



On Environmental Grounds

Outdoor Recreation, Place Relations and Environmental Sustainability

Daniel Wolf-Watz

Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences

Human Geography

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Abstract

This thesis examines the relationship between outdoor recreation and environmental concern as part of the wider issue of environmental sustainability in late-modern societies. The questions addressed are how environmentalists engage in outdoor recreation, with what motives, and whether participation in outdoor recreation can influence levels of environmental concern. Empirically, the thesis is based on a mixed methods approach, including analyses of data from a national survey on outdoor recreation and a qualitative case study of the organization Nature and Youth Sweden (Fältbiologerna). Theoretically, it builds on the concepts of place, habitus and field.

Study results show that environmentally committed individuals favor participation in appreciative activities in areas perceived as pristine, preferably away from urban environments. Motivations refer to these preferences, and to aspects of discursive context, social identity and social position. These aspects are also found to be crucial when considering the influence of outdoor recreation on environmental concern. Thus, study results show a lack of support for environmental concern as an automatic outcome of outdoor recreation. Rather, such outcome relates to a combination of interconnected conditions referred to as: favorable place relations, adequate outdoor experience and appropriate social context.

The thesis contributes to new knowledge on the relationships and connections between outdoor recreation and environmental sustainability. While the results are of importance with regard to planning for outdoor recreation and development of nature-based tourism, they are of particular interest for environmental organizations, schools and other institutions working for a more sustainable society.

Acknowledgements

At times, writing this thesis has felt like solving a huge jigsaw puzzle, though with pieces that were not ready-made but to be formed along the way. Also, I had only a vague notion of what the picture on the box looked like. Thankfully, I have not been alone in my work.

I would like to express my sincere acknowledgements to my advisor Klas Sandell – you have been a terrific mentor. In particular, I appreciate your dedication, your wisdom and your sense of order! I am also greatly indebted to my co-advisors, Peter Fredman and Robert Pettersson. You have been Klas' perfect sidekicks and a very good support throughout my project.

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Paper I: Wolf-Watz, D., Sandell, K., & Fredman, P. (2011). Environmentalism and tourism preferences: A study of outdoor recreationists in Sweden, *Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism*, 11(2), 190-204.

Paper II: Wolf-Watz, D. (2014). Traveling for nature? On the paradox of environmental awareness and travel for nature experiences. *Tourism* 62(1), 5-18.

Paper III: Beery, T. H, & Wolf-Watz, D. (2014). Nature to place: Rethinking the environmental connectedness perspective. *Journal of Environmental Psychology* 40, 198-205.

Paper IV: Wolf-Watz, D. (In manuscript). Affiliation and affection: Outdoor recreation and the making of environmental practice.

1. Introduction

This is a photo of my great buddy Sven, taken at the time when I was about to start my PhD project. The photo shows Bydalen, located about an hour's drive west of Östersund in Sweden. In the car, on our way to a one-day mountain hike, we had a discussion about wind power. Since we are both environmentally committed we certainly agreed on the importance of renewable energy sources. However, we disagreed where to place the wind turbines. Sven argued that due to the urgent situation of global warming turbines should be placed where the wind conditions are at their best, for example in the Swedish mountain areas. Since I am a devoted outdoor recreationist I was of a different opinion.



The photo was taken after we had been walking for a while. Sven wanted it to share the experience with his friends back home in Leipzig. Just to the right of where he was standing, at some distance but clearly visible, there is a wind turbine. With the camera ready to shoot I asked if he wanted the turbine to show on the photo or not. Though realizing that it would contradict his own and support my standpoint on localizations of wind turbines, he chose the background that is seen in the picture – an untouched mountain landscape. We moved on and had an amazing day. It left us with a feeling of being fully re-created, especially as environmentalists.

Now, some years later, when concluding my thesis, I see this episode in a completely different light.

Environmental sustainability, outdoor recreation and environmental concern

People's relationship to the physical environment is instant, ever present and often problematic. Through history it has mainly been characterized by a struggle for survival, including procurement of food, avoidance of disease and coping with natural disasters. In late-modern societies, like contemporary Sweden, these struggles are often referred to in terms of various environmental matters (cf. McNeill, 2000). These environmental matters especially regard the use of resources and issues relating to the striving for environmental sustainability.

Within the theme of environmental sustainability there is an increasing focus on individual lifestyles and commitments as drivers for societal change; the latter not least due to the importance of public support for policy-making processes in favor of sustainable development. People's attitudes and/or behavior have been shown to be of great importance for processes dealing with environmental sustainability. In this context, environmental education in a broad sense, including formation of public opinion, schooling, and voluntary-sector activities, becomes increasingly important.

While environmental matters may appear distant to the general public in late-modern societies, outdoor recreation, including nature-based tourism and various educational situations, makes up a context where people encounter the physical environment in a direct way. From a perspective of environmental sustainability this encounter is diverse. Generally, outdoor recreation contributes to an increased use of resources and a growing impact on the environment (Holden, 2000; McCool, & Moisey, 2001; Newsome, More, & Dowling, 2012). At the same time, outdoor recreation is part of a wider narrative of fostering environmentalism, where forms of "nature encounter" serve as potential pathways to pro-environmental attitudes behavior, that is, to environmental concern (Worster; 1994, Sandell, 2009; Nash, 2014). Therefore, given the global environmental situation and the need for a general reduction of human impact on the environment, the focus of this thesis is to further examine the relationship between outdoor recreation and environmental concern.

Outdoor recreation and modern environmental concern share a common frame of reference in the emergence of Western industrialization in the 19th century. Among others, industrialization set off two processes: urbanization and escalating resource exploitation. The early environmentalism and outdoor recreation may be seen as reactions to and consequences

of these processes (Guha, 1999; Sandell & Sörlin, 2008; Nash, 2014). This engagement reflected views of nature rooted in Romanticism, and when the first national parks were established the interconnection between outdoor recreation and environmental concern was physically grounded. The “untouched nature” or “wilderness” became places to visit, to appreciate and to preserve for those who witnessed the impacts of industrialization with increasing concern.

Since this beginning, the phenomena of outdoor recreation and environmental concern have evolved under the influence of, and along with, societal changes – mainly with origin in Western societies (Breivik & Løvmo, 1978; Eichberg & Jespersen, 1986; Pepper, 1996; Sandell & Sörlin, 2008; Nash, 2014; Sandell, Öhman, & Östman, 2005). Regarding contemporary outdoor recreation, common features reflect the traits of modern society, including escalating commercialization, increasing mobility, and use of new technologies and products (Gartner & Lime, 2000; Cordell, 2008; Odden, 2008; Sandell, Arnegård, & Backman, 2011). Overall, present-day outdoor recreation is a world-wide phenomenon that includes a variety of activities, equipment, vocabulary, social contexts and arenas, reflecting differences between countries, regions, genders and social groups (e.g. Manning, 2011, Fredman, Stenseke, & Sandell, 2014; Lisberg Jensen & Ouis, 2014).

Meanwhile, there have also been comprehensive changes with regard to manifestations of environmental concern (e.g. Sandell et al., 2005). The establishment of the first national parks, at the turn of the 19th century, reflected environmental concern as “nature protection” (Guha, 1999). After that, the concept, and related practices, has gradually broadened along with an implementation of different societal and ecological aspects (e.g. Carson, 1962; Brundtland Commission, 1987; Meadows, Randers, & Meadows, 2005). This includes features such as “nature conservation” and, since the 1960s, “environmental control”. More recent discussions incorporate aspects of “alternative development” as well as of “sustainable development” and “ecological modernization”. Today, environmental concern consists of a variety of perspectives. Accordingly, the contemporary environmental movement is broad, representing different ecological depths and emphases on various perspectives and discourses (cf. Pepper, 1996; Dryzek, 2012).

Aim and research questions

So, what can be said about the relationship between outdoor recreation and environmental concern today, given their historical interconnections, manifold manifestations and extensive evolution? Due to the notable anthropogenic alterations facing contemporary world, including climate change, biodiversity loss, contamination of air and water and forest habitat devastation, this question is of growing importance. The importance relates particularly to the growing environmental impact of outdoor recreation, and to the persistent theme which includes notions of contributions of direct “encounters with nature” to increasing levels of environmental concern.

Thus, the aim of the thesis is to study place relations in terms of outdoor recreation as part of the quest for environmental sustainability in late-modern society. This is done through an examination of the relationship between outdoor recreation and environmental concern, which in particular addresses themes of recreational participation and preferences among environmentalists and the inquiry into the ways outdoor recreation may influence the levels of environmental concern.

Following this, the thesis is based upon the subsequent three research questions:

- In what kind of outdoor recreation do environmentalists participate?
- In what ways do environmentalists motivate their landscape preferences?
- Does outdoor recreation lead to increased levels of environmental concern, and, if so, in what ways?

