general population of female surfers, since sampling was only conducted with female surfers within San Luis Obispo County.

Next, the study looked at various constructs of leisure theories that supports and adds to the breadth of knowledge already in leisure research. However, the number of theory's used, in the opinion of the researcher, are too many. The number of constructs explored in this study made it difficult to focus on significant themes and address the deeper meanings found within them.

Practical Implications for Findings

Several implications from this study offer numerous applications for recreation managers and industry professionals. Marine recreation pursuits along the west coast of the United States are becoming more diverse and highly specialized among specific activity groups. Attached to this increased diversity is the challenge for managers and industry professionals to meet the demands and desires of a varied and complex population.

Level of involvement of recreation specialization continues to have a significant part in helping to understand recreation behavior. Efforts by surf industry professionals and recreation programmers to modify programs or activities according to the involvement phases of women may result in significantly higher proportions of women participating in surfing. Furthermore, use of the results from this study by recreation programmers, to incorporate other ocean activities related to surfing, could increase the retention of novice females in the activity. Thus, understanding the initial attraction to surfing could result in a higher participation rate of females in surfing as well as other male-dominated activities.

Media also play an important role in the ability of participants to relate to and identify themselves with specific sub-social worlds within activities. Surf industry professionals in media or related organizations that address media subscriber perceptions regarding females consequently, may result in higher percentages of women purchasing surfing media material. In addition, the creation of female surfer specific media that enable women to relate and connect to other female surfers may increase retention in the activity as well as encourage self-efficacy and self-confidence among women.

Finally it is important for recreation managers and industry professionals to understand the hard-to-define values gained from surfing. The inclusion of hard-to-define, introspective, and sensory variables are important to further understand the complex nature of enduring motivation. Exploration of these variables has several implications. There are many activities and recreation programs that foster self-confidence, cooperative learning, and overall satisfaction for a variety of populations (e.g., youth, adults, persons with limited abilities, adjudicated/at-risk individuals). Affective dimensions of surfing may contribute to other areas of development and growth in participants that may be lacking in current surfing programs and activities for participants. Additionally, the increased understanding of the dimensions that embody enduring motivation, could lead to more absolute segmentations of participants. Segmenting participants could contribute to improving the quality and personalization of programs and activities offered in surfing. For example, surf travel providers could offer surfing trips specific to the experience level, desires, and goals of the interested individual. Specifically, women may desire to surf in areas that have aesthetic values, are free from dangerous conditions (i.e., rocks, heavy surf) and include options such as yoga, massage, or organic meals with their surfing trip. In comparison, men may desire adventurous surfing locations (e.g., requiring hiking or 4x4 driving to destination) and features including boat trips, tow-in trips (i.e., use of personal water craft (PWC) to surf extremely big surf) or fishing tours. Thus, further research of these affective dimensions and its effects on surfing participants may transfer over to other recreational programs.

Affiliative meanings derived from surfing also play an important role in growth and development of relationships between female participants and people with whom

they share their experiences. This finding is particularly relevant to surf camps and surf travel resorts. The ability for recreation managers to capture the affiliative meanings developed in surfing could provide understanding and development of programs that promote therapy, healing, and nurturing of relationship through surfing.

Recommendations for Future Research

The present study has several important recommendations for future research. Specifically, a qualitative analysis with a large sample size would be conducive to identifying more absolute styles of involvement and motivations of female surfers. Furthermore, in order to increase the variety of participants, future research should investigate female surfers from other coastal areas within the United States and beyond. Additionally a longitudinal study should be conducted on the participation of competitive female surfers to gain a deeper understanding of the unique aspects associated with the components of this study.

Qualitative analysis should also be used to compare male surfers with female surfers to examine the differences in surfing experiences and meanings among both sexes. Additionally, a comparison of male and female surfers should be conducted to examine the contrasting dimensions of motivation, leisure as affiliation, leisure as self-determined, and constraints to participation.

Findings of this study indicate that commitment and centrality to life dimensions may not have a significant relationship with level of participation in surfing. Additional research should be conducted on the dimensions of centrality and the cultural, social, and lifestyle aspects of surfing. This research could potentially lead to identification of

distinct types of committed activity participants and the affects of style of involvement on the specialization index.

Further investigation should also examine the sensory dimensions cited in enduring involvement and whether the hard-to-define values expressed in surfing are an inherent component of recreation behavior in other activities. This allows recreation managers to address a holistic environment that includes not only the natural and physical environment but the life meaning and human relationships developed in those environments.

Finally, additional study of female surfers' constraints and the inclusion of negotiation may contribute further understanding to how women negotiate constraints to create personally satisfying experiences and meanings in recreation. Additionally understanding constraints experienced by female surfers may encourage surf recreation and tourism organizations to create programs and arrangements suitable to the needs of women. Thus the study of women's surf groups and the benefits of these groups is also a significant area of study.

Conclusions

This study explores variables that relate to the recreation specialization index of female surfers. Specialization has been examined using five components including experience level, perceived skill, equipment/monetary investment, commitment, and enduring involvement. Although styles of involvement have been addressed in this study, the lack of a large sample size prevents the creation of discrete typologies.

This study also identifies the motivational dimensions describing participants reasons to surf. Several themes indicate what led to female surfers' original involvement in surfing and factors that contribute to their continued participation.

The study also explores the behaviors and feminine perspectives of participants and uncovers the meanings and experiences associated with these constructs. Behaviors identified the pre-activity routines participants' engage in to prepare for surfing. Additionally, females address how surfing provides opportunities for relational leisure and self-determined leisure, and it describes factors that constrain these opportunities.

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APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

SPECIALIZATION INVESTIGATORS AND THEIR PREFERRED DIMENSIONS

• Wellman, Roggenbuck, & Smith, 1982	Canoeing investment Past experience Centrality to lifestyle
• Donnelly, Vaske, & Graefe, 1986	Participation Equipment Skill Boating related interests
• Schreyer & Beaulieu, 1986	Experience Commitment
• Williams & Huffman, 1987	Amount of participation Centrality to lifestyle Commitment
• Graefe, Donnelly, & Vaske, 1987	Skill level Experience
• Virden & Schreyer, 1988	General experience Recent experience Equipment & economic commitment Centrality of lifestyle
• Chipman & Helfrich, 1988	Resource use Experience Investment Centrality to lifestyle
• Ditton, Loomis, & Choi, 1992	Participation Enduring Involvement
• Kuentzel & Heberlein, 1992	Past experience Commitment Centrality to lifestyle Technique Media participation

• McIntyre & Pigram, 1992	Enduring involvement Centrality Number of visits to recreational site Number of years involved in the activity
• Wide & Ditton, 1994	Experience # of days fished in last 12 months Tournament participation Membership in fishing club Boat ownership
• McFarlane, 1994	Past experience Economic commitment Centrality to lifestyle
• Scott & Godbey, 1994 • (Qualitative study)	Intensity of identification Meaning of participation Frequency of play Game and setting preference
• Choi, Loomis, & Ditton, 1994	# of days fished in the last 12 months
• McFarlane, 1996	Past experience Economic commitment Centrality to lifestyle
• Hase, 1996	Past experience Skill level Equipment investment Centrality to lifestyle
• Kuentzel & Heberlein, 1997	Experience/frequency of participation Specialized boating behaviors Commitment to sailing
• Miller & Graefe, 2000	Participation Skill Equipment
• Bricker & Kerstetter, 2001	Level of experience Skill level Equipment investment Enduring involvement

APPENDIX B

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

INFORMED CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN INTERVIEWS TO EXAMINE RECREATION SPECIALIZATION AND MOTIVATIONS FROM A FEMALE SURFER PERSPECTIVE.

A research project on female surfers is being conducted by Tiyanya Anna Nourbakhsh, a graduate student in the College of Agriculture, Food, and Environmental Sciences at Cal Poly, San Luis Obispo. The purpose of the study is to use in-depth interviews to investigate the varying levels of specialization and motivations from a female surfer perspective.

You are being asked to take part in this study by participating in an interview process that will take place at a pre-arranged time and location. The one-on-one interview will be **audio taped**. Your participation will take approximately **one hour**. Please be aware that some interviews may last longer than one hour and every effort will be made to stay within the time limit specified. If the interview exceeds the one hour time limit the researcher will ask your permission to continue or schedule another time to meet and finish the interview. Please be aware that you are not required to participate in this research and you may discontinue your participation at any time without penalty. You may also decline to answer specific interview questions at anytime.

There are no anticipated risks associated with participation in this study. Your responses will remain confidential to protect your privacy. Possible benefits associated with this study include the development of surfing programs, events, and camps specific to the motivations and behaviors of female surfers.

If you have questions regarding this study or would like to be informed of the results when the study is completed, please feel free to contact Tiyanya Nourbakhsh at 805-304-4516 or Dr. Bill Hendricks at 805-756-1246. If you have questions or concerns regarding the manner in which the study is conducted, you may contact Steve Davis, Chair of the Cal Poly Human Subjects Committee, at 756-2754, sdavis@calpoly.edu, or Susan Opava, Dean of Research and Graduate Programs, at 756-1508, sopava@calpoly.edu.

If you agree to voluntarily participate in this research project as described, please indicate your agreement by signing below. Please keep one copy of this form for your reference, and thank you for your participation in this research.

_____

Signature of Volunteer Date

_____

Signature of Researcher Date

APPENDIX C

IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Participation/Past Experience

Introductory Phrase: I am going to start by asking you some questions about your experience as a surfer. Please answer to best of your memory. Lets begin.

