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Guiding Dimensions of the Wilderness Canoe Trip

by

Deborah Jenifer Colman

A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts
Department of Adult Education, Community Development and Counselling Psychology
Ontario Institute for Studies in Education of the University of Toronto

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0-612-40640-7
Abstract

Guiding Dimensions of the Wilderness Canoe Trip

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Master of Arts, 1998

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This project explored, from a phenomenological perspective, the leadership experiences of eight women who guide wilderness canoe trips, in order to compare the theory of outdoor leadership to their lived experience. The self-perceptions, struggles and supports that these women experienced as outdoor leaders were identified through thematic analysis of the face-to-face semi-structured interviews. The major findings indicate that women outdoor guides value the interpersonal skills differently from the technical skills of outdoor leadership, prefer a protracted model of leadership development and a participant-centered leadership style. As well, gender-biased perceptions both delay and challenge leadership credibility and the enjoyment of the leadership experience. The implications of the study were especially relevant to Outdoor Administrators and Outdoor Leadership Instructors.
Dedication

For my mother
and
In memory of my father
Acknowledgements

The participants of this study who gave of their time and shared their leadership experiences with me in a thoughtful and generous manner. I would like to think that the process was interesting and possibly revealing for them, as I know it was for me.

Dr. Alan Thomas, thesis supervisor, who encouraged me to explore a topic that was dear to my heart. His insightful and encouraging presence always guided me back to a positive perspective.

Dr. William Alexander, thesis committee member, who provided thoughtful feedback at the eleventh hour.

Dr. Bonnie Burstow, professor, whose passion for qualitative research was inspiring.

The many librarians who retrieved the numerous reference materials that I reviewed and in many cases, generously provided me with photocopies or facsimiles of articles that I would not have otherwise been able to obtain.

It was truly heartening to feel the support of my family and friends while cloistered away for what seemed like an eternity.
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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Background

My introduction to the wilderness as an adult in 1989 was a week of wonder and magic. I was in awe over my companions’ abilities to hear and see things that I could not. It was as if they were aware of other dimensions of reality that I did not know existed. The experience of being in the wilderness and engaging the people with whom I travelled was emotionally, spiritually, intellectually, and physically stimulating. It was an intense time. I came back to the city feeling rejuvenated but lonely, having left my companions far behind. I did not immediately understand that on some level the experience of those relationships would always be available. I did not anticipate to what extent the experience of the wilderness would become essential to my health and happiness.

I clearly recognized the profound learning potential of the wilderness experience. I knew how a canoe trip facilitated my awareness and appreciation of the natural environment. I knew how a canoe trip promoted a deepening awareness and appreciation of myself and my companions. I knew how a canoe trip challenged my problem-solving skills and how I thrived on resolving these challenges resourcefully and with innovation. I knew that a canoe trip was a multi-dimensional experience that would always be a rich environment in which to learn.

In 1994, I was asked to assume the role of wilderness canoe trip guide. It has been a privilege to facilitate an individual’s growing awareness of the wilderness and to witness the evolution of that awareness unfold. I have learned about outdoor leadership through direct experience as a participant and guide. I have observed and experienced the impact of effective and ineffective guides and I have been both encouraged and disappointed with my own leadership experiences. The lessons associated with these experiences have provided me with a clear picture of what kind of guide I wanted to be and what kind of guide I did not want to be. I also realized that I needed to obtain a theoretical understanding of leadership and speak with experienced outdoor guides if I was going to actualize these lessons and grow as a human being.
The Purpose of the Study

This thesis compares the theory of outdoor leadership with the lived experience of eight women canoe trip guides. It is not intended to be a comparative statement that highlights the differences between women and men guides, nor is intended to provide a definitive statement on the experience of every woman guide. But it is intended to illuminate the guiding experiences of eight individual women and to help the researcher understand her own guiding experiences more deeply.

The Research Questions

1). What perceptions do these women guides have of themselves on a wilderness canoe trip?
2). What challenges do these women guides experience on a wilderness canoe trip?
3). What supports do these women guides experience on a wilderness canoe trip?

The Rationale for the Study

“In virtually all aspects of outdoor recreation, the percentages of women participants are increasing faster than men as we move through the 1990s“ (Henderson, 1992, p.50). As women continue to increase their involvement, there will be an increasing demand for women leaders who must be prepared to broaden their knowledge about the unique learning and instructional needs of women (Miranda and Yerkes, 1987).

During the 1980s and early 1990s, the changing role expectations of women outdoor leadership and the need for further research in this area was recognized (Henderson, 1992, James, 1988, Miranda and Yerkes, 1987, Miranda and Yerkes, 1982). It was believed that the consequences of such research would serve not only to increase program effectiveness but also to broaden the theoretical base of outdoor education. Furthermore, the potential for applying the results of this research to the broader social and intellectual lives of women was anticipated (Bialeschki, 1990, Miranda and Yerkes, 1982). Therefore, it is surprising to realize that a significant amount of research on women outdoor leadership has not taken place since that time. More specifically, the experiences of women wilderness canoe trip leaders has not
commonly been addressed and when it has, qualitative research methods have rarely been used.

This thesis will address this gap in the literature as few others have done before, by articulating in qualitative terms, the leadership experiences of women who guide wilderness canoe trips. It is hoped that the articulation of their experiences will not only increase our understanding of their leadership experiences in the wilderness but also hint at the leadership experiences of women in society at large.

**Terms and Definitions**

**Leadership**: The process by which a person is able to influence fellow group members to create, identify, work toward, achieve and share mutually acceptable common goals (Tead, 1935, as cited in Priest, 1987b).

**Leader-Guide**: A person who, by the nature of vocation or interest, maintains an active role in the organizing, instructing, supervising, and/or caring for a group involved in outdoor pursuits or adventure activities, and who is legally or morally responsible for the safety, learning and/or experience of the group (Sirois, 1980, as cited in Priest, 1987b).

**Follower-Participant**: A member of an outdoor pursuit group, who relies on the outdoor leader for guidance and the assurance of safety. Identifies with the group by cohesively working together with a sense of shared purpose, and a need for and acceptance of others in the group (Ford and Blanchard, 1993).

**Education**: An activity undertaken or initiated by one or more agents that is designed to effect changes in the knowledge, skill, and attitudes of individuals, groups, or communities. The term education emphasizes the educator, the agent of change who presents stimuli and reinforcement for learning and designs activities to induce change (Boyd, Apps, et al, 1980, as cited in Knowles, 1973 p. 10.). Education is something that is done to you (Thomas, 1991).

**Learning**: The term learning, in contrast [ to education ], emphasizes the person in whom the change occurs or is expected to occur. Learning is the act or process by which behavioural change, knowledge, skills, and attitudes are acquired (Boyd, Apps, et al, 1980, as cited in Knowles, 1973 p. 10.). Learning is something that you do for yourself (Thomas, 1991).
Wilderness as a Place: A wilderness, in contrast with those areas where man and his works dominate the landscape, is hereby recognized as an area where the earth and its community of life are untrammeled by man, where man himself is a visitor who does not remain. An area of wilderness is further defined to mean ... an area of undeveloped Federal land retaining its primeval character and influence, without human habitation, which is protected and managed so as to preserve its natural conditions and which: 1) Generally appears to have been affected primarily by the forces of nature, with the imprint of human work substantially unnoticeable; 2) Has outstanding opportunities for solitude or a primitive and unconfined type of recreation, 3) Is of sufficient size as to make practicable its preservation and use in an unimpaired condition; and 4) May also contain ecological, geological, or other features of scientific, educational, scenic, or historic value (United States 1964 Federal Wilderness Act).

Wilderness as a Concept: Different people and nations at different times throughout history have conceived of the term wilderness in dissimilar ways (Jasen, 1995, McAvoy, 1990, Miles, 1990, Grant, 1988, Sax, 1980, Nash, 1967, Le Bastille, 1980). The conceptions of wilderness have included but are not limited to: 1). A place of romantic adventure; a place to retrace the legacies of the Native North American, the early European explorer, and the Voyageur of the Fur Trade, 2) A therapeutic sanatorium, 3) A spiritual sanctuary, 4) A place of resource extraction and economic wealth, 5) A place for recreation, 6) A source of entertainment, 7) An artistic resource that generated a Canadian style of landscape art, 8) A source of national identity and 9) A benchmark for a healthy ecosystem.

Wilderness as a place and/or concept will be included in the working definition for this thesis.

Wilderness Canoe Trip: The travelling by canoe on lakes and or rivers in the wilderness for a minimum of one week.

Competency: Measurable proficiencies of skill, knowledge, experience, and attitudes in outdoor pursuits (Ford and Blanchard, 1993, p. 194).

Technical Skills (Hard Skills): The methods, processes, procedures, techniques and the use of outdoor equipment to gain competencies in the physiological, environmental, safety, technical and administrative components of outdoor recreational / education (Swiderski, 1987)

Conceptual Skills: The general analytic skills of an outdoor leader; the reasoning power and logical cognitative processes (Phipps and Swiderski 1989, Swiderski, 1987).
**Interpersonal Skills (Soft Skills):** The interpersonal and human relations skills or “people skills” of the outdoor leader, which includes social, psychological and communication components (Phipps and Swiderski 1989, Swiderski, 1987).

Hard and soft skills are commonly used throughout the outdoor leadership literature. These terms have been used in the literature review in order to preserve the terms that the authors used.

**Overview**

In Chapter 11, I review the literature that will form the basis for the discussion and analysis of the findings for this thesis. Chapter 11 outlines the qualitative methodologies and research methods that were used for gathering and analyzing the data. Chapter 1V describes a collated perspective of the eight interviewees’ responses to the interview questions and outlines the themes that emerged from this analysis. In Chapter V, I discuss my interpretation of the research findings in relation to three theoretical frameworks: 1) Group Leadership Theory, 2) Interpersonal Skills, and 3) Leadership Development. In Chapter V1 I answer the research questions and provide a summary of the major outcomes and implications of the thesis.
CHAPTER 11  
Review of Related Literature

To understand the framework of the thesis, I have started by selectively presenting the branches of education that are most relevant to the learning environment on a wilderness canoe trip; These are Experiential Education, Adventure Education, and Wilderness Education. I will then briefly review leadership theories and group development theories as presented in the outdoor recreation literature. A presentation of the competencies that are generally valued in the outdoor leader and a review of outdoor leadership certification will follow. Finally, I will present a review of the literature on Women Outdoor Leadership.

There is a plethora of terms related to outdoor recreation (Phipps, 1991). Outdoor recreation, outdoor education, environmental education, wilderness education, wilderness recreation, experiential education, adventure education, outdoor adventure, outdoor pursuits, tourism, to name just a few. Some terms are used interchangeably, some have become outdated and have been replaced, while others have different meanings for different authors or in different countries. Some clarification of these terms is necessary in order to dispel the confusion and establish some common ground on which to base a discussion. One can begin to distinguish one term from the other, when the origin of the term, and the learning objectives and leadership roles associated with each term is identified.

What is Experiential Education?

*Traditional education is a series of lessons followed by a test,*  
*while in experiential education, first comes the test and then comes the lesson.*

Dave Chrislip

Broadly defined, Experiential Education is a philosophical orientation toward teaching and learning which values and facilitates a connection between the abstract theory and the concrete activity in order to maximize learning. The design of an experiential education activity will consciously address the cognitive, emotional, spiritual, and social faculties of the learner in order to surpass the levels of knowing achieved with abstract theory alone. Experiential education is not a content area but *a method* that can be applied to any academic field.
The Association of Experiential Education defined experiential education as "... a process through which a learner constructs knowledge, skill, and value from direct experiences" (Luckmann, 1996). Supporting this, there are several accompanying principles:

- Experiential learning occurs when carefully chosen experiences are supported by reflection, critical analysis, and synthesis.
- Experiences are structured to require the learner to take initiative, make decisions, and be accountable for the results.
- Throughout the experiential learning process, the learner is actively engaged in posing questions, investigating, experimenting, being curious, solving problems, assuming responsibility, being creative, and constructing meaning.
- Learners are engaged intellectually, emotionally, socially, soulfully, and/or physically. This involvement produces a perception that the learning task is authentic.
- The results of the learning are personal and form the basis for future experience of learning. Relationships are developed and nurtured: learner to self, learners to others, and learner to the world at large.
- The educator and learner may experience success, failure, adventure, risk-taking, and uncertainty, since the outcomes of experience cannot be totally predicted.
- Opportunities are nurtured for learners and educators to explore and examine their own values.
- The educator's primary roles include setting suitable experiences, posing problems, setting boundaries, supporting learners, insuring physical and emotional safety, and facilitating the learning process.
- The educator recognizes and encourages spontaneous opportunities for learning. Educators strive to be aware of their biases, judgements, and preconceptions and how they influence the learner.
- The design of the learning experience includes the possibility to learn from natural consequences, mistakes, and successes.

(Luckman, 1996, p. 6-7)

The term Experiential Education has been tied to various behavioural and cognitive learning theories such as, Piaget's Developmental Theory, Gardner's Theory of Multiple Intelligence's and Dewey's Progressive Education Movement (Sakofs, 1985, Hunt, 1985, Crosby, 1985, Johnston, 1985).
Piaget's (1952, as cited in Kraft, 1990) stages of cognitive development in children, claims that active learning and concrete experience are fundamental to cognitive growth (Kraft 1990, Johnston, 1985, Sakofs, 1985). Although each stage is presented as separate and distinct from each other, they all depend upon concrete interactions with the world in order to promote intellectual growth and learning. It has been suggested that adults similarly need concrete interaction with the real world for their continued intellectual growth. As Kraft stated,

... the implications of Piaget's theory are critical for experiential educators of children and adults, as it posits the active nature of all learning, that children learn best from concrete experiences, and that even adolescents and adults who are capable of formal abstract thought need concrete experiences in order to develop new knowledge (Kraft, 1990, p. 179).

Gardner's Theory of Multiple Intelligence's (1983 in Kraft, 1990) claims that there are seven distinct intelligence's that each person possesses. These include logical - mathematical; verbal-linguistic; bodily - kinesthetic; musical; visual-spatial; interpersonal; and intrapersonal. Gardner believes that while most traditional learning environments exclusively accentuate the logical-mathematical intelligence, progressive learning environments, which would include experiential learning, provide a framework for stimulating many more, if not all of Gardner's seven identified intelligence's.

John Dewey's (Dewey, 1938, Hunt, 1995) criticism of both traditional and progressive education during the first half of this century, was based on his philosophy of knowledge and experience. He proposed two inherent dimensions of knowledge, which he referred to as the primary or sensory nature of experience and the secondary or reflective nature of experience. When he applied his theory of knowledge to education, at one end of the spectrum, he saw a traditional educational philosophy that emphasized a purely rationalistic or cognitive approach to learning. At the other end of the spectrum, he saw a progressive philosophy of education that had reacted against the rationalistic elements of traditional education, giving the sensory nature of experience superior status while entirely neglecting the role of reflection. Based on his philosophy of duality, Dewey rejected an educational philosophy that exclusively emphasized one form of knowledge over the other. Instead, he argued for an educational experience that united the primary and secondary nature of experience. He called this the experiential continuum.
Gardner, Dewey, as well as Thoreau (1973, as cited in Hunt, 1990), recognized that the impact of learning depends on the amount of reality involved and the number of senses utilized during the experience. Thoreau stated,

Which would have advanced the most at the end of the month, - the boy who had made his own jack-knife from the ore which he had dug and smelted, reading as much as would be necessary for this, - or the boy who had attended the lectures on metallurgy at the Institute in the mean while, and had received a Rogers' penknife from his father? Which would be most likely to cut his fingers? - To my astonishment I was informed on leaving college that I had studied navigation! Why, if I had taken one turn down the harbor I should have known more about it.

(Thoreau, 1973, as cited in Hunt 1990, p.45)

Hunt (1990) highlights the contrast between learning about knives or navigation and knowing knives and navigation. He concluded that knowing is much more complex than the learning outcomes associated with sitting and listening to someone speak about a topic in a lecture hall.

While it has been recognized that all true learning is experiential, experience alone does not automatically result in a learning experience. It has been suggested that reflecting on an experience is the way in which experience is turned into a learning experience (Boud et al, 1988, Joplin, 1981). Pearson and Smith (1988) and Joplin (1981), draw attention to the process of debriefing, and how it promotes reflection by providing a structured opportunity to recognize and evaluate an experience. Both distinguish between formal debriefing, a form of experiential education, that is intentionally planned and facilitated by a group leader, and informal debriefing, a form of experiential learning, that occurs privately or after the formal debriefing has ended. Pearson and Smith (1988) remind us that informal debriefing may be just as important and powerful as formal debriefing, when the objective of formal debriefing is to stimulate the learner to continue reflecting upon the experience after the formal debriefing period has ended.

I would like the reader to pause and consider the stunning similarity between experiential learning and what is also considered fundamental to any genuine form of learning. Dewey (1938) called the notion of experiential learning redundant, believing that all learning is rooted in experience. The term also implies that only those learning experiences that self-identify with this term will personify the set of principles previously described. In other words, the experiential nature of all other learning experiences that do not bare any apparent resemblance to the set of principles will be excluded.
Numerous articles throughout the twenty-year history of The Journal of Experiential Education have explored the conceptions and misconceptions surrounding the terms Experiential Education and Experiential Learning. This suggests that the problematic nature of the terms have been recognized (Luckman, 1996, Bell, 1993, Chapman et al, 1992, Chapman, 1992, Proudman, 1992, Priest, 1991, Joplin, 1981). As an example, Chapman (1992), noted that the activities that are commonly associated with Experiential Education, such as rope courses do not guarantee that the learning will be experiential. He stated, “the action mode of Experiential Education refers to how the students’ minds are used, not their legs.“ (p. 17). So, while experience is critical to the experiential learning process so too is reflection and theory.

The reader is asked to remember the problematic nature of the terms Experiential Education and Experiential Learning throughout the remainder of the thesis. The working definition of Experiential Education for this thesis will include the three dimensions of experience, reflection and theory, harmonized in equal proportions. With a theoretical understanding of what is meant by Experiential Education it is easy to identify the wilderness canoe trip as a learning experience that is highly experiential.

**What is Adventure Education?**

Humankind has a extensive history of ancient travellers seeking new lands, wealth, and scientific knowledge. The risk and thrill of these adventures was undoubtedly an inherent part of the experience. Similarly, the early North American settlers who were prepared to confront and absorb the inherent challenges of daily life also experienced danger and excitement. But with the advancement of industrialized society the risks and thrills associated with these former experiences were lost (Buell, 1981). It was not until the latter part of the 1800s and early 1900s that the thrill of adventure associated with the adventure experience became an *explicit* dimension that was pursued for its own sake.

A central concept in adventure education today, centers on the *deliberate* inclusion of risk with an educational perspective. It is an anxiety resolution model of education (Miles, 1987). This involves a deliberate seeking of risk and danger, which has outcomes that can *always* be influenced by the actions of the learners. Risk or the threat of physical and/or emotional harm emerges when there is a loss of control or predictability. Control becomes an important factor in distinguishing between something that is difficult and something that is foolhardy (Priest 1991, Ewert, 1989, Ford and Blanchard, 1985, Priest and Baillie, 1987).
in distinguishing between something that is difficult and something that is foolhardy (Priest 1991, Ewert, 1989, Ford and Blanchard, 1985, Priest and Baillie, 1987).

Mortlock (1978) closely aligns recreational outcomes of outdoor adventure pursuits with real risk and educational outcomes of outdoor adventure pursuits with apparent risk. Real risk occurs when the participant is actually exposed to the probability of being hurt, such as the threat of a natural disaster. Apparent risk occurs when the participant experiences the illusion of danger or the possibility of being hurt, such as riding a roller coaster at an amusement park. In other words, he proposes that the risk associated with the educational outcomes of outdoor adventure pursuits is a state of mind or a perception.

Mortlock further divides the adventure experience into four stages. The breadth of this type of experience and his associated stages, helps to distinguish when a learning experience is deemed productive and when it clearly becomes unproductive.

1. Recreation: The person is participating so far below the normal abilities of the person that he has minimal involvement in terms of emotion, skills, mental control and concentration. Fear of physical harm is absent.

2. Adventure: The person feels in control of the situation, but is using his or her experience and abilities to overcome a technical problem. Fear of physical harm is virtually absent, though the person may be in a potentially dangerous or strange environment. The challenge is not set too low but neither is it too near personal limitations.

3. Frontier Adventure: The stage beyond and often just beyond stage 2. The person has a fear of physical harm, or psychological stress and no longer feels master of the situation. With luck and considerable effort the individual can overcome the situation. There is a definite degree of uncertainty as to the outcome. The individual may have feelings of elation after the experience.

4. Misadventure: This is the final stage-out of control. In ultimate form the result is death. In between death and serious injury on one hand and frontier adventure on the other, there are varying degrees of both physical and psychological damage. It is possible to experience misadventure without physical injury and in mild cases the learning experience may be of value; however, fear can be of an extreme nature and where it leads to panic and terror it is unjustifiable in educational terms.

The ethical issues surrounding the manipulation of risk and the justification of exposing peoples’ lives to hazards, whether real or imagined in Adventure Education has been identified
(Ewert, 1989, Priest and Baillie, 1987). Any program that is powerful enough to heal is also powerful enough to hurt and the use of risk-centered education programs should always be used judiciously.

A primary goal of adventure education is to teach outdoor skills as a way of helping people to learn about intrapersonal and interpersonal relationships (Priest, 1991, James, 1990, Ewert, 1989, Miles, 1987). By overcoming challenges, which previously appeared insurmountable, people learn a great deal about their perceived limitations, potential capabilities, and derive an enhanced self-concept, and sense of independence. By working in small groups to accomplish the tasks associated with these challenges, they also learn about aspects of teamwork such as co-operation, communication, trust and problem-solving. It is hoped that by learning to deal with fear, change and uncertainty in adventure, people learn valuable coping strategies which ultimately prove useful in their day to day lives (Gass, 1985). The use of metaphor has been used to effectively facilitate this transfer (Gass, 1991). For example, Bradley (1998) spoke about how the necessity of verbally informing and confirming your whereabouts with your rock-climbing partner alerts you to the dangers of making assumptions in your everyday life. As well, the experience of trusting someone else to support you gives you the confidence to take those emotional risks within your personal relationships. Meaningful transfer after the outdoor experience can be achieved and must be achieved if the investment in the educational experience is to be justified (Miles, 1991).

The thought and experimentation of German born educator Kurt Hahn inspired the concept of Adventure Education (Egan, 1994, James, 1990, James 1980). Prior to the war he founded the Salem School in Germany, and the Gordonstoun Schools in Scotland and in Wales, which used the outdoors as a learning environment, by combining adventure-based character building activities with civic responsibilities. During World War 11, Hahn was commissioned to develop a program that would strengthen the will and successfully reverse the high death rate of the brave British seamen. Following the war, Hahn observed the general lack of fitness among the British people, and he urged Britain to recognize the need for physical training programs in combination with community projects to build a stronger civic consciousness in their youth. The post-war Outward Bound program addressed these matters by harmonizing the physical education, military, and recreation strategies outlined above. The first North American Outward Bound school was introduced in the United States twenty years later in 1962.
Hahn's concept of adventure was never regarded as a private thrill but was always framed in a social perspective, where the individual would be physically and emotionally strengthened by the challenge, and ultimately aspire to transform society. Eventually, Outward Bound's emphasis on intrapersonal development diluted the Samaritan values of Hahn's vision. Egan (1994) has presented evidence to suggest that adventure education programs have recently begun to return to their historical roots of 'service learning'.

It should be noted that a wilderness setting is not a prerequisite for achieving the underlying assumptions and epistemologies of adventure education (Chapman, 1992, Proudman, 1992, Miles, 1990). The achievement of personal growth through coping with the stresses and challenges posed by the adventure process can be emphasized in any environment. Although adventure educators have traditionally viewed the wilderness as a setting for adventure education, the use of artificial and urban environments have also been utilized.

**What is Wilderness Education?**

If the axiom of Outward Bound was: “We train through the mountains and not for them...” (Miner, 1964), then the axiom for Wilderness Education must be: “We educate for the wilderness as well as in it” (Petzoldt, 1984). Wilderness education, a branch of experiential education, stands in contrast to adventure education, in terms of its origins and learning objectives. Wilderness Education is “learning to use the wilderness with so little disturbance that the signs of our passing will be healed by the seasonal rejuvenation of nature“ (Petzoldt, 1984, p. 263).

When the 1964 Wilderness Act was passed in the United States, Paul Petzoldt, a veteran American Climber and chief mountaineering instructor at the Colorado Outward Bound School, believed that the Act would never amount to anything of value, unless users learned to exhibit responsible wilderness behaviour. In 1965, he broke away from Outward Bound and established the National Outdoor Leadership School (N.O.L.S) with the purpose of developing skilled outdoor leaders who exhibited responsible wilderness behaviour. The school offered courses to outdoor leaders on expedition behaviour, environmental ethics, health and sanitation, and travel techniques. This educational strategy assumes a reciprocal bond
between knowledge and action or behaviour. In other words, just because one knows what should be done does not guarantee that it will be done.