Process and positioning

This thesis is part of the research conducted within the research program “Outdoor Recreation in Change” (2006-2013; www.friluftsforskning.se), and is related specifically to the projects: “Project A – Activity and Place: A common empirical arena” and “Project B - Outdoor Recreation Patterns”. An important part of the empirical basis of the program was made up by a national survey of outdoor recreation conducted in 2007 and 2008 (Fredman, Karlsson, Romild, & Sandell, 2008).

The research conducted within the PhD project was launched from two overarching inquiries based on the questions: i) whether and how environmentalism influences outdoor recreation preferences and participation (especially dealt with in Papers I and II, see also Wolf-Watz, 2010), and ii) whether and how outdoor recreation related practices influence levels of environmental concern (especially dealt with in Papers III and IV). While addressing these questions the quantitative data stemming from the national survey constituted an obvious point of departure. Out of the regular covariations between outdoor recreation and environmental concern that was found, new research questions were generated. This, in turn, made it necessary to use other means of collecting data. Qualitative techniques were found well suited to examine the mechanisms that produce the discovered regularities and to capture meanings related to the outdoor recreation landscape and its places. The ways of approaching the research questions also prompted different use of theory. While the quantitative studies conducted in Papers I and III rely on the validity gained through representative sampling of the Swedish population, the results of Papers II and IV gain support and legitimation from well-founded theory.

Various ways of collecting data link to different research traditions and the ontological and epistemological perspectives related to them. For example, quantitative approaches are often associated with the positivist tradition, while qualitative research is associable with hermeneutic traditions and non-positivist research (Åsberg, Hummerdal, & Dekker, 2011). Research traditions within the field of outdoor recreation partly reflect this division. A great deal of the research conducted in North America, for example, shares a predominant use of quantitative techniques and a tight connection to a behavior oriented approach based in social psychology (cf. Manning, 2011). In British leisure studies, by contrast, there is a firm interest in cultural perspectives, reflected in a range of traditions where qualitative approaches have a more prominent position (cf. Rojek, Shaw, & Veal, 2006).

While recognizing these general links it is important to make clear that there is no necessary connection between ways of generating data and particular ontological and epistemological viewpoints (e.g. Åsberg et al., 2011). Thus, a combined use of quantitative and qualitative approaches does not automatically point to a lack of coherence with regard to ontology and epistemology positions. In this thesis, various means of gathering data reflect a pragmatic approach where choices were made due to their ability to solve the research problems at hand. The combination of empirical materials collected added breadth, complexity, richness and

depth to the present study. This approach, however, does not contradict the firm epistemological and ontological stance of this thesis.

While reflecting on the writing of this thesis it is of importance to recognize the contextual conditions framing it. As any knowledge production is socially and spatially situated (Haraway, 1991), the work relates to a number of circumstances. These especially refer to the project being part of a Swedish research program on outdoor recreation, my advisors' different perspectives and the wider academic communities of human geography and outdoor recreation research. By acknowledging this conditionality I join the views that claim that scientific knowledge is never absolute, nor objective, but involves various representations and perspectives related to historically specific social practices. This epistemological perspective falls under the view of constructionism where it is declared that our understanding of the world is inevitably influenced by constructions made on the basis of our own perspectives and standpoints.

In this context it is also important to note that I do not deny the existence of an observer independent reality. The position of this thesis rather coincides with the perspective of critical realism (e.g. Bhaskar, 2011) where a real world does exist independently of our perceptions, theories and constructions. Our understandings of it, however, are based on representations in a constant "struggle to grasp the world, relate to it, and manipulate it through concepts, knowledge and acts." (Barth, 1987 p. 87, quoted in Maxwell, 2012).

Key concepts

As the introduction reveals, this thesis focuses on outdoor recreation and environmental concern, and their relationship as an aspect of wider human-environment relations. In this section, based on understandings that have evolved from the research process described above, the concepts of outdoor recreation and environmental concern will be defined and discussed. For the examination of their relationship it is also necessary to reflect on the vital component that the physical environment represents.

Outdoor recreation

In this thesis the understanding of outdoor recreation is in accordance with the official Swedish definition of “friluftsliv” (outdoor life) that reads “...*residing in natural or cultural landscapes for well-being and nature experiences without requirements for competition* (SFS 2003:133, author’s translation). This broad definition embraces any outdoor recreational activity, as well as the experiences involved in outdoor educational contexts (cf. Emmelin, Fredman, Lisberg Jensen, & Sandell, 2010). Thus, as used in this thesis outdoor recreation goes beyond activities performed during leisure time. Moreover, no distinction is made between outdoor recreation and nature-based tourism; when outdoor recreation is performed outside the recreationist’s usual environment it is also nature-based tourism.

The definition leaves space for the perception of outdoor recreation as a phenomenon that holds a large variety of expressions and experiences, and is characterized by both constant change and long-standing themes and traditions (cf. Sandell & Sörlin, 2008, Lisberg Jensen & Ouis, 2014; Manning, 2011, Gartner & Lime, 2000). It also points to a number of features of significance for the understanding of the relationship between outdoor recreation and environmental concern. This especially regards the emphasis put on the individuals’ physical presence in *landscapes* as the basis for the *nature experiences*, which will be further elaborated in the discussion of the concept physical environment below, and in Chapter 3.

Environmental concern

Environmental concern refers to a feeling of unease regarding human impacts on the environment. In the literature, terms like environmental awareness, environmental attitude and environmental behavior are also used widely and sometimes interchangeably. In the context of this thesis, environmental awareness indicates a degree of knowledge and understanding of the environmental situation. Environmental attitude refers to an awareness of environmental problems *and* to an expressed dedication to overcome and counteract these problems, while environmental behavior means “the actions actually taken based upon particular attitudes” (Berns & Simpson, 2009, p. 81). Environmental concern, hence, is seen as people’s awareness of environmental problems and their dedication toward taking action to counteract these problems, expressed in various forms of pro-environmental attitudes and/or behaviors. Environmentalists, thus, are environmentally committed individuals who may base their attitudes and behavior on their environmental concern.

As declared above, concern for the environment is expressed in various ways. In this thesis environmental concern is viewed as a phenomenon in the ongoing process of being made, occurring within the dynamic relations between individuals and their various interacting contexts. As such, environmental concern expresses approaches and relations to the physical environment that are context related and may vary in space and time.

Physical environment

This thesis emphasizes how meaning is ascribed to the physical environment (including material features of “culture”) within expressions of environmental concern and in the making of places for recreation. However, while “beings do not pre-exist their relating” (Haraway, 2003, p. 6), it is still important to recognize the idea of a separate physical environment for discussing the importance and the variety of human understandings and representations of the “more-than-human world”. This links into broader ontological considerations regarding material qualities of the world and the significance of social construction. As declared above this thesis acknowledges an observer independent material reality that actually matters. No one involved in outdoor recreation would refer their experiences of, for example, rock climbing to social constructions alone. The rock is no construction, and gravity is for real. Similarly, there is no reason to question the existence of contemporary environmental change. Still, when understanding and describing the world, be it in a context of outdoor experiences or environmental alterations, we are inexorably delimited by human meaning-making and interpretation. As Mels argues (2009): “the environment is media in which cultural values and meanings are always already invested when encountered by humans” (p. 386).

Hence, this thesis favors a non-dualistic ontology where the material and immaterial dimensions of the world are acknowledged, but seen as interwoven. Thus, as focus for exploring the relationship between outdoor recreation and environmental concern, special attention will be paid to the concept of *place*. While this concept is understood and used in various ways, of importance here is how it may capture the interplay between the material, the cultural and the social realms (for a more detailed discussion on place see Chapter 3).

Moreover, the concept of place may be used to escape (and reveal) notions of essentialized nature and the nature/cultural dualism often found in contexts of outdoor recreation and environmental concern. The general starting point here is that any relationship to the environment is situated - in events, contexts and places.

A related concept also used in this thesis is *landscape*. Landscape, although perceived and used differently (Wylie, 2007), shares many qualities of place and in the literature the concepts are sometimes used interchangeably (Setten, 2006). In this thesis, place is seen as situated landscape; therefore, landscape is used in reasonings of a more general kind (cf. Sandell, in print). From this it follows that the outdoor recreational landscape may be seen as being made up of numerous different places (cf. Olwig, 2008).

Outline of the thesis

This thesis is organized as follows. After an introducing Chapter 1, Chapter 2 provides a review of research on the relationship between outdoor recreation and environmental concern, and considerations relating to this research. These considerations make the foundation of the theoretical framework used, presented in Chapter 3. Chapter 4 presents and discusses the methods used in the different studies. The results from these studies are then summarized in Chapter 5 and discussed in Chapter 6. In Chapter 7 the conclusions are presented, followed by a Swedish summary and, finally, the appended papers in full versions.