1. Participation includes how long, how many times, or in what capacity a person pursues an activity. Over time, involvement in an activity changes. Please tell me about your present participation in surfing.
    a. Probe:
        i. Frequency within a week or month
        ii. Duration per session
2. Now please tell me about your past participation in surfing. It might be helpful to think back to when you first learned how to surf.
    a. Probe:
        i. Duration: years or months
        ii. Frequency
3. Surfing has a lot to do with weather and swell conditions. How do you think your surfing has been affected by such conditions?
    a. Probe:
        i. Surf a particular time of year
        ii. Surf a particular surfing location/spot

Self-Perceived Skill Level

1. Suppose I am a tourist from Bakersfield and knew nothing about surfing. I meet you at the beach and tell you I am interested in knowing what skills are needed to be a surfer. What would you tell me?
2. Now I am interested in knowing what skills and abilities you feel you have as a surfer.
    a. Probe:
        i. Skills you think are good
        ii. Skills you think you need to work on
        iii. Personal Rating (strong, weak, novice, expert, highly skilled, and so on)
        iv. One skill more important than the rest

Equipment/Monetary Investment

1. Everyone has different preferences and reasons they choose specific surfing equipment. If we were to take inventory of your surfing equipment what would we find?
    a. Probe:
        i. For what reasons have chosen your surf equipment?
2. Is there other surfing equipment you would like to purchase? If so, please explain your reasons.
    a. Probe:
        i. Enhance or improve abilities or skills
        ii. Change style

iii. Allow to surf other breaks

iv. Easier, more comfortable

b. Probe:

i. What is preventing you from buying additional equipment?

3. What types of surfing media do you subscribe to or purchase and why?

a. Cues/examples: Magazine, books, surf music, online surf checks.

4. Have you ever taken an overnight surf trip? If so, think about the surf trip that cost you the most. What was the approximate cost of this trip taking into account gas, lodging, parking permits, souvenirs, accessories, tickets, and so on?

Commitment

1. Commitment to an activity generally deals with an individual's personal involvement, financial investments, and time in that activity. Commitment also deals with a desire to take on the values, principals, or cultural standards of the social world that exists within an activity. I am interested in learning about you and how you view your commitment as a surfer. Tell me about your commitment to surfing.

a. Probes:

i. Investments made (social, psychological, financial, so on)

ii. Commitment to another activity more than surfing

iii. Give anything up/missing out if stopped surfing

iv. Current social network of friends

v. Network of friends changed since started surfing

2. How have you adopted any social or cultural values and expectations of the surfing culture? For example: if a person decides to become a particular religion, they might be expected to or try to learn and speak the language, participate in holidays, eat traditional dishes, dress accordingly, practice customs and mannerisms, and so on.

Enduring Involvement

1. There are many feelings and emotions that are used to explain how an activity makes a person feel or the importance of this activity in some one's life. What feelings or emotions do experience when you surf?
    a. Probes:
        i. How are these emotions or experiences important to you?
        ii. How is surfing apart of your lifestyle?

Motivation

1. I would like to know the reason that you are interested in surfing. Think back to when you first learned about surfing or when you first observed someone surfing. Tell me what first attracted you to the idea of surfing.
2. What initially motivated you to learn how to surf?
    a. Cues (only some of them)
        i. Natural environment
        ii. Social
        iii. Physical fitness
        iv. Meet new people
3. As of now what are the reasons that you continue to surf?

a. Cues: (Same as above)

b. Probe:

i. Tell me if your motivations have changed since you first began surfing?

ii. Do you surf for different reasons now than when you first started?

4. What thoughts come to mind when you think about some of your best surf sessions?

a. Probe:

i. Feelings?

ii. Memories?

Behavior

1. So now I would like you to take a minute to think about your personal surfing routine. Imagine I have a little hidden camera placed right on your forehead. Please tell me about your typical or somewhat routine surf session from the moment you decide to go surfing.

a. Probes:

i. Anticipation

ii. Whom would you call? Do you normally surf with anyone? Why?

iii. What would you do the night before or the morning of, to prepare for your surf session?

iv. Where would I see you surfing and why there?

v. When do you normally surf and why do you choose to surf at those times?

vi. What are some things you might think about after your surf session?

Affiliation

1. How has surfing provided opportunities for you to develop connections with people you just met, your community, your friends, your family, and others?
    a. Probes:
        i. Strengthen relationships with anyone
        ii. Build/strengthen family togetherness
        iii. Foster growth or learning with kids
        iv. How were you affected?
        v. How was your relationship affected?
2. Has surfing ever been a time where your concern for someone else's surfing experience took priority over the concern for your surfing experience? How so?
    a. Probe:
        i. Feel obligated?
        ii. How did it make you feel?
        iii. How were you affected?
        iv. How your relationship with that person(s) affected?

Autonomous

1. We have talked about how surfing affects our relationships with others but now we are going to talk about what surfing does for you as an individual. Away from normal life obligations, how have you been able to fulfill your own needs and desires through surfing?

a. Probes:

i. Recuperation, renewal

ii. What do you think about when you are out in the water?

iii. How do you feel after a surf session?

iv. Develop skills

v. Improve you self or self perception

vi. Change your life

vii. How has surfing challenged you?

viii. How has surfing helped you to develop skills? Express yourself?

Constraints

1. What are some reasons that discourage or prevent you surfing?

    a. Probe: Setting, personal feelings, situational

    b. Cues: Self image, skill level, family-life stages, finances, resources, time

Additional Questions

1. Is there anything you dislike about surfing?
2. What else would like to tell me about your surfing experiences?

Socio-demographics

1. Please state your name, age, ethnicity, and the city or town in which you live.
2. What is your highest level of education?
3. What is your current position of employment?
4. Please state your marital status and if you have children. If so how many children?

APPENDIX D
CODING DIAGRAMS

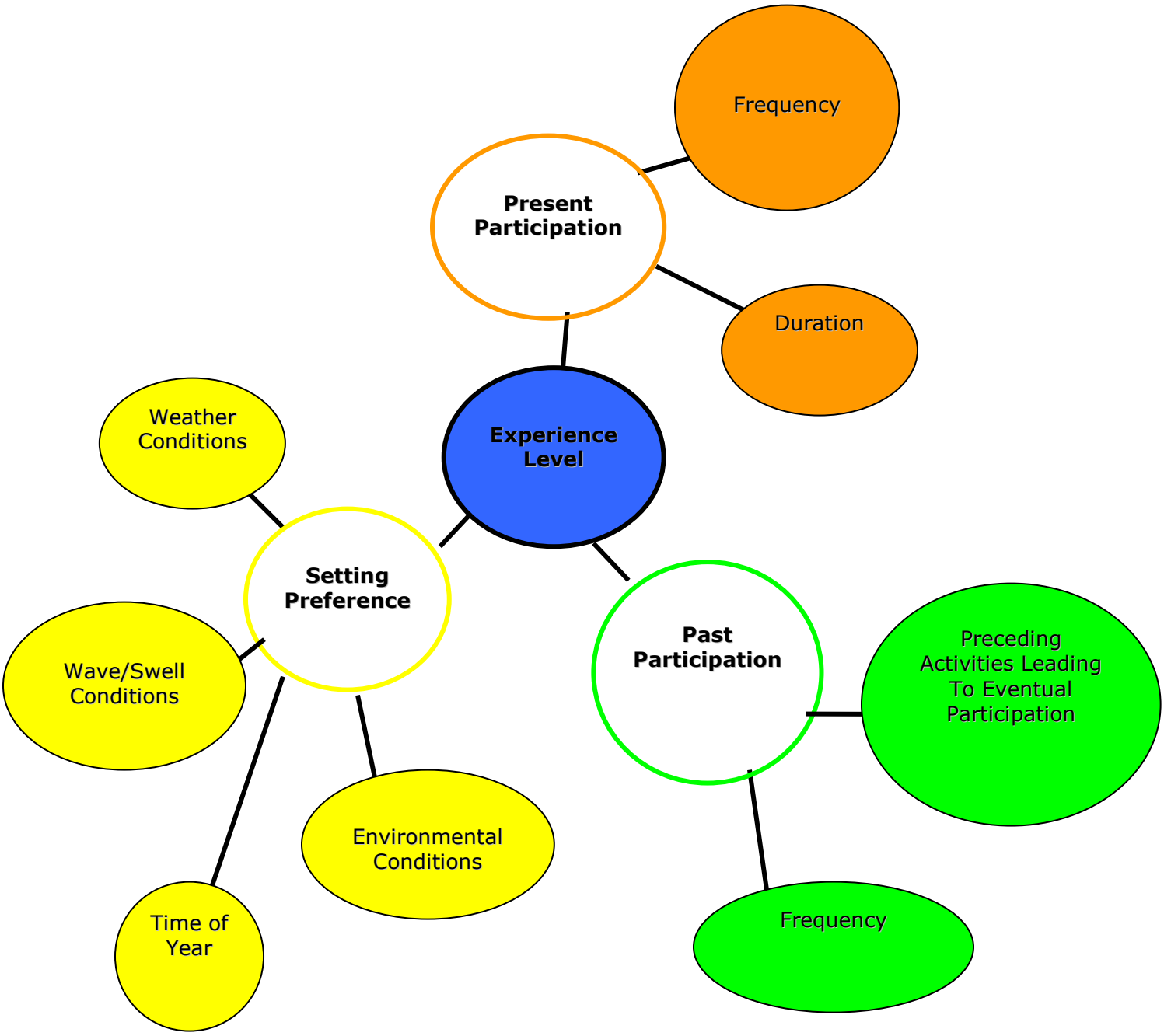


Figure D-1. An example diagram of a selective code and corresponding axial codes.