The learning objectives of Wilderness Education include the development of the learners’ sense of wonder of the natural world, the development of the learner’s sense of humility, and the development the learners’ sense of personal competence (Miles, 1987). It would seem that these learning objectives could effectively complement any outdoor education endeavour. Interestingly, overt political learning objectives in wilderness education do not exist despite it’s axiom of ‘educating for the wilderness.’

Drengson (1980) provides a philosophical perspective on wilderness travel that describes how any outdoor activity that involves cross-country travel, can teach us important lessons about our lives. The art of wilderness travel can foster a ‘voluntary simplicity’ when our choice of possessions is singularly consistent with comfort, safety, and a manageable load. This serves to amplify an appreciation for our desires in contrast with our needs. The rhythmic and sustainable movements of the body when paddling for many hours or walking along the portage trail with a heavy load, leads to an appreciation for the art of pacing one’s activities. The unpredictable character of the natural elements helps us to recognize the illusion that we have control over nature. When we are free from the pervasive distractions and schedules of urban life, such as clocks, deadlines, radios, televisions, and newspapers, our sense of the immediate is enhanced. Overall, one is able to experience oneself as an integrated spiritual, mental, emotional, and physical being. Drengson hopes that the lessons of the art of wilderness travel are not forgotten and are not limited by geography, but come to permeate our whole lives, where one eventually becomes a Wilderness Traveller in daily life.

Let us pause for a moment to consider the scientific perspective of wilderness travel within the field of Environmental Education highlighted by Robottom (1991). Environmental Educators have fallen prey to explaining and rationalizing environmental issues from a technocratic perspective, where environmental problems believed to have been created by science and technology can also be scientifically and technically solved. A belief in the basic sciences as an objective and rational discipline of truth, and the primarily didactic teaching methods associated with this perspective, have failed to develop citizens that are concerned for the environment. Robottom favours a more recent educational initiative called Science-Technology-Society, which recognizes science as a socially constructed discipline where claims of objectivity, rationality and truth of knowledge are challenged. Here, scientific content and
skills are taught in a meaningful context of technology and society, promoting the development of citizens who are concerned for the environment. Delay (1996) reminds us of the dangers of the relativistic nature of the constructivist perspective when taken to an extreme, where all realities are accepted as legitimate regardless of their prejudicial content and action.

While the wilderness may be a learning place for some, we should not presume it to be so for every person in every situation (DeLay, 1996, Miles, 1987, Russell, 1996, Teschner and Wolter, 1990, Sax, 1980). Or as Dewey, (1938), stated, “The belief that all genuine education comes about through experience does not mean that all experiences are genuinely or equally educative” (p. 25). It is possible for someone to pass through the wilderness and not learn from the experience. Wilderness Educators must do more than simply drop someone into a wilderness setting and assume that they will inevitably learn, or that their learning will be inherently linked to the environment.

Kaplan and Talbot (1983) studied a wilderness challenge program, that initially emphasized physically demanding educationally oriented activities that were then replaced by opportunities to simply be in and interact with the wilderness. They observed that the move away from the physically difficult activities in no way minimized the benefits experienced by the participants, suggesting a primary role not for the activities themselves, but for the environment in which the activities occurred. They concluded, that the learning potential of the wilderness was likely enhanced by both the structured and unstructured elements of the experience. In other words leadership is required to realize the full learning potential of the wilderness or any ordinary experience (Dewey, 1838, Miles, 1987).

The main branches of Experiential Education that are most relevant to the wilderness canoe trip have been reviewed. The next step is to consider the individuals that interact within these environments. Leadership theory and group development theory provides a theoretical framework for understanding the dynamic nature of these exchanges.

**Leadership Theory and Group Development Theory**

An understanding of leadership must be seen in both a theoretical and practical sense, where leadership theories provide a context for interpreting and discussing experience.

Nicholas Beer, 1991
The judgement to select the most appropriate leadership style at any given moment is thought to be the key to effective leadership (Phipps and Phipps, 1991). While the majority of the outdoor recreation literature reviewed identifies sound judgement and decision-making as a desirable trait of the outdoor leader, it does not examine how the dynamics of the leader-follower relationship influence the judgements and decisions that are made. As well, a systematic approach for teaching the conceptual skills has not been clearly developed.


**Leadership Theories**

*The Trait leadership theories* (as cited in Walzak and Priest, 1993, Jordan, 1989) postulate that leaders are born and not made. In other words, leadership is naturally determined and cannot be learned. Individual characteristics that are inherited, determine leadership potential and enable followers to recognize these individuals as leaders. You will see that much of the literature in the 'Ideal Leader' section of this thesis will attempt to identify the desirable traits of the ideal outdoor leader. However, the possession of these outstanding traits does not necessarily guarantee the capability to lead (Danford and Shirley, 1970, as cited in Jordan, 1989). Rather, leadership depends on the way these traits interact with the activities and goals of the followers. Whilst the trait theories of leadership are now considered outdated, they continue to be included in outdoor leadership curricula in order to disclose the myth of this leadership theory (Beer, 1991).

*The Behavioural leadership theories* (as cited in Walzak and Priest, 1993, Phipps and Phipps, 1991, Jordan, 1989) are based on the decision-making behaviours exhibited by the leader. Leadership style is expressed on a variety of continuums, from authoritarian through democratic to laissez-faire (Lewin et al., 1938), from production-centered to participant-
centered (Katz et al, 1950, as cited in Walzak and Priest, 1993), and from leader control to group control (Tannenbaum and Schmidt, 1973, as cited in Phipps, 1991). Leadership style is determined by the amount the leader involves or does not involve the followers in the decision-making process.

The series of studies by Lewin, Lippitt, and White (1939) examined the impact of the authoritarian, democratic and laissez-faire leadership styles on participant behaviour. They exposed each boy-participant to each leadership style for a six-week time period. They observed how the democratic style generated the greatest initiative and function and a willingness to work as a member of the group. While the autocratic style limited the participants spontaneity and creativity, and the laissez-faire style reduced their enthusiasm and sense of purpose. They concluded that each leadership style produced a different set of participant behaviours amongst the boys and it is assumed that a similar effect would occur with adults.

Unlike the Trait and Behavioural leadership theories, The Group leadership theories (as cited in Walzak and Priest, 1993, Jordan, 1989, Homans, 1950, as cited in Jordan 1989), recognize the interactive nature of the leader-follower relationship and its influence on the leadership process. The leaders' expectation of the follower's behaviour greatly influences the leader's interactions with the follower and vice versa. Additionally, without recognition, acceptance and reinforcement of leader-role behaviours by the follower, the designated leader will be highly ineffective. Therefore, good leaders depend on good followers given the synergistic relationship between the leader and follower.

Building on the work of Hersey and Blanchard (1988, as cited in Jordan, 1989), Jordan (1989) recognized the influence of the situation in combination with the expected role-behaviours of the leader and the follower on leadership style. The Comprehensive-Interaction-Expectation (CIE) model developed by Jordan incorporates the intersection of these three components. It is the expectations of the leader and the follower and the situation that determines the most appropriate leadership style.

Counterproductive proportions to the expected role-behaviours of the leader and the follower in the group leadership theories have been reported (Bell, 1995, Jordan, 1989, Mitten, 1995, Watson, 1996, Warren, 1985). Bell (1995) and Watson (1996), observed how followers and leaders often expect the outdoor leader to have an 'encyclopaedic knowledge' of the natural world, where the leader's credibility depends on always knowing the answer. Satisfying
these expectations at all times is not possible for undoubtedly there will come a time when the leader will not be able to answer a question. When this occurs, the leader's credibility is tenuous at best and when lost is not easily redeemed. In response to these role expectations, the leader may walk away from the unknown plant or pretend not to hear the unfamiliar bird song, thereby forfeiting those opportunities to learn with the questioner. But when the leader is released from the role of teacher or purveyor of knowledge, and is allowed to assume the role of learner, the leader's credibility becomes dependent on being able to demonstrate a lifelong capacity to learn. When this happens the process of learning that is modelled by the leader will become accepted by the follower as legitimate leadership behaviour.

Mitten (1995) pointed to the power differential between the leader and follower that emerges when the follower is feeling helpless and dependent as they often are at the beginning of a wilderness canoe trip. During this time, the follower is inclined to co-operate and comply with the leader's directives believing this will provide him or her with a positive experience. As well, the follower will “set [the] professional ... apart and elevate them into a privileged position of power” (p. 84). The leader is encouraged to recognize these expectations of the follower and steer them away from the unhealthy dynamics of this connection. The followers' perceptions or expectations of the leader can have a profound affect on the learning experience of both the follower and the leader. It has been shown that the expected role-behaviours identified in the Group leadership theories can either positively assist or adversely limit the leadership process.

The Situational leadership theory (Hersey and Blanchard, 1988, Jordan, 1989, Phipps, 1991, Phipps and Phipps, 1991, Phipps and Swiderski 1989, Tannenbaum and Schmidt,1973, as cited in Walzak and Priest, 1993, Walzak and Priest, 1993) is based on the leader's combined concern for the welfare of the followers and for accomplishing the task at hand. Relationship behaviours or task behaviours are emphasized by the leader, in response to the demands of the situation and the maturity level of the followers. The maturity level of the followers is based on the followers' level of 'willingness' (motivation) and level of 'readiness' (competence). Both determine whether the follower is able to take responsibility for directing their own behaviour. Having judged the level of maturity of the group or individual and the demands of the task at hand, the leader chooses one of the following leadership styles. When the followers are neither willing or ready they must be told what to do (telling), when they are ready but not willing they must be convinced (selling), when they are willing but not ready they
should be encouraged to participate (participating) and when the followers are both willing and ready tasks can be delegated (delegating).

*The Conditional leadership theories* claim that leadership is a function of circumstances. Fiedler's Contingency Theory (1967, as cited in Walzak and Priest, 1993), purports that the favourability of the circumstances will be determined by the amount of: 1) Approval the leader feels from the group, 2) The extent to which leader and follower roles are clearly defined, and 3) The amount of influence the leader has over the group. The chosen leadership style is based on the favourability of the circumstances, which varies depending on the status of these three factors.

*The Conditional Outdoor Leadership Theory* (COLT) (Walzak and Priest, 1993), attempts to address the *unique* aspects of leadership in the outdoors, by combining components from the behavioural, situational, and conditional leadership theories. Unlike the Behavioural leadership theories, it emphasises the conditions of the situation rather than the role expectations of the leader and follower. The conditions of the situation include the leader's concern for accomplishing the task, the leader's concern for the group, and the conditional favourability (or unfavourability) of the situation, such as the consequences of the decision and the environmental dangers that are present. A combined concern for the task, the group, and the favourability of the conditions determines whether an autocratic, abdicatic, or democratic style is selected.

Knowledge of Leadership Theory will provide a context for interpreting and discussing experience. But an exploration of Leadership Theory in isolation will not fully address the complexity of the leadership phenomenon. Knowledge of Group Development Theory is also important in order to understand how group dynamics influence the leadership process.

**Group Development Theory**

*Group Development theories* recognize that as small groups of individuals co-exist over time, they pass through several *predictable* stages of development. Tuckman (1965), identifies the four stages of Forming, Storming, Norming and Performing. Forming represents a time when participants want to be included in the group, are feeling uncertain and are trying to
understand what is expected of them. They depend on the leader to lead them out of their uncertainty by taking charge and telling them what to do. Storming represents a time of conflict where group members are beginning to resist the influence of the group and the leader. They become disenchanted with the leader and may openly criticize the leader's actions and ideas. Norming represents the re-establishment of commitment to the group norms and expectations. Lastly, Performing represents a time of proficiency and effectiveness where group members work co-operatively toward the accomplishment of group goals.

Jones (1973, as cited in Cain, 1991, Phipps,1989) also identify four stages of 'personal relations' that a small group of individuals will exhibit and then links them with the four ‘task functions' that are most appropriate for each stage. The personal relation stages of Dependency, Conflict, Cohesion, and Interdependence, are effectively managed with the respective task functions of Orientation, Organization, Data-flow, and Problem-solving. While the movement through each stage is often subtle and occurs at different rates in both models, an awareness of the predictable patterns of human behaviour enables the leader to effectively respond to and manage the psychological undercurrents that influence small group dynamics (Jensen, 1979).

The Situational leadership theory of Hersey and Blanchard (1988) has been harmonized with the information on Group Development theory by Jones, (as cited in Walzak and Priest, 1993, Phipps and Phipps, 1991, Jordan, 1989, Phipps and Swiderski 1989). The leadership style of Telling is linked with the group development stage of Dependency (orientation). Similarly, Selling is linked with Conflict (organization), Participating with Cohesion (data flow), and Delegating with Interdependence (problem-solving). A deep understanding of Group Development theory will enhance the leaders' judgement in selecting the most appropriate leadership and decision-making style. Likewise, the development of the group can be enhanced by the use of the correct leadership style.

Phipps (1987, 1989, 1991) developed and tested a group dynamics teaching model that was based on a combination of Hersey and Blanchard’s (1982) Situational Leadership theory and on Jones' (1973) model of group development. He found that this systematic approach to teaching leadership was effective in developing decision-making and judgement skills.

There will be many fluctuations in what the group requires from the leader within the course of a single wilderness expedition. The outdoor leader who has the judgement and
flexibility to consciously select and assume the most appropriate leadership style is supported by all the leadership theories, excluding the Trait leadership theories, for obvious reasons. Leadership style focuses more upon the way something is said or done than upon the substance. Often, activities are not successful due to a mismatch between the leadership style, and the needs of the followers' and the task (Jordan, 1996).

Leadership and Group Development theories provide a context for developing the conceptual skills of judgement and decision-making and the interpersonal skills of leadership. On that account, Leadership and Group Development theories straddle both the conceptual skills and the interpersonal skills of outdoor leadership.

Definitions of the Leader and Leadership

Definitions of the outdoor leader include: 1) The individual who “guides, directs, and influences the attitudes and behaviours of others” (Edginton and Ford, 1985, as cited in Walzak and Priest, 1993, p. 12), 2) The individual who “maintains an active role and responsibility for organizing, instructing, supervising, or generally looking after a group of participants in the outdoors” (Sirois, 1980, as cited in Walzak and Priest, 1993, p. 12), 3) The individual who will execute “a continual series of judgements, decisions, actions, and evaluations in the interest of maximizing a group’s goals in relation to an adventure education pursuit“ (Cain and McAvoy, 1990, p. 242), 4) “The one who influences the behaviour of others and helps them reach common goals and objectives“ (Ford and Blanchard, 1993 p. 184), and 5) “The individual ... whose function is to help a learner learn” (Hug, 1986, p. 4).

Definitions of outdoor leadership include: 1) “... inducing followers to act for certain goals that represent the values and the motivations-the wants and needs, the aspirations and expectations-of both the leaders and followers“ (Burns, 1979, p. 19, as cited in Beer, 1991, p. 54), 2) “The process by which a person is able to influence fellow group members to create, identify, work toward, achieve and share mutually acceptable common goals” (Tead, 1935, as cited in Priest, 1987b), and 3) “A process—within a person or group as a whole—which enhances the group’s self identity, cohesiveness, purpose and/or effectiveness” (Beer, 1991, p. 54).
How does one actualize these definitions of the outdoor leader and outdoor leadership and what competencies are deemed essential to effectively perform the outdoor leadership role? I now turn the reader's attention to a review of the literature on outdoor leadership competency.

**The Ideal Outdoor Leader**

*Alexander the Great once asked Aristotle how he could become a great leader. Aristotle, answered, “First become perfect, then act naturally.”*  

Dave Chrislip

Paul Petzoldt, believed that in addition to the Outward Bound objectives of intrapersonal and interpersonal development, there was also a need for instruction aimed at developing skilled outdoor leaders. So began the search for identifying the essential outdoor leadership competencies, and designing curriculum for leadership development and evaluation.

A scan of the literature generated a list of nouns used to identify the outdoor leader. These included, and is in no way exhaustive: leader, teacher, educator, trainer, coach, instructor, skilled outdoor practitioner, safety supervisor, limit setter, facilitator, guide, human resource developer, human behaviour expert, counsellor, role model, mentor and experienced enthusiastic adventurer (Kalisch, 1979, Beer, 1991, Ringer, 1994) Overall, this diverse list of attributes, skills, and knowledge is presented throughout the literature, as the required elements for the individual who is ultimately responsible for a group's learning experience in the outdoors. Additionally, it is assumed that an individual leader should be able to demonstrate all of the above cited attributes, skills and knowledge at any given time (Kalisch, 1979, Priest, 1987, 1984). A more realistic paradigm that goes beyond the ideal is presented by Ringer (1994), Horwood (1983), Cain (1991), Green (1990), and Teschner and Wolter(1990).

Ringer (1994), has correlated the various outdoor adventure programs with the human interaction roles required of the outdoor leader. **Clusters** of competencies are classified as “Foundational" and “Specialized." Foundation Competencies provide adequate physical and psychological safety and can inspire a group, whereas Specialized Competencies are needed to facilitate an “educational-enrichment” or “therapeutic” learning experience. The therapeutic dimensions of the leadership role will not be addressed due to the limited scope of this thesis.
The competencies required at any one time and in any one individual are based on each programs’ different underlying assumptions, theoretical frameworks, and epistemologies. The outdoor leader then, must be fluent in a limited number of competencies that are determined by the objectives of the program. Furthermore, it is the complement of staff associated with a programme and not the individual outdoor leader that is expected to reflect the vast range of competencies needed at any one time (Ringer, 1994, Horwood, 1983, Teschner and Wolter, 1990).

Cain (1991), usefully distinguishes between “leadership training” and “leadership development”. Leadership training answers how something is done and leadership development answers how something can be done, why it is done and how it might be adapted in the future. Leadership training signifies a static prescriptive approach, whereas, leadership development signifies a flexible approach that enables the outdoor leader to respond to the unique demands of any situation. Similarly, Green (1990) recognizes the need for leadership development throughout one’s career given the complexity of the outdoor leadership role.

Teschner and Wolter (1990), argue that staff competency is only one of a number of factors that is responsible for a programme’s success. The number of students and the staff: student ratio, the nature of the individual students (emotionally disturbed or mentally retarded), the equipment, the length of the trip and the pace of the trip are just some of the other determining factors that they consider.

Ringer (1994), Horwood, (1983), Green, (1990), Cain, (1991), and Teschner and Wolter (1990), should be recognized for setting a realistic tone for the development of leadership competencies found no where else in the literature. The literature review on outdoor leadership competencies and outdoor leadership development and evaluation has been approached with these values in mind.

**Outdoor Leadership Competencies**

Teschner and Wolter, 1990). The intent has been to identify the competencies required for effective outdoor leadership, to prioritize which skills and attributes are deemed most essential, and to find ways for effectively developing these leadership skills. As a result, some facets of leadership have been valued more than others. The technical skills and the conceptual skills of judgement and decision-making are the competencies that have been given top priority, while attention to the interpersonal skills have not been substantiated. At best, the outdoor manuals, journals, and related literature address the soft skills of outdoor leadership by devoting a philosophical section on the role of the outdoor leader.

Some of the many categorical frameworks used in the literature to discuss the countless outdoor leadership competencies are more useful than others (Riggins, 1984, Ringer, 1994, Priest, 1987, 1984, Swiderski, 1990, 1987, Phipps, 1989, Jordan, 1996, Teschner and Wolter, 1990). While the polarized framework of the Hard and Soft skills might recognize the skill involved in the soft skills, it most often values the hard over the soft. The framework of the Hard Skills, Soft Skills, and Conceptual Skills is used in the literature more commonly and is favoured for its less polarized perspective (Swiderski, 1987, and Swiderski and Phipps, 1989). The terms Technical Skills (hard) and Interpersonal Skills (soft) have been introduced more recently (Jordan, 1996). It is believed that these terms describe the respective skill sets more accurately and veer away from the gender-biased language associated with the term's hard (male) and soft (female). Therefore, the terms Technical Skills, Conceptual Skills and Interpersonal Skills will be the terms used to frame the discussion that follows.

**Technical Skills**

Technical Skills concentrate on the outdoor leadership competencies required to satisfy the participants physiological needs for survival identified by Maslow (1980). On a wilderness canoe trip, these would include knowledge of body temperature regulation and lighting and sustaining a fire or stove for warmth, pitching a tent or kitchen tarp or constructing an emergency shelter, and providing adequate food portions to meet the high nutritional demands of a wilderness canoe trip. Additionally, knowledge and experience in canoeing and portaging activities, navigation, weather interpretation, river rescue, self-rescue, wilderness first aid,
search and rescue and evacuation procedures would be included (Phipps and Swiderski 1989, Swiderski, 1987).

The critical character of the technical skills is innately obvious before one considers the serious implications that would occur if an outdoor leader were inadequately prepared in this area. A concern for safety and litigation always places the technical skills near the top of any list of the most desirable outdoor leadership competencies (Priest, 1987). Due to their highly visible nature, these are the competencies that are reported to be most easily trained and evaluated (Priest, 1987, 1984, Swiderski, 1990), and are subsequently over-emphasized in many outdoor leadership training programs (Swiderski,1990).

While great importance must be placed on the acquisition of the technical skills, the technical skills on their own do not make a leader (Rogers, 1979). ‘Training in motor skills’ and ‘training in leadership’ are two separate and distinct leadership development strategies. The ability to skilfully perform an activity such as canoeing is a motor skill and the ability to teach canoeing or to manage a group of people is a leadership skill. Rogers suggested that these different skills be obtained through separate and specific leadership education curriculum. He also pointed to the symbiotic relationship between the two sets of skills and made a strong case for the understanding of human behaviour and small group dynamics.

Conceptual Skills

Good judgment is often the result of experience, which is often the result of poor judgment.

Author unknown

Judgement has been defined as “the process of forming an opinion by discerning and comparing one or more of the following: cognitive instinct, logical deduction, foresight, perception and assessment, and the ability to understand, compare and decide between alternative forces, and to anticipate the unexpected and to problem solve” (Swiderski, 1987, p. 32) and “the ability to perceive potential problems, anticipate the unexpected, analyze the alternatives, and creatively problem-solve” (Swiderski, 1987, p. 32). "Sound judgement comes from "surviving past judgement calls (good or bad); from analyzing those successes and failures, and from retaining that analysis for future situations" (Priest, 1988, p. 12).
The conceptual skills of judgement and decision-making have been reported to be of paramount importance in outdoor leadership (Buell, 1983; Cain and McAvoy, 1990; Cain, 1984; Ewert, 1989; Ewert and Johnson, 1983; Ford and Blanchard, 1985; Green, 1981; Hunt, 1984; McAvory, 1978; Petzoldt, 1984, 1974, as reported by Cain, 1991; Priest, 1993, 1984a/b, 1987b/c; Rogers, 1979; Swiderski, 1981, 1987). The design of many of the early research studies in outdoor leadership competencies were surveys administered to North American, British, Australian and New Zealand experts in the field. In all cases, judgement and decision-making were consistently high on the list of desirable behaviours necessary for effective leadership.

Judgement and decision-making skills have been referred to as “the synthesizing, catalytic agent by which all other competence is expressed, acted upon, and consequently evaluated” (Cain, 1991, p. 15). Furthermore, they have been described as being synonymous with the very essence of leadership itself (Cain, 1991, Cain and McAvoy, 1990). Yet despite its unequivocal position of importance, the question of whether judgement and decision-making can be developed and evaluated has been extensively debated. For instance, Swiderski (1987), maintains that the conceptual skills, like the hard skills, are demonstrable, teachable, and measurable, but concedes that “few outdoor leadership training programs are yet capable of analyzing and teaching judgement proficiencies” (p. 32).

Priest (1984a) administered a survey to adventure education professionals who were asked to identify the most important competencies for ensuring effective leadership. The five most important competencies identified were Activity and Safety Skills, Organizational Skills, Instructional Skills, Group Counselling Skills and Experienced-based Judgement. A working definition of experienced-based judgement is “the ability to call on past experiences to substitute for unknown, missing or vague information, and permit the problem-solving process to continue” (Priest, 1993, p. 13). Even though experienced-based judgement was considered the 'cementing component' of all the other competencies, the respondents exclusively favoured the certification of activity and safety skills, referring to the subjective nature of judgement and experience.

In a later study, Priest (1987b, 1987c) administered surveys to 250 'experts' in the field from Great Britain, Canada, the United States of America, Australia and New Zealand, in an attempt to identify the international differences in leadership preparation (selection, training, assessment and certification). These countries were chosen based on the presupposition that
The five nations are united by a common language, “legal and educational systems, and a history of settlement from a common mother country” (1987b, p. 34). The participants were asked to rate and rank the fourteen components of competency (seven skills and seven attributes) that were generated through a content analysis of the five nations literature on outdoor leadership.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Skills</th>
<th>Attributes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Technical activity skills (e.g., canoeing)</td>
<td>1. Motivational philosophy and interest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Safety skills</td>
<td>2. Physical fitness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Organizational skills</td>
<td>3. Healthy self-concept and ego</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Environmental skills</td>
<td>4. Awareness and empathy for others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Instructional skills</td>
<td>5. Personal traits and behaviour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Group management skills</td>
<td>6. Flexible leadership style</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Problem solving / decision making skills</td>
<td>7. Judgement based on experience</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Priest, 1987, p. 34).