The author's role in, and contributions to, the co-authored papers (Papers I and III) may be summarized as follows: Paper I – first author and accountable for the literature review and the statistical analyses; Paper III – shared first authorship and responsible for the review of geographical ideas and the subsequent analysis of the environmental connectedness perspective.

2. Research on outdoor recreation and environmental concern

In response to the widespread awareness of a “global environmental crisis” matters regarding environmental sustainability are common topics in both contemporary social debate and research. Gradually, more parts of society are being examined with these perspectives as starting points. Research includes a broad range of areas, such as sustainable lifestyles, environmental ethics, environmental psychology, human ecology, environmental history, environmental planning and environmental education.

Another growing area of research deals with the environmental aspects of outdoor recreation. A review of the last decades of scientific literature shows that the research is extensive, spans a number of disciplines, and can be structured under the following four broad themes (see *Figure 1*):

- (i) the impact of outdoor recreation on the physical environment
- (ii) the impact of environmental alterations on outdoor recreation
- (iii) the influence of environmental concern on outdoor recreation
- (iv) the influence of outdoor recreation on environmental concern

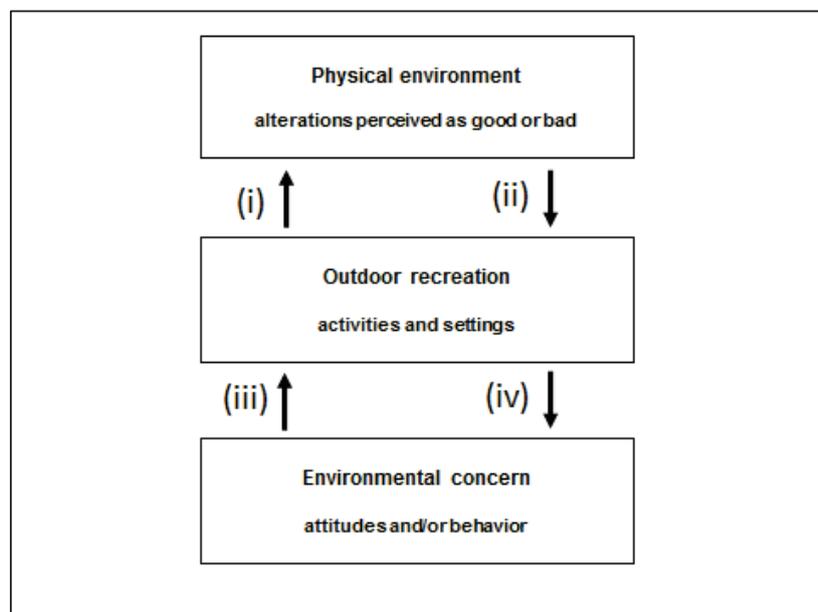


Figure 1. Four themes of research, (i)-(iv), on environmental aspects of outdoor recreation identified in the literature.

The first theme, (i), refers to research that focuses on outdoor recreation impacts on ecosystems or parts of ecosystems. This especially refers to disturbing of wildlife, degradation of natural areas, littering and general exploitation of sensitive environments (e.g. Nelson, 1994; Steele, 1995; Hall, 2014; Buckley, 2015). This theme also includes research regarding how, and to what extent, recreation can have a positive impact by creating incentives to protect and conserve nature (e.g. Eagles & McCool, 2002; Buckley, 2009). The second theme, (ii), refers to the impact of environmental alterations on outdoor recreation. In recent years the research within this theme has paid particular interests to the effects of a warmer climate on conditions related to outdoor activities such as skiing (e.g. Becken & Hay, 2007; Moen & Fredman, 2007).

The relationship between outdoor recreation and environmental concern

Of special importance for this thesis is the research that deals with the relationship between environmental concern and outdoor recreation. This relationship is represented by the third, (iii), and the fourth, (iv), theme in *Figure 1* and will be presented and discussed below

The influence of environmental concern on outdoor recreation, (iii)

The third theme, (iii), refers to the influence of environmental concern on outdoor recreation. This theme addresses two research questions: how environmental concern influences preferences for outdoor activities, and how environmental concern influences preferences for outdoor landscapes.

Preferences for outdoor activities

Among the few researchers who explicitly take as point of departure the influence of environmental concern on outdoor recreation are Bjerke, Thrane and Keiven (2006). In their study of associations between environmental attitudes and interests in various outdoor recreational activities among Norwegians they found that attitudes contribute significantly to the prediction of interest in 10 out of 15 outdoor activities listed, indicating a general interest for outdoor recreation among environmentally committed individuals. Higher levels of concern are especially associated with mountaineering (i.e. hiking in the mountain areas), scenery photographing, and mushroom gathering. Results also show that interest in speedboat racing and big game hunting is associated with low levels of environmental concern.

These results gain indirect support from parts of the research that has its starting point in the possible influence of outdoor recreation on environmental concern (theme (iv) in *Figure 1*). This research, reviewed by Hockett, McClafferty and McMullin (2004) and Berns and Simpson (2009), presents some associations between levels of environmental concern and the activities performed. Appreciative activities, where the enjoyment of nature is central, such as hiking, nature studies and so on, are generally associated with higher levels of environmental concern. Those that can be categorized as consumptive, such as activities where something is taken from the environment, and motorized activities, have considerably weaker associations with environmental concern. All these results may be interpreted as particular preferences among environmentally concerned individuals for engaging in appreciative activities.

Further support for these findings may be gained from the research on individuals engaged in ecotourism, given that ecotourism products attract more environmentally concerned consumers (e.g. Eagles, 1992; Wight, 1996; Tao, Eagles, & Smith, 2004). Market analyses of activity preferences reveal that ecotourists prefer appreciative and non-motorized activities, including hiking, admiring nature and various water-based non-motorized activities (Wight, 2001). Svarstad (2010) also provides support for these observations. In a study of motivations for Norwegian hikers she found that one category of motivations relates to a desire for living out a critique of the downsides of contemporary society and related aspects such as urbanisation and commercialism. Even though she studies motivations rather than activity preferences, these results may still support the above research, as the motivations correspond to common themes within the environmental movement (cf. Pepper, 1996).

Preferences for outdoor landscapes

Research regarding influences of environmental concern on outdoor recreation, in terms of preferences for outdoor landscapes, is also quite limited. However, Kaltenborn and Bjerke (2002) provide some insights on this matter. Their study of preferences of residents in the town of Røros in Norway shows that significant and positive correlations exist between ecocentric value orientations and preference for landscapes defined as wildlands. While this study does not refer to an outdoor recreational context, the authors see merits of this information for public land use planning and tourism marketing purposes. A study on small town residents in the Netherlands by de Groot and van den Born (2003) shows similar results: people who perceive the relationship between human and nature as “man being responsible for nature”, or “man as a participant in nature” have preferences for “untamed nature” and landscapes “in which one may experience the greatness and forces of nature”.

These results are indirectly complemented by research on ecotourism suggesting that the ecotourism market is made up of tourists who search for nature-oriented experiences in pristine natural environments (Wight, 2001). In fact, motivations that distinguish ecotourists from other tourists relate to their desire to visit un-crowded locations and remote wilderness areas. These coincide with most definitions of ecotourists that state that these tourists are visitors to natural, remote, pristine and protected areas (Dolnicar, Yanamandram, & Juvan, 2014). Definitions of ecotourism also frequently refer to similar areas, for example “travel to fragile, pristine, and usually protected areas” (Honey, 1999) or as tourism that consists of “[t]ravelling to relatively undisturbed or uncontaminated natural areas with the specific objective of studying, admiring, and enjoying the scenery and its wild plants and animals...” (Ceballos-Lascurain, 1987, p14). In the wider context of nature-based tourism, Mehmetoglu (2007) accordingly concludes that nature as such constitutes a travel motive, especially for those tourists who are environmentally aware.

In conclusion, the research reviewed above makes evident that environmentally committed individuals account for particular preferences with regard to outdoor recreational activities and settings.

The influence of outdoor recreation on environmental concern, (iv)

Research on the influence of outdoor recreation on environmental concern (theme (iv) in *Figure 1*) is comprehensive and includes a range of disciplines. The review below presents research that approaches the topic from the following thematic perspectives of outdoor recreation: participation in nature-based activities, outdoor learning, ecotourism, and environmental connectedness.