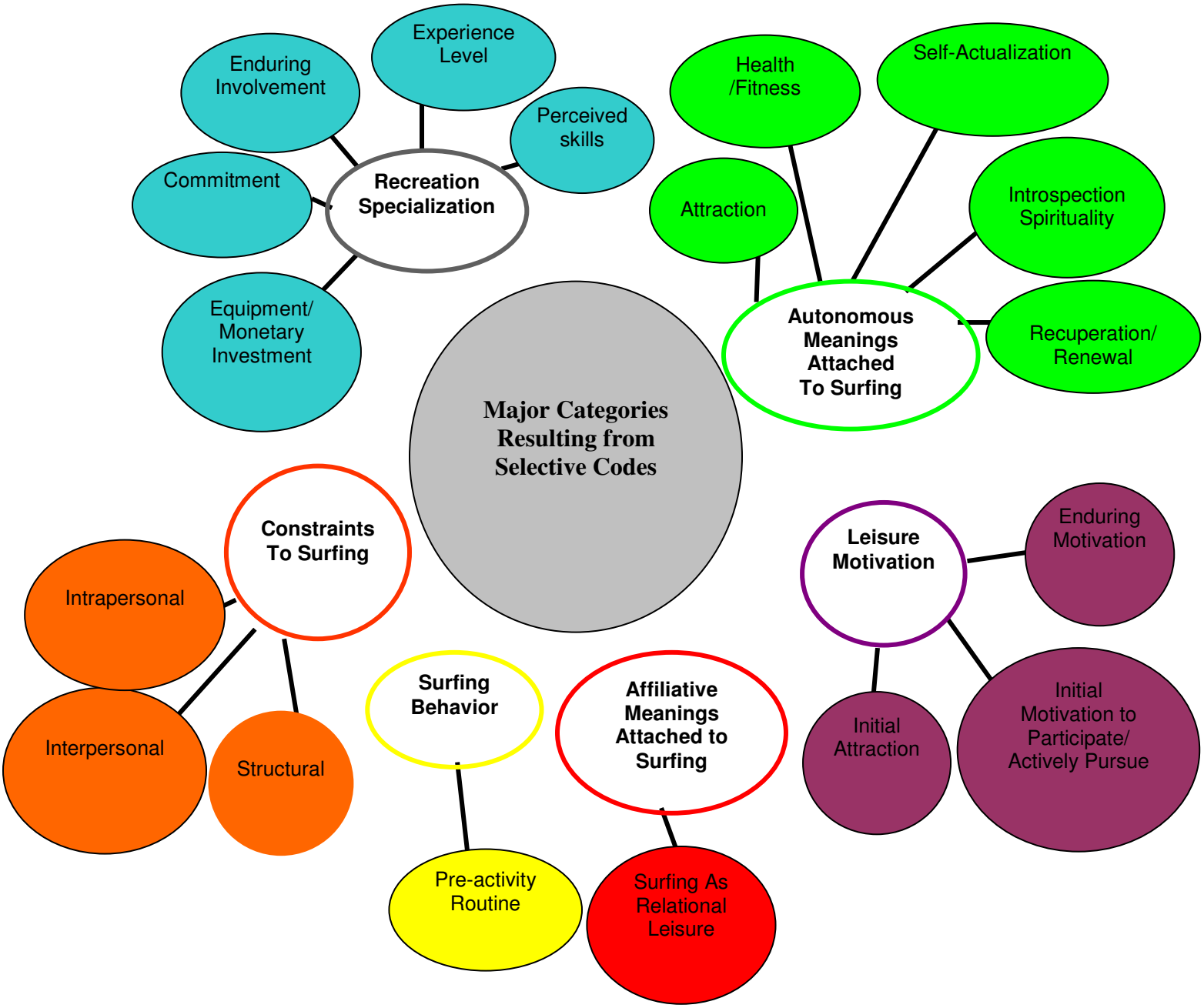


Figure D-2. Diagram of major categories and corresponding selective codes.