The results of the study showed that the respondents always based their ranking on their concern for participant safety. Safety skills, group management skills, problem solving skills, awareness and empathy for others, and judgement based on experience, were ranked the five most important components of outdoor leadership competency.

The position of awareness and empathy for others, group management skills, and problem solving skills, was cited as an indication of a growing belief in the value of the soft skills in the field of outdoor education. However, the attributes that were highly regarded as selection criteria, such as awareness and empathy for others were low on the training list. Conversely, those skills that were low on the selection list, such as safety skills and group management skills were high on the training list. Attributes such as judgement based on experience were low on both selection and training lists. The explanation offered by the respondents was based on the belief that attributes, such as judgement based on experience are not easily gained through preparation and consequently received little attention in their training programs and
assessment strategies. But experience and the opportunity to gain experience while training were both considered extremely important by the majority of the respondents.

Assessment of outdoor leadership candidates by the trainer was favoured by all of the respondents from all of the countries that were surveyed. Other mechanisms of assessment that varied across countries included self-assessment, outside experts, peer leaders, and group followers. Respondents were prepared to recommend certification of technical activity skills and safety skills but none of the attributes, citing as an example, that certification would never guarantee sound judgement in outdoor leaders.

In conclusion, the 'experts' would like to select their outdoor leadership candidates on the basis of the attribute components, train the candidates in the skills components and incorporate intensive and extensive field experiences designed to develop but not certify sound judgement.

Cain (1988 survey reported by Cockrell and Lupton, 1991, Cain and McAvoy, 1990) examined the opinions of twenty-six North American experts on whether judgement and decision-making ability in outdoor leaders could be developed, evaluated and documented. All participants agreed that it was possible to develop and evaluate judgement and decision-making, and to a lesser extent, they agreed that the documentation of the quality of judgements would be “a trustworthy indicator for future performance” (Cain and McAvoy, 1990, p. 245-6). They suggested varying conditions of intensity and realistic opportunities for students to lead peers through stress and non-stress situations, and mentor evaluations, self- and peer evaluations as the favoured methods of development and assessment. They also noted that “a talent, predisposition, or demonstrated capability for these skills must first exist” (Cain and McAvoy, 1990, p. 245), suggesting that these skills cannot be developed in everyone with the same degree of success. The dichotomy between which leadership skills are naturally determined and which ones can be learned has been introduced.

On the other hand, The Wilderness Education Society (W.E.A.) curriculum, founded by Petzoldt in 1978, is based on the premise that every situation is a unique combination of factors that demands a unique response from the outdoor leader. As well, judgement and decision-making ability is what is needed to function effectively in this environment. Furthermore, judgement and decision-making can be developed, evaluated and documented in both students and practitioners alike (Cain, 1991).
Ewert (1988) presented a method for developing judgement and decision-making skills for outdoor settings. He categorized decisions based on the specific situations and individuals or groups affected by the decisions and on the frequency and consequences of those decisions. Decisions made frequently with slight consequences can be accommodated with checklists or standard operating procedures, decisions made relatively infrequently with important consequences can be accommodated by training and local operating procedures, and decisions made infrequently with serious consequences can be accommodated with training and prior experience. Again, experience has been identified as an important catalyst for the development of sound judgement and decision-making. While these categories may describe the types of decisions made, they do not provide an understanding of how decisions are made.

Hunt (1984), reminds us of the dangers of substituting rules for instructor judgement. The standard approach to safety and risk management training establishes a set of rules that attempts to minimize risk by removing the process of decision making from the mind of the leader. The situational approach to safety and risk management training, considers rules subordinate to the demands of the situation as judged by the leader. In either case the possibility of making a mistake has not been eliminated. Rules can be wrongly applied and incorrect decisions can be made. Hunt believes that the security of a traditional approach, favoured by the administrator and legalist is misguided and recommends that both outdoor leaders and administrators tolerate the uncertainty of the situational approach.

The leadership skills of judgement and decision-making have received top priority as desirable competencies in the outdoor leader, while the systematic training and evaluation of these skills is absent from most outdoor leadership development programs. Instead, extensive personal experience in expedition settings is relied upon as a common development strategy. But the relationship between experience and the development of sound judgement is unclear. Finally, the ability to predict and guarantee judgement and decision-making skills is considered beyond the scope of an individual course or a particular point in time. This finding is surprising when one considers the numerous professions that not only develop and evaluate their candidates entry-to-practice judgement and decision-making skills but also consider these pre-service skills as indicators of future professional performance. One is prompted to ask why the discipline of outdoor leadership education is so different from the other disciplines when it comes to the assessment of judgement and decision-making skills.
Interpersonal Skills

Potent leadership is a matter of being aware of what is happening in the group and acting accordingly. Specific actions are less important than the leader’s clarity or consciousness. That is why there are no exercises or formulas to ensure successful leadership.

Lao Tzu - The Tao of Leadership

Several skill competency studies have been completed on outdoor leadership that has confirmed the importance of the Interpersonal Skills (Phipps and Swiderski 1989, Norvelle, 1987, Swiderski, 1987, Swiderski, 1985, Priest, 1984). Swiderski (1987) convincingly argued for the often-overlooked interpersonal skills in outdoor leadership development. He stated that “since hard skills are the most visual of leadership skills and the skills most easily taught and evaluated, they are often over-emphasized within outdoor leadership training programs. [At the same time], ... the “soft skills are difficult to teach and difficult to measure since many components of soft skills are intangible” (p. 31). So, while the interpersonal skills are identified as important leadership skills, they are also overlooked because of their slippery and amorphous character.

Consider the following descriptions of the interpersonal skills performed by the outdoor leader. Chapman (1992) described experiential educators as ‘coaches,’ who do not interpret reality or purvey the truth, but believe that students can draw valid and meaningful conclusions from their own experiences. Coaches intentionally provide the “minimum necessary structure“ to ensure student success and help students make the connections between the activity and the activity’s educational merit. When properly executed, students are not aware of the role of the coach and the students accomplish more than they would have if they were on their own. Similarly, Dregenson (1980) described the ‘educator’ as “a Socratic midwife whose aim is to aid the development of the capacity to engage in intelligent action and inquiry” (p 114). Dewey (1938), described the teacher as the one who is responsible for the design of a flexible learning environment that balances a respect for the learners’ individual freedom without abdicating the leadership role. “The planning must be flexible enough to permit free play for individuality of experience and yet firm enough to give direction toward [the learner’s] continuous development of power” (p. 58). Furthermore, the organization of a learning experience “is not the will or desire of any one person which establishes order but the moving spirit of the whole group” (p.
56). Some outdoor leaders have rejected the use of the term leader in favour of the term facilitator or guide as a way of reflecting these role descriptions (Miranda and Yerkes, 1987). While the above descriptions of the leadership role are often philosophical and vague and always non-prescriptive, the facilitation of the autonomous and responsible participant is always the goal.

The interpersonal skills of leadership have been defined as the interpersonal and human relations skills, that include social, psychological and communication components (Phipps and Swiderski 1989, Swiderski, 1987). For example the social components include the maintenance of intact group dynamics, conflict resolution, sensitivity to the needs of others and the provision of opportunity for personal growth. The psychological components include the creation of a climate of trust, understanding and stimulation of motivation, the management of psychological stress and the assessment of mental and emotional strengths. And finally, the communication components include the ability to speak in front of groups, the interpretation of non-verbal body language, the ability to listen and respond while conducting debriefing sessions and the ability to transfer information by teaching (Phipps and Swiderski 1989, Swiderski, 1987).

The outdoor leader is no longer described as a technical expert but as a human relations expert who is able to sense “the psychological undercurrents that rule human behaviour“ (Phipps and Swiderski 1989 p. 223). This construction of the leader is based on perceiving information about the effect of the activity on the followers more so than on conveying information about how to do the outdoor activity. The human relations expert who establishes a positive relationship with the follower and understands the followers’ emotional and learning needs, can create an emotionally rewarding outdoor learning experience for the follower. Ultimately, it is the interpersonal relationship between the leader and the follower and between followers that determines the effectiveness of the learning experience.

Hug (1986) described the eight essential actions of ‘the leader of learners’ that are rooted in the leader-follower relationship. The capable leader: 1) Establishes and maintains supportive interpersonal relationships with learners, 2) Nurtures the learner’s natural curiosity, creativity, and desire to learn and grow, 3) Helps learners set realistic yet challenging goals according to their development level, 4) Intervenes in the learner’s activity when optimum learning is not occurring, 5) Assists the learner to participate effectively in both co-operative and competitive learning activities, 6) Helps learners find, evaluate, and use all sorts of print, non-print, human
and past experience resources, 7) Derives personal satisfaction from the accomplishments of the learner and 8) Exhibits consistently a positive feeling about personal worth and growth. Hug has attempted to move beyond a description of leadership characteristics toward an enumeration of requisite leadership *actions* that are actualized within the leader-follower relationship.

Mitten (1985) takes this one step further by describing how the outdoor leader can establish and reinforce healthy relationships through their use of language and actions. The 'personal affirming techniques' are supportive and nurturing messages that are intended to build the followers' self-esteem. Initially, *being messages* such as, "I'm glad you are here," or "I'm glad I'm getting to know you," and *being actions* such as, smiling, using a person's name, and answering questions and sharing information are used to help followers adjust to their new environment more quickly and comfortably. Next, *doing messages* such as, "I appreciate your support in helping us all get the canoes loaded in a timely manner," or "I appreciate your help in setting up the tents that enabled us to start dinner preparation early," *praise actions* and reinforce behaviours. These are used once the followers have achieved a degree of comfort and experience. Finally, *improvement messages* are given only after the leader has instructed the group on the various technical skills needed for cooking, minimum impact camping, and after the follower has received a number of being and doing messages. The conscious use of the leadership actions described by Hug (1986) and Mitten (1985) are believed to facilitate the establishment of cohesive relationships and the accomplishment of individual and group goals.

Ringer (1993) transcend the commonly addressed cognitive and action elements of outdoor leadership competencies, by invoking the *affective* domain of the leadership process, otherwise known as the process competencies or meta competencies. This time, the leaders' emotional experience of the leadership process is accentuated rather than the followers' emotional needs. The human relations expert who understands his or her own emotional and learning needs, will be better able to create an emotionally rewarding outdoor learning experience for the follower. The cognitive, affective, and action components of the leadership competencies are defined.

**Limit Setter and Safety Supervisor**

Cognitive: formulates principles of safety as applied to the immediate situation.
Affective: attends to the leader’s own confidence level, misgivings, and intuition about the immediate situation.
Action: gathers information and establishes and maintains limits.

Instructor / Coach / Educator / Trainer
Cognitive: knowledge of teaching and learning theory / favours experiential learning.
Affective: a sense of curiosity at how each participant learns / a sense of excitement as each participant gains competence.
Action: identifies the needs of the participants / responds in the moment to each participant.

Group Facilitator
Cognitive: knowledge of self and group process / values the potential of the group to create positive experience.
Affective: confidence in one’s own competence / ability to nurture self and others in the context of a group.
Action: speaking, moving and directing one’s attention in a way that enables the group to move towards its goal.

Expert Communicator / Relator
Cognitive: an understanding of self / knowledge of models of human interaction.
Affective: pleasure in being able to express and maintain one’s own needs at the same time as meeting the needs of others.
Action: joining in the world of the participant / enabling the participant to express concerns whilst the leader conveys important facts and feelings.

The Experienced Enthusiastic Adventurer
Cognitive: a personal knowing or the potential value of the adventure experience.
Affective: a sense of joy and wonder at the capacity of the natural world to provide such precious opportunities.
Action: joining in the world of the participants and leading them with stories and modelling towards their own internally motivated drive to experience adventure first hand.
Ringer's affirmation of the affective competencies is both profound and overdue. He has legitimized the leaders’ emotional experience of the leadership process that permeates leadership behaviour and he has amplified a critical omission in the leadership literature that persists to this day.

Finally, both Ringer (1993) and Hug (1986) have revived the otherwise outmoded attribution theories of leadership that accentuate the need for the leader to 'inspire' and to be 'authentic' and 'genuine,' and provide a sense of 'aliveness.' It should be noted that leadership selection typically includes an assessment of the candidates personal characteristics such as integrity, high self-image, sense of humour, compassionate, and a co-operative outlook (Teschner and Wolter, 1990, Priest, 1987), without clear evidence to indicate that personal characteristics are linked to leadership effectiveness (Riggins, 1984). Regardless, one cannot dispute the importance of these personal characteristics when we “recall an experience with an outdoor leader, teacher, or lecturer who was boring and uninspiring yet had all of the technical skills and knowledge required to do the job” (Ringer, 1993, p. 33). While some have recognized that these personal characteristics of the leader, positively influence the interpersonal dynamics of the leader-follower relationship, they have not been universally regarded as a leadership competency or an element that should be a part of the leadership selection, development and assessment processes.

Like the conceptual skills, the literature does not decisively state whether the interpersonal skills are naturally determined or whether they can be learned? Consider the comments that, “some leaders seem to have natural talents with soft skills, gaining and maintaining respect from their groups ... without undue use of coercive power effected by externally conferred status“ (Phipps and Swiderski 1989 p. 223), and as previously referenced “a talent, predisposition, or demonstrated capability for these skills must first exist“ (Cain and McAvoy, 1990, p. 245). Conversely, the argument is made to include the interpersonal skills in outdoor leadership curriculum implying their potential for development. In order to expedite the integration of the interpersonal skills into outdoor leadership training programs, reference to other professions that are considered adept in interpersonal skill development, such as, education, psychology, philosophy, counselling, sociology, speech communication, military science and business management has been suggested (Swiderski, 1987).

While the interpersonal skills have been recognized as an essential competency of the outdoor leader, a palpable tension between the leader as human relations facilitator versus
technical expert is encountered throughout the outdoor leadership literature. Ultimately, the hierarchy between the interpersonal and technical skills that the researcher hoped to avoid was substantiated, with the technical and conceptual skills prevailing. Furthermore, extensive personal experiences in expedition settings are heavily relied upon as a common development strategy for the interpersonal skills of outdoor leadership.

Outdoor Leadership Certification

Most professions establish standards that an individual must first achieve before they are allowed to practice the profession. Certification of the individual practitioner is just one way where the attainment of professional standards is publicly recognized. The objective of outdoor leadership certification is to produce leaders that will provide safe and effective wilderness experiences for the public. However, the associated advantages and problems surrounding outdoor leadership certification have turned outdoor leadership certification into a contentious issue (Cockrell, 1990, Teschner and Wolter, 1990, Ewert, 1989, Priest, 1987, Sakofs, 1987, Priest, 1984b). Resolutions that decisively determine who will be responsible for certification, what they will certify, and what will certification actually do, have not been made.

Priest (1984b), compared the certification processes of Australia and New Zealand, and in a later survey he compared the certification processes of Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and the United States of America (Priest, 1987a). All of these countries based their certification process on the 1961 Mountain Leadership Training Board of Great Britain. The British Board was responsible for the basic training required to lead walking and camping expeditions ‘under normal summer conditions’ and they also administered a Mountain Leadership Certificate. They were pushed to re-examine their certification scheme, when several school children died of hypothermia in the mountainous Cairngorms region of Scotland in 1971 while being led by a school-teacher with a Mountain Instructor’s Certificate. Their conclusions pointed to the over-inflated value of a certificate that only signified the attainment of minimum standards, the certificate’s inability to guarantee the leader’s competency and the certificate’s power to prevent the involvement of experienced leaders who lack certification. Consequently, they recommended that training programs be continued, but certification of competency be completely abolished and replaced by a certificate of course completion. This
effectively gave the employer the responsibility of evaluating the competency of the outdoor leader.

In response to these conclusions, Australia, including the region of Tasmania, and New Zealand and Canada, chose to eliminate formal certification as part of their leadership preparation programs. Australia's training and leadership scheme includes a 1-2 year apprenticeship period followed by a comprehensive assessment period performed by the candidate's advisor and an assessment panel. In Tasmania, the candidate must have extensive experience in wilderness travel before entering the training program. This way the curriculum can concentrate on 'the more critical aspects of leadership development,' such as group dynamics, conflict resolution, decision-making and problem solving, leadership style and environmental ethics. Tasmania was careful to point out that a certificate of course completion was not a certificate of leadership competency. New Zealand uses an open-ended scheme that relies on the candidates' ability to evaluate their own training and development needs throughout their careers, believing that leadership certification infers a false end to training.

Canada has rejected mandatory leadership certification and has proposed separate leadership education curriculum for the technical motor skills versus ongoing leadership development. The United States of America has continued to offer leadership certification out of a concern for litigation and rising insurance premiums. However, they have limited their certification to the hard skills based on their belief that sound judgement and decision-making skills cannot be evaluated in a valid and reliable manner.

Priest (1987b) surveyed one hundred and sixty-nine international leaders actively involved in outdoor leadership preparation for their attitudes towards outdoor leadership certification. Although the results disclosed one group that was in favour and another group that opposed leadership certification, both groups were only prepared to support the certification of the technical and safety skills. Finally, those that were opposed were also opposed to the use of the term leadership certification. Priest (1987a), explained that:

It is critical that this certificate not be closely associated with the term leadership in any way. For possession of these two components alone is a far cry from being an effective outdoor leader. A technical/safety certificate (and not a leadership certificate) might satisfy the insurance companies. It may also encourage the proponents and opponents of outdoor leadership certification to work together toward achieving our common goals of reducing wilderness accidents, protecting the natural environment, and assuring positive outdoor experiences.

(Priest, 1987a, p. 43)
This approach is in keeping with the concept of leadership development rather than leadership training. Bell (1990) reflected on the value of mentorships in facilitating leadership development and concluded that “leadership training is less a matter of certification and more [about] apprenticeship” (p 17). Similarly, Rogers (1979) emphasized how leadership development must continue beyond the initial training stage and is never fully realized. Rather, the development of leadership competency requires a lifelong commitment from the outdoor leader.

The positive and negative dimensions of outdoor leadership certification have been discussed by Cockrell (1990), Ewert (1989), Priest (1987a), and Sakofs (1987) and summarized below. The positive aspects of leadership certification include its ability to: 1) Provide a standard for admission to the profession and some recognition of professional status, 2) Motivate leaders to achieve high standards, 3) Provide safe and effective participant experiences, 4) Protect the environment, and 5) Lower insurance premiums and minimize liability risks.

The negative aspects of leadership certification include: 1) The cost and time commitment required to run a certification system, 2) The limited number of skills that can be assessed at a particular point in time, 3) The risk of losing uncertified but highly capable leaders in favor of certified but less qualified leaders, 4) The inability to evaluate and guarantee the future performance of sound judgment and decision-making skills, and 5) The potential for the development of a rigid certification system that is not able to respond to individual and consumer needs.

The validity and reliability of the outdoor leadership training and evaluation processes have been questioned. Riggins (1984) showed that an individual’s participation in the basic course at the National Outdoor Leadership School (N.O.L.S.) bore no significant relationship to their future effectiveness as an instructor. A similar correlation between advanced courses and instructor effectiveness was not addressed. Easther (1979, as cited in Riggins, 1984), tried to determine the relationship between an instructor’s evaluation of a candidate and other evaluation measures, such as rankings by peers and a panel of outdoor leadership employers. Riggins (1984), identified peer evaluation, mentor evaluation, and self-evaluation as the favoured assessment methods amongst leadership candidates. It was found that the most reliable measure of leadership potential came from the evaluation of course instructors and secondly from peer review. Neither personality nor leadership assessment instruments, nor a
panel of employers of outdoor leaders were identified as reliable methods for judging leadership potential. Evidently, a need for the creation of valid and reliable leadership training and assessment methods are necessary given these limitations.

Modification of the current leadership certification process includes establishing two different bodies to govern the separate functions of leadership training and leadership certification in order to establish professional objectivity and credibility (Cockrell, 1990, Ewert, 1989, Priest, 1987a). The possibility of being seen as a self-serving profession will always exist as long as the one association governs leadership training and certification. Those leadership skills and attributes that can be objectively tested should be identified and more than one assessment strategy should be used. These would include the certification of outdoor programs, the preparation of leaders to match the specific needs of the program and a peer review process.

Strategies for outdoor leadership certification and their associated problems and benefits have been presented. A certificate of course completion rather than a certificate of competency has been favoured. A protracted leadership competency scheme that allows for the development of the individual outdoor candidate and leader over time, where multiple perspectives are recognized and mentoring or coaching relationships are developed has been recommended. It is believed that while certification is unlikely to become a mandated requirement for the outdoor leader, it will likely raise the standards and expertise of the outdoor professional and become a vehicle for professionalism (Ewert, 1989).

**Women Outdoor Leadership**

*All the savage in me, all the instinct of revolt, bubble forth as I paddle away from civilization.*

Isobel Knowles, 1905

1996, 1987, 1982, Mitten, 1992, 1985, Warren, 1985). Despite the fact that some of the authors were self-described feminists, most sources treated the subject matter in a non-ideological manner. A combination of biological determinism, social conditioning and gender-biased perceptions are the factors believed to be responsible for the unique experiences of women outdoor leaders. It is also believed that the unique needs of woman participants have not been met within contemporary outdoor recreation programs. The proposed solutions for meeting these needs have been found both within mixed-gender and women-only groups.

**Perceptions of Women Outdoor Leaders**

A historical *introduction* to the prevailing attitudes towards women during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is warranted in order to better understand the experiences of women outdoor leaders today (Benedickson, 1997, Bialeschki, 1990, Russell, 1994). Women, who participated in physical exercise or chose to explore remote and/or uncharted territory on their own during this time, challenged the concept of the ideal Victorian woman (Benedickson, 1997, Bialeschki, 1990, Checkland, 1996, Hoyle, 1985, Russell, 1994). The vigour and emotions associated with physical activity stood in contrast with the delicate, weak and modest ideal (Bialeschki, 1990, Lenskyj, 1986). The highly influential and male-dominated medical profession also believed that the physical and emotional constitutions of woman were unsuitable for physical exercise (Benedickson, 1997). Instead, women were thought to be best suited for childbearing and domestic duties. Women’s participation in strenuous activity was not only considered ‘unnatural’ but it was thought to increase the risk of ‘pelvic disturbances’ and ultimately jeopardize their childbearing potential (Bialeschki, 1990, Lenskyj, 1986). The benefits of physical activity for women were eventually recognized during the early 1900s but the earlier attitudes remained highly influential (Benedickson, 1997).

Russell (1994) suggested that women travellers, “despite sexist thundering and paternalistic admonishments, remained irrepressible and uncontainable, finding their impetus and drive even in the very opposition to their journeys” (p. 223). The reasons why women chose to travel during this time included the need: 1) To escape from domesticity, 2) To satisfy an intellectual curiosity during a time when formal education for women was not easily accessible, 3) To honour and complete the work of a deceased partner, 4) To perform missionary work, and 5) To become more spiritually aware. A footnote in history points to the Victorian traveller and writer, Isabella Bird Bishop (1831-1904), who achieved a unique
compromise by both rejecting and abiding by the conventions of her time. She "enjoyed roistering good health during her travels and bowed to convention when back in England by allowing the statutory female illnesses to manifest themselves" (Russell, 1994, p. 197). She became known as “the invalid at home and the Samson abroad” (Checkland, 1996, p. 189). LaBastille (1980) has suggested that the reasons women had for travelling in the wilderness in the past are similar to the reasons women have for travelling in the wilderness today.

Contemporary perceptions of women outdoor leaders have been quantitatively examined in order to reveal how women and men participants perceive women outdoor leaders and how women outdoor leaders perceive themselves. Jordan's (1991) study questioned whether or not male and female participants perceive the competency of male and female outdoor leaders differently. 77 female (52%) and 70 male (48%) pre-registrants of a Colorado Outward Bound School course were asked to rate the competence of four hypothetical leaders based on written profiles using a 7-point Likert scale. Two highly competent and two low competent male and female profiles were included. The results of the study showed that female respondents gave higher ratings to male leaders for being in charge of an evacuation regardless of competence. Male respondents gave higher ratings to female leaders for coping with personality clashes, getting along with participants, and teaching outdoor cooking regardless of competence [italics mine to indicate the gender biased language that was used]. Furthermore, male respondents were more highly influenced by gender in rating competence. Overall, the soft skills were not valued and the respondents only wanted leaders who were highly skilled in the hard skills. Jordan recognized how this stands in contrast to the outdoor leadership literature that has emphasized the importance of the soft skills in outdoor leadership. Finally, all the respondents preferred a male leader.