Outdoor recreation as participation in nature-based activities

The dominant lines of research with explicit focus on outdoor recreation as participation in nature-based activities derive from the work of Dunlap and Heffernan (1975). In their article they assume that involvement in outdoor recreational activities creates awareness and commitment to the protection of valued recreation sites, and that it also “cultivates an esthetic taste for a ‘natural’ environment which fosters a generalized opposition to environmental degradation” (p. 18). Thus, they hypothesize that:

- i) there is a positive association between involvement in outdoor recreation and environmental concern; and that
- ii) the association is stronger between appreciative activities and environmental concern than between consumptive activities and environmental concern (for definitions of the terms appreciative and consumptive, see section “Preferences for outdoor activities”, pp. 16-17).

The first hypothesis suggests that experience of nature via outdoor recreation participation will add to an awareness of environmental issues, and thus raise levels of environmental concern. Most studies on this topic are based on comparisons between recreationists and non-recreationists, simply applying participation as any engagement in outdoor recreation activities (e.g. Geisler, Martinsson, & Wilkening, 1977; Nord, Luloff, & Bridger, 1998; Theodori, Luloff, & Willits, 1998). Research relating to the second hypothesis refers to the idea that various types of recreational activities associate differently to environmental concern (e.g. Dunlap & Heffernan, 1975; Langenau, Peyton, Wickham, Caveney, & Johnston, 1984; Teisl & O’Brian, 2003). In both lines of research, environmental concern is frequently applied as environmental attitudes in accordance with the New Environmental Paradigm (NEP)-scale (Dunlap & Van Liere, 1978 and 1981), or as various pro-environmental behaviors, such as contributing or belonging to environmental organizations, purchasing green products and so on.

In their study, Dunlap and Heffernan (1975) find associations between environmental concern and outdoor recreation. As their second hypothesis predicts these associations are stronger between environmental concern and engagements in appreciative activities than between environmental concern and consumptive activities. To these classifications subsequent research has added categories such as *abusive* activities (Geisler et al., 1977), *mechanized* activities (Jackson, 1986) and the division of activities between *slight* resource-utilisation versus *moderate*-to *intensive* resource-utilisation (Theodori et al., 1998). The results of these, to a large extent quantitative efforts, have been reviewed by Hockett et al. (2004) and Berns and Simpson (2009). They conclude that there exist a general relationship between participation and environmental concern, although, while the support is quite weak for the first hypothesis it grows stronger when environmental concern is related to engagement in appreciative activities.

Outdoor learning

Outdoor learning has long been regarded as an important tool for increasing levels of individual environmental concern (Hammerman, Hammerman, & Hammerman, 2001; Place, 2004; Sandell & Öhman, 2010). The concept is broad and embraces a variety of educational activities, including outdoor adventure education, field studies and environmental education (Rickinson et al., 2004). With regard to environmental concern it is generally assumed that outdoor learning contributes to a continuum from enhanced knowledge about the environment to positive attitudes and, finally, pro-environmental behavior (Sandell & Öhman, 2013).

A fair amount of studies have been conducted to evaluate these effects, focusing either on knowledge, attitude or behavior as outcomes of outdoor experiences within learning contexts (e.g. Palmer, 1993, Emmons, 1997; Haluza-DeLay, 1999; Palmberg & Kuru, 2000; Morris, Koumjian, Briggs, & Zidenbergcherr, 2002; Johnson & Manoli, 2008). In an extensive review, however, Rickinson et al. (2004) concluded that the scientific evidence for a positive link between outdoor education and environmental concern is relatively weak. The expected effects appear to be highly dependent on context and are also related to the individuals' experience, as well as to their mutual relations. Still, Sandell and Öhman (2010) maintain that nature encounters within outdoor learning contexts can play an important role for increasing levels of environmental concern by providing possibilities for different perspectives of nature, society and lifestyles.

Ecotourism

The learning component is also often emphasized within the concept of ecotourism (e.g. Powell & Ham, 2008; Buckley, 2009). The general perspective taken here is that ecotourism should have a positive impact with regard to environmental concern by “providing environmental learning experiences that promote positive change in people’s everyday behaviour and lifestyles” (Packer & Ballantyne, 2014, p. 192). This opportunity relates to the combination of close experiences of nature and interpretation, that is “the process of communicating to people the significance of a place or object so that they enjoy it more, understand their heritage and environment better, and develop a positive attitude to conservation” (Moscardo, 1995, p. 2).

Despite this, research supporting the assumed outcomes is quite limited and the results are weak (Ham, 2007). For example, in a study based on pre-visit and post-visit surveys Beaumont (1998) shows that the ecotourism experiences may increase levels of knowledge,

although environmental attitudes and behaviors do not increase correspondingly. In a follow up study Beaumont (2001) questions whether involvement in ecotourism has net benefits for the environment, considering the lack of effects on environmental concern, and the environmental impact of its activities on fragile sites.

A body of empirical studies also explores the role of guides and how effective interpretation can be within an ecotourism context (e.g. Cable, Knudson, Udd, & Stewart, 1987; Lee & Balchin, 1995; Orams & Hill, 1998; Tubb, 2003; Wiles & Hall, 2005). This research also shows quite weak support for the influence of ecotourism on levels of environmental concern. Still, Powell and Ham (2008), in a study of national park tour operators, conclude that well designed and delivered interpretation during the ecotourism experience may support environmental attitudes, behavior intention and philanthropic support for conservation.

Environmental connectedness

While it is sometimes suggested that any nature experience leads to pro-environmental attitudes and behavior (Brown, 1991; Gray, 1985), recent notions emphasize feelings of connectedness as an in-between step in this process. Broadly grouped as the *environmental connectedness perspective*, these notions include an emphasis on affective, cognitive, and/or physical human relationships with the environment, by using terms such as affinity, biophilia, commitment, ecological self, identity, inclusion, relatedness, and sensitivity (e.g. Bragg, 1996; Kals, Schumacher, & Montada, 1999; Chawla, 1999; Clayton, 2003; Mayer & Frantz, 2004; Nisbet, Zelenski, & Murphy, 2009; Davis, Green, & Reed, 2009).

Within this broad group the emphasis is on the experience of and direct encounter with nature, and the possible emotional and/or cognitive relationship between the individual and nature that develops from these experiences. The ideas range from how one thinks about oneself (e.g. identity) to how one conceptualizes one's relationship with the more than human world (e.g. affiliation or connection). While one can argue that there are key differences between these ideas, they share the same hypothesis: spending time in nature will, given repeated experience, help an individual feel connected to nature. This process will eventually lead to this individual becoming more inclined to care about nature, and ultimately, to protect it.

A number of empirical studies explore this possible link. Research supporting the existence of a relationship between connectedness to nature and environmental action or behavior includes for example: Kals et al. (1999), Schultz (2001), Mayer and Frantz (2004), Müller, Kals and

Pansa (2009), Gosling and Williams (2010), Nisbet and Zelenski (2011). Among these, Mayer and Frantz (2004) present the results of five different “connectedness to nature-studies” and conclude that there is a moderately strong positive relationship between the feelings of connectedness and eco-friendly actions. A recent example of related research (sustainability studies) finds that contact with nature may foster individual happiness and environmentally responsible behavior (Nisbet & Zelenski, 2011). Specifically, this research concludes that walking outdoors facilitates a sense of nature-relatedness and suggests that people who feel more nature-related are happier and more likely to engage in sustainable behaviors. Kals et al. (1999) consider whether nature protective willingness and behavior decisions show a relationship with the connectedness construct of affinity toward nature, interest in nature, and indignation about insufficient nature protection. Their results show that all three items qualify as behavioral predictors.

Critical considerations

The research reviewed above presents various aspects of the relationship between outdoor recreation and environmental concern. With regard to the scope of this thesis, however, these aspects directly and indirectly highlight a number of issues to reflect upon. These include the conceptualizations of environmental concern and outdoor recreation, the role attributed to the recreationists and the matter of cause and effect. Generally, there is a tendency to treat the relationship between outdoor recreation and environmental concern as a matter of isolated events, thus neglecting the socio-cultural context where it is formed and maintained. In the following section these aspects will be further discussed.

Conceptualizations of environmental concern

The research representing the third, (iii), and fourth, (iv), theme reviewed above relates in various ways to the phenomenon and concept of environmental concern. Inevitably this research is linked to the ongoing discussion concerning how environmental concern should be conceptualized. A clear distinction is often made between environmental *attitude* and environmental *behavior*, where environmental attitude generally refers to an awareness of environmental problems and a dedication to contribute to their solution. Environmental

behavior, then, may be referred to as “the actions actually taken based upon particular attitudes” (Berns & Simpson, 2009, p. 81).

With regard to environmental attitudes, the literature provides a variety of attitudinal indicators. For example Dunlap and Heffernan (1975) measured environmental attitudes by asking respondents whether they thought the government should spend more, the same or less resources on environmental issues, and Geisler, Martinsson, and Wilkening (1977) measured Wisconsin residents’ awareness of environmental issues and their expressed willingness to spend public money on them. The most common measure, however, is the use of the 12-item New Ecological Paradigm-scale (NEP) developed by Dunlap and Van Liere (1978 and 1981), and since 2000 altered into 15 items (Dunlap, Van Liere, Mertig, & Jones, 2000). The NEP-scale aims to assess people’s views about nature and their relationship with it, including items such as “Plants and animals have as much right as humans to exist” and “Humans were meant to rule over the rest of nature”.