APPENDIX E
CODING BRACKETS

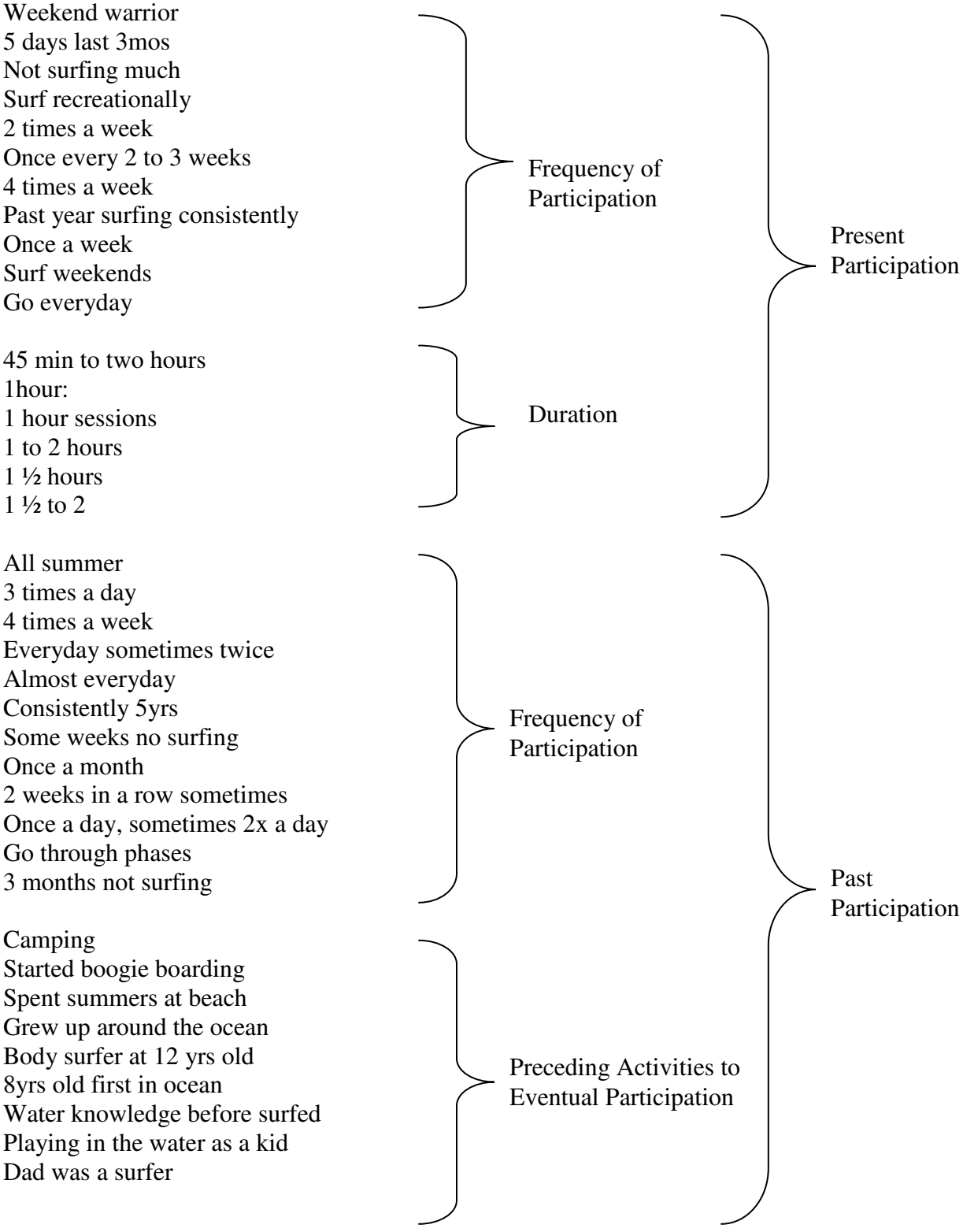


Figure E-1. Experience Level

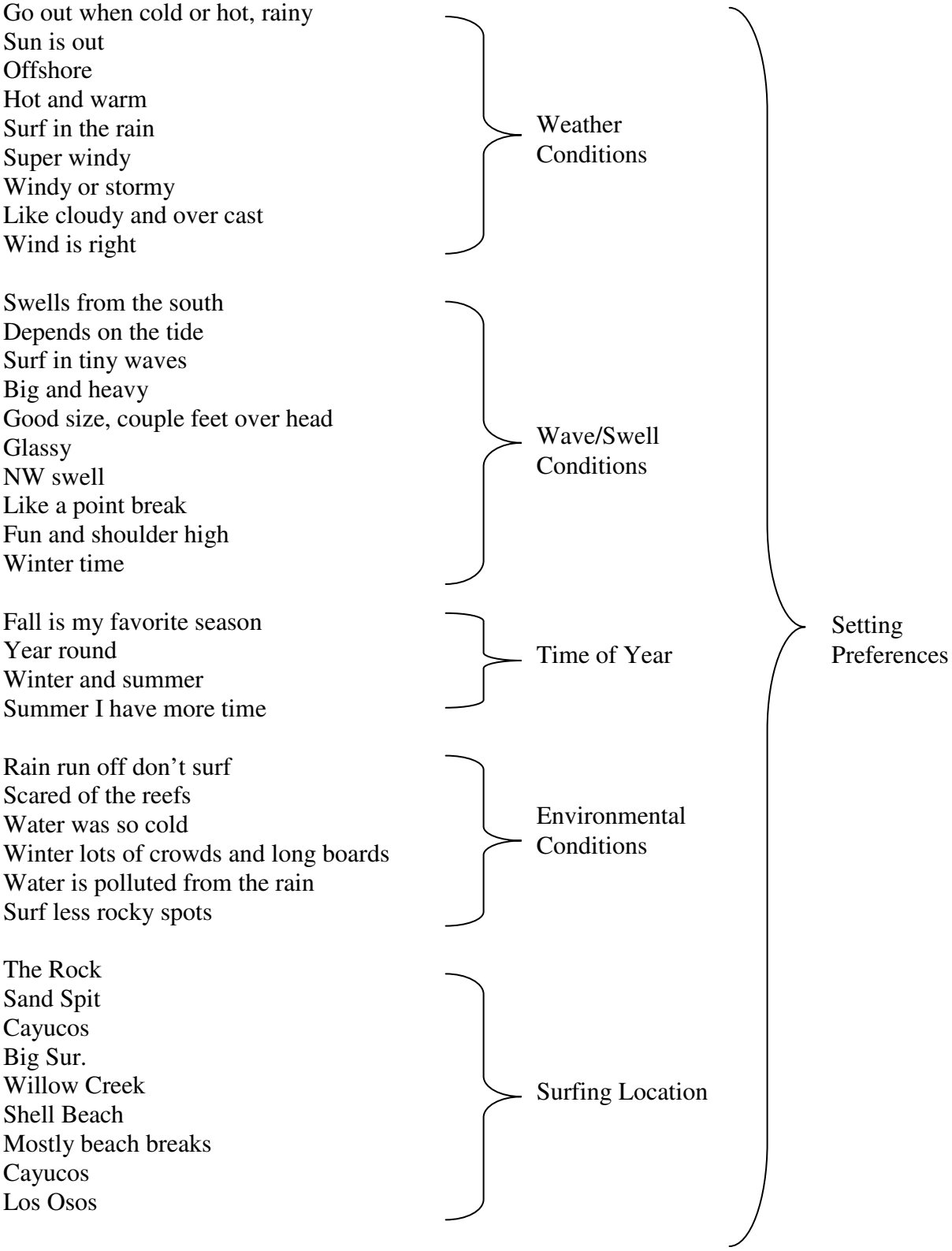


Figure E-1. Continued

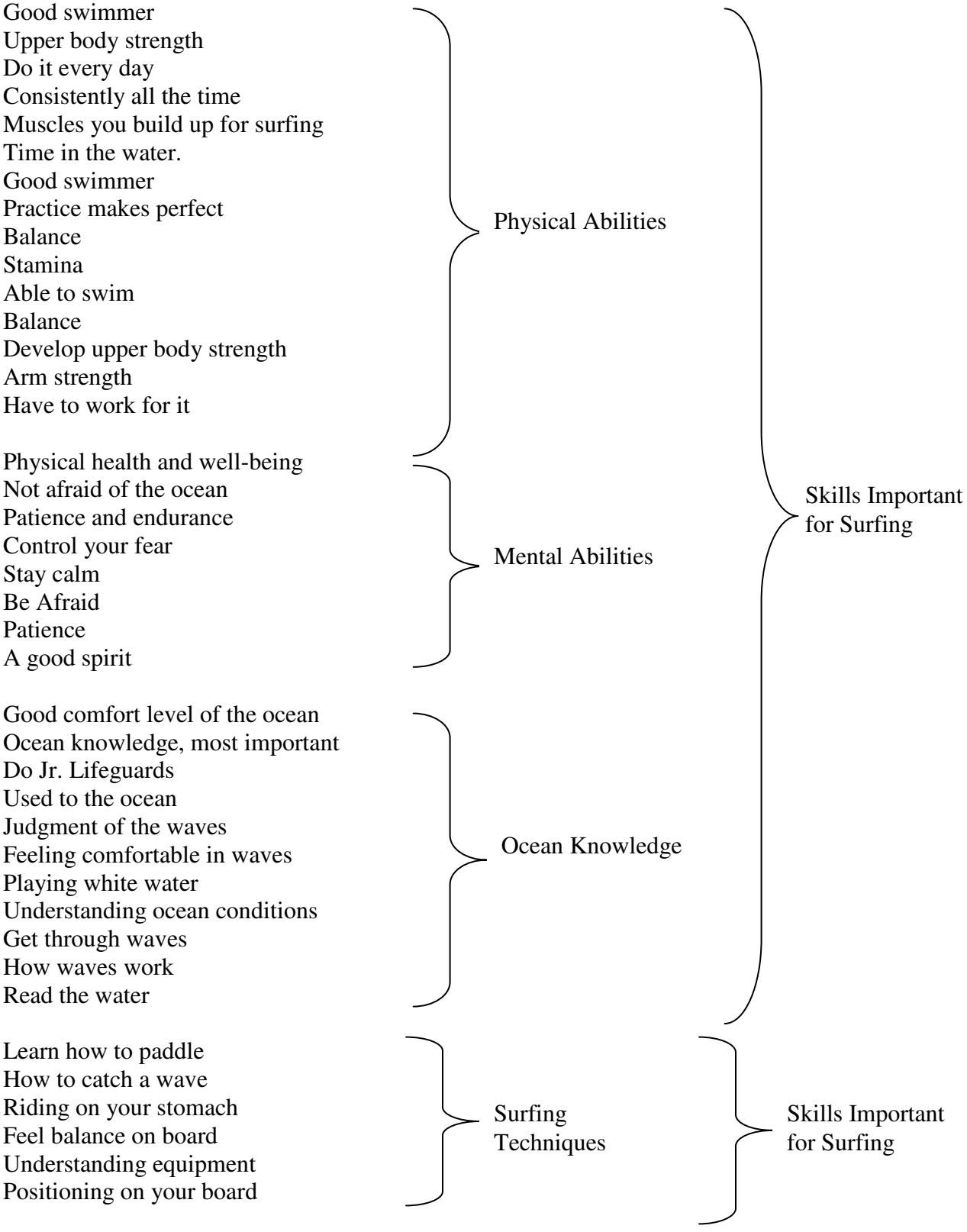


Figure E-2. Perceived Skills Coding

Figure E-2. Continued