Jordan concluded that gender bias is an inherent feature of the theory of expectation states. As a result, female outdoor leaders are not likely to be recognized for their physical and technical skills because the outdoor leader-role is incongruent with the traditional female role. Where as, male outdoor leaders are more likely to be recognized for their physical and technical skills because their outdoor leader-role is compatible with the traditional male role. Jordan (1989) noticed how the follower's role expectations of an outdoor leader can be a “problem for female and other out-of-norm outdoor leaders (ie., a small Hispanic male). Lacking the benefit of being the norm in either out of doors or leadership positions, female outdoor leaders may experience difficulty in being recognized, accepted, and accorded legitimate authority“ (Jordan, 1989, p. 45).
Jordan (1991) points to the practical implications of these gender-biased perceptions. Participants may direct their technical questions to the male leader and ‘look to the male leader’ to validate the technical contributions from the female leader. Conversely, the participants may expect the female leader to manage all the interpersonal issues that arise during the trip. Jordan believes that ‘a gender-biased over-reliance’ on one leader limits the development of female and male leaders as well as participants. She recommended that administrator awareness of gender biased behaviour should be enhanced and the topic of gender-bias should be integrated into the outdoor leadership training curriculum. The latter will give candidates a forum to equitably divide the leadership tasks and to address the attitudes and/or behaviours that limit development. Finally, she recommends the need for research that will determine if and how gender bias exists in the field.

In a later study, Jordan (1992) draws upon the expected role-behaviour and gender role socialization theories. She explains why the task and conceptual functions of leadership are commonly associated with men and why the interpersonal functions of leadership are commonly associated with women. As an example she states, “since women have had years of exposure to particular social roles and have been ingrained with the ‘ethic of care,’ there is a tendency for females to have stronger human relations abilities than males” (p. 62). With this in mind, she recommends that the leadership approach taken with women should be different from the leadership approach taken with men. Transformational Leadership is presented as a style that is highly suited to women leaders and participants. The style works within the leader-participant relationship to motivate drive and performance and to empower others by shifting the decision-making power away from the leader towards group members. Jordan believes this shift is especially meaningful for women who have not been socialized to excel in the technical and conceptual skills. It is a style that is generally recognized for its feminist orientation but Jordan recommends that both men and women leaders apply it to women-only and gender-mixed groups in order to facilitate the full potential of women participants.

Miranda and Yerkes (1987) surveyed 130 women outdoor leaders in order to identify the ways in which women outdoor leaders perceive themselves and the way they believe participants perceive them. The results of the study showed that the two highest motivators for their leadership involvement were sharing with others and enjoying being in the outdoors. The most essential qualities of an outdoor leader that were identified were effective communication skills and knowledge of group dynamics, effective risk and safety management and guiding group members to share in the leadership process. Furthermore, many of the respondents
rejected the term 'leader' in favour of the terms 'guide' or 'facilitator' in order to more accurately communicate their desire to share the leadership role with group members. The least essential qualities of an outdoor leader that were identified pertained to the need for certification from a recognized program, knowledge of environmental education and the ability to maintain a margin of excellence over participants in relevant skills.

The respondents believed that participants' value the way women leaders encourage independence among women participants, that it takes longer for women leaders to be accepted by male participants and that women leaders have to maintain higher standards than males. It was not clear whether the use of the noun 'male' referred to male participants and/or male leaders as well.

Over 90% of the woman surveyed indicated that gender had significantly influenced their careers. They had become more sensitive to the need for support among women leaders and aware of the sexism in the outdoor profession. They had developed a greater responsibility toward women and women's issues and they were encouraged to lead women-only groups. Those that led mixed-gender groups felt that male participants did not easily accept their leadership because they were women. Those that led women-only groups had become committed to sharing the decision-making process with group members. Those who found it more difficult to work with a male colleague were more likely to concentrate on the hard skills as a way of legitimizing their leadership role. Finally, Miranda and Yerkes recommend the need for more research on gender issues in outdoor leadership.

**Solutions for Meeting the Unique Needs of Women**

The mixed gender solution recognizes the differences between women and girls and men and boys and integrates those differences into co-educational outdoor programs (Henderson and Bialeschki, 1987, Jordan 1992, Warren, 1985). Warren (1985) presented a feminist perspective on the myths associated with women's participation in the wilderness and contrasted these with the realities. The myths are based on the misconceptions that: 1) Wilderness experiences are widely accessible to women, 2) The classical paradigm of the heroic quest is a relevant metaphor for women, 3) Both women and men have acquired the same 'precursory experiences' that have effectively prepared them for a wilderness canoe trip, 4) The wilderness is an ideal place to revise prevailing social conditioning, and 5) Highly competent women leaders are effective role models for other women.
‘The myth of the superwomen’ is based on the counterproductive implications of the follower who encounters a highly competent woman outdoor leader. The follower who regards the woman leader as a ‘superwoman’ will not recognize the work that went into developing those competencies and the struggle to gain equality in a male dominated profession. The follower who has been ‘indoctrinated’ to believe that women do not belong in the wilderness will use the concept of the superwoman to reconcile the dissonance between their belief and the reality. The concept of the superwoman also allows the follower to regard the woman outdoor leader as extraordinary and unrepresentative of ordinary women, without ever recognizing the sexist conditioning behind the reconciliation. More specifically, the woman follower who perceives the woman outdoor leader as a superwoman, will admire the woman outdoor leader, but will also be intimated by her superlative accomplishments. Consequently, the potential for role modelling is blocked. The woman outdoor leader is encouraged to confront the myth of the superwoman by using consensus decision-making, demystifying her competency and revealing her vulnerability.

A revisionist perspective of these myths is used to reveal the differences between the genders and to indicate how outdoor leaders can provide positive, co-educational outdoor learning experiences for both women and men. Warren uses a combination of biological determinism (women make up for their lower weight carrying capabilities by their nurturing and facilitation) and social conditioning (women have a difficult time learning the hard skills due to their lack of technical conditioning) to explain the differences between women and men.

Gender-mixed groups are believed to hold the greatest potential for changing the stereotypical gender roles and gender inequities that occur in the wilderness and society at large (Henderson, Bialeschki, and Sessoms, 1990, Knapp, 1985). A recapitulation of the strategies and goals of the women involved in the organized camping movement at the turn of the twentieth century is clearly evident (Miranda and Yerkes, 1996, Miranda, 1987). They too believed that “only in a professional association where they wielded equal power with men, could they provide themselves the base to influence norms beyond the association itself” (Miranda and Yerkes, 1996, p.68).

The women-only group solution is based on giving girls and women 'permission' and the opportunity to experience things that they do not normally experience in mixed-gender groups. The testimonials of women that permeate these qualitative studies highlight the reasons women choose to participate in women-only outdoor programs. These include: 1) A greater degree of
emotional and physical safety, 2) The freedom to step out of gender role stereotypes, 3) The opportunity to develop close connections with other women, and 4) A comfortable environment for both a beginner learning new skills and alternatively for higher skilled participants (Bialieschki, 1987, Clemmensen, 1996, Henderson and Bialeschki, 1987, McClintock, 1996, Mitten, 1992).

Mitten’s (1985) Woodswomen Philosophy is a philosophy that was designed to address the specific needs of women on women-only trips. It is intended to create an atmosphere that encourages women to feel emotionally, spiritually and physically safe. It is a philosophy that is used to promote the opportunity to bond with others, to personally grow and develop self-esteem. It is unclear why this philosophy is only associated with women-only trips. In other words, Mitten fails to recognize why her philosophy could not be effectively applied to both women and men on gender-mixed trips or to men on men-only trips as well.

Jordan (1988) examined a leadership camp in Iowa for girls aged thirteen to sixteen. The camp was established in order to “free the campers from society’s impositions and/or stereotypes that often surface when both sexes interact” to become a place for envisioning new lives and to teach women “to view themselves as agents of change in society” (p. 30). It is the only study reviewed that proactively cultivates ‘women leadership positions’ with an overtly feminist perspective.

The androgynous solution dissolves the exclusive association of the interpersonal skills with women and the equally exclusive association of the technical skills with men (Henderson and Bialeschki, 1987, Knapp, 1985). The intention is for the same individual to demonstrate both the traditional feminine and masculine behaviours (empathetic/assertive) and tasks (cooking/fire building). In some instances these complementary characteristics are integrated within a single act. Similarly, every participant is treated and led in the same way regardless of gender. Knapp (1985) believes that the ‘gender trap’ limits the potential of outdoor leaders and the potential of those that are led. He encourages outdoor administrators and leaders to explore whether their own behaviours and that of the participants are directed by gender stereotypes. He asks administrators to question whether they hire men outdoor leaders for their technical skills rather than their interpersonal skills. He asks outdoor leaders to question whether “males avoid intimacy and close personal affiliation” and “do females avoid opportunities for competitive success.” (p. 18) In mixed groups do “males compete less with each other and talk more about their personal lives” and do “females become more competitive with other women and speak more with men” (p. 18). Knapp questions whether women-only
trips would be necessary if outdoor leaders of mixed-gender groups effectively addressed the gender traps. Like the mixed-gender group solution, the androgynous solution believes that outdoor leaders who advocate for and model androgynous norms will also transform societal norms.

Direct or indirect references to Gilligan's (1982) study of female psychological development were made frequently in the articles reviewed on women outdoor leadership. Kane (1990), McClintock, (1996), and Warren, (1985) believe that women's participation in the wilderness is restricted because they have been socially conditioned to always consider the needs of their children and partner instead of their own. Mitten, (1985) justifies why women need women-only trips in order to experience their 'feminine reality.' Furthermore, Henderson, Bialeschki, and Sessoms (1990) believe that women are well suited to excel in what Gilligan calls the 'ethic of care' and recognize this valuable role that women outdoor leaders bring to the outdoor leadership community. Similarly, they use the analogy of the 'good hostess' for the 'good outdoor leader,’ who are both concerned with the physical and emotional well being of their guests/participants. Jordan (1992) recommends a leadership style that is believed to be especially suited to women because it is based on Gilligan's ethic of care. Similarly, James (1988) refers to “the different voice” with which women speak to explain a canoe trip that is socially oriented and essentially feminine and one that is physically oriented and essentially masculine.

A combination of biological determinism, social conditioning and gender-biased perceptions have been used to explain the unique experience of women travellers, women outdoor leaders and women participants. The solutions for meeting the unique needs of women participants were reviewed. Participants strongly associate the interpersonal skills with female leaders and the technical skills with male leaders and overall, prefer male leadership. Transformational Leadership has been presented as a leadership style that is highly suited to women outdoor leaders and women participants. A call for field research on women outdoor leadership and gender-related issues was recommended.

Summary

The literature that was reviewed has helped to define Experiential Education and it's two branches of Adventure Education and Wilderness Education. Experiential Education is a philosophical orientation to teaching and learning. It is not a content area but a method that can
be applied to any academic field that incorporates experience, reflection and theory. It actively promotes the intrapersonal and interpersonal growth of the learner by consciously addressing the learner’s cognitive, emotional, spiritual and social faculties in order to surpass the levels of knowing achieved with abstract theory alone. Adventure Education and Wilderness Education build on these themes. Adventure Education uses an anxiety resolution model of education that involves a deliberate seeking of risk and danger whose outcomes can always be influenced by the actions of the learners’. It is hoped that by learning to deal with fear, change and uncertainty in adventure, people learn valuable coping strategies that ultimately prove useful in their day to day lives. The objective of Wilderness Education includes the development of the learners’ sense of wonder of the natural world, their sense of humility and personal competence. The educational and learning environments of these three approaches were found to be relevant points of reference for the wilderness canoe trip.

The leadership theories and group development theories that were briefly reviewed pointed to the highly interactive and unpredictable nature of outdoor leadership.

The competencies that are valued in the outdoor recreation leader were reviewed and three dichotomies were discovered. The dichotomy between: 1) The technical expert versus the human relations facilitator, 2) The technical skills versus the interpersonal skills, 3) What is naturally determined versus what can be learned, and 4) What can be learned versus what can be taught.

The majority of the literature on outdoor leadership concentrates on the cognitive and action elements of the outdoor leadership process. Only one article (Ringer, 1993), begins to describe and validate the experience of the leader, by articulating the affective domain of the leadership experience.

The outdoor leadership assessment and certification processes were reviewed. The corresponding limitations of the current schemes include the prevalent belief that sound judgement and decision-making cannot be objectively evaluated and the excessive use of leadership training strategies versus leadership development strategies. Furthermore, the valued role of experience in leadership development was recognized.

The literature specific to women outdoor leadership was reviewed. Four dichotomies were identified. The dichotomy between: 1) The outdoor leadership literature that values the interpersonal skills versus the participants and the industry who value the technical skills,
2) A traditional leadership style that is leadership-centred versus one that is participant-centred,
3) Gender-biased perceptions versus more objective measures of outdoor leadership
competence, and 4) Leadership roles that are biologically determined versus ones that are
socially determined.

Finally, only a few relevant studies have employed qualitative methodologies to further
our understanding into the meaning of the leadership experience on a wilderness canoe trip
from the leaders' perspective.

According to Lincoln and Guba (1985), it is not possible to disassociate an individual's
experience from the setting in which it takes place. The interactive relationship between an
individual's experience and the setting will ultimately prevent this from occurring. But when we
try to isolate one or the other we will absolutely compromise our understanding of experience
itself. Therefore, we can only be distantly enlightened by the various theories and studies that
have been identified throughout this chapter. To understand the experience of women, who
guide wilderness canoe trips, we must also listen to their stories and first hand insights.
CHAPTER 111

Methodology

Study Design

Given that the thoughts and perceptions of the individuals with whom I spoke were at the heart of this research topic, a qualitative methodology or more specifically a phenomenological model of inquiry seemed the most appropriate approach to employ.

As an approach within the naturalistic paradigm, phenomenology respects that: 1) Experience is rooted in multiple realities, 2) People and the contexts in which they thrive are inseparable, interactive and dynamic, 3) Understandings must be derived from present realities rather than from preconceptions and theoretical forecasts, and 4) Inquiry and understanding are bound by subjective interaction and determination (Lincoln and Guba, 1985).

As Patton (1990) described, phenomenological inquiry uses “... qualitative and naturalistic approaches to inductively and holistically understand human experience in context-specific settings” (p. 37). Henderson (1991) complemented this by suggesting that the researcher must strive to understand the ‘internal subjective experience’ of those people interacting in the research setting.

Merriam (1989) described qualitative research as having “multiple realities - that the world is not an objective thing out there but a function of personal interaction and perception. It is a highly subjective phenomenon in need of interpreting rather than measuring” (p. 17). Van Manen, (1990), described how the researcher must question the reality of a situation or the nature of a situation, relative to immediate experience and attempt to uncover and describe the structures, the internal meaning structures, of lived experience” (p. 10).

With these insights into the understanding of phenomenology and my interest in uncovering the meaning of the leadership experiences of the individuals with whom I spoke, a phenomenological methodology of semi-structured face-to-face interviews was selected. I ask the reader to consider the resolution of any outcome as tentative and open to revision, given the essential constructive nature of the phenomenological model.
Ethical Review

An ethical review was conducted according to the procedures and requirements of the Department of Adult Education of The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education at the University of Toronto.

Participant Selection

Canoe Ontario was contacted for a list of certified female canoeing instructors with the Ontario Recreational Canoeing Association. The six women I chose from the list were actively involved in guiding wilderness canoe trips. A university professor recommended one woman who actively guides with an adventure-based organization. One woman who actively guides with an environmental organization was a personal contact of the researcher. These later two women are not certified canoeing instructors with the Ontario Recreational Canoeing Association, but they have been trained to guide wilderness canoe trips with their affiliated organizations. I chose to interview female wilderness canoe trip leaders only, in order to understand my own leadership experiences better and to assist with the analysis of the data.

Data Collection

In qualitative research, the term 'triangulation' refers to a technique whereby “multiple sources” are used to enlighten understanding (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). The four types of data used in this thesis were 1) Face-to-face semi-structured interviews, 2) The researcher's field notes, 3) Member checks, and 4) A review of the relevant outdoor leadership literature.

The eight interviews were conducted between February 1997 and January 1998. I called the canoe trip leaders, and having briefly introduced myself, I informed them of the research topic, and why I wanted to interview them. When they verbally agreed to participate, a date, time, and location for the face-to-face interview was mutually determined. Subsequently, a letter of introduction was either mailed to the participant or presented to the participant at the interview, depending on the length of time between the initial phone contact and the date of the interview (Appendix 1). Six of the interviews took place at the interviewee’s home and two of the interviews took place at the interviewee’s place of work.
Before the interviews began, the interviewees were invited to ask questions about the purpose of the interview. They were then asked if the interview could be audiotaped and whether the interviewee could take the occasional note during the interview, although that rarely occurred. Informed consent was then secured (Appendix 2). The same interview schedule of open-ended questions was used for each interview (Appendix 3). The interview questions were designed to address the research questions of the thesis and to create room for the interviewees to move beyond them when desired. The demographic data that was considered benign was incorporated into the beginning of the interview to help the interviewee adjust to the interview milieu. The open-ended questions permitted each participant to deeply explore the avenues that they considered most important and to minimize the obtrusive influence of the researcher. Specifically, the first three questions and the last question were asked during each interview. The remaining questions were asked only if the participants required a more direct kind of facilitation. Additionally, questions of elaboration such as “Tell me more” “Why do you think that?” Help me to understand what you’ve just said” etceteras, were used to inspire the interviewees to elaborate on what had been previously stated. It was never my intention to elicit a response from the interviewee based on what I needed or wanted to hear. The interviews were audiotaped to assist the researcher with the analysis of the data. The length of time (90 - 180 minutes) of each interview was recorded.

On the same day of each interview, field notes were recorded in the researcher’s content and process files as recommended by Kirby and McKenna (1989). Crucial nuances and non-verbal data surrounding the interviews that might not be evident in the audiotapes, and the researcher’s process reflections were included. The process reflection file provided the researcher with a mechanism for identifying, questioning, and reflecting, on the underlying motives that persistently guided the decisions that were made throughout the entire research process. But it was not possible to consciously keep track and reflect on the seemingly infinite and overwhelming number of decisions that were made.

The limited scope of a master thesis and the number of interviews required to reach saturation with this subject and sample population jointly determined the number of interviews that were conducted. It was anticipated that a maximum of ten interviews would be required where in fact a substantial degree of repetition in the interview data was achieved at the conclusion of the eighth interview.
Data Analysis

The available methods for analyzing phenomenological data are as varied as the number of phenomenological researchers. Since no one method has everything one would want, I have relied upon the techniques from several different approaches. The data was analysed according to the combined methods presented by Kirby and McKenna (1989), Spradley (1980), Strauss and Corbin (1990), Miles and Huberman (1994), and Tesch (1987).

When analyzing phenomenological data, the researcher spends a considerable amount of time reading and re-reading the interview transcripts in an effort to grasp the underlining meaning in the words of the interviewees. It is assumed that what is considered “real” is a construction in the minds of individuals where there are multiple, potentially conflicting constructions, all of which are potentially meaningful (Lincoln and Guba, p. 83, 1985). Therefore the most informed construction is the one where consensus exists between the researcher and the interviewee. The researcher attempted to achieve this consensus by constantly referring to the raw data in the transcripts, by trying to identify and challenge the underlying assumptions of her interpretations, and by soliciting feedback on her interpretations of the data from the interviewees. An attempt to understand the meaning that the interviewees attached to their experience, rather than the researcher’s interpretations of their experience was always the supreme goal.

After recording each session, the tapes were transcribed verbatim by the researcher onto a computerized database using Microsoft Windows - Winword Version 6.0 (Appendix 4). Each interviewee was identified on the transcript with a pseudonym and a number that corresponded to the sequence in which they were interviewed. Each transcription was copied onto a different colour of paper to assist the researcher in associating the source of the data with an individual interviewee. A three-inch, right hand margin was utilized for manual coding. The first reading took place in close proximity to the interview and transcription. Initial impressions were noted in the coding margin. Categories and their subcategories that emerged from the data were established with subsequent readings of the transcripts. During the process of analyzing the data, the list of categories changed many times as they were refined, resulting in a clear appreciation of the unstable nature of the categories. Coding also facilitated an understanding of the content that was not likely to be achieved by simply reading the transcripts and it made an abundant amount of information manageable through the use of categories (Appendix 5).
The transcripts were then re-organized based on the categories that were identified, using a 'cut and paste' method on the computer. By presenting the data in aggregate form the researcher was better able to understand the nature of each category. The identity of each interviewee was preserved by assigning two numbers that appeared at the bottom right corner of each piece of data. The first number corresponded to the sequence in which they were interviewed. The second number indicated the page number of the transcript for that specific piece of data. This way a piece of data could always be re-integrated into the interview transcript to confirm the context of a statement.

A profile on each interviewee (identified by a pseudonym only) that summarized each category with supporting documentation from the transcripts was completed (Appendix 6). This way the unique identity of each interviewee became evident. A hard copy, and in one case a computer diskette of the respective profile was mailed to each interviewee. 'Member checks' (Guba and Lincoln, 1985) were solicited with seven of the eight interviewees. One interviewee was travelling somewhere 'down under' and was not available. At this point in time, the seven interviewees became co-researchers as they clarified their intentions by adding, deleting, and commenting on the researcher's interpretation of the data. The content changes made on the computer diskette and during the subsequent telephone conversations were integrated directly into the co-researcher's profile.

These member checks were invaluable in providing the co-researcher with the opportunity to reflect on, and to clarify, elaborate, and correct what had been said, in some cases over a year ago. Two of the interviewees were surprised but deeply encouraged by how familiar the profiles appeared one year following the face-to-face interviews. Ultimately, the member checks served to substantiate the certainty of the researcher's interpretations as all triangulation methods are meant to do.

A comprehensive literature review was conducted only after the majority of the analysis was completed. A more thorough awareness of the literature before this time would have potentially guided the questions asked during the interviews and limited the direction of the analysis.

**Researcher Biases**

The research associated with the study was exploratory and inductive, emphasizing process as opposed to ends and had no predetermined hypothesis. Nevertheless, the act of interpretation is guided by the values of the interpreter. As a prerequisite for enhancing the
validity of the research, naturalistic researchers are obliged to articulate the assumptions that
guide their interpretations. Becker (1986), noted that when a researcher is able to identify
preconceptions and pre-understandings, they are less likely to impose beliefs on the
participants, and therefore, more (italics mine) able to report unbiased results. I entered the
field with the biases that had emerged from my personal experience as a canoeist and novice
wilderness canoe trip guide:

- The wilderness can be an emotionally and physically unfamiliar environment for many
  participants, who are suddenly cut off from the elements that commonly sustain their
  emotional and physical securities (family, friends, permanent shelter, indoor plumbing, the
  media.). As a result of this displacement, their 'readiness to learn' is activated (Knowles,
  1973).
- Spending an extended period of time with a small group of people in the remote wilderness
  can intensify the nature of interpersonal relationships. The leader's ability to guide these
dynamics is critical for facilitating a secure and cohesive group.
- A wilderness canoe trip guide has the privilege of facilitating and observing an individual's
  growing awareness of the wilderness, themselves, and their companions. It is also a role
  that carries immense responsibility for the emotional and physical safety of the participants.
- The experiences of a wilderness canoe trip guide can be both arduous and rejuvenating,
  where it is possible to learn from both adverse and auspicious circumstances.
- True leadership must be earned and is not automatically granted by members of the group.
- Leadership should be shared with members of the group whenever possible, where the
  assignment of responsibility is also accompanied by authority.
- The nature of the working partner relationship dramatically influences the efficacy of the
  leadership and the experience of all members of the group.
- Good leadership depends on extensive personal leadership experiences in the wilderness.
- An intense awareness of the immediate is possible when the direct consequences of our
  actions can be seen and are assessed to be highly significant.
- The time and place for introspection and personal reflection is a strong possibility on a
  wilderness canoe trip.
- Travelling in the wilderness by canoe can re-establish a unique relationship with the natural
  world. An encounter with the contrasting power and tranquillity of the wilderness can
  facilitate an awareness of our vulnerability where we choose to establish a less exploited
  relationship with the natural world.
My beliefs surrounding the value of a wilderness canoe trip and the role and experience of the wilderness canoe trip guide continually informed the research process. I attempted to remain vigilant of these biases and how they informed the research process, and to move beyond them whenever appropriate.

**Limitations of the Study**

This project is a piece of qualitative research based on the individual experiences of eight individuals. Some would argue that the primary limitation attributed to qualitative research has to do with the *quantitative* concept of *reliability*. That is, to what extent would I obtain the same results if I measured the responses at a different time? It is generally considered that with an interview format, the probability of reproducing the results is very low (Brenner, Brown, and Canter, 1985). Therefore, the results of this study will not be transferable.