Despite its popularity, the usefulness of NEP has been questioned, mainly due to its weak link to environmental behavior (Lalonde & Jackson, 2002; Cordano, Welcomer, & Scherer, 2003; Emmelin et al., 2010). While intuition suggests that environmental awareness and attitude assessments are typically predictors of general pro-environmental behaviors, there is no automatic congruence (Tarrant & Green, 1999; Heberlein, 2012). As an example Wurzinger and Johansson (2006), found no difference in environmental behavior between ecotourists and nature-based tourists, despite the fact that they accounted for different environmental attitudes. Moreover, Beumont (2011) reveals that while ecotourists may get a higher score on the NEP-scale, there is no difference to general nature-based tourists with regard to demand for sustainable tourist products and experiences. This coincides with the general picture regarding environmentalism: people’s attitudes seem to be more radical than people’s behavior (Barr, 2003). Although it has been shown that the more specific the attitude is the stronger is the relationship to the actual behavior (Heberlein & Black, 1976; Cottrell & Graefe, 1997; Cottrell, 2003) a growing number of researchers argue that environmental behavior is a stronger measure of environmental concern than attitudes (e.g. Nord et al., 1998; Theodori et al., 1998; Thapa & Graefe, 2003).

Measures of attitudes have their limitations, and so do measures of behavior. In the literature, behavior is mainly applied as behavior intention, or self-reported behavior (e.g. Webb & Sheeran, 2006). While measures of attitudes may work in general terms, behavior is

constrained by context. For example, a mobility question exploring train or air travel choices are of relevance only to individuals who have the economic and physical means of making such decisions. Moreover, any measures of environmental concern are at risk of missing out the diverse and evolving nature of environmental engagement (cf. Pepper, 1996; Sandell et al., 2005).

Conceptualizations of outdoor recreation

Conceptualizations of environmental concern may be at risk of reductionism, and so are those of outdoor recreation. Outdoor recreation operationalized as general participation says little about what is actually taking place. As a comparison one can note that the broad perspective of the official Swedish definition of “friluftsliv” (outdoor life) leaves space for multiple ways of conducting outdoor recreation.

An activity perspective adds complexity to the matter but remains insufficient as it does not take the wider context into account. This becomes evident when one looks at the task of categorizations of activities, which has accompanied research on outdoor recreation and environmental concern since appearing in the 1970s (Berns & Simpson, 2009). To link environmental concern with categories of outdoor activities has been proved difficult as people are sometimes found to participate in more than one group of activities (Geisler et al., 1977). Moreover, a number of studies show that results for some activities do not fit into their given category. People engaged in angling for example, respond more in accordance with participants engaged in appreciative rather than consumptive activities (e.g. Dunlap & Heffernan, 1975; Nord et al., 1998; Theodori et al., 1998; Teisl & O’Brien, 2003). Similarly, Bjerke et al., (2006) show that there are not just different associations within the categories of activities, but also within various types of particular activities such as fishing (e.g. fly fishing, fishing with nets etc.) and motor boating. Results differ depending on what kind of fishing and boating that is carried out.

Due to this, some recent researchers (Bjerke et al., 2006; Teisle & O’Brian, 2003; Thapa & Graefe, 2003) have questioned the merits of classification frameworks, arguing that future research should account for each activity rather than using different categories. However, when one examines the potential influence of outdoor recreation on environmental concern, and puts a strict focus on activities, there is a risk of missing out to the account of the wider context of

outdoor recreational events. This includes, for example, inquiries regarding how, where, and why one engages in outdoor recreation (cf. Berns & Simpson, 2009; Rickinson et al., 2004).

This intricacy also appears when outdoor recreation is referred to as general “encounters with nature”, most evident in the perspective of environmental connectedness presented above. Here nature is unspecified with regard to geographical location and physical characteristics.

Nowadays outdoor recreation takes place in a variety of sites all over the world, covering most types of environments (cf. Hall & Page, 2014). To delimit nature to “untouched nature” or “wilderness”, as within the ecotourism context, still leaves us with a vast array of recreational settings. Moreover, which will be further discussed below, these environments may be experienced completely differently by different recreationists.

Subjectivity and the significance of socio-cultural context

The conceptualizations presented above reflect a general neglect of subjectivity with regard to experiences of outdoor recreation. Even in ecotourism, where the importance of interpretation is recognized, the tourists themselves are treated as blank and passive receivers. This perspective has been proved too simplistic by research that takes into account the importance of earlier experiences (e.g. Chawla, 1999; Ewert, Place, & Sibthorp, 2005; Wells & Lekies, 2006) and motivations (e.g. Hartig, Kaiser, & Strumse, 2007) for the outcomes of outdoor recreation participation. In addition to this it is important to note the growing body of literature that also acknowledges outdoor recreation as a social and cultural phenomenon (e.g. Pedersen & Viken; 2002; Aitchison, 2003; Humberstone, Brown, & Richards, 2003; Tordsson, 2003; Sandell & Sörlin, 2008; Lisberg Jensen & Ouis, 2014), adding perspectives of narratives and understandings to the study of recreational experiences (e.g. Russel, 1999; Brody & Tommiewicz, 2002).

Not least these narratives and understandings are made up by representations of the environments where outdoor recreation takes place. They may refer to the role of outdoor recreation landscapes and places for human way of life, as well the location of these in a wider social and cultural context (e.g. Williams & Carr, 1993; Olwig, 2003; Senda-Cook & Endres, 2013). Accordingly, Sörlin (2008) describes the Swedish outdoor recreational landscape as a result of ongoing social and cultural processes where particular environments are differentiated from the wider surroundings (cf. Macnaghten & Urry, 1998 on the British countryside and Mels, 1999 and Wall Reinius, 2009 on Swedish National parks). The outdoor

recreation landscape, in turn, may be perceived in a number of ways by individuals and groups. Sandell (2007) has shown how these perspectives are related to outdoor landscape strategies, that is, approaches, attitudes and behavior, with regard to the environments where outdoor recreation takes place; a perspective also applied in Sandell and Öhman (2013). These “ecostrategies” are expressions of fundamental environmental values with regard to landscape relations and govern choices of how and where outdoor recreation is performed and experienced, as well what comes out of it.

Following this, the preferences of environmentalists for “pristine areas”, reported above, may be seen as socially constructed and depending on a “cultural desire” for a particular landscape (Urry, 1995). Bringing this cultural desire into context it corresponds well with the love of “wilderness” and an “arcadian view of nature” as recurrent features of the Western environmental movement (Nash, 2014; Worster, 1994). Deeply rooted in the Romantic tradition, and with role models in luminaries such as John Muir (1894), Henry David Thoreau (1854), and later Arne Naess (1993), the performance of simple outdoor recreation, the nature appreciation, in perceived untouched areas is part of a long-standing outdoor recreation discourse and tradition (Svarstad, 2011; Senda-Cook & Endres, 2013; Lisberg Jensen & Ouis, 2014). It may, therefore, be stated that preferences and experiences of recreationists cannot be referred to physical characteristics of settings alone, but also to the narratives and understandings of these settings. As a consequence, the recent research on the importance of natural settings for recreation experiences has moved on from an understanding of recreational areas as mere sets of natural attributes to a focus on the symbolic meanings and emotional bonds that recreationists may attach to various settings and destinations, using the concept of place (cf. Manning, 2011).

While acknowledging the cultural dimension of outdoor recreation, it is of equivalent importance to take into account the social contexts where meanings, preferences, motivations and related practices are formed. In a general comment on increased traveling, Urry (2002) suggests that this relates to the need of “physical proximity” to particular people, places or events. He argues that corporeal travel for the “face-to-face” and “face-to-place” encounters do play an important role for the establishing and maintaining of social life. In a similar way Eagles (1992), in a study of motivations among Canadian ecotourists, shows that these tourists, besides traveling for the sake of wilderness, also report on the importance of being “with people that share an appreciation of the richness of nature” (p. 6). This is supported by other scholars that suggest that preferences for particular recreational places may relate to the

way they can facilitate social life (e.g. Kyle, Graefe, & Manning, 2005) and foster group belonging (e.g. Hammit, Backlund, & Bixler, 2006).