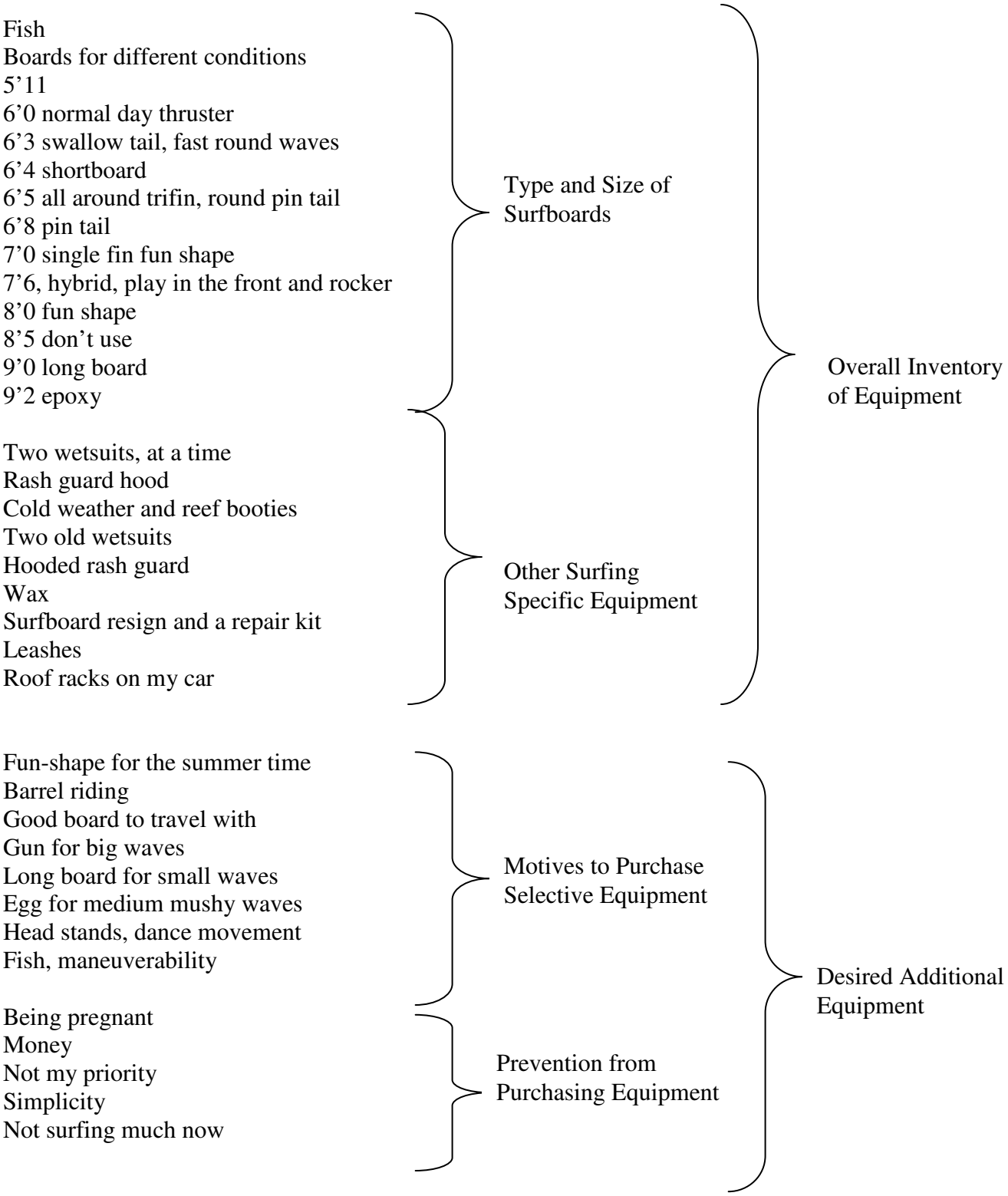


Figure E-3. Equipment/Monetary Value Coding

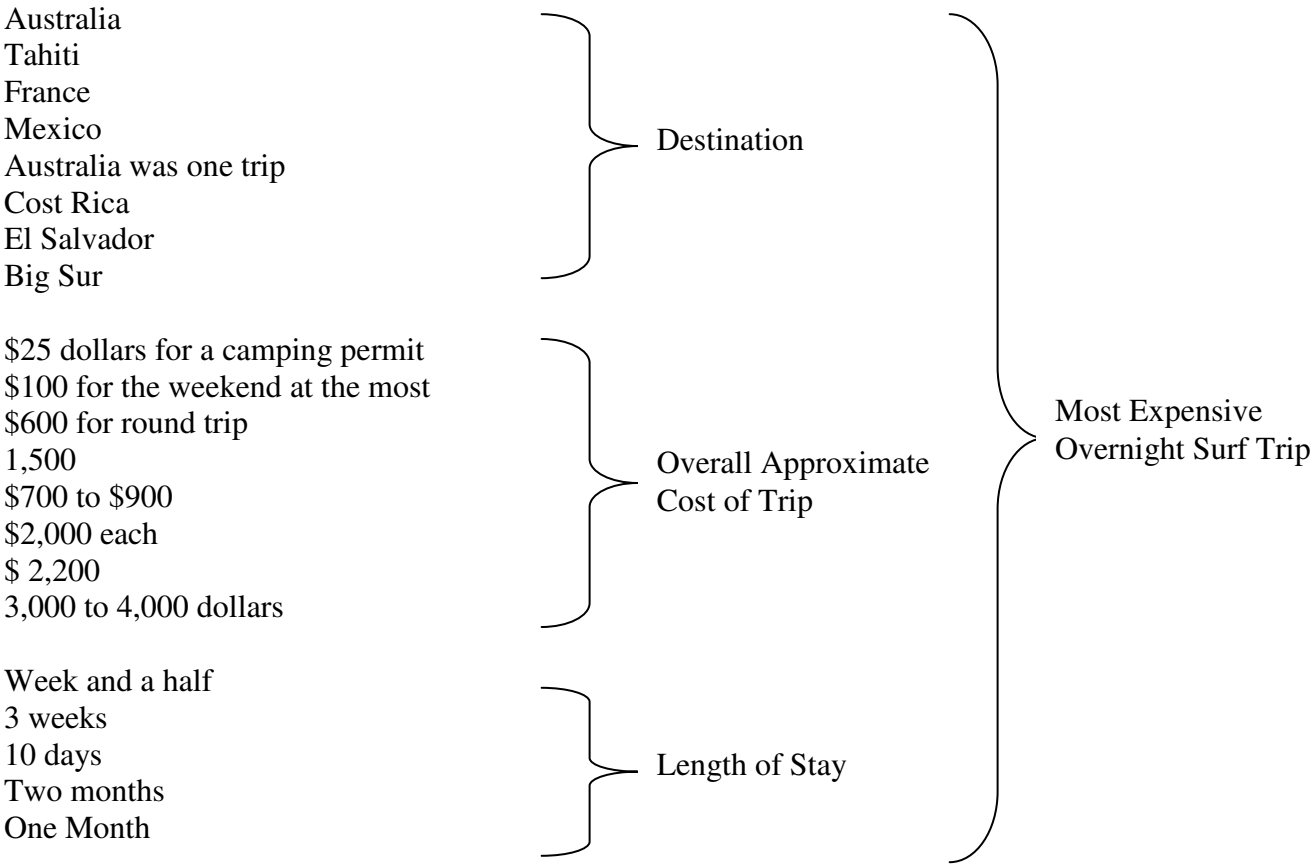


Figure E-3. Continued

Figure E-4. Commitment Coding

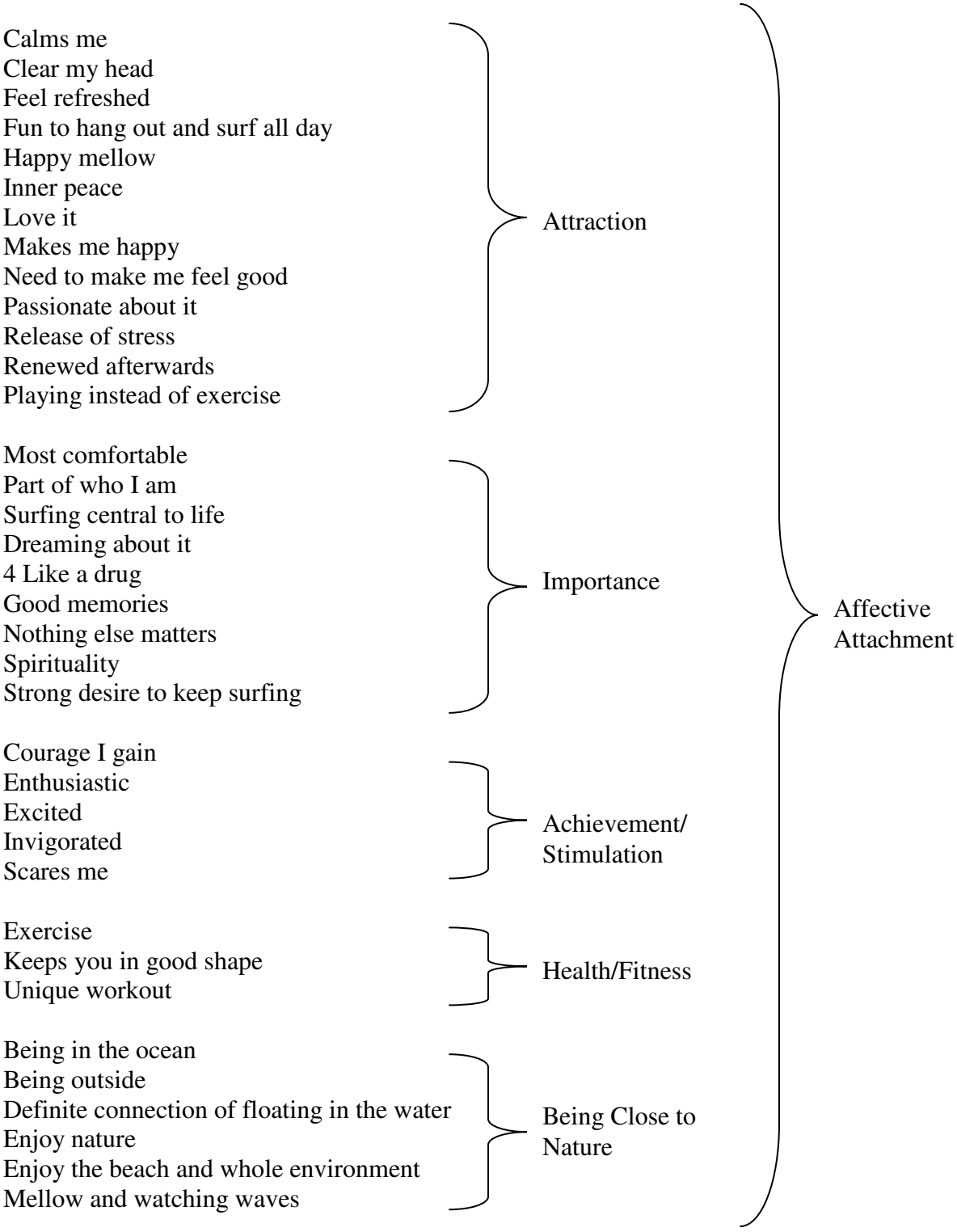


Figure E-4. Continued

Figure E-4. Continued

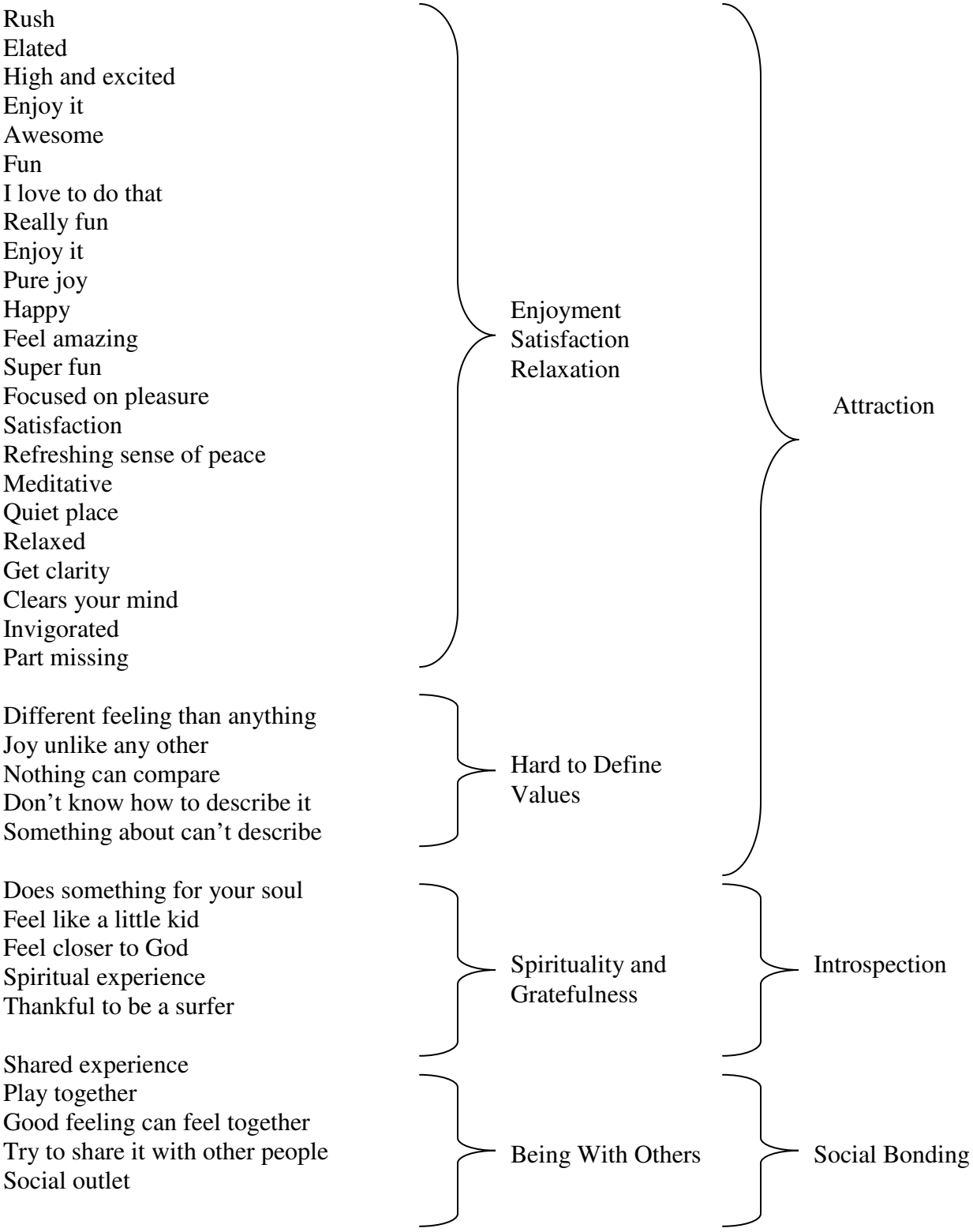