Similarly, the degree of validity, another *quantitative* term, questions the extent to which you are measuring what you think you are measuring. Again, in quantitative terms, establishing validity would require isolating a dependent variable and arranging experimental conditions that control all other factors so that a causal relationship can be determined. This relationship would be used to either confirm or refute the hypothesis of the study (Christensen, 1988). Of course in a complex field experiment it is impossible to control all the variables. Indeed, my intention is not to prove a hypothesis, but to learn from the guiding experiences of these eight individuals.

The inherent limitations of the interview format stems from the complex interaction that occurs between the researcher and interviewee. There are many opportunities for bias to occur within this potentially reactive relationship. The interviewee may answer in a way to please the interviewer or to appear socially acceptable. It is very possible that the researcher will interpret the findings incorrectly. Indeed, the researcher-interviewer is so close to the process it may be said that the findings cannot be considered independent of the researcher, who is at once the instrument of data collection and the analyst (Brenner et al, 1985).

The purpose of this study was to learn from the *individual* experiences of eight women. The sample size was small but purposeful and there was limited contact with the participants. But despite all of the above limitations, I am confident that the data obtained will provide a trustworthy basis for drawing inferences in order to make recommendations for future research.
CHAPTER IV

Summary of Findings

I have attempted to continually direct the reader to the unique perspective of each individual interviewee by presenting the context of their thoughts in their entirety as much as possible. But ultimately, the findings are the researcher's construction or representation of the participants' experiences, views and practices, recounted to the researcher by the interviewees.

A narrative of the unique and shared viewpoints of the interviewees with a limited number of supporting quotations is presented. Although it is difficult to rationalize the segmentation of the interviewees' experience, this process proved to be a valuable step in exposing some of the hidden meanings covered within their complex experiences.

Introductions

I would like to begin the presentation of the findings with a brief introduction of the interviewees. I ask the reader to keep in mind that these introductions are only snapshots and in no way reflect the richness and complexity of the individual women with whom I spoke. Pseudonyms have been used in order to maintain the confidentiality of the interviewees and to provide a personalized account of the data for the reader.

Sheila is a forty-two year old Director and a Senior Guide of a national wilderness adventure company, and a Master Instructor (Appendix 7). She has guided wilderness canoe trips for over twenty years. She averages about 2 trips per season for 2-3 weeks at a time, with 10 people per trip throughout Canada. Other pass-times include competitive cross-country skiing. She is married and has a family.

Jane is a thirty-eight year old Outdoor Educator, and a Canoe Tripping Instructor Trainer and Lakewater Instructor (Appendix 7). She has a twenty-year history of participating in and leading wilderness canoe trips. On the average, she leads 4 canoe trips per year with 10 youth or adults for weekend or weeklong trips primarily in Ontario and frequently in Algonquin Provincial Park. More recently she has been instructing adults in leadership canoe tripping certification courses with a provincial recreational canoeing organization. She is a preparatory teacher at an all girls' school during the regular school year.
Emily is a twenty-seven year old Adventure Educator who began canoeing and guiding wilderness canoe trips when she was twenty-one and twenty-two years of age respectively. She works for a non-profit adventure education organization. She has a special interest in guiding women's empowerment courses and corporate working groups. On the average she leads 3-4 wilderness canoe trips per season, with 10 adults, for one week at a time within Ontario. In the last year she has became an active sea kayaker and instructor in the Florida Everglades.

Anna is a fifty-four year old Environmentalist with strong self-taught natural history skills. She is a married mother of three, who started leading wilderness canoe trips when she was thirty-four years old. On the average, she guides 2, week long trips with 10 adults per season throughout Ontario. She organized a private twenty-eight day long trip on the Nahanni River and has canoed on other Northwest Territories rivers for 3 weeks at a time. She works for a non-profit nature and conservation organization that is concerned with environmental and natural history education, advocacy, and research and protection projects.

Adrienne is a twenty-seven year old Outdoor Educator and Moving Water Instructor (Appendix 7). She grew up in the city and was introduced to canoeing at university in an outdoor education course. She began working as a wilderness canoe trip guide for a therapeutic program for pre-delinquent youth. During the last 5 years, she has been working as a guide in the Northwest Territories, and an instructor for a canoe school. On the average she leads about 4 wilderness canoe trips per season with 10 adults per trip for 2-3 weeks at a time. She is a High School Teacher in the Northwest Territories during the regular school year.

Michelle is a twenty-five year old Experiential Educator and a Moving Water and Canoe Tripping Instructor (Appendix 7). She began canoeing at a canoe tripping camp when she was sixteen. She has been working as a guide at the camp for the past 6 seasons and as an instructor at a canoe school for the past 2 seasons. On the average, she guides 1-3 trips every summer with 10 people from 3 weeks to fifty days at a time. She has a keen interest in exploring various aspects of natural history.

Ellen is a twenty-eight year old Canoe Tripping and Flat Water Instructor with Level 11 (part A and B) Moving Water (Appendix 7). She has been instructing and leading wilderness canoe trips for the last 7 years, with various school boards, universities, youth camps, and Boy Scout groups. On the average, she leads 6 trips per season, with 10 participants per trip for 1
week at a time. She is a High School Teacher involved in the organization and facilitation of outdoor outings during the regular school year.

Lynne is a twenty-seven year old Experiential Educator and a Canoe Tripping and Moving Water Instructor with Level 11 Flat Water (Appendix 7). She started canoeing and canoe tripping when she was twelve at a canoe tripping camp in Ontario. She went on to guide 2 fifty-day long trips with 10 youth at a time at the same canoe tripping camp. She also leads about 2-week long trips per season with adults throughout Canada with a non-profit adventure education organization. She is currently pursuing an interest in conflict mediation at the university level.

**Research Question 1**

What perceptions do these women guides have of themselves on a wilderness canoe trip?

**Self - Perceptions**

The interviewees associated themselves with a variety of titles and adjectives when describing their leadership roles, and described the leadership maturation processes they had experienced. The leadership titles included teacher, instructor, adult educator, experiential educator, adventure educator, facilitator, guide, role model, mentor, professional, adult learner and learner. They all preferred to use the titles 'guide' and 'facilitator' rather than leader believing that these titles communicated their leadership roles more accurately. The adjectives used by the interviewees to describe themselves included confident, curious, willing to learn, empathetic, empathic, enthusiastic, caring, nurturing, compassionate, sensitive, strong and capable.

Each and every interviewee, except Adrienne, spoke about how they had matured as leaders through the years. When Sheila first started guiding with school groups over twenty years ago, she felt that she was hired as 'the token female.' The policy of the school board at the time specified that a female leader must participate in every school outdoor education activity. She viewed this as a type of 'reverse discrimination' and wanted to be more than the 'token female.' She diligently worked to become recognized for her abilities as a 'professional guide.' Sheila has become more relaxed and confident in her leadership role. She is able to
laugh with the group and at herself more easily and she appreciates the value of different perspectives in the decision-making process.

Jane's formative canoe tripping experiences as a youngster at camp greatly influenced the type of relationship she strives to obtain with her working partners today. She has consciously tried to model an alternative to the stereotypical gender roles she initially observed between the 'male guide' and the 'female counsellor'. The male guide was responsible for her physical safety and the female counsellor was responsible for her psychological safety or higher order needs such as self-respect and self-expression. Even at that age of fifteen she was aware of these stereotypical gender roles and how important it was to break it and model an alternative.

Anna initially found the role of guide intimidating. When she was first asked to lead trips she thought "You have to be kidding, who me?" She remembered fighting against her feelings of inadequacy and feeling driven to 'study up' on the local natural history before each trip. As Anna became more comfortable with what she had to offer, she was able to process those feelings of inadequacy in a different way. Rather than see herself as someone who was inadequate she chose to identify those moments as opportunities to further develop her knowledge. As Anna stated,

> When I feel comfortable within myself, when I stop the self-doubt routine, I can share that with the group, in a relaxed way, a humble way, but not a demeaning way. It's your approach to your own lack of strength. Now I'm clear about what I'd like to contribute. What I know I can contribute. And when the occasion arises where I know that I have very little to contribute, instead of feeling badly, I say: "That's okay, that's his or her area of strength." I give myself permission to be idle, and to learn without the insecurity and feelings of inadequacies. I don't think that I do anything differently, but it's how I feel inside that has changed for the better. I've chosen to process things differently. (4-4)

Anna has come to fully appreciate that her greatest strengths as a leader are her curiosity, her enthusiasm, and her ability to empathize and her willingness to learn. These are the very qualities that she feels enable her to effectively facilitate a positive experience for participants.

> It takes a lot of finesse to get the group to click. This is a crucial part of the leadership role. For most of my life I have under-estimated those intuitive things. Curiosity, enthusiasm, empathy. But now I appreciate it fully. It can make a difference to the people on a canoe trip, between having a really good trip. And often they can't verbalize it. They just have good feelings about the trip. Because pathways have been swept clean to allow people to connect, and to draw on other peoples' strengths, and realize their own strengths. (4-2)
I learn by asking lots and lots of questions. It's how I learn. It's how I try and make sense of things. And I always don't know where it will lead. It's very exciting not knowing. It pushes me forward, my curiosity. And I think my curiosity and my willingness to learn is very strong in drawing other people in. (4-8)

The more she guided the more she became curious about what other people had to offer and she realized that she could take more of 'the we role versus the I role' (4-2).

Ellen remembers that when she first started guiding, she only had one viewpoint, and in retrospect, considers herself to have been naive. Now that she has had the opportunity to work with more people and learn other perspectives, she sees herself as a 'complete leader'. Her confidence in herself has improved tremendously. She can now recognize what she is capable of doing as well as accepting what she is not capable of doing and feels comfortable in involving the whole group in the decision-making process. At the same time she enjoys the sense of control that accompanies her decisions.

Lynne attributes the development of her self-confidence as an individual and as a leader to the physical and mental nature of her accomplishments on a wilderness canoe trip. Over the years, Lynne feels she has become more communicative and more perceptive of her surroundings. She believes that she is now able to step back from the group and involve the whole group in the decision-making process as a result of her growing confidence. She stated,

The physical and mental part of canoe tripping has helped me to develop my self-confidence. It's knowing that you have the endurance to do something and the mental strength as well. Your accomplishments are so much more visible. It's a start and stop kind of thing. You are about to do something and you feel that you can't do it, but then you do it. You can see what you have accomplished. You're feeling this every day. In the city it's not so cut and dry. (8-4)

Emily and Anna value the perspective they acquired from beginning to lead wilderness canoe trips as adults. Similarly, Michelle values the perspective she obtained from her early canoeing experiences. All three of them identified how their experiences are similar to many of their students or participants who enter into the wilderness or are learning to canoe on moving water for the first time. They feel that their formative experiences allow them to closely empathize with the participants and they are able to use their experiences to help the participants overcome their fear or discomfort. Furthermore, their experience enables them to
recall the specifics of what helped them to feel more comfortable, and are therefore, more certain of what they need to do to put someone else at ease.

The one thing that I do value about my lack of experience is that it gives me empathy. Having gone through this transition as an adult, I’m aware of it, I can articulate it, I can use it, when I’m facilitating. I have empathy that’s right up close to the surface. I know what it feels like when someone is scared. I’m not an expert. I’m not a superwoman. I’m not that far removed from the people who are there. So it can be a real advantage too. (3-4)

I myself, can totally empathize with having those fears, and the bid not to let them be overpowering. The challenge is not to let those fears become debilitating obstacles. So my vulnerabilities make me empathic. They allow me to facilitate someone through what they’re feeling. Because I’ve been there. I can recognize someone’s fear, and try to address it, because I know that it can be immobilizing. (6-5)

Similarly, Sheila and Anna consider themselves compassionate and sensitive to how other people and especially other women are feeling. Sheila commented how “I can allay people’s fears, especially other women. I have a sense of compassion or understanding if there is an unease, in helping them to come to terms with that and turn it into a positive” (1-2). Anna especially feels she can identify “the tentativeness in other woman because in her role as a canoe trip leader, she has felt tentative and she has had to work hard to overcome it. “We can coach them along and because of our own experience we are able to identify what the positive catalyst will be” (4-3). Similarly, Jane believes that nurturing is an inherent characteristic of being a woman. She stated, “I’m very nurturing as a leader, and I don’t know if the woman comes out in that way. I can’t believe how many people have said: “How well looked after they felt, or how cared for”. Generally, as women, we tend to be very caring and nurturing people, it’s part of our make-up” (2-1).

Michelle sees herself as a confident and competent paddler who does not consider herself to be an anomaly in the male-dominated sport of canoeing. Occasionally, she will notice that she is the only female on the river but it is not something that dominates her experience.

I don’t see myself as being an anomaly as a leader, guide, or instructor. ...I don’t see myself as a female player in this predominately male sport. I don’t see a difference. --- But every once in a while I’ll look around and say to myself, “I’m the only female instructor here or paddler here.” And every once in a while I’ll notice how skewed or unbalanced it is. But it’s not something that dominates my experience. I feel quite at home in the wilderness, and don’t see it as an extraordinary thing that I’m there. I’m there because I have the competence and the skills to be there. I also respect and acknowledge the limits
of what I am capable of doing. People have different strengths and abilities and I respect that. It is not a level playing field. (6-2)

Everyone reported feeling a profound connection between what they do as wilderness canoe trip leaders and who they are as individuals. To illustrate this connection, Jane said that, 'For me, they mesh. I teach who I am. The way I am as a teacher, leader, guide, whatever, is coming from within here' (she points to her heart) (2-3), and Michelle and Adrienne referred to the amount of 'soul' they invest in their role as a wilderness canoe trip leaders. Similarly, Michelle feels personally responsible when her students are continually frustrated or bored and will question what she might have done to guide their experiences in a more positive way. Alternatively, she feels successful when she has helped her students experience breakthroughs in their learning. Lynne hopes that if she ever lost that personal sense of involvement she would realize that it was time to stop guiding, and move on to something else.

All of the interviewees recalled when they were unable to 'muscle a manoeuvre' on the moving water or lift a canoe over their heads using 'brute strength'. Instead, they identified the need for finding another way to accomplish the same thing by relying on their paddling or lifting techniques. A high regard for the technical skills and 'finesse' required in paddling was identified. Anna stated, "Women have to concentrate on maximizing their technical skills, being able to read the water, to work with the river. Women have to use the river's strength and their minds to help make up for this [lack of physical strength]" (4-5).

**Guiding Role**

Sheila and Jane bring a sense of history and culture to their wilderness canoe trips. They plan a trip with built in 'quiet time' for participants to reflect on their experiences, and on those who have travelled through the area long ago. They will set aside time to visit an old ranger cabin or walk through an old growth forest hoping that these side trips will prompt participants to wonder about those that lived in the area long ago and to explore their current relationship to the natural world. Jane likes using canvas packs and wooded wannigans, believing that there is something culturally distinctive about doing things in a traditional manner.

Everyone commented how important it is to set time aside for people to just experience wilderness. "To not feel that they are rushing down the river, ... that the goal is not the main
thing but it's all those experiences along the way" (1-1). "People must have time to re-establish a connection to their surroundings and savour 'the moments ' along the way.' It's not so much the destination that is important, but the journey itself " (2-5) that they emphasize.

Anna feels that the role of a guide is to communicate our responsibility towards protecting the natural world. She stated, "I want them to walk away feeling a sense of stewardship with the natural world. ... If one person walks away with a deeper awareness of our relationship with the natural world it will have been worth it" (4-1).

All the interviewees endeavour to actively involve the entire group in the whole experience of the trip so they leave feeling they have accomplished something as an individual and as a member of the group. A critical part of the leadership role is helping participants to believe in themselves by creating situations in which they will succeed. Anna echoed the thoughts of the others when she said,

To be an effective leader, if you're imparting information, it's important to make people feel that they are responsible, they can be as knowledgeable, and more so than the person who's giving out the information. They can take that and do wonderful things with it. You want to make them feel they can do that. It's so simple to buoy people up. They have the power. You just have to let them know that you know that they can do it. To believe in someone else. You help them to believe in themselves. So in many ways all you do is set the scene. They do all the work. (4-1)

Similarly, everyone reported how important it is for everyone to develop the skills to be self-sufficient and competent in the out of doors, regardless of gender. Jane strongly stated that,

It was important to me that I knew how to do everything. I didn't see much point to canoe tripping if all I knew how to do was carry a wannigan and plan a menu. I wanted to know how to find wood, how to keep people safe, how to read the map. When I lead trips it's my desire, my mission, to ensure that participants are self-sufficient and competent in the out of doors. I think it's important for everyone to know how to do everything. (2-3)

Jane, Emily, Anna, Michelle, Ellen and Lynne believe that role modelling is an effective teaching tool. Consequently they are very aware of the way they present themselves and the things that they say and do. Participants will often see them do something or say something and then start doing the same thing without having asked them to do so. They find that they
can take participants beyond the stereotypical gender roles by modelling the alternative with their working partner. As Lynne stated,

You have to be really aware of the roles you set with your co-leader. That's something I always do. Basically, we decide which activities will be taught by the male and female leader. He'll teach how to cook, and I'll teach how to light a fire and search for wood and teach the white water techniques. Sometimes who does what depends on who has the most experience, but more often it's based on trying to get the participants to realize that cooking isn't just what the females do and lighting fires isn't just what the males do.

On white water there can be a huge power dynamic with males teaching white water. If they take on teaching the white water, from then on all the questions will be directed to the male. Even if your skill is less, you would still take on that role because you are teaching at a very basic level. So even if the males cooking skills weren't that high, they would still teach it from the start.

So I'll be the one who lights the fire or teaches the white water and he'll be the one who teaches the cooking. ... And that just breaks all those stereotypes so quickly and sets the tone for the whole trip.

Ellen does not agree with the concept of co-guiding, preferring there to be one person who has ultimate responsibility and charge. She believes that the leader-assistant leader relationship is far more effective, particularly in emergency situations. At other times she will negotiate who will be the principal leader versus assistant leader with her working partner. Who plays what role does not always depend on who is most knowledgeable. Sometimes Ellen will give the assistant leader the primary leadership role so they can learn how to become a leader. As Ellen stated: “To give them that control is a great way for that person to know that you trust and believe in that person. It really boosts the person’s confidence. The only time you know you can do it is when you’ve done it“ (7-6).

Sheila, Jane, Emily, Anna, Michelle, and Lynne value the complex nature of ‘taking a group of people into the bush' and the processing skills that are required to manage the group effectively. They believe that building positive group dynamics is a crucial leadership role. More specifically, Anna believes that women have been socially conditioned to be intuitive and she values the interpersonal skills women guides have for effectively dealing with a group. She stated,

Female guides have strengths that are so important when dealing with a group. We underestimate the intuitive strengths that we have, that we have been conditioned to use all our lives. It takes a lot of finesse to get the group to click, and I think women do that intuitively. We are empathic. Just keeping the family happy around the home fire, we learn to pick up vibes. We’re conditioned to read body language. We can tell when someone is
tired. The touchy feely stuff is where women shine. So a women can bring all this emotional awareness into the group. I think women are often more skilled at creating an environment, a feeling, an atmosphere, a personality in that group.

All the interviewees considered the facilitation of the participants learning a key leadership responsibility. Towards this end a number of strategies or techniques were identified. Lynne finds that the uniqueness of each trip is in trying to understand the group and applying the most appropriate tools for that particular group. “A lot of the time it’s trial and error, it’s about willing to try out different things and to learn from what worked well and why something didn’t“ (8-6).

Sheila, Jane, and Anna feel that it is important to begin the trip by identifying what participants want to accomplish on a trip so they can help them achieve their goals. Building on this, Anna encourages participants to share their objectives with the entire group, believing that the whole group and not just the leaders can help to facilitate the participants’ goals.

Emily and Lynne believe that the development of physical skills can be used to facilitate the interpersonal and intrapersonal development of an individual. They spend much of their time helping the participants to process their experience so that they come away feeling that they have personally accomplished something and contributed to the goals of the entire group. Planned debriefing sessions with the entire group are an inherent part of these trips, where their roles as process facilitators are an expectation of the organization for whom they work. Alternatively, Lynne believes that a lot of the processing of experience is informal and takes place privately within the mind of the individual. Ultimately, she feels that the informal debriefing is more important for only it has the potential to continue long after the formal debriefing has ended.

Emily and Lynne spoke about how some participants have a tendency to idealize their instructors on a wilderness canoe trip. It is something that they do not encourage, believing that it minimizes who the participants are and what they have to contribute. Emily stated,
Emily also finds that her 'lack of perfection' as a guide and as a human being, helps participants, especially women participants, to value those things about themselves that are not as perfect as the world sometimes expects them to be. As she stated,

Every time I'm myself, I think it makes a difference. It's important for people and particularly women to see it especially in the wilderness. Maybe that's partly why I value my lack of perfection. If someone can see that in me, and that I'm out there because I love being there, then maybe they will value something about themselves that isn't as perfect as the world sometimes expects us to be. What I give people is the space not to be perfect. This relates to me as a woman, because it's more likely for me as a woman to show up that way, than it would be for a man. God forbid that I'm playing into stereotypes. What I'm trying to do is to be real, to be honest. And I'm willing to do that even if it doesn't make me look good.

All the interviewees described their leadership style as variable and dependent on the specifics of each situation. Specifically, Sheila, Adrienne, Michelle, and Ellen commented how a direct approach is necessary especially around white water or during an emergency. When the safety of an individual or the group is involved, or when the timing is critical they will immediately make their decisions without involving the group in the decision-making process. But they like to seek out the opinions of others, when time allows, believing that the decision will be better the more perspectives that are considered.

Every title and every adjective used by each interviewee to describe the leadership role on a wilderness canoe trip always contained a strong educational component. To illustrate this point, Anna commented how important it is for "the leader to create an atmosphere where the learner is bound to discover things for themselves. It's the process of discovery that is so exciting and powerful to experience and so wonderful to watch" (4-5). The leadership style used to accomplish this atmosphere by the interviewees was described as "leading from afar" (7-1), or being "the guide on the side rather than the sage on the stage" (2-3). Similarly, Ellen defined the role of guide as someone who quietly leads, and believes that this approach to leading is often more powerful than someone who directly informs someone of what they should do. More specifically, they deeply value the importance of providing participants with experiential learning opportunities. All the interviewees commented how important it is to give participants the opportunity or time to learn something on their own or to 'figure things out for themselves' before offering suggestions or assistance. They spoke about striking a balance between offering their help when required, as part of helping that person to grow and not 'taking over and doing it for them.' Remaining sensitive to the potentially empowering or
disempowering outcomes associated with these different scenarios was identified as being a critical role of the outdoor leader.

Sheila, Jane, Anna, Michelle, Ellen, and Lynne spoke about the importance of taking full advantage of the many informal teaching occasions on a wilderness canoe trip. While they feel it is important to thoroughly prepare for a trip, they must also be flexible enough to take advantage of the 'teachable moment.' As Ellen stated,

In guiding you have to go for the teachable moment. Like when a hawk flies overhead, you stop whatever else you are doing and pay attention. You have to be flexible. It really helps if you are flexible, so you can take advantage of what experiences come up along the way. You have to take advantage of the moment. That's what canoe tripping and guiding is all about. (7-5)

Research Question 2
What challenges do these women guides experience on a wilderness canoe trip?

Perceptions of Women Guides

Jane presented a historical perspective of the ways in which women who travelled into the wilderness were perceived. Frances Ann Hopkins (1838-1919) travelled with the voyageurs as the wife of the Governor's secretary of the Hudson's Bay Company during the last days of the Canadian fur trade. She portrayed her travels with the voyageurs in sketches, paintings and engravings. She often depicted herself sitting in the centre of the great canots du maitre beside her china wearing a genteel hat. “She was definitely an observer. That was the role that was given to her. Just to sit there. Her husband sat as well. That was the nature of the trip. The voyageurs worked and the bourgeois sat. But it was still really neat and very uncommon for her to travel so deep into the wilderness” (2-4).

Mina Benson Hubbard (1870-1950) travelled to Labrador in 1905 of her own volition to complete the work started by her husband who had died of exhaustion and starvation two years earlier while attempting to map the Nascaupee and George River systems. She initiated, organized, financed and made the vital decisions during her uncharted 550 mile journey to the Hudson’s Bay post on Ungava Bay. Yet in the tradition of the time she travelled as a passenger instead of actively participating in the expedition. “When they went to shoot a set of rapids she had to sit in the middle. Like they didn't trust her. They didn't think she was capable. The point is that although she wasn’t skilled, no one even thought that she would be keen to learn“(2-4).
Jane believes that some of our current attitudes towards women outdoor leaders are “left over from the way women were viewed during the Victoria era. Women we’re seen as the weaker sex who were obliged to behave in a prim and proper way” (2-2).