An emphasis on such social motivations for leisure traveling goes way back with tourism related research. Veblen (1899) coined the phrase “conspicuous consumption” to explain how the wealthy middle class in the USA used leisure traveling as means of differentiation from less well-off groups in the society. Today, in an increasingly mobile society, traveling as such may not be enough for social distinction, but it may be argued that *where* people are going, and *what activities* they engage in, still functions as a means of differentiation (cf. Wheeler, 1993). With theoretical support from Bourdieu (1984), Mowforth and Munt (2009) state that visiting a particular place is an act oriented towards belonging to one group and distinction from others. In that sense the symbolic meaning of going to different places, with its related experiences, adds to a “symbolic system” in which people represent objects and experiences and then communicate this to others. Wynne (1998), in a study of British middle class, also draws from Bourdieu when declaring that leisure practices and their performance at specific locations can be explained only within the context of a wider social order.

Accordingly, Horton (2003) describes how visiting particular sites, including getting out into, and moving through “the natural world”, among environmental activists, is part of the performance of “green identity”. These performances are in accordance with understandings and behaviors appropriate to their shared social context. However, not only does this reflect the making of a “green distinction” from other groups of society, but also the governing mechanisms within social groups. The social process of forming group culture and related norms was observed by Haluza-Delay (1999), when studying participants of an outdoor adventure program and their approach to the physical environment. He concludes that “[y]outh without a social scheme that supports attention to nature or environmental concern are not likely to go against social standards that see these interests as irrelevant.” (p. 135).

Matters of cause and effect

Following the reasoning above, the relationship between outdoor recreation and environmental concern cannot be regarded as a matter of isolated events of encounter between the individual recreationist and the physical environment. Thus, while research has confirmed associations between outdoor recreation participation and environmental concern, any assumption of causal relations must be considered with caution. For example, in their

extensive reviews Hocket et al. (2004) and Berns and Simpson (2009) conclude that research provides no backing for a simple linear progression from outdoor recreation experiences to environmental concern – “[w]hether a person recreates in the outdoors does not alone predict his or her environmental attitudes... “ (Berns & Simpson, 2009, p. 88). Where associations are found there are still reasons to question the assumed pathway from outdoor recreation to environmental concern. By referring to the cognitive hierarchy model, where values influence attitudes, which in turn influence behaviors, Bjerke et al. (2006) suggest that associations between outdoor recreation and environmental concern should rather be considered as a matter of individual interest among environmentalists in particular forms of outdoor recreation.

Similarly, Rickinson et al. (2004), in a review of the literature on impacts of outdoor learning, state that “there seems to be a strong case for questioning the notion that nature experiences *automatically* contributes to environmental awareness, commitment and action” (p. 6, emphasis in original). Schindler (1999) and Bradley, Waliczek and Zajicek (1999) also conclude that an increase in knowledge due to outdoor learning is not associated with corresponding changes in the direction of pro-environmental attitudes and behavior. These results are similar to those regarding the potential influence of ecotourism on increasing levels of environmental concern (Beaumont, 1998). However, the general high level of environmental concern (i.e. attitudes) among ecotourists may reduce the opportunities to clearly demonstrate the significance of ecotourism events (e.g. Beaumont, 2001; Lee & Moscardo, 2005).

Finally, with regard to environmental connectedness and their positive and significant result, Mayer and Frantz (2004) conclude that “future results need to elaborate on whether simply feeling a sense of connectedness to nature in itself leads to eco-friendly acts, or whether feeling connected to nature establishes the necessary condition that makes a request for eco-friendly acts more effective” (p. 514). Similarly, Müller et al. (2009) promote more longitudinal studies in order to investigate potential causal relationships to further explore the conditions under which affinity toward nature develops, and motivates behavior. The notion of behavior motivated on behalf of environmental connectedness or attitudes has also been explored in related fields of study, often indicating a value to behavior gap (Heberlein, 2012; Head et al., 2013). Thus, it may be concluded that for any discussion of causal explanations within this topic there is a need to acknowledge the diversity and relationality of the phenomena of outdoor recreation and environmental concern.

3. The individual, socio-cultural and environmental

The considerations outlined above demonstrate a need for perspectives on the relationship of outdoor recreation and environmental concern that integrate and acknowledge the interplay between material, cultural, and social dimensions. Drawing on the concept of place, and Bourdieu's concepts of habitus and field, the theoretical framework presented below suggests such a perspective and serves to introduce a background for further discussions in the thesis. The intention here is certainly not to provide any final insights on obviously complex situations and phenomena – human affairs *are* much messier than our theories of them (Mann, 1986) – but to present views that may contribute to a generative understanding on the matter at hand.

The human-environment relationship

According to the definition presented in the introduction of this thesis, outdoor recreation refers to residing in natural and cultural landscape for nature experiences. From a geographical perspective it comes naturally to consider outdoor recreation, and environmental concern, as part of the wider context of human-environment relations. Within human geography these relations make up a central and long lasting theme, and related disciplinary efforts abound (Castree, Demeritt, Liverman, & Rhoads, 2009). In retrospect, most of these efforts manifest the Cartesian divide, where the human domain, often called culture, and the environment, often called nature, oppose and where one of them dominate the other (Castree, 2005). For example, within the perspective of environmental determinism (e.g. Semple, 1911) people and societies are frequently seen as necessary outcomes of environmental processes. The approach of cultural geography (e.g. Hartshorne, 1939), by contrast, emphasizes human dominance over nature.

These approaches, dominant in the early years of the discipline, rely firmly on a material ontology, stressing the physical expressions of nature and culture (Hubbard, Kitchin, Bartley, & Fuller, 2002). Later, with the cultural turn in the 1980s, a shift in focus towards immaterial dimensions emerged. This “new cultural geography” stresses representations, ideologies and discourses, that is, culture's “inner workings”, rather than its material traits (e.g. Cosgrove, 1984; Jackson, 1989; Smith 1991; Duncan and Ley, 1993). Accordingly, the environment is no longer regarded as mere material reality but rather as a conceptual construction and a

product of socially related perceptions. With these perspectives momentum is strictly reserved for humans; people create the environment at both the level of representation and materiality.

While the nature-culture divide pursues most mainstream geographical thought on human-environment relations there are a number of approaches that attempt to challenge this dualism and its inherent logic of one dominating the other. Possibilism (e.g. Vidal de la Blache, 1908) stresses a dialectical relation between nature and culture, in the way that the former provides possibilities for the agency of people. Within regional geography there are attempts made to bridge the nature and culture divide, leaving the question of purity of the two behind (e.g. Sauer, 1925). Later, in humanistic geography, efforts are made to cut across the gap between the physical and the mental by emphasizing the subjective experience, and the meaning individuals ascribe to the environment (e.g. Buttimer & Seamon, 1980; Relph, 1976; Tuan, 1974). Recent geographical approaches take clear stands against dualistic divisions and speak in favor of the mixed up and hybridized (e.g. Murdoch, 1997; Whatmore, 1999, 2002), which has brought a turn back to materiality within geographical thought.

In agreement with these bridging efforts it will here be argued that the synthesizing concept of *place* provides opportunities for wider perspectives on the human-environment relationship. Being at the center of the discipline for a long time this concept has continuously evolved and remains an important analytical tool (Cresswell, 2015). Its overall strength lies in the way it simultaneously captures material, social and cultural dimensions. Agnew's (1987) three main elements of place, *location*, *locale* and *sense of place*, demonstrate this. Location is the objective geographical point or area: places may vary in size and terms of character and their boundaries may be fluid, but they are always located somewhere. The element of locale brings attention to the way the material context makes up a setting where social relations are played out and formed. Sense of place, finally, may be defined as the meaning individuals and groups ascribe to segments of the earth.

The concept of place, however, has been perceived and used in different ways within geography. For long, places were theorized as unique sites and stand-alone units with physical/material features that made them distinguishable from other places (cf. Hartsborne, 1939). Through the efforts of humanist geographers in the 1970s this perspective was confronted and replaced by less absolute views. If anything, it became evident that places are also subjectively defined, that is, they mean different things to different people, even though meanings may well be shared among individuals and groups (e.g. Tuan, 1996, Relph, 1976).

In the 1980s and 1990s representatives of various critical approaches added a social dimension to the concept by stressing the structures behind the making of places, and the roles these play in the forming and maintaining of social relations and related behavior (e.g. Rose 1993, Creswell, 1996).

How different these perspectives may seem, they may also be seen as examples of the elements of place outlined in Agnew's definition. The perspective of this thesis, therefore, are in line with Sack (1992, 1997) who argues that rather than approaching the world from one or the other of the realms of nature (i.e. materiality), meaning (e.g. beliefs, representations, values) and social relations (e.g. social norms and various social processes), geographers should see the way places weave these realms together. It is in this vein that Massey (1994, 2006) suggests a perspective where places are "articulated moments in networks of social relations and understandings" (1994, p. 154), and constantly being made within the connections between a variety of human and non-human contexts, other places and processes.