Figure E-5. Enduring Involvement Coding

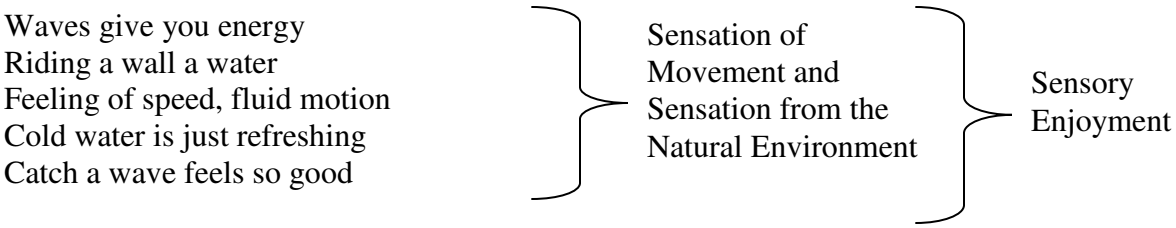


Figure E-5. Continued

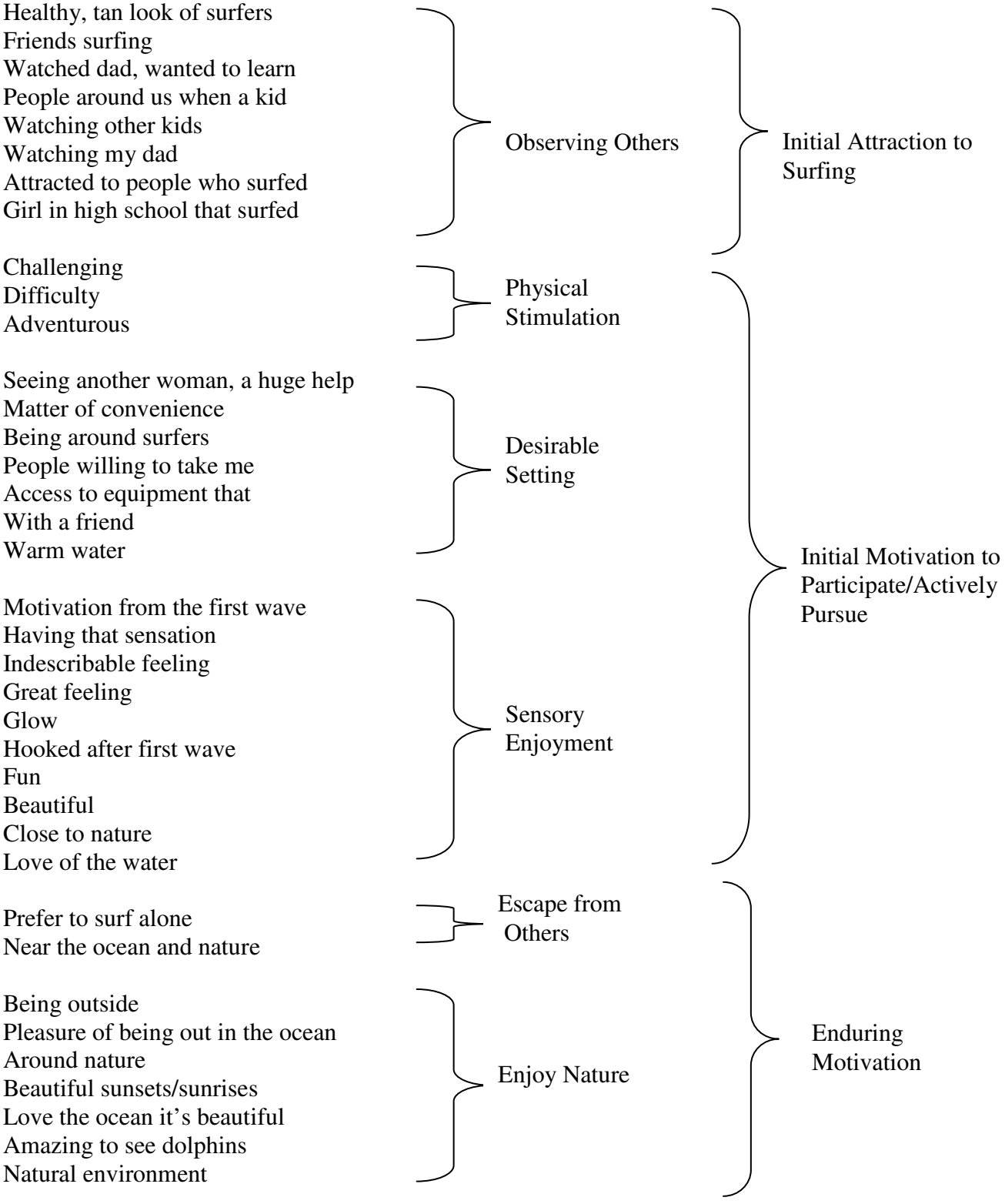


Figure E-6. Leisure Motivation Coding

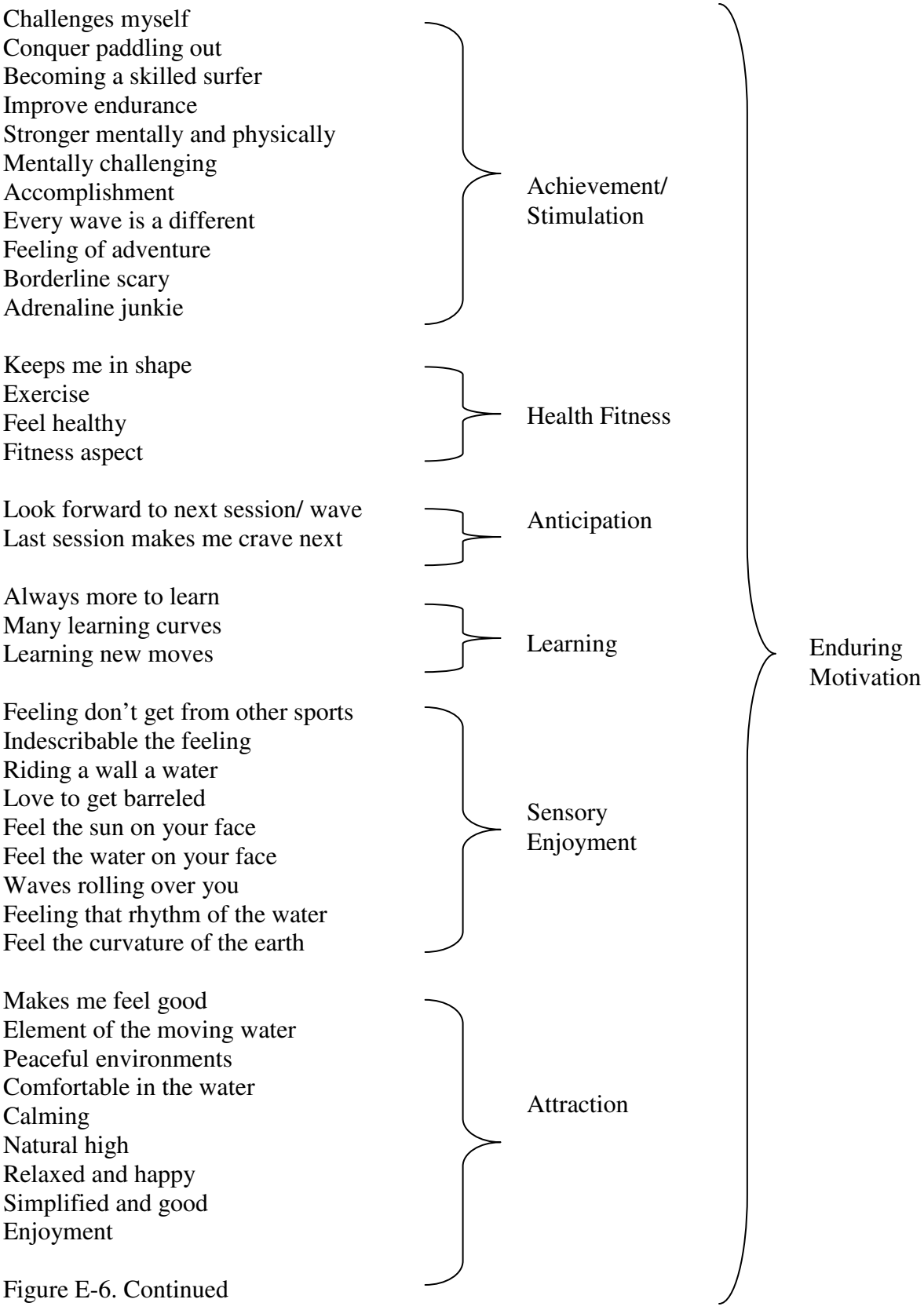
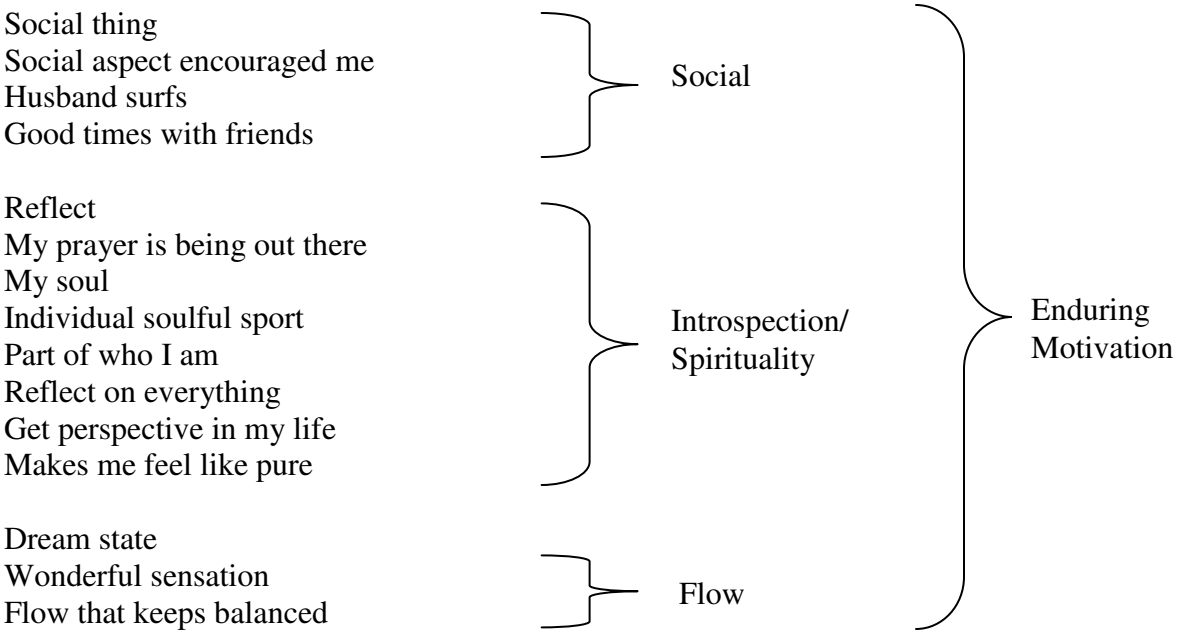