All the interviewees believe that leading wilderness canoe trips is not considered ‘the norm’ for women. They found the manner in which their families perceived their involvement in canoe tripping challenging and problematic. They felt that their families never fully understood why they wanted to guide wilderness canoe trips and they questioned the wisdom of their choices. As an example, Anna stated,

They could never understand why I would want to spend my holidays doing this. Their attitude, they could never truly understand why I would want to flog through muddy portages and carry these canoes and put myself at risk. And come back tired and all mud brown from all the exercise. My father used to say: “Why don’t you do something nice, go to a hotel and sit by the pool. “You’re a grown woman.” That used to drive me nuts. “You’re a mother of three. Haven’t you considered that? What would happen to your children if you were injured?” ... I didn’t do it to put myself at risk and I’ve worked hard not to. And part of this was learning these foreign job responsibilities, so that I could be competent. It was a great learning situation. If you do this you’re wonderful. But it’s conditional approval. He wanted me to be confident and to know that I could handle things as long as the anything was approved by him. I realized he was very much a traditional man.

What did your mother think?

She thought it was bloody ridiculous. That lack of support from them used to really bother me.

When Sheila first started guiding with school groups over twenty years ago, she found it challenging when her employer did not recognize the inherent value of her leadership participation. Similarly Adrienne referred to a summer camp for girls that refuse to send out two women leaders on a long canoe trip to this day.

Michelle finds it challenging when some people are surprised when they learn that she is in a leadership position alone with another woman. She believes their surprise stems from a perception that physical strength is required for leading wilderness canoe trips. However subtle these perceptions may be they are still palpable.

Having worked with a female co-leader on fifty-day trips last year and this year, people ask you: “What are you doing for the summer?” They will ask you: “Who are you guiding with? " And often it’s very subtle. I always subtly feel their surprise, wondering where the male leader is. They see this small woman and think that it would be a more secure situation if a male leader were going. My perception is that people find security in physical strength and wonder at, are surprised about the absence of a male presence. People assume that individual physical strength is required in what we do and it’s a safer situation. Parents
often have that concern. It's really subtle. And I don't know if I'm projecting that onto them, or it's coming from them. My intuition suggests that it's coming from them. My experience is that there is collective strength and support in a group. I do not put a high value on individual strength. I encouraged people to do what they are capable of doing and to respect their physical limits.

Michelle believes that it is important to examine the underlying reasons why a male participant may offer his assistance. In some instances, it may stem from a genuine expression of co-operation or concern that you are overextending yourself, or it may stem from a belief that a woman should not carry heavy loads. When she is able to manage independently she will inform them that she does not require assistance hoping they will come to appreciate what she is capable of doing. On the other hand, she will graciously accept their assistance when it is required.

In some instances, Michelle and Adrienne feel challenged by the way some people will gravitate towards their working partners more vocal leadership style and fail to recognize their more subtle style. They strongly feel they are making a contribution in their own way and it is not their role to convince people of the merits of their more subtle style, however difficult this may be. Michelle, stated, "It's really tough mentally to have to go through that sort of thing" (6-5).

Jane, Anna, Adrienne and Michelle are challenged by the way some participants tend to judge women outdoor guides more critically than men outdoor guides. Sometimes Michelle and Adrienne feel that participants need to see them perform before they are able to earn their confidence, and once their confidence is earned it is also more difficult to maintain. They find it can be difficult to be in a position where women are judged more critically.

... Perhaps they're dubious about your competence. And you get a feeling that they are watching you to assess your competence or your skills. There is no "carte blanche." Once you have performed then they are right behind you. Some may remain dubious however, and if you slip up at all you get the feeling that you've proven them right. It's a difficult place to be, because not everyday is going to be a right on kind of day. And when you have them being very critical, they conclude that you're not as capable. ... You feel like you have to perform for these people, and it can be a very difficult position to be in. People tend to judge women in a leadership position more critically.

A female client came over to me at the end of a trip and told me that at first she thought, "What are we going to do with two Girl Guides". [We laugh] Her perceived notion before coming on the trip included some angst. - - - I always have to earn ... [the participants] respect. When a male leader comes into the scene, they get instantaneous respect. "I respect and trust you right away". As a female, I have to work to gain that. And sometimes
I can gain it if they are open to it, but other times they have shut the door from the very beginning.

These anecdotes do not universally apply to Michelle’s experience, but they do represent the challenging experiences she has encountered in discrete instances and the experience of other woman with whom she has spoken. In either case she felt they were worthy of comment.

More specifically, Michelle and Adrienne are challenged by the way some participants believe that male and female paddlers are judged by different criteria. Michelle stated,

The idea that you could be a really good female boater and that’s different from being a really good male boater. That perhaps there’s a different scale. That isn’t the case. But that’s a lot of people’s perceptions. - - - Often these comments come from men who comment on your skills as a female boater.

Adrienne does not begin a trip assuming a passive role with the participants or her working partner but she feels that this is how she is perceived. She recalled how participants frequently direct their questions about trip logistics such as map reading and river morphology to the male leader, even when she is more knowledgeable in these areas.

This past summer Adrienne was assigned to lead three trips with another woman, and believed that all the difficulties she had experienced when leading with a male leader would suddenly vanish. But she was mistaken. Many of the participants routinely questioned their decisions and frequently chose not to listen to them. She recalled,

They didn’t listen to us. There were a couple of older gentleman and a couple of younger professionals from Toronto. They treated us like the two little girls who were cooking their meals along the river for them. Numerous times they’d question our decisions. We had a dump and a rescue, and it didn’t happen like textbook. And they questioned whether we knew what we were doing. We then had to do a river crossing to get to our hike, and they chose to cross at a more dangerous spot then we had said. ... Given the recent bail, that evening we emphasized the need to dress for the cold, even though it was a very hot trip. One man asked, “Are you loosing your nerve?” I explained that it had nothing to do with that, but everything to do with being properly prepared for the river.

Anna also finds it difficult to move beyond the stereotypical gender roles due to the way she is perceived by participants and her working partner but also because of the expectations she has of herself.
Often the roles that you assume on a canoe trip are based on the way you’ve been socialized. You just carry the roles you have in the city into the bush. Your freedom to choose your roles are also restricted by how you are perceived by the participants and your co-leader, and the expectations you have of yourself. It can be very difficult to try something different or unconventional.

What would unconventional mean to you?
Unconventional for me would be not assuming the main responsibility for food preparation. I find it easier to establish those boundaries at the start of the trip, with my co-leaders. What I’d like to do versus what I’m used to doing.

Anna remembered feeling surprised by the intensity of her response when a man at the marina did not think she would be able to handle a particular boat. She came to appreciate that wanting to work in a male-dominated arena was a stronger motivating factor than she had realized. And although she derived a great deal of satisfaction from her role as a canoe trip leader, she always felt pressured to perform. She stated,

One trip that I led was on a houseboat with a group of women. I had never been on a houseboat before. I choose the most difficult houseboat in the marina because the man said he didn’t think I could handle it. It really bugged me that a man would assume that I wouldn’t want to try a more difficult one. The challenge was there. And I don’t think that he saw what he said as a challenge.

Did you realize at the time that you saw it as a challenge?

I remember feeling surprised by how indignant I felt and how aggressively I reacted. The intensity of my response really surprised me. Wanting to work in that male-dominated territory was a stronger button than I ever acknowledged. But given that outlet, I came to realize how great I felt. And that you’re walking on, not forbidden territory but in a male-dominated activity. This is very sweet in it’s own right. It’s nice to know you’re into the old-boys network. There’s a bit of snob stuff there. - - - Women can do it just fine even though there’s more pressure on us to perform. It’s like women in upper management. There’s a lot of hidden pressure, and it’s only when we step back out of it that we can say: “Wow, that’s a tough arena and I really wanted to break into that arena.”

**Establishing Credibility**

Sheila, Jane, Anna and Adrienne spoke about the internally and externally imposed pressure they experience to establish their credibility as women outdoor leaders. You will recall that Sheila diligently worked at becoming recognized for her abilities as a professional guide rather than the token female guide with the school board over twenty years ago. Anna stated that, “We’re always proving to ourselves as well as the world. The biggest pressure is proving to ourselves that we can do it” (4-3). As Jane stated,
I think as women, establishing your credibility is always in the back of your mind. When I lead trips, I always make sure that everyone sees me do everything at least once. There’s that fine line between not wanting to do everything for the group, but at the same time you have to establish that credibility. They have to see you carry a canoe to know that you can do it.

But at the same time, Anna and Michelle remind themselves how important it is not to let this dominate their experience. As Michelle stated, “I will make my contribution in my own way and if people want to recognize that, that’s great” (6-9).

**Relationship with Working Partner**

Jane, Emily, Anna, Michelle, Adrienne, Ellen, and Lynne believe that successful leadership depends on the relationship they have with the person with whom they are leading. Their relationship with their working partner can positively or negatively influence the entire leadership experiences, as well as the participants’ overall experience of the wilderness canoe trip. On one occasion, Lynne found the leadership experience painfully lonely when she was not able to ‘talk things through’ with her male working partner during a long trip. Generally, Adrienne finds the men with whom she has guided, have not been sensitive to the gender issues she has experienced, nor have they appreciated her teaching style. She recalled the response she received when she addressed how she was feeling with her male working partner:

... I got into a gender debate with my male co-leader, and it was probably the worst summer I’ve had. He couldn’t see that when I would go to explain the days hike or whatever, then he would come and say the exact same thing in different words. Or I’d say something, and the clients will look to him and he’d say “Yea”, and then they’d go “Okay.” This totally undermined what I had just said. He didn’t see it as a male and female issue. He thought it was about personality. There was only one woman who picked up on this. She was a woman who ran a leadership centre in the States. She was the only one to see this dynamic happening, while everyone else thought we were the best team. I definitely think leading with a male co-leader is more challenging. (5-4)

If he had something to teach or say, he would bring the whole group together. He was quite disturbed that I would never take the opportunity to teach the group. But I taught them in a different way. One on one, or while something was happening, while the experience was going on, as opposed to a formal structured time. I don’t think he saw what I did as teaching. (5-5)
Ellen recalled that at a certain point in her development as a leader, she recognized that she had to start leading with someone other than her male 'canoeing mentor.' She believed that she would not be able to further develop her leadership skills within this relationship, believing that her mentor found it difficult to take the back seat when she was leading.

Anna found it more challenging leading with her husband finding it was more difficult to learn about those things that he has always done. The roles that each of them had assumed after thirty-two years of marriage, prevented both of them from developing their leadership skills in the other's domain. An element of guilt in her voice was evident when she stated that, "As a canoe trip leader, I learn more, — I learn more when I trip with someone other than my husband" (4-5).

Finally, Lynne and Adrienne referred to the ways in which gender influences the working partner relationship and how they prefer leading with other women.

I much prefer to lead with another female. I'm a lot more comfortable with them. There's a much more affectionate bond between two female leaders from the start and participants pick up on this right away. And you can see that spill into the rest of the group where things become more open much more quickly. With men initially, this is very difficult to achieve. There's always this kind of weird wall between a female and male co-leader at the start. This eventually dissipates when both put in the effort to communicate and express themselves freely. It's just a lot easier leading trips with another woman. (8-2)

**Technical Skills versus Interpersonal Skills**

Sheila, Jane, Emily, Anna, Michelle, and Lynne, recognize that the technical skills are essential for securing everyone's safety on a wilderness canoe trip. But they challenge the industry for placing excessive value on the technical skills at the expense of the interpersonal skills, which stands in direct conflict with their personal perspectives. They all made the point of saying that when they see someone who is accomplished in the technical skills they cannot also assume that they are effective leaders. Emily supported the thoughts of the others when she stated,

As much as I love the technical skills and I'm working hard to further develop them, I have a real belief, I must remember to develop my soft skills. The hard skills take me into a place in which I can develop the soft skills and not the other way around. I'm trying to hold onto my value of the soft skills, of facilitation, of listening, of being empathic, of being self-aware. (3-2)
Sheila, Jane, Michelle and Lynne equally emphasise the hard and soft skills in their practice and believe that the Ontario Recreational Canoeing Association (ORCA) instructors should place greater emphasis on teaching the soft skills needed to effectively manage a group of people. At the same time, they believe that the soft skills are more difficult to teach.

Emily especially finds the competition and hierarchy surrounding the technical skills objectionable. She adamantly resents feeling that she must obtain these credentials in order to feel that her skills are ‘valid and validated.’ Furthermore, she deeply resents how women are obliged to obtain these credentials when they did not contribute to their development. She stated,

Would it be truly empowering for you to strive to achieve by getting those credentials, getting that experience, or whatever, when it’s somebody else’s rules? I would guess that ORCA is a set of masculine created rules. So I have to ask myself, on the one hand it’s taking a stand for my skills by getting that certification. On the other hand I’m playing by their rules again, just like everywhere else in the fucking world, playing by someone else’s rules, someone else’s game, that they made up. I wasn’t asked for my input in creating the whole thing in the first place, but for me to feel valid and validated, I have to go and do what I’m supposed to do.

Emily and Anna’s commitment to developing their expertise is clearly evident. Emily more than Anna strongly questioned the value of an externally imposed credential system that has very little to do with whom they are as individuals or indicative of their effectiveness as leaders. Emily stated,

So we invest our time, our energy, and our money, in meeting someone else’s expectation, so that someone else can read my resume and measure who I am. As opposed to valuing my knowledge in demonstrating who I am. It’s the same in the corporate world. Women are playing by male rules. The whole system was set up based on men’s experience of life. And women are getting in there because they are determined, because they are bright and want to succeed, and they deserve to succeed. But what makes me mad about it is that they are still playing someone else’s game.

I know what I know. I know that every time I do something, I’m developing skills and learning, and developing my expertise. I’m committed to it, I’m bright, and I know I can learn. Why do I need to aspire to an externally imposed credential system that has very little to do with who I am inside. I feel that I’m being forced to play someone else’s game.
Learning Obstacles

Emily and Anna described the challenges they encountered when obtaining their swimming credentials with a group of children when they were adults. They believe the learning obstacles they experienced were very different from the learning obstacles that the children experienced. Ultimately, they believe that it is more difficult to feel secure about what you learn when you are an adult. Emily stated,

It’s different when you start as an adult. It’s different for me at age twenty-six to be in a bronze cross class with a bunch of fourteen-year-olds. Here’s me in swimming lessons at the age of 26 and a bunch of fourteen-year-old boys and girls. And I have all these feelings about myself, my insecurities about myself. Do I have the physical condition to be able to swim however many laps I’ll have to swim? I’ve had a history of body issues and an eating disorder my whole life. To be this big adult women, with breasts, and hairy, in a class with all these kids, was a real challenge for me to get myself there, to get this qualification that I needed. My experience was assuredly very different from someone who has taken swimming lessons all their life. - - - My experience was very different. It forced me to go back an re-examine my body issues, and I’m ultimately glad for the opportunity. But it was very difficult. And I’m very proud of myself. That’s just one example of how different it is to start something like swimming or canoeing as an adult. You face very different learning obstacles. It’s feels less natural to feel secure about what you know. The age at which you start is significance.

Similarly, Anna always had to fight against her feelings of inadequacy when she first started guiding trips as an adult. It was not until she was able to practice the new skills she was learning and learn from her mistakes and successes, that she was able to put aside those self-doubts.

Research Question 3

What supports do these women guides experience on a wilderness canoe trip?

Experience of Wilderness:

Emily, Anna, Adrienne, Michelle, and Lynne spoke about their profound experience of the wilderness. They emphasized the physically, emotionally, and spiritually restoring powers of the wilderness, and reported feeling a deep contentment that they fail to experience anywhere else. Building on this, Emily believes that one becomes physically, emotionally, and spiritually reconnected with the natural world on a wilderness canoe trip.
Both Emily and Lynne reported experiencing themselves more intensely in the wilderness and enjoying whom they become in this environment. Lynne experiences a sense of freedom where for instance, she is able to dress the way she wants to dress and 'truly be the person that she wants to be' (8-4). Emily stated that,

On a canoe trip there's something about being in that environment, being in the wilderness, being on a journey, that is powerful, unexplainable, wonderful. And it takes who you are and multiplies it so that it's close to being an expression with the reality of the person. What I mean by this is that for myself, I'm more me. I feel more like myself out there than I do anywhere else, and it feels really really good. It's not better but it's fuller, I feel myself more, I'm funnier. All the things that I am, I'm more. (3-1)

Additionally, Emily finds that when she is not surrounded by reflections of herself or conventional representations of what society thinks she should look like, she is better able to experience herself 'from the inside.'

When I'm out there, there aren't any external reflections of me, no mirrors, no windows, magazine representations, whatever. There's nothing staring back at me to tell me who I am, or who I should be, or who I'm not. I get to view myself from the inside, as much as I ever can. There's something very powerful about that for me as a women and as a woman with a history of a eating disorder, and huge body image issues. And I don't think this sets me a part from other women in that way at all. That's part of the power of the experience. As much as I feel more fully myself when I'm out there, I also feel that that's reflected in my physicality. I'm strong. I'm healthy. I'm beautiful. I'm what I'm supposed to be. This is natural. There's no trying involved. And that's a brilliant feeling. (3 4)

Emily was the only interviewee to comment on feeling vulnerable in the wilderness when she has not been ‘out there' in a long time. She must ensure that she takes the time she needs to become re-acquainted with the natural world in order to re-establish a comfortable connection.

**Experience of Wilderness Travel**

All the interviewees believe there is a profound difference between travelling in the wilderness as opposed to travelling through the wilderness. In other words, they value the perspective of 'the journey' or being able to live in the moment. As Adrienne stated,
When I'm out there for extended periods of time, away from a city or a town, surrounded by a wild landscape, there's so much more. It's another level that I like to live on. When I'm 'out there', I go into a different headspace. Life is broken down to its simplest forms. The art of travel. I have to eat and I have to sleep. I'm where I am. I'm travelling in the wilderness. I can live in the now, something that I don't do very well here. There's, nothing that's more important than what is happening that day. There are logistics, but its still living moment to moment, and I really enjoy that. After day six there is a definite difference in people. They can finally leave that baggage behind them. They are finally where they are. And the end is not close enough for them to think about where they are going back to. So everyone can be here. The group comes together in that particular place. Whereas, the last few days of the trip, you're paddling to the end. And I've led trips that are always paddling through the bush, towards the end, towards the destination, and never live in the middle. Never thought of it as a journey. I try to get people to slow down. It's the journey that I enjoy. The bush is teaching you something.

All the interviewees reported trying to live each trip independently from the trip before, and to have that sense of wonder regardless of how many times they may have travelled down the same river. They referred to how a wilderness canoe trip helps them to focus on what is truly important in life. As Sheila stated, "You shed a lot of the problems and superfluous things that we get caught up in our day to day life, when we're out there" (1-1).

Sheila, Jane, Anna, and Lynne believe that women's participation in wilderness canoe tripping has positively influenced the entire experience of wilderness travel, by slowing down the pace and reducing the drive to get from point A to point B. As Anna stated, "Women want to linger and see what's in between. Women slow things down. - - - They've added another dimension to the whole experience of being in the wilderness" (4-5).

All the interviewees described how they rely on themselves, the people with whom they are travelling and the collective wisdom of the group throughout the trip. As well, they believe that canoe tripping has dramatically influenced their lifestyles in a positive manner. Lynne recalled,

You learn so much. You really have to rely on who you are and use the resources that are around you, and the people that are around you to get everyone through it. It's a very intense experience. ... It affects you for the rest of your life. It becomes a lifestyle. - - - I know that I have to make plans but I'm also able to make decisions on the spot. I'm able to live in the moment more, because of what I've learned from tripping. (8-1)

Emily, Anna, and Lynne become more aware of their physical bodies and more appreciative of their physical strength and abilities on a wilderness canoe trip. They derive great satisfaction in knowing that they have accomplished an activity that was highly physical.
Additionally, the physical and mental endurance associated with canoe tripping has helped them to further develop their confidence. As Anna stated,

> It's one of the few times when I really connect to how strong I am. I really enjoy feeling my muscles becoming stronger. You feel strong and agile. I love feeling the weight of a heavy pack or a canoe, and knowing that I can carry it. You see what you have accomplished every moment on every trip. I've come to appreciate and enjoy my physical and also my mental endurance. (4-5)

**Perceptions of Women Guides**

Sheila, Michelle and Adrienne believe that some people are aware of how their gender stands in contrast to the stereotype of the traditional outdoor leader and are impressed with their technical accomplishments. As Sheila explained,

> It's the stereotype. In the past the canoe trip leader was this big bearded guy, and then when you see average sized lady who can do these things it doesn't really fit the norm. I'm probably treated a little differently. In the town of Fort Simpson, the Bush Pilots just look and you can tell that their quite impressed that this little lady can do this. I'm not the sort that brags about it. It's just my job. And I'll take the canoes down to the floatplane and drop them there. It's like I don't want to be treated special necessarily, but you can tell out of the corner of their eyes, there thinking this is neat. (1-3)

Anna commented how women participants are more accepting of her leadership role because “they know how much harder it was for a women to have pursued that role” (4-3). She also believes that women participants rely on women outdoor leaders to give them the reinforcement they need to do what they want to do. “When they respond to me they know I'm in a special situation. I'm the deciding vote that gave them the courage to try” (4-3). Everyone referred to the way women participants’ value the way women outdoor guides facilitate their learning. Specifically, they believe that it is important for women for them to see how women can paddle competently down the river without having to rely on strength. Jane and Anna stated,

> I think they can relate to someone of their own sex. They can see them use the technique without having to rely on the muscle. Women have placed more emphasis on the technical skills of canoeing. In these outdoor environments we think that a lot of it depends on brute strength. White water paddling is a perfect example of finesse and technique, and just the right tilt. Being able to read the water, to work with the river. In any kind of physical skill, it's always great to see how a woman does it, you can relate to it more. You can see yourself doing it. Like flipping a canoe. They're able to do that because they're a man. But when you see a woman doing it, you think "I can do that too." It's very motivating and positive to see other women do what you are going to learn. (2-1)
**Women-only Wilderness Canoe Trips**

Sheila, Jane, Emily, Michelle, and Lynne commented on the unique atmosphere they have experienced on women-only wilderness canoe trips. This atmosphere has stood in stark contrast to the atmosphere on mixed-gender trips or ones that were dominated by men. Sheila highlighted the content of many of the conversations and the activities that she feels women on women-only trips are more likely to pursue.

Often on a more male dominant trip the talking would be more about business kinds of things, it’s really bizarre, why that gets discussed? What the doctor’s were doing in Ontario, I would just think “Holy Smokes, here in the middle of nowhere. On all female trips many women have a real desire to share their experiences, how the canoe trip is affecting them. They’re more likely to write the journal, or to do the sketching, just wonder what happened here before. There’s a different intensity. (1-4)

Similarly, Sheila, Jane, Emily, Michelle and Lynne highlighted the unique perspective women have towards the wilderness which they believe is emphasized and experienced more easily on women-only trips. Jane stated,

Sometimes there’s that “*Man Against the Wilderness*” thing. And a group of men tend to get a bit competitive with each other. The purpose of being out there is to test themselves, and to prove their strength, and they’re ability to conquer the natural world. They can rough it, they can do without, sort of *take* it! Women are more interested in learning skills and to appreciate it, and to live comfortably. To enjoy themselves out there. *Really enjoy taking* in their surroundings. Learn about the landscape. That sort of thing. But that’s incredibly general, because I know a lot of men in the community who would fall into the other category. These are trends and stereotypes. (2-1)

Sheila, Emily and Lynne strongly emphasized how women-only trips provide women with significant learning opportunities. There is more opportunity to experience roles that are traditionally performed by men, such as *steming* (steering) the canoe, and lighting a fire. As Sheila stated,

The thing that irks me the most is when a couple comes on a trip and it’s automatically assumed that the women will take on the “female” role. I try to work very hard that that mould is broken, at least for part of the time, so that both the man and the woman get a chance to experience the whole trip and not just the trip from the bow of the canoe. That’s what I find these women only experiences are critical for. Women get the opportunity to be out there. And you find an incredible amount learning and growth for the
women on those particular trips. I’m very keen on continuing to provide these learning opportunities for women. (1-4)

Lynne believes that when there are two men leading a trip women are intimidated and are less likely to fully participate. She also relayed the experience of a male colleague who leads men-only trips.

A male guide who has led all male trips told me that there is a strange dynamic. It turns into this ‘boys club’ and proving yourself, who’s the better rock climber, who can carry the most on the portages, who has the best jokes, who has the best stories. There’s a lot of competition to be the best. A lot of male instructors really tire of that. When there are two males instructing on a trip the females tend to feel a bit more closed to putting in an effort, or really trying. They feel a little intimidated whether they say it or not. (8-5)

Sheila, Emily and Lynne also commented on the collaborative and the less competitive environment of these trips. They give women the opportunity to learn something new without feeling the pressure to perform or that their performance will be judged. Overall, they find these trips empowering for women and for themselves, since one is able to freely play both traditional feminine and masculine roles. As Emily recalled,

The all woman trips that I’ve led seem to be more empowering for the women than on other trips. Women get to explore and try out roles based on just what they are, based on what they want to do, such as lighting a fire, putting up a tarp, etc. What all women trips do is to clarify a whole bunch of stuff, because there is no question about gender roles. Because there is only one gender there, it is very liberating because what you do isn’t determined by your gender. ... So when a woman is playing both of those roles, for some reason it's more empowering. The freedom of a single gender environment is that you don’t have to think about your gender all the time. (3-2)

Emily, Adrienne, and Lynne find that they do not experience the same kind of pressure to perform as guides on women-only trips, believing that women better understand ‘where they are coming from.’ As Adrienne recalled,

Last spring I had this group of [male] solo boaters, and I was much more stressed, because they wanted to have that big macho guy who was going to show boat for them and show them the stuff. So trying to meet their needs was definitely a harder thing. I felt like I was always being watched to make sure that I was adequate for what they needed. The women that I taught this spring were somehow more accepting of me and I didn’t feel they expected me to show boat for them at all. They were wanting me to teach them how to work with the river. (5-1)
Finally, Lynne believes that women-only wilderness canoe trips give women the opportunity to 'go off on their own' without feeling afraid, unlike the way many women feel when going off on their own in the city.