After outlining the way place is understood in this thesis, it is also important to further consider what places do. People construct places by physically transforming the environment, and by ascribing meaning to it. This meaning-making is done through the personal experience of a site and/or through representations of it as presented in various communicative contexts (Cresswell, 2014). Williams (2015) perceives these place-meanings as different forms of knowledge and beliefs, as well as more emotional, and symbolic, relationships between a person or a group and a particular environment. Therefore, the meaning ascribed to places naturally links to their significance and the way they matter.

According to Schein (1997), one may further explain the role of places (and landscapes) by seeing them as material components of a particular discourse, or set of intersecting discourses. These discourses are "shared meanings which are socially constituted, ideologies, sets of 'common sense' assumptions... within which all practices are communicated, negotiated, or challenged" (Duncan, 1990, p. 12 and p. 16, quoted in Schein, 1997). As such, they define what is normal (or not), what is acceptable (or not), and what we can expect and require of each other. Therefore, discourses produce collective and individual identities by providing representations that make visible where the limits of the group are: they determine who belongs and does not belong to a particular social group (Foucault, 1966). Places as "discourse materialized", thus, are constitutive parts of social life by facilitating and

mediating processes of identity formation, socialization, and the creations of common standards of behavior (Schein, 1997; Duncan, 2000, Cresswell, 2006).

Practice and the significant place

The role of place outlined above raises questions regarding people as social agents. While acknowledging the significance of the more-than-human world, this thesis starts off from a human-oriented perspective. Thus, when outdoor recreation and environmental concern is examined, human perception, meaning-making and actions are put at the center. From this follows that recreationists are seen as evident co-creators of any outdoor event. Similarly, if the world suffers from unfavorable anthropogenic alterations, people are responsible, and able to change their behavior (Tuan, 1972).

However, while individuals are able to choose perspective, take distance and initiate change, their perceptions and actions are also conditioned (though not determined) by external factors situated in time and space. Thus, regarding the standing debate over the primacy of agent or structure, this thesis subscribes to Pierre Bourdieu's perspective of structuration that implies that structures, such as discursive meanings, simultaneously form and are formed by human *practice* (Bourdieu, 1990a). Moreover, by recognizing practice as a product of a generative scheme founded in "the *dialectic of the internalization of externality and the externalization of the internality*, or more simply, of the process of incorporation and objectification" (1977, p.72, emphasis in original), Bourdieu's thinking may provide a supplementary contribution to the perceptions on human-environment relation outlined above.

At the heart of Bourdieu's theory of practice is the function of *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1990a). Bourdieu defines habitus as "systems of durable, transposable dispositions ... which generate and organize practices and representations" (p. 53). These dispositions are transmuted from the embodiment of earlier experiences of an individual and provide practical orientations to the situations this individual face. While being a product of past experiences it is continually exposed to, and affected by, new experiences and, therefore, an "open system ... that either reinforces or modifies its structure" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 133). For Bourdieu, the very existence of habitus depends on the ongoing interaction between individuals and social communities, and it is in this interaction that motivations for action arise (Bourdieu, 1990b).

Any examination of human action, therefore, calls for recognitions of the objective social worlds, *fields*, where individuals operate and develop (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). A field is a group of people united by a common interest. Bourdieu describes fields as networks of relations, changeable settings in social space, where actors are involved in struggles reflecting their interests and objectives (e.g. Bourdieu, 1988). In order to enter a field each individual needs to be disposed to recognize and acknowledge the value of the field's activities, its logics. Likewise, the more an individual embodies what is valued in the field, the more successful she will become in terms of status, prestige, and prominence. In this way the interplay of habitus and field generates a "feel for the game", that is, an understanding of ways of thinking, acting and interacting perceived appropriate within a social milieu (Bourdieu, 1990a). Thus, individuals become inclined to act in line with their group, along with the ongoing embodiment of social norms, understandings and patterns of behavior. Habitus, therefore, reflects continuing processes of conditioning associated with social circumstances.

While not explicitly bringing geographical perspectives into the forefront of his thinking, Bourdieu implies that these socio-cultural processes involve material components. Habitus may be seen as generator of bodily and spatially grounded practices, our "physical and verbal manners", reflecting "the structures constitutive of a particular type of environment" (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 72 and p. 94). Bourdieu uses the spatial organization of the Algerian Kabyl-household to describe how this constitutive environment is at once material and immaterial, and how the "internalization of externality and the externalization of the internality" is situated in space and time (Bourdieu, 1977). At each point in time the Kabyl-house constitutes the result of earlier objectifying practices of its inhabitants. In turn, the house, as carrier of symbolic and cultural meaning, sets the scene for incorporation of values, norms and behavior related to this objectification. This dialectical process of objectification and incorporation stresses the interaction between individuals and the materiality of a site, and presents practice as a product of, and performance in, a world where the material and the immaterial are interwoven. As such, these sites, or places, may play central roles for the ongoing interaction between structure and agency, as well as for the forming and maintaining of discourse (cf. Schein, 1997).

Following this reasoning it is here suggested that the relationship between outdoor recreation and environmental concern should be examined with regard to the interplay of the individual, the socio-cultural and the environmental as relational elements (*Figure 2* below, see also

Steiner, 1993; Pedersen Gurholt, 2014). This thesis tries to grasp this interplay by using the in-between concepts of place, habitus and field. If one perceives outdoor recreation participation as practices performed at significant places it becomes possible to focus the compound realms where the habitus of the recreationist is constituted, and those realms that are enrolled in the recreational events at issue.

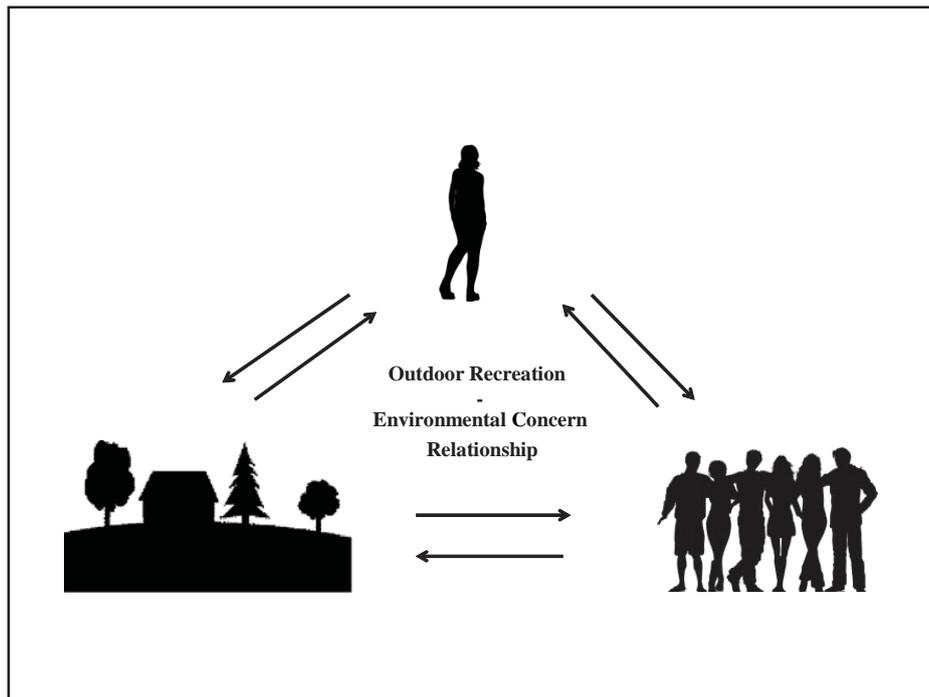


Figure 2. Illustration of the interplay conditioning the relationship between outdoor recreation and environmental concern.

4. Methods

The empirical data of this thesis come from two main sources: a national survey on outdoor recreation participation conducted by the research program “Outdoor Recreation in Change” (Appendix 1), and a case study of the organization Nature and Youth Sweden. Thus, this thesis is based on a mixed methods approach, that is, “research in which the investigator collects and analyzes data, integrates the findings, and draws inference using both quantitative and qualitative approaches or methods in a single study or a program of inquiry” (Tashakkori & Creswell, 2007, p. 4, see also the discussion in Chapter 1).

The national survey consisted of 55 questions and was distributed to a sample of 4700 Swedish citizens (aged between 18 and 75 years old) from a randomized sampling of the Swedish national personal address register (SPAR), where all Swedish registered citizens are listed. The purpose of the survey was to give a broad picture of outdoor recreation participation in Sweden. As such, it measured participation based on a set of 43 recreation activities followed by questions on topics such as motivations and constraints to participation, access to nature, emotional response to nature, willingness to pay for outdoor recreation and environmental behavior. Hence, the data from this survey provided detailed information on outdoor recreation participation for the inquiry of environmental behavior and connectedness used in Papers I and III. While the survey was conducted in Swedish, survey items used for these studies were translated to English by the author.