Figure E-6. Continued



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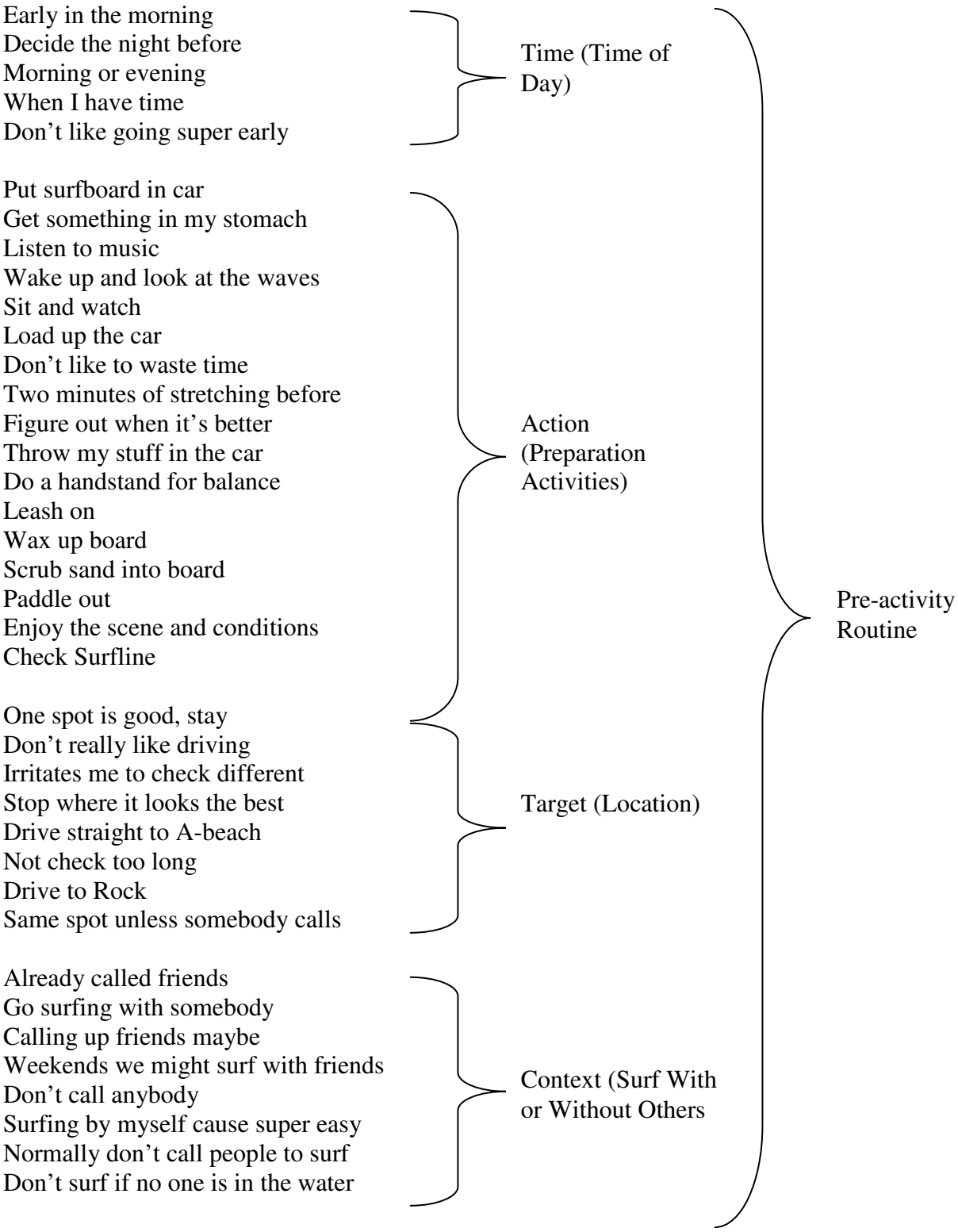