There aren't any fears, at least not the same kinds of fears women have a lot of in the city. Like you don't go for a walk on your own when it's dark. In some places it's not even safe to go there even during the day. You keep an eye, an ear out for what's around you. The guy on the other side of the street. There's this fear, this constant looking over your shoulder type of thing. On a canoe trip you can go for a walk or sit on a rock all by yourself, without having to keep watch. Women know that nothing terrible will happen to them if they go off on their own. There's a real sense of safety and comfort in knowing this. 

Valued Encounters

Sheila, Anna, Michelle and Ellen deeply value facilitating a positive experience for a participant and witnessing their satisfaction when overcoming personal challenges. As Michelle stated,

What I find valuable as a teacher and a guide is facilitating peoples' experience. And I get this incredible satisfaction seeing people make these break-throughs. Having things come together for them, or seeing them get really excited about meeting their personal challenges. Seeing people grow and learn things and realize things - That to me is really rewarding. To be a part of that experience. To have facilitated that experience. ... When people have breakthroughs, I feel that I've been successful in some way, in helping them to realize that. 

More specifically, Sheila and Anna value those times when they were able to help women participants to believe in themselves, and those times when participants, especially women participants, were very appreciative of their leadership strengths. As Anna recalled,

People have written me letters, and they're all in my memory box, and when I have down days, I read them because I find them very reinforcing. Not to meet my ego needs but to get confirmation that the path that I've chosen to take in life, is also helping other people. I really want to know that I've made a positive difference to their lives.

Running the rapids, my most precious highs are running the rapids with people, especially women who said "Oh God, I don't want to do it, please don't ask me to do it, it's scary and I don't want to embarrass myself." It's so important to buoy people up. They have the power. You just have to let them know that you know that they can do it. To believe in someone else. You help them to believe in themselves.
All the interviewees have an immense appreciation for the human dynamics on a wilderness canoe trip and the skill that it takes to manage those dynamics effectively. They value the endless potential for learning in this complex environment. As Jane stated, “The human dynamics and the management of groups is such an intricate process that's played out in a complex environment, that the potential for learning is infinite” (2-3).

Sheila, Jane, Anna, Michelle, and Lynne value the opportunity they have had to personally connect with the people on a wilderness canoe trip and the energy they receive from being a part of a community with like-minded people. Sheila especially enjoys interacting with adults, valuing ‘their openness to the learning experience’ of a wilderness canoe trip. She values the co-operative and interdependent way people work with each other towards a common goal. As Michelle stated,

I think there is something to be said about being a part of a community. It's being with a community of like-minded people that gives you energy while you give them energy. It's a very positive thing. ... For me I really like connecting with people, establishing a personal connection with people is stimulating. When your in an intimate group environment like the one on a canoe trip, people start to open up, and share on a more personal level. ... I’ve had some positive personal relationships come out of this environment. (6-4)

Jane values the legacy of those individual's who have shaped her past and continue to guide her present and her future. Her non-stereotypical gender attitudes and her traditional camping methods stem from the relationships she had with her guide at summer camp and an eighty-two year old female tripper who was guiding commercial trips in Algonquin Provincial Park in the nineteen-thirties, respectively.

Lynne and Ellen reported feeling closer to the person with whom they are guiding than to anyone else on the trip. They value this closeness believing that when the leaders are close there are fewer challenges on the trip. She appreciates how at least one of her male working partners encouraged her, by providing her with the space and time she needed to further develop her skills.

He gave me the space to get up in the morning before everyone else, because he knew I got a big kick out of starting the fire. That was a big thing. He was flexible enough to know that that was something that I wanted to get practice with, especially in the damp morning. I wanted that time to do it, and he gave me that time. It's such a little thing but I will always be appreciative of ... [him] for encouraging me, and giving me the opportunity. Just as I do with the participants. He gave me the opportunity to try. (4-4)
All the interviewees value what they have learned about their strength of character from guiding wilderness canoe trips and feel that they are who they are as a result of their leadership experiences. As Anna stated,

"It was a wonderful reinforcement, a reaffirmation of the self. I discovered a strength that I had always wondered about. I dig in my heels and keep on. I can push myself, physically and mentally, I can withstand a lot, before I call it quits. I tend to be quiet about hanging in there, but I do. So I learned a lot about my strengths, and I liked what I learned about me, I really did. --- On a profound level I am who I am because of these leadership experiences." (4-4)

Overall, they derive a tremendous amount of satisfaction and come away from the experience with a tremendous feeling of accomplishment. They commented on the intricate character of the canoe tripping and leadership experience and the infinite potential for lifelong learning. Experience was identified as being the most important mechanism for further developing their leadership skills. Anna stated that, "until you are able to practice and learn from your mistakes, there's no way around that early self-doubt" (4-6). Jane stated,

"Experience counts for so much in this business, it really does. So much of this is about managing people. The human dynamics and the management of groups is such an intricate role, that's played out in a complex environment, that the potential for learning is infinite. There's a real skill to that and it takes a lot of experience to be intuitive to realize when something isn't quite right. Often it's textbook to know what to do when there's a medical emergency. When someone is missing. But when it's with people, you have to sort of feel your own way. It's such an intricate role that's played out in a complex environment." (2-3)

Emily and Lynne find the debriefing sessions that they attend with their working partners and employers following a trip, a useful strategy for constructively addressing the problems that they and/or their working partners have encountered. They feel that these sessions provide them with a safe opportunity to identify issues that might otherwise go unrecognized and unresolved.

Sheila, Emily, Anna, Adrienne, Michelle and Lynne believe that they would have benefited if they had had more opportunities to network with other women guides earlier in their development. They find many of the women guides with whom they speak have experienced similar challenges and they feel an implicit sense of community with other women guides as a result of their common experiences. Building on this, Jane recalled the value of her relationship
with her mentor and believes that these kinds of relationships would be beneficial throughout one's leadership career.

**Conclusion**

A collated perspective of the eight interviewees' individual and collective experience has been presented without comment or analysis. This presentation was meant to give a detailed background for the discussion to follow.
CHAPTER V

Analysis of Findings

Introduction

How does the lived experience of the interviewees’ compare to the outdoor education literature? The findings presented in Chapter 1V will now be compared from the point of view of the literature already discussed in Chapter 11. The collective experience of the women guides will be highlighted using the following theoretical models to frame the analysis. 1) Group Leadership Theories, 2) Outdoor Leadership Development, and 3) The Interpersonal Skills.

By way of an introduction, there were a variety of settings that were described by the women in this study. These included: 1) Mixed-gender groups that were guided by a woman and a man, 2) Mixed-gender groups that were guided by two women, 3) Mixed-gender groups that were guided by two men and 4) Women-only groups that were guided by two women. The findings indicated that these settings influenced their wilderness guiding experiences in a variety of different ways.

Group Leadership Theories

Many of the counterproductive dimensions of the group leadership theories discussed by Jordan (1991, 1989) clearly emerged from this study. More specifically, gender-biased perceptions were found to influence the degree to which these women were encouraged to become wilderness canoe trip guides and ultimately, the degree to which they were accepted as credible leaders. The sources of these gender-biased perceptions included: 1) Family members who questioned the wisdom of their career choices, 2) Employers who failed to recognize their competence and the inherent value of their leadership participation because they were women, 3) Male working partners who failed to understand and help diffuse the gender-biased group dynamics and, 4) Parents and participants who failed to recognize and respect their leadership competence because they were women.

Just as the literature predicted, the women in this study felt that it took them longer than their male working partners to be accepted as outdoor leaders on mixed-gender trips (Jordan, 1991, Miranda and Yerkes, 1987). Recall that Jane, Adrienne and Michelle felt that participants
first needed to see them demonstrate a skill before they were accepted compared to their male colleagues who were granted immediate respect. As Jane stated, “They have to see you carry a canoe to know that you can do it” (2-4). When participants only want men outdoor leaders who are highly competent in the technical skills as the literature suggested, women outdoor leaders will not be readily accepted regardless of their expertise in any area. Jane, Anna, Adrienne and Michelle commented that they find it difficult to be in a position where they are judged more critically because they are women.

The participant who thought, “What are we going to do with two Girl Guides?” exemplifies many of the implications of these gender-biased perceptions. Although Adrienne’s leadership experiences are more closely aligned with these dynamics, there was evidence to suggest that it is a familiar chord in a minor key for everyone else as well. I was startled by how Adrienne’s descriptions of her leadership experiences loudly echoed the practical implications of the gender-biased perceptions presented by Jordan (1991). Recall the manner in which participants frequently directed their questions on trip logistics to the male leader, even when Adrienne was more knowledgeable in this area and how the participants would ‘look to him’ to validate what she had just said. The manner in which her male working partner contributed to these dynamics by repeating what Adrienne had just said in different words is noted.

The women in this study used many of the strategies that were cited in the literature to move beyond the gender biased perceptions that they experienced and to establish their credibility as outdoor leaders: 1) They negotiated the roles that they would play with their male working partners on mixed-gender trips. The non-stereotypical division of labour that they modelled was intended to teach participants that men are not the only ones capable of lighting fires and women are not the only one’s capable of cooking, 2) Sheila, Emily, Adrienne and Lynne chose to lead women-only trips where they could play both traditional feminine and masculine roles more freely, 3) Adrienne and Lynne developed a preference for leading trips with other woman leaders on mixed-gender trips were they were able to establish a comfortable rapport with their female working partner more easily, and 4) Emily and Lynne relied on the powerful experiences of themselves in the wilderness on women-only trips. More specifically, when they were not surrounded by the visual reminders from society that dictate male standards of beauty, they were able to connect with and accept themselves for who they were more easily. As Emily so poignantly stated,
"When I'm out there, there aren't any external reflections of me, no mirrors, no windows, magazine representations, whatever. There's nothing staring back at me to tell me who I am, or who I should be, or who I'm not. I get to view myself from the inside, as much as I ever can" (3-4)

Their experiences of themselves in the wilderness describes the ways in which the wilderness environment on women-only trips facilitates a release from the confining influences of gender-biased perceptions and points to a rationalization that is supportive of Wilderness Therapy.

While Jordan (1991) and Miranda and Yerkes (1987) considered how gender-biased perceptions of women leaders influence their leadership experience, they did not recognize the gender-biased perceptions that women outdoor leaders have of themselves and how they too influence their leadership experience. Anna directly, and Emily and Lynne implied, how the freedom to choose the roles that they play are restricted by the manner in which they have learned to perceive themselves. These auto-perceptions draw attention to the need to thoroughly address the meta competencies of the leadership experience from the leader's perspective. It also highlights an important gap in the group leadership theories. That is, your effectiveness as a leader is determined not only by how the leader and follower perceive each other, but also by how the leader and follower perceive themselves.

**Outdoor Leadership Development**

While the gender-biased perceptions that these women experienced may have been confining as the literature and the findings from this study suggest, they also acted as a catalyst for improving their leadership skills. They believed that if they were to grow and be accepted in their leadership roles they would have to move beyond them. For example, when Jane saw the stereotypical division of labour exhibited by her camp counsellor and guide, she made it 'her mission' to become self-sufficient and competent in the out of doors. Anna was motivated to learn 'the foreign job responsibilities' to ensure her safety and that of her children when her parents objected to her leadership involvement, believing that she (and not her husband who also guided) was putting her children at risk. Sheila was motivated to develop her leadership skills so she would be recognized as more than the 'token female'. Anna was challenged to rent 'the most difficult boat' because the man in the marina doubted her abilities.

All the interviewees were highly accomplished, having the provincial and/or organizational leadership credentials to support this. What drove them to these heights of accomplishment?
They likely pursued the provincial credentials because they believed that the skills that they expected to acquire would prepare them to be competent but also help them to establish their credibility as outdoor leaders in the minds of their employers, working partners and participants. What about Emily and Anna who only pursued the credentials associated with their respective organizations? If they were any less competent or qualified as outdoor leaders the findings did not support this. Rather, they strongly identified themselves as self-directed learners who would be able to learn what they needed to know on their own. Furthermore, Emily and to a lesser extent Anna, resolutely rejected the provincial certification system believing that it epitomized everything negative about the hierarchy and competition surrounding the technical skills. A more subtle form of rejection of the formal certification scheme was found in the way most of the other women deeply valued the interpersonal skills, something that they believed the provincial organization did not value.

The changing perspective towards their limitations throughout their careers that many of the women in this study experienced was not addressed in the literature. The findings point to a crescendo in leadership development that I have called the stages of intimidation, acceptance, appreciation, utilization, and revelation. While Anna’s leadership maturation is most closely aligned with this crescendo, it can also be found to a lesser degree within everyone else’s experience. Over half of the women remembered feeling intimidated by the prospects of guiding a group of individuals into the wilderness when they first started. Next, they came to accept their limitations. Every woman in this study recalled not being able to ‘muscle a manoeuvre’ on the moving waters or hoist a canoe over their heads using ‘brute strength’ like some of the men with whom they travelled. Following this, they came to appreciate their limitations as opportunities to further develop their knowledge. As Anna stated, “I give myself the permission to be idle and to learn without the insecurity and feelings of inadequacy” (4-4). Similarly, everyone identified the need for finding a way to paddle through ‘big water’ by relying on paddling technique or ‘finess’ instead of strength. Next, Emily, Anna, and Michelle were able to utilize the memory of their formative learning experiences in their leadership roles. As Emily so aptly stated, “Having gone through this transition as an adult, I’m aware of it. I can articulate it. I can use it when I’m facilitating” (3-4). Finally, Anna, Emily and Lynne were able to reveal their limitations to the group in a relaxed, humble and non-demeaning way.

The literature did not address the unique learning obstacles that Emily and Anna experienced. Recall how Emily bravely persevered in spite of the profound challenges she
encountered as an adult, when obtaining her swimming credentials with a group of children. Both Emily and Anna believed that individual's who have learned to swim or canoe as children will always demonstrate higher levels of confidence than those individuals' who have learned how to swim or canoe as adults. They emphatically believed that the age at which you start to learn how to swim or canoe is significant. Interestingly, unlike all of the other women in this study they were the only ones without the provincial canoeing credentials. Their memories of their formal adult training experiences and their anticipation of experiencing something similar possibly deterred them from pursuing other formal training scenarios. Alternatively, one is prompted to conclude that the provincial credentials serve to instil leadership confidence based on the high levels of confidence of the women who had the provincial canoeing credentials. One thing is clear; the learning obstacles that adults encounter are different from the learning obstacles encountered by children.

Most of the women spoke about how their leadership style was more autocratic when they first started to lead and became more democratic as they matured and started to guide, a transformation that was not observed in the literature. But Henderson and Bialeschki (1987) did identify that women leaders were inclined to lead by sharing their power with group members. Such statements as "leading from afar" (7-1), or being "the guide on the side rather than the sage on the stage" (2-3) expressed their mature approach. Similarly, all the women described how they came to rely more and more on the wisdom of the people with whom they were travelling as they gained experience. Improved self-confidence was the only factor they identified as being responsible for their shift towards a shared leadership style that was participant-centered.

A closer examination of the leader-follower relationship is warranted. The simple juxtaposition of the words leader and follower prominently implies a hierarchical relationship. The pervasive use of the term's leader and follower throughout the literature was evident. The behavioural, situational and conditional leadership theories recognized the power of the leader, who chooses the amount that they involve the followers in the decision-making process and the amount of influence they have over the group. As well, the potential power differentials that exist between the leader and follower when the follower is feeling vulnerable (Mitten, 1995) or when the follower regards the leader as a superwoman (Warren, 1985) was also identified. Given the deeply rooted dimension of power within the leader-follower relationship, it is
unfathomable that the literature on the conceptual skills in particular did not at the very least, recognize the power associated with the leader who is responsible for making decisions.

Miranda and Yerkes (1987) identified how the women in their study, like the women in this study, rejected the term leader in favour of the term guide and facilitator but they did not explain their findings. The findings in this study point to a connection between those who are inclined to lead by sharing their leadership power and those who reject the term leader in favour of guide and facilitator. In other words, the distribution of leadership power is another way of distinguishing the difference between the term leader and guide or facilitator. Overall, the leadership theory literature was aligned more closely with a leadership-centered style of leadership, whereas the women in this study aligned themselves more closely with a participant-centered style of leadership.

Dewey's (1938) descriptions of the organization of the learning experience are extremely relevant for this analysis. He stated, it “is not the will or desire of any one person which establishes order but the moving spirit of the whole group” (p. 56). And “the planning must be flexible enough to permit free play for individuality of experience and yet firm enough to give direction toward [the learner's] continuous development of power” (italics mine) (p. 58). These descriptions of the leader are closely aligned with how the women guides in this study shared their decision-making power with the group. Dewey also described how the leader, who is responsible for the design of a flexible learning environment, must balance a respect for the learners' individual freedom without abdicating the leadership role. The findings strongly support how the women guides were able to achieve this balance. Recall how they spoke about striking a balance between offering their help when required, as part of helping that person to grow and not taking over and doing it for them. They believed that remaining sensitive to the potentially empowering or disempowering outcomes associated with these different scenarios was a critical role of the outdoor leader.

I believe that the women in this study were very much in tune to both the power and authority that went along with their leadership status. Ellen straightforwardly addressed this by citing how she enjoys the sense of control that accompanies her decisions and how at times she will give the assistant leader [her leadership] control 'so they can learn how to become a leader'. This implies that first, she was aware of the power attached to the leadership role, secondly, that the leader has control to give away and thirdly, that giving the power away is an effective way of facilitating the recipient's sense of autonomy. As a whole, the decision-making
processes that the women in this study used substantiated the devolution of the leader’s power and authority.

A contrast in values suddenly emerges for these women guides who have chosen to share the decision-making power with the participants in an industry that values a leadership-centered decision-making approach. The women should be encouraged by the behavioural leadership studies performed by Lewin, Lippitt, and White (1939) who demonstrated that the democratic style of leadership generated the greatest participant initiative and a willingness to work as a member of the group. This outcome is compatible with the facilitation of the autonomous and responsible participant that the women in this study endeavoured to achieve. Therefore, the democratic leadership style that they chose was well suited to their leadership objectives. It should not be forgotten that the fact that these women have chosen to share the decision-making process indicates that they continue to exercise some degree of leadership control. As well, they will never be able to completely abandon the status and power that accompanies their externally conferred leadership position.

Anna commented on how she came to appreciate that wanting to work in a male-dominated arena was a stronger motivating factor than she had ever imagined. To a lesser extent the others too felt a degree of satisfaction in doing something that not many women do. Consider Sheila, who derived some satisfaction from the way she was perceived by the Bush Pilots in Fort Simpson, or Michelle who did not consider herself to be an anomaly in the male-dominated sport of canoeing but occasionally noticed that she was the only woman on the river, and the way everyone appreciated the important role they played in showing other women how they could lift a canoe or paddle down the river without having to rely on strength.

The ways in which the women outdoor leaders in this study approached their leadership development reinforces many of the leadership training and development issues that emerged from the literature review. They recognized the limitations of the objective evaluation standards that only concentrate on the technical skills and ultimately fail to support the recognition of the interpersonal skills. They recognized the limitations of the leadership-training event that concentrates on what can be taught versus the leadership development process that concentrates on what can be learned. The leadership credentials that they obtained with the province of Ontario and/or with the organizations for which they worked, were seen as beginnings and not end points. Building on this, they clearly valued the critical role that
experience plays in their leadership development throughout their lives and look advantage of the many challenges and opportunities that they encountered.

The specific strategies that were identified for further developing their leadership skills included a protracted leadership development process, apprentice and mentoring relationships, and the opportunity to reflect on their leadership experiences and to network with other women throughout their careers. Ultimately, experiential learning was the most valuable learning strategy that they identified. As Jane stated, “Experience counts for so much in this business, it really does. So much of this is about managing people. The human dynamics and the management of groups is such an intricate role, that’s played out in a complex environment, that the potential for learning is infinite” (2-3).

The Interpersonal Skills

The women strongly associated themselves with the human relations expert who is able to sense “the psychological undercurrents that rule human behaviour” rather than the technical expert (Phipps and Swiderski, 1989, p. 223). Their strong sense of commitment to the interpersonal skills seemed to permeate all their facilitator-participant interactions. They reported how the technical skills associated with canoe tripping simply brought them into a place where they could further develop their interpersonal skills and not the other way around. This is not to say that they are not accomplished in the technical skills or that they did not value how the technical skills are necessary for ensuring everyone’s safety. But broadly speaking, a distinction can be made between what these women needed to know (technical skills) and what they wanted to know (interpersonal skills). They believed that while both skill sets served to substantiate their leadership competence they especially valued the way the interpersonal skills served to enrich their leadership experience.

Gilligan (1982) found that “women not only define themselves in a context of human relationships but also judge themselves in terms of their ability to care” (p. 17). Every woman’s description of her leadership role occurred within a relationship. The facilitator-participant relationship, their working partner relationship and even their relationship to the wilderness were the focus of all their interactions. The leadership titles that they used to describe their relationship to the participants included teacher, instructor, adult educator, experiential educator, adventure educator, guide, facilitator, role model and mentor. More specifically, it was the facilitator-learner relationship that characterized their interpersonal interactions with the
participants. To some degree they judged themselves in terms of their ability to care. Recall how they always focused on nurturing the learners’ development and how they did not distinguish between what they did as wilderness canoe trip guides and who they were as individuals. Although Michelle, was the only one to directly refer to how she felt personally responsible when her students either had or did not have a positive learning experience, one might cautiously extend this to the other women as well.

There was convincing evidence to identify the actions of these women facilitators with what Hug (1986) described as the essential actions of the leader of learners. Recall how they: 1) Established and maintained supportive interpersonal relationships with the learners, 2) Nurtured the learner’s natural curiosity, creativity, and desire to learn and grow, 3) Derived personal satisfaction from what the learners accomplished, and 4) Exhibited a positive feeling about their own worth and growth. It is important to observe how the women truly valued the growing independence of the learner by continuing to feel good about their leadership accomplishments even as the learners needed them less and less. In fact, this was their ultimate leadership goal.

They ironically expressed their sense of worth by appreciating how their vulnerabilities made them empathic and how they helped them to identify what would facilitate a positive learning experience for the learner. Just as the literature predicted, they believed that their revelation of their limitations would help the learners to accept their own imperfections or lack of knowledge. They also believed it would serve to help the participants accept the process of lifelong learning that they modelled, as legitimate leadership behaviour. Emily stressed the manner in which this revelation of imperfection benefited women participants especially. She believed that it helped women participants to value those things about themselves that are not as perfect as the world sometimes expects them to be. It is important to notice how these courageous women jeopardized their leadership credibility further, by revealing their limitations to followers who may only have wanted men leaders who were highly competent in the technical skills as the literature suggested.

A scan through the findings indicated that they spent an enormous amount of time talking about the social and psychological components of their interpersonal skills (Phipps and Swiderski, 1989 and Swiderski, 1987). At times they referred to the actions associated with these components. Their social actions included creating opportunities for participants to learn by identifying what participants wanted to accomplish on a trip and giving them the opportunity
to ‘figure things out’ for themselves before offering assistance. Their psychological actions
included managing the psychological stress of the participants by revealing their imperfections
thereby diffusing the myth of the superwoman and understanding and stimulating their
motivation by creating situations in which they would succeed. Their descriptions of the actions
associated with the leader of learners and the social and psychological components of the
interpersonal skills have started to challenge the literature’s allegation that the interpersonal
skills are amorphous and invisible.

Everyone was acutely aware of how their personal values stood in stark contrast with
what they believed the industry valued. They believed that the industry valued the technical
skills and outdoor technical training and significantly overlooked the interpersonal skills and
outdoor leadership development that they favoured. This echoes the palpable tension between
the interpersonal skills and technical skills that was identified in the literature. They responded
to this conflict in one of two ways. The majority of the women were committed to addressing
the topic of interpersonal skills with the students that they teach, despite the recognition that the
interpersonal skills are more difficult to teach compared to the technical skills. Emily, on the
other hand, responded to the conflict by rejecting the externally imposed credential system
altogether, believing that the credentials did not adequately reflect who she was. The fact that
Emily was the only younger woman who did not have any provincial instructing credentials now
takes on deeper significance. Her lack of provincial credentials is related to her feelings
towards the credential system rather than any lack of opportunity that she may not have had.