Figure E-7. Surfing Behavior Coding

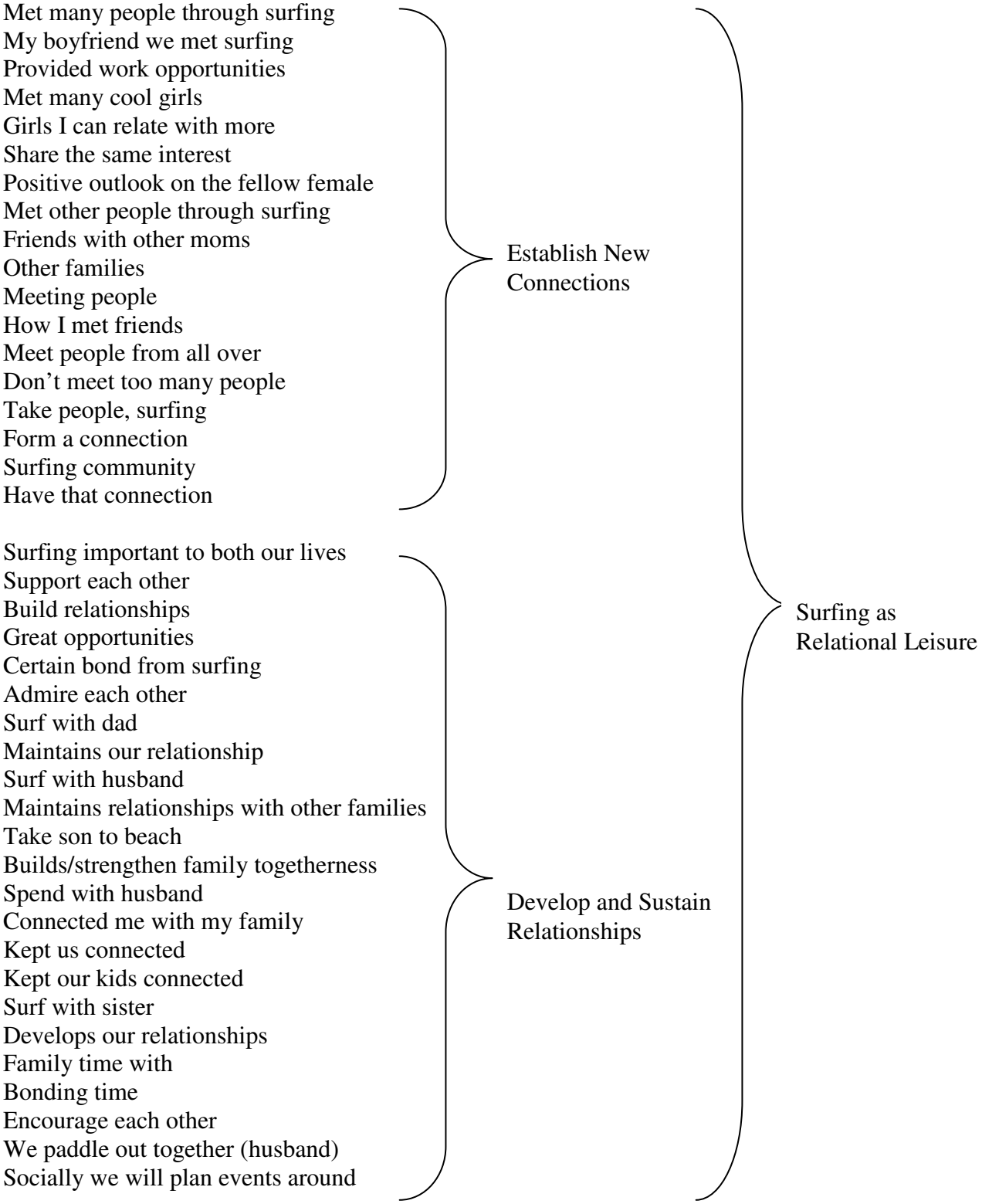

Figure E-8. Affiliative Meanings Attached to Surfing Coding

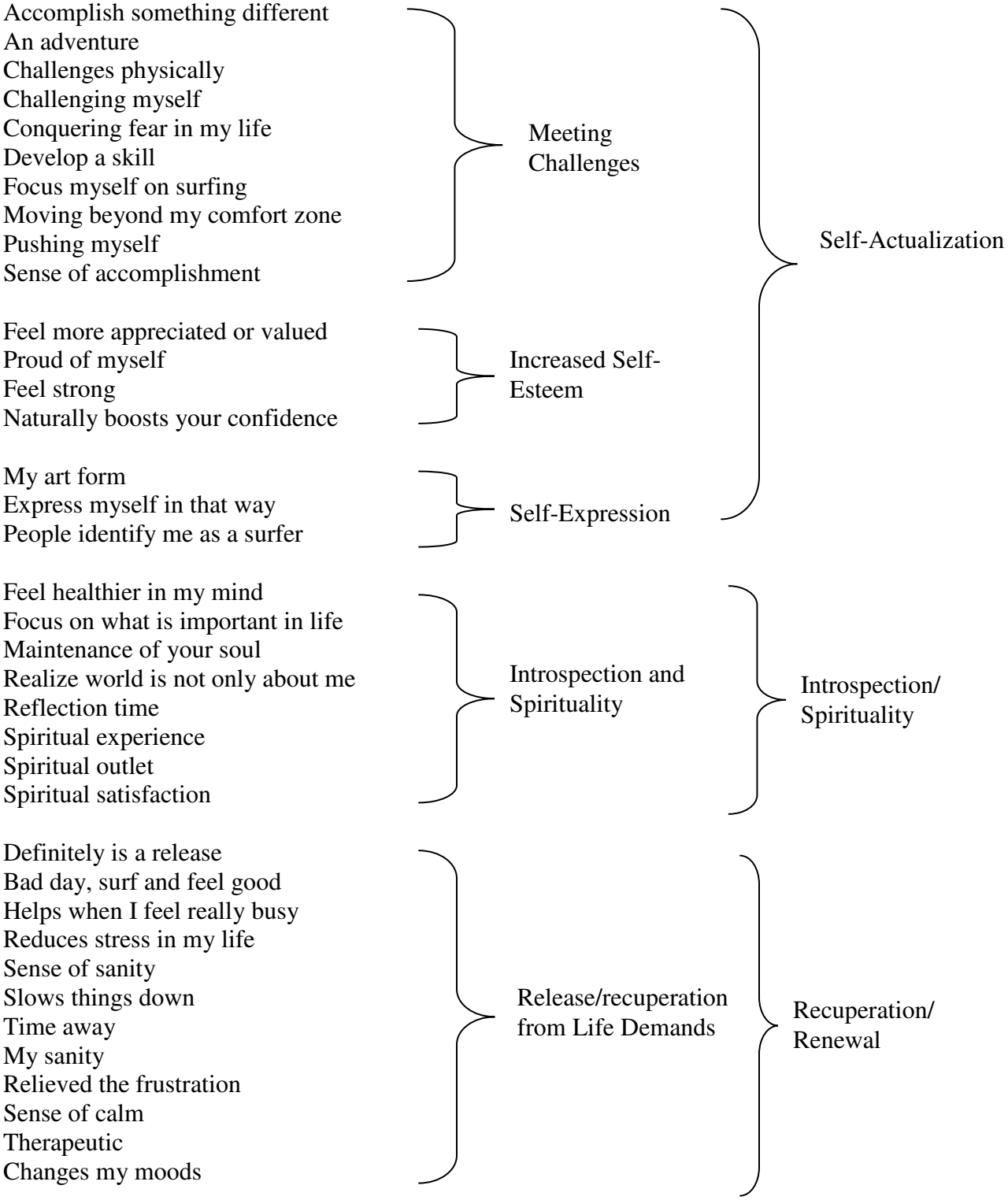

Figure E-9. Autonomous Meanings Attached to Surfing Coding

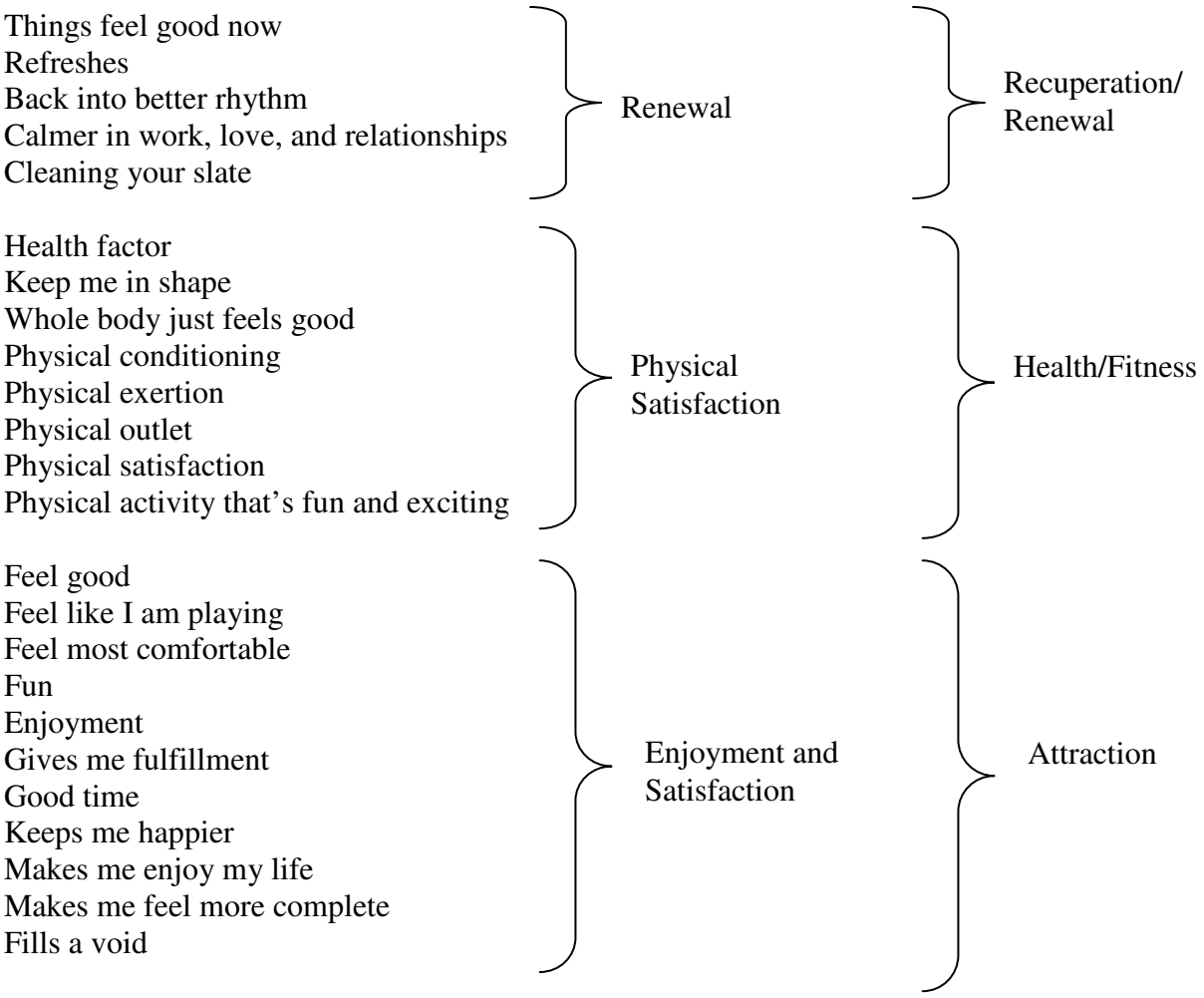

Figure E-9. Continued

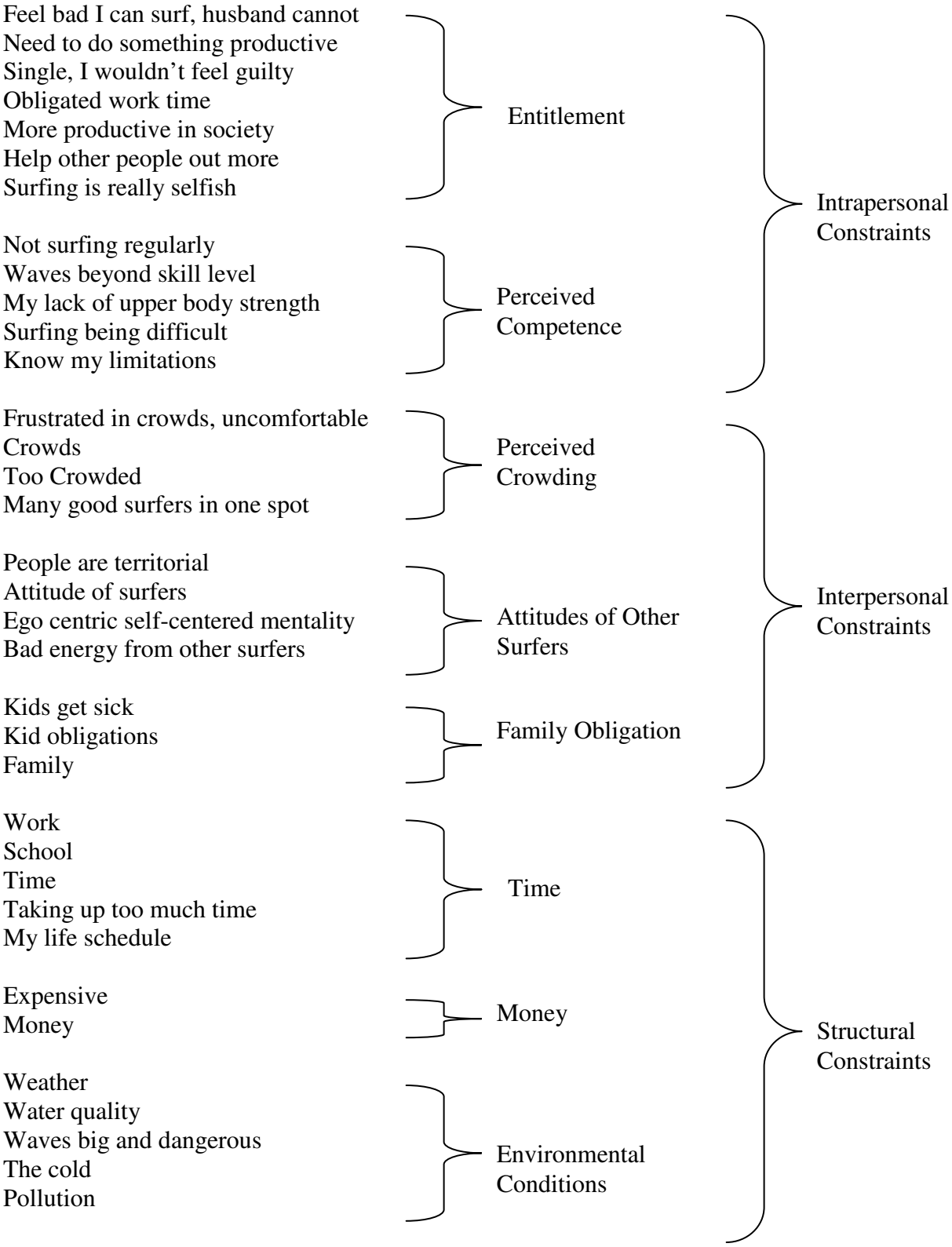

Figure E-10. Constraints to Surfing Coding