The findings strongly suggest that the women in this study were extremely comfortable
with the interpersonal skills of outdoor leadership. Overall, their profound comfort offers a
possible explanation for why this dimension of the leadership experience appeared to stimulate
them, far more than the technical skills of outdoor leadership.

Summary

Throughout the past two chapters the experience of eight women outdoor leaders has
been explored. Both their individual and collective experiences have provided rich insight into
our understanding of what their experience has represented. In the final chapter a summary of
the major outcomes of the study within the context of answering the research questions will be
presented. Finally, the implications of the findings and recommendations for further research
will be addressed.
CHAPTER V1

Conclusion

Answering the Research Questions

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this thesis was to compare the theory of outdoor leadership with the lived experience of eight women canoe trip guides. It was not intended to be a comparative statement that highlighted the differences between women and men guides, nor was it intended to provide a definitive statement on the experience of every woman guide.

Research Questions

1. What perceptions do these women guides have of themselves on a wilderness canoe trip?

2. What challenges do these women guides experience on a wilderness canoe trip?

3. What supports do these women guides experience on a wilderness canoe trip?

1. What perceptions do these women guides have of themselves on a wilderness canoe trip?

The women in this study clearly saw themselves as reflective practitioners and self-directed lifelong learners. They consistently applied these convictions to their personal and professional development throughout their leadership careers and took pride in the self-sufficient and highly accomplished women outdoor leaders that they had become. As women outdoor leaders of wilderness canoe trips they believed they were able to surpass to a great degree, the stereotypical gender roles usually prescribed to women in society at large and derived a degree of satisfaction in doing something that not many women do. They clearly saw themselves as technically competent but chose to view themselves as human relation experts rather than technical experts. They understood their own emotional and learning needs and valued the way they were able to effectively use their interpersonal skills to facilitate individual and group goals. At the same time they saw themselves as just one player who was responsible for orchestrating these goals. Finally, they considered themselves advocates for meeting the unique needs of women participants in the wilderness.
2. What challenges do these women guides experience on a wilderness canoe trip?

   A contrast in values was responsible for the many challenges that these women experienced. Everyone was acutely aware of how their personal values stood in stark contrast with what they believed the canoeing industry valued. They believed that the industry emphasized the technical skills, outdoor technical training, what could be taught and leader-centered leadership behaviours. They on the other hand, valued the interpersonal skills, outdoor leadership development, what could be learned and participant-centered leadership behaviours. The many sources of gender-biased perceptions that they experienced delayed and/or challenged their leadership credibility and enjoyment of the leadership experience. They felt somewhat isolated as women outdoor leaders and would have welcomed more opportunities to connect with other women outdoor leaders throughout their careers. But overall, the challenges that they experienced did not mitigate their positive feelings towards the outdoor leadership experience. In fact they used these challenges as opportunities to drive their outdoor leadership development and to facilitate the participants' experiential learning.

3. What supports do these women guides experience on a wilderness canoe trip?

   There were two broad kinds of support structures that they experienced. The first type was a connection to human beings (themselves and the people with whom they travelled) and the second type was a connection to the wilderness. Their values and beliefs were a source of support, especially when they believed they stood in contrast to the values of the canoeing industry. These included their firm commitment to the interpersonal skills of outdoor leadership, outdoor leadership development and participant-centered outdoor leadership behaviours. Finally, they deeply valued their capacity to self-direct their own learning.

   They were supported by their connections with the people on a wilderness canoe trip and the energy they received from being a part of a community. Their participant-centered leadership style testified to the manner in which they relied upon the wisdom of each group member. In fact they facilitated and relied upon groups that were leadershipful. Similarly, they were supported by the relationships they had with some of their women and men working partners. As well, they appreciated how they were recognized for being highly skilled in the interpersonal skills by their employers, working partners and participants. Finally, they valued how women participants especially supported them in their leadership roles.
They consciously relied upon the experiential learning opportunities on the wilderness canoe trip in order to continue their development as women outdoor guides. They specifically valued the collaborative, supportive and non-competitive learning environment on women-only wilderness canoe trips. They believed that it not only gave women participants, but it also gave themselves the opportunity to learn something new or non-traditional in a less competitive environment and alternatively to be highly skilled.

They valued their connection or relationship to the wilderness. They did not pursue the classical hero's quest that is physically oriented and essentially masculine but they valued a canoe trip that is socially oriented and essentially feminine. In other words, they focused on the internal journey rather than the external destination of the wilderness canoe trip and derived deep support and satisfaction from travelling in the wilderness as opposed to travelling through the wilderness. They welcomed how the wilderness profoundly influenced the way they experienced themselves and how the wilderness taught them to be wilderness travellers in their daily lives.

Implications and Recommendations

The leadership experience on the wilderness canoe trip is very different from the leadership experience in other settings. The factors responsible for this uniqueness include the remote and isolated location of the wilderness and the intensity of experience when travelling with a group of people for whom you are ultimately responsible without reprieve for an entire week. Every leadership action or inaction always contains very real and sometimes critical consequences to the emotional, physical, psychological and social welfare of every group member. Therefore, the role of the outdoor leader in this special setting should never be assumed lightly. Rather it should always be assumed with knowledge of the full responsibility of the outdoor leadership role.

Several valuable concepts emerged from the shared voyages of these eight women. These concepts are not intended to be broadly applied beyond the purpose of this study or to definitively define what needs to be done next. But they are intended to indicate areas that would likely benefit from further exploration. The concepts that emerged from this study pertain specifically to outdoor leadership training and outdoor leadership development strategies. The
implications are especially relevant for Outdoor Administrators and Outdoor Leadership Instructors.

1. Outdoor Administrators and Instructors should recognize the relevance and value of the unique experiential learning environment of the wilderness canoe trip as a developmental strategy for outdoor leaders. A shift away from the leadership training event that concentrates on what can be taught towards the leadership development process that concentrates on what needs to be learned throughout one’s outdoor leadership career should take place. Towards this end, the use of leadership development strategies such as, mentor and apprentice relationships, learning partnerships, field placements, journal writing and formal debriefing sessions should be explored.

2. Greater emphasis on the training of the interpersonal skills should take place despite the traditional claim that they are more difficult to teach. An industry that values the technical skills and overlooks the interpersonal skills of outdoor leadership is failing to recognize a significant and valuable portion of their human resource pool. More specifically, the entire profession is placed at a disservice by failing to recognize what women outdoor leaders have to offer in any substantive way. Furthermore, a technical safety certificate rather than a leadership certificate should be created in order to distinguish clearly between the technical and leadership skills of outdoor recreation.

3. The deeply rooted dimension of power within the leader-follower relationship that was recognized by the behavioural, group and situational leadership theories and the women in this study should be explicity addressed during conceptual skill training in outdoor leadership. Alternatively, the participant-centered leadership style that women outdoor leaders use to organize the learning experience should be honoured and given room to co-exist with the more leader-centered leadership styles that exist.

4. The many sources of gender-biased perceptions that exist in the field of outdoor recreation must be recognized and reduced. The manner in which these gender-biased perceptions significantly delay and/or challenge the leadership credibility and enjoyment of the leadership experience for women must be acknowledged. Extra support should be given to women outdoor leaders who most often experience the negative dimensions of these
gender-biased perceptions. However, attention must also be given to the manner in which men are constrained by stereotypical gender roles as well. Gender issues should be incorporated into outdoor leadership training curriculum. Administrators and men and women leaders should explore whether their own behaviours and that of the participants are directed by gender stereotypes. Women and men outdoor leaders should be expected to identify and diffuse these dynamics in the field.

5. The affective or meta competencies of the outdoor leadership experience should be acknowledged and valued. Leaders should be encouraged to concentrate and reflect on this dimension of their leadership experience. Additionally, outdoor leaders should be encouraged to both share and listen to this dimension of the leadership experience with their working partners in order to support each other better in their leadership roles.

6. Technical outdoor training programs that frequently teach adolescents and adults simultaneously in gender-mixed settings, must become sensitive to and constructively address the different learning obstacles unique to each and every subgroup in this setting.

7. Overall, the contrast in values between women outdoor leaders and the canoeing industry in general should be recognized and looked upon as an opportunity to re-assess the strengths and limitations of the current outdoor leadership schema.

**Recommendations for Future Research**

No one research study can hope to uncover all the meaning hidden within an individual woman's experience of guiding wilderness canoe trips. Many studies are needed to develop a common understanding of such complex phenomenon. Other courses of travel might ultimately serve to deepen our understanding and reveal other dimensions of women outdoor leadership.

1. Further inquiry is needed to explore the phenomenon of outdoor leadership. When and by whom are participant-centered and leadership-centered leadership styles more likely to be used? Furthermore how do the experience of women outdoor leaders compare with the
experience of women leaders in other settings? Such explorations could only serve to enhance our understanding of the leadership experiences of women in both domains and society at large.

2. Further investigation into the affective or meta competencies of the outdoor leadership experience should be performed in order to understand the undercurrents of the outdoor leadership experience more fully. Leaders might be requested to keep reflective journals during the course of a trip that would be analyzed along with the other data collected during the course of the research. These journals are likely to reveal the inner dimensions of the leadership experience that might otherwise be unobservable to the participant-observer. Additionally the journal writing would provide a formal mechanism towards fulfilling the reflective dimension of the experiential learning cycle.

3. Further research on the interpersonal skills of outdoor leadership is needed to define further, the actions associated with these skills. This will help the discipline of outdoor education to recognize and substantiate what many outdoor leaders value and begin to meaningfully evaluate the interpersonal skills of outdoor leadership.

4. Studies need to explore how the crescendo in women's outdoor leadership that emerged from this study compares to the literature on leadership maturation theory and to women's leadership maturation in other areas?

5. Future studies directed at comparing the outdoor leadership experiences of women with men could be revealing. The preliminary findings from an 'interview' that the researcher conducted with a man exploring his outdoor leadership experiences suggest there is a difference. As well, a man who read a portion of the thesis remarked that although he might not agree with everything that he read, he came away believing that women and men lead very differently from each other.

6. Further investigation into how both women and men are constrained by stereotypic gender roles is warranted. The literature concentrated on identifying how gender-biased
perceptions limit the leadership potential of women outdoor leaders. It did not consider for example, how men outdoor leaders who are highly skilled in the interpersonal skills but not the technical skills establish their leadership credibility. Nor did it acknowledge the role of auto-stereotyping in outdoor leadership. Attention must be directed to both women and men outdoor leaders who interact with each other and who may be similarly constrained by stereotypical roles and gender-biased perceptions. If we are to transform these gender-biased perceptions both perspectives must be duly considered.

7. Inquiry is needed to learn about the participant’s perspective of outdoor leadership from the participant’s point of view. The articulation of the participants’ perspective will likely provide meaningful feedback for improving outdoor leadership performance and help outdoor programs meet the needs of their participants more fully.

Some Final Thoughts

This research project has served to strengthen what I intuitively valued about the outdoor leadership experience and it has also served to de-personalize some of the challenges that I experienced in the outdoor leadership role. I am even more convinced of the rich experiential learning environment of the wilderness canoe trip and the critical role of the guide in this setting. I am curious to find out if and how the findings from this study are relevant to the leadership experiences of women in other settings. I am looking forward to future research opportunities that will incorporate participant-observation techniques. These techniques will likely enhance my current understanding of the rich interpersonal interactions on the wilderness canoe trip.
Appendices

Research Project Information

Dear Participant:

My name is Deborah Colman. I am a part-time student at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education at the University of Toronto in the Department of Adult Education. I am particularly interested in the processes of teaching and learning that occur outside formal institutions of learning. Currently, I am completing the final requirement for obtaining my masters degree by completing a research project.

The topic of my research is the guiding experiences of wilderness canoe trip leaders. This interest is directly derived from my personal experiences as a participant and as a leader on wilderness canoe trips. I would like you to participate in my research project. It will require about one hour and a half of your time. We will mutually agree upon the time and place for the interview. The content of the interviews will be strictly confidential. Your real name will not appear in the written paper which will be read and marked by two professors from the university, or in any published reports or oral presentations. A bound copy of the completed report will become part of the thesis collection at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education at the University of Toronto.

If you agree to speak with me you may withdraw from the interview at any time for whatever reasons. Although my conversation with you will be taped, I will be the only one to listen to the tape recording in order to transcribe our discussion. At the conclusion of the study, the tapes will be erased and the transcription will be destroyed. The completed paper will be made available to you upon your request. I do not anticipate that your participation in this study will result in any associated risks or benefits.

I am looking forward to talking with you, and learning about your guiding experiences on wilderness canoe trips. I will call you to finalize the time and place for our interview in a few days.

Sincerely,

Deborah Colman / Tel (416) 922-3963
INFORMED CONSENT

Research Project:
Guiding Dimensions of the Wilderness Canoe Trip

The interviewer has informed me that my name will remain confidential and anonymous throughout this study and thereafter. I recognize that the researcher will tape this interview in order to assist with the analysis of the information and that the tapes will be erased at the conclusion of the study. I am aware that my participation in this study will not result in any anticipated associated risks or immediate benefits. I am also aware that I may withdraw from the study at any time. Therefore, my signature below indicates my willingness to participate in the interview process.

Interviewee / NAME (Please Print) ____________________________

(Signature)

Witness / NAME (Please Print) ____________________________

(Signature)

Date: ____________________________
Interview Questions

1. Background Information: age, years of experience, certifications, affiliated organization(s), average number and length of trips per year, type of trips, geographical location of trips and average number of people per trip.
2. Tell me about how you became interested in guiding wilderness canoe trips?
3. Tell me about your guiding experiences on wilderness canoe trips?
4. What does the term outdoor guide mean to you?
5. What do you value about guiding wilderness canoe trips?
6. What have you learned about the role of the wilderness canoe trip guide?
7. What do you consider to be unique about leading wilderness canoe trips?
8. Has your sense of yourself as a wilderness canoe trip guide changed over time?
   Yes ____  No ____
   How has it changed?

Debriefing Session

9. What did you think of this interview?
Notes for Reading the Findings

italics: something that the interviewee emphasized with the tone of their voice or a gesture.

... words have been omitted in the editing.

[ ] words have been added in the editing

- - - participant paused before or after their words.

All 'ums' and false starts have been edited out of the transcripts for clarity.
Categories and Subcategories

Research Question 1
What perceptions do these women guides have of themselves on a wilderness canoe trip?

Self-perceptions:
Leadership Titles, Adjectives, Leadership Maturation.

Guiding Roles:
Technical, Interpersonal and Intrapersonal Skill Development
Facilitation of Learning
Role Modelling

Research Question 2
What challenges do these women guides experience on a wilderness canoe trip?

Perceptions of Women Guides:
Historical and Contemporary Perspectives
Evaluation of Competence
Technical Skills and Conceptual Skills
Gender-biased Perceptions

Establishing Credibility:
Internal and External Pressures

Relationships with Working Partner:
Men
Women

Technical Skills versus Interpersonal Skills:
Attitudes
Leadership Training and Certification

Learning Obstacles:
Adult Learning
Categories and Subcategories

Research Question 3
What supports do these women guides experience on a wilderness canoe trip?

Experience of Wilderness:
  Self
  Wilderness

Experience of Wilderness Travel:
  The Moment
  Group Wisdom
  Strong and Capable

Perceptions of Women Guides:
  Interpersonal and Technical Skills
  Women Guides

Women-only Wilderness Canoe Trips:
  Learning Environment
  Guiding Environment
  Emotional Environment

Valued Encounters:
  People
  Self
  Experience
Emily’s Profile

Self-Perceptions

Emily’s experience of the wilderness seems to highlight her experience of herself. She recalled:

I admit that when I haven’t been out there for a long time, and I first go back, for the first little while I’m not comfortable. I feel vulnerable, I feel exposed, I feel like I don’t have all my safe things around me, I feel vulnerable. But it takes me less and less time to get comfortable again the more experience I gain.

In the unnatural world I convince myself that it’s safe here [in the city] because it’s familiar and it’s the norm for how we live in our culture. So even though I believe that the natural world is home, when I’m away for awhile and then go back, it feels unfamiliar. I must first become re-acquainted with the natural world in order to feel comfortable.

(telephone conversation)

Once she becomes re-acquainted with the natural world, she experiences herself more intensely and immensely enjoys who she becomes in this environment. In fact, she feels more of herself, and more like herself in the wilderness than anywhere else.

On a canoe trip there’s something about being in that environment, being in the wilderness, being on a journey, that is powerful, unexplainable, wonderful. And it takes who you are and multiplies it so that it’s close to being an expression with the reality of the person. What I mean by this is that for myself, I’m more me. I feel more like myself out there than I do anywhere else, and it feels really really good. It’s not better but it’s fuller, I feel myself more, I’m funnier, all the things that I am, I’m more.

(telephone conversation)

Additionally, when she is not surrounded by reflections of herself or conventional representations of what society thinks she should look like, she is better able to experience herself ‘from the inside.’

When I’m out there, there aren’t any external reflections of me, no mirrors, no windows, magazine representations, whatever. There’s nothing staring back at me to tell me who I am, or who I should be, or who I’m not. I get to view myself from the inside, as much as I ever can. There’s something very powerful about that for me as a women and as a woman with a history of a eating disorder, and huge body image issues. And I don’t think this sets me a part from other women in that way at all. That’s part of the power of the experience. As much as I feel more fully myself when I’m out there, I also feel that that’s
reflected in my physicality, I'm strong, I'm healthy, I'm beautiful, I'm what I'm supposed to be. This is natural, there's no trying involved. And that's a brilliant fee (3-4)

Emily believes that as a facilitator, her role is to remain sensitive to the needs of the participants. As she stated, she does this 'by listening, paying attention, being empathetic, being visually aware of their behaviour, or aware of the signs of discomfort, of being lonely, of being afraid, or whatever. My goal is always to be as present as possible for much of the time as is possible ' (3-1).

Emily values the perspective she acquired from learning how to canoe as an adult. She feels that her experience is similar to many of her students who come into the wilderness for the first time. She feels that it allows her to closely empathize with those participants who are scared or who are uncomfortable in the wilderness, having recently experienced something similar herself. Her recent experience enables her to recall the specifics of what helped her to feel more comfortable, and is therefore, more certain of what she needs to do to put someone else at ease.

The one thing that I do value about my lack of experience is that it gives me empathy. Having gone through this transition as an adult, I'm aware of it, I can articulate it, I can use it, when I'm facilitating. I have empathy that's righ up close to the surface. I know what is feels like when someone is scared. I'm not an expert, I'm not a superwoman. I'm not that far removed from the people who are there. So it can be a real advantage too. (3-4)

Emily also finds that her 'lack of perfection' as a guide and as a human being, helps participants, especially female participants, to value those things about themselves that are not as perfect as the world sometimes expects them to be. As she stated,

Everytime I'm myself, I think it makes a difference. It's important for people and particularly women to see it especially in the wilderness. Maybe that's partly why I value my lack of perfection. If someone can see that in me, and that I'm out there because I love being there, then maybe they will value something about themselves that isn't as perfect as the world sometimes expects us to be. What I give people is the space not to be perfect. This relates to me as a woman, because it's more likely for me as a woman to show up that way, than it would be for a man. God forbid that I'm playing into stereotypes. What I'm trying to do is to be real, to be honest. And I'm willing to do that even if it doesn't make me look good. (3-4)
Emily spoke about how some participants have a tendency to idealize their instructors on a wilderness canoe trip. It is something that she does not encourage, believing that it minimizes who the participants are and what they have to contribute.

There is a real common possibility on a wilderness trip for people to idealize their instructors. That person has a relatively speaking a high degree of competency in a place where you may have very little. That's a scary place to be so you project some power onto someone else for your own security. Lots of people fall in love with their instructor because of the intensity of the experience and the differential that can be there in the skills. Not in a sexual sense but in a relational sense. This minimizes what they have to offer. I try not to put myself there, or to promote that kind of relationship. I try to remind people that what they have brought is of equal value.

Emily is aware of and appreciates how physically strong she is. She derives a great degree of satisfaction in knowing that she has accomplished an activity that was highly physical. She recalled: "There is a sense of my physical power, strength, and ability, and being able to look back, and to know that I have accomplished something that was very physical" (3-4).

**Challenges**

Emily found the challenges she encountered acquiring her swimming credentials as an adult were quite different from the challenges the children encountered when acquiring their swimming credentials. She believes that there are significant differences in the learning obstacles associated with each age. It may be more challenging to learn something as an adult than it is to learn something as a child. Ultimately, she believes that it is more difficult to feel secure about what you know when you are learning how to swim or canoe as an adult. As she stated,

It's different when you start as an adult. It's different for me at age 26 to be in a bronze cross class with a bunch of 14-year olds. Here's me in swimming lessons at the age of 26 and a bunch of 14-year old boys and girls. And I have all these feelings about myself, my insecurities about myself. Do I have the physical condition to be able to swim however many laps I'll have to swim? I've had a history of body issues and an eating disorder my whole life. To be this big adult women, with breasts, and hairy, in a class with all these kids, was a real challenge for me to get myself there, to get this qualification that I needed. My experience was assuredly very different from someone who has taken swimming lessons all their life. - - - My experience was very different. It forced me to go back an re-examine my body issues, and I'm ultimately glad for the opportunity. But it was very difficult. And I'm very proud of myself. That's just one example of how different
it is to start something like swimming or canoeing as an adult. You face very different learning obstacles. It's feels less natural to feel secure about what you know. The age at which you start is significant.

Emily's commitment to developing her expertise is clearly evident. However, she questions the value of an externally imposed credentialling system that she considers to have very little to do with whom she is.

I know what I know, I know that every time I do something, I'm developing skills and learning, and developing my expertise. I'm committed to it, I'm bright, and I know I can learn. Why do I need to aspire to an externally imposed credentialling system that has very little to do with who I am inside. I feel like I'm playing someone else's game.

Emily challenges the industry for placing excessive value on the hard skills at the expense of the soft skills, and finds the competition and hierarchy surrounding the hard skills objectionable. This stands in direct conflict with her personal perspective.

As much as I love the technical skills and I'm working hard to further develop them, I have a real belief, I must remember to develop my soft skills. The hard skills take me into a place in which I can develop the soft skills and not the other way around. I'm trying to hold onto my value of the soft skills, of facilitation, of listening, of being empathic, of being self-aware...

Emily recognizes that the hard skills are essential for securing everyone's safety on a wilderness canoe trip. However, she resents feeling that she must obtain these credentials in order to feel that her skills are valid and validated. Furthermore, she deeply resents how women are obliged to obtain these credentials when they were not included in the development of those credentials.

Would it be truly empowering for you to strive to achieve by getting those credentials, getting that experience, or whatever, when it's somebody else's rules? I would guess that ORCA is a set of masculine created rules. So I have to ask myself, on the one hand it's taking a stand for my skills by getting that certification. On the other hand I'm playing by their rules again, just like everywhere else in the fucking world, playing by someone else’s rules, someone else’s game, that they made up. I wasn't asked for my input in creating the whole thing in the first place, but for me to feel valid and validated, I have to go and do what I'm supposed to do.

Supports

On all female trips, she believes that women appreciate being with competent women who are emotionally and physically strong. Emily appreciates the less competitive environment
of all female wilderness canoe trips, and how it gives her and other women the opportunity to
learn something new without feeling the pressure to perform or that their performance will be
judged. Overall, she finds these trips empowering for women and for herself, since one is able
to freely play both the traditional female and male role. As Emily recalled,

The all woman trips that I've led, seem to be more empowering for the women than on
other trips. Women get to explore and try out roles based on just what they are, based on
what they want to do, such as lighting a fire, putting up a tarp, etc. What all women trips
do is to clarify a whole bunch of stuff, because there is no question about gender roles.
Because there is only one gender there. It is very liberating because what you do isn't
determined by your gender. ... So when a woman is playing both of those roles, for some
reason it's more empowering. The freedom of a single gender environment is that you
don't have to think about your gender all the time. (3-2)

Emily believes that on a wilderness canoe trip one can become physically, emotionally,
and spiritually reconnected with the natural world.

We are back where we should be. I think we have a real connection with the planet, with
the earth, and beyond and we forget about that and get disconnected from it in a physical,
emotional and a spiritual sense, when we are in man-made civilization. When we get
back out there we get happily reconnected to something that we are a part of. (3-1)
The Ontario Recreational Canoeing Association

Canoeing Program Progression

MASTER INSTRUCTOR

LAKEWATER INSTRUCTOR TRAINER

LEVEL III INSTRUCTOR

LEVEL II SOLO

MOVING WATER INSTRUCTOR TRAINER

LEVEL III INSTRUCTOR

LEVEL II A
LEVEL II B
TANDEM SOLO

CANOE TRIPPING INSTRUCTOR TRAINER

LEVEL III INSTRUCTOR

LEVEL II TRIP LEADER

LEVEL I LEVEL IB
TANDEM SOLO
Bibliography