While the national survey provided breadth, the case study of Nature and Youth Sweden provided opportunities for in-depth examination of particular issues regarding the relationship between outdoor recreation and environmental concern. Nature and Youth Sweden is an organization that bases its activities on a deep environmental commitment and a profound and expressed interest in outdoor recreation. The organization was established in 1947 as a youth section to the Swedish Society for Nature Conservation and has ever since engaged young environmentalists and nature enthusiasts in accordance with slogans such as: *Keep your boots muddy! And Get out to nature, and in to the environmental debate!* In the early years the activities consisted mainly of nature studies and outdoor excursions, however, along with the growing social criticism in the 1970s, an action-oriented approach was incorporated (Klöfver, 2008). Today the main doings include both outdoor-related activities and pro-environmental campaigns.

Considering the above it was expected that a study of Nature and Youth Sweden would provide detailed data on relevant topics and empirical findings with regard to the interrelation between environmental concern and outdoor recreation. Moreover, it was assumed that the organization could be referred to as part of a Bourdieusian “field” where dispositions for practice may be developed and maintained (cf. Haluza-DeLay, 2006), thus revealing the mechanisms that link outdoor recreation and environmental concern. Means of data collection included focus groups, content analysis, e-mail questionnaire and interviews.

Data collection

The various means of data collection used in the four papers are shown in *Table 1*. In Paper I and Paper III secondary data from the national survey on outdoor recreation participation in Sweden were used (Appendix 1), while the data in Paper II and Paper IV mainly relied on a variety of techniques, including focus groups interviews, an e-mail questionnaire (Appendix 2), interviews and a content analysis. These approaches will be presented and discussed below.

Table 1. Means of data collection for Papers I-IV.

Data collection	Paper:	I	II	III	IV
National postal survey		x		x	
Focus groups			x		
Content analysis			x		
E-mail questionnaire					x
Interviews					x

National postal survey

In Paper I, the aim was to investigate the outdoor recreational related behavior among environmentally committed individuals, that is, environmentalists. Specifically, it addressed the questions of who the environmentalists are, whether they differ in recreation-related

behavior compared to other respondents, and how strong the correlation is between stated environmental concern and stated participation in different outdoor recreation activities.

The measure of environmental behavior consisted of an index based on four questions using a Likert-type scale. The questions concern transportation, management of household waste, organic food and purchase of green eco-labelled products, all relating to the overall question “What of the following do you do for environmental reasons” (emphasis in original):

- i) *I choose to walk, ride the bicycle or use public transportation instead of going by car*
- ii) *I collect and separate household waste*
- iii) *I eat organically produced food*
- iv) *I purchase green ecolabel products.*

Based on the answers of these questions a dichotomous variable was created, separating out the 29% (n=461) of the respondents who reported the strongest environmental behavior, which was then used as a dependent variable in the subsequent analyses.

Logistic regression was then used to identify socio-demographic predictors of pro-environmental behavior. In order to examine the environmentalists’ overall outdoor characteristics non-parametric Chi-square tests were applied to identify the differences between environmentalists and non-environmentalists. The environmentalists’ activity preferences were measured in correlation with reported environmental behavior (measured with the environmental index specified above). In order to test the correlation between a categorical and continuous variable the Eta coefficient was estimated comparing the means of the environmental index across the 43 different activities of outdoor recreation participation included in the national survey. In this way environmentalists’ activity preferences could be identified.

Paper III included an empirical study of environmental connectedness and pro-environmental behavior. Here, a criterion variable of environmental connectedness was created based upon a composite of one question (three items) from the national survey described above. Survey participants were asked to respond to the three connectedness items in the national survey using a Likert-type scale. The items formed the criterion variable for the study of the relationship between environmental connectedness and participation in nature-based outdoor recreation (Beery, 2013). These items were chosen for their theoretical appropriateness based

on the literature of environmental connectedness (e.g. Abram, 1996; Nisbet et al., 2009; Freyfogle, 2003; Kellert, 2010; Leopold, 1949). The items from the survey question 7 (see Appendix 1) were:

“To be in nature usually makes me feel or experience”:

- i) *a heightened sense about the interplay of nature, that everything is connected.*
- ii) *a feeling that the city is dependent on the surrounding nature.*
- iii) *a feeling that all people, including myself, are united and a part of nature.*

See Paper III for a more detailed discussion about the representativeness of these items for environmental connectedness.

The measure of environmental behavior consisted of six questions from the survey. To the four questions used in Paper I (see above) the following two behavioral questions were included: *I reduce my speed when driving* and *I choose the train over air travel*, both under a headline asking: “What of the following do you do for environmental reasons” (emphasis in original). Secondary analysis of survey data allowed for the use of the environmental connectedness scale and environmental behavior items, which created an opportunity to consider the relationship between environmental connectedness and specific environmental behaviors. Correlation coefficients were computed among the environmental connectedness scale and the six environmental behavior items. Results of the correlations were then analyzed by means of bivariate analysis (Pearson’s r) in order to measure the relationship between stated feelings of connectedness and pro-environmental behavior.

Content analysis and focus groups

The study conducted in Paper II aimed to analyze why environmentalists travel for outdoor recreation in spite of their presumptive awareness of the impacts of transportation on climate change. The study was based on explicit articulation, that is, texts in the members’ magazine and focus groups with members of the district boards of the organization Nature and Youth Sweden. The members’ magazine *Fältbiologen*, and the communicative interaction between members in three district boards, were dealt with by a content analysis and focus groups respectively. The reason for conducting a content analysis and focus groups was to reveal shared values and norms and prevailing discourses relative to preferences and motives with regard to performance of outdoor recreation (cf. Cameron, 2010; Bergström & Boréus, 2012).

The member's magazine, *Fältbiologen*, is published quarterly and has a yearly circulation of about 2800 copies (Fältbiologerna, 2010). It functions as a mediator of information and reflects and governs the communication of ideas between the members. The magazine is generally in the range of 30 to 35 pages, and usually includes 3-5 featured articles related to topics of interests for the members. The content analysis drew upon a systematic review of ten years of publication (from No. 1, 2000 to Nos. 3/4, 2010), making a total of 36 issues. The review embraced types and numbers of outdoor activities offered to the members, and their related transport patterns. Moreover, texts reflecting the organization's views and values regarding climate change and transportations were analyzed and quantified. Also texts revealing recreational landscape preferences were analyzed. The analysis followed the structured progression suggested by Graneheim and Lundman (2004): the texts were dealt with by a condensing of meaning units into short descriptions. These descriptions were then sorted into subthemes and themes which formed the basis for interpretation (*Table 2*).

Table 2. Examples of meaning units, condensed meaning units, sub-themes and themes from the content analysis of the member's magazine, Fältbiologen (translations made by the author).

Meaning unit	Condensed meaning unit	Sub-theme	Theme
"A twenty kilometre walk to the nearest road; with mountains, quietness and silence at every turn."	Isolation, quietness and silence	Natural quiet	Positive landscape qualities

In addition to the content analysis of the members' magazine, focus groups were conducted with three district boards. This was to complement, illustrate and deepen the findings from the content analysis of the members' magazine, and involved inquiries regarding the motives, values and meaning-making behind their travel habits. The organization is largely city-based and most members are found in the densely populated areas of southern and central Sweden, especially in the metropolitan areas. The three (of totally four) district boards selected for the focus groups all operate in these areas and are therefore geographically representative for the organization. Each individual was confronted with the four questions regarding environmental behavior included in the national survey and found to fit within the category of environmentalists created in Paper I.

All focus groups were semi-structured in the sense that they centered on a number of pre-formulated topics of discussion (Dunn, 2010), all of them tested on a group of research colleagues in advance. The topics for discussion included: i) the organization's outdoor activities and the settings associated with them, ii) the motives for, and significance of outdoor recreation for the organization, iii) approaches to traveling and transportation, and, (iv) their recreational landscape preferences. Each focus group lasted about 1.5 hours and involved 4-5 participants in the 18-21 age range, with the exception of one individual who was 14. They were recorded, transcribed and then analyzed by means of the method described above.

E-mail questionnaire and interviews

Paper IV aimed to examine the contextual conditions required for making environmental concern an outcome of outdoor recreation participation. This time, the members of Nature and Youth Sweden were approached in a two-step process. The first step included a minor e-mail based questionnaire (see Appendix 2) addressed to the 50 trustees of the organization including editors of the members' magazine, and board members on local (club), regional (district) and national level. One purpose of the questionnaire was to determine whether outdoor recreation can, at all, be seen as contributor to environmental concern. In addition, it provided a screening for informants for the second step interviews. The e-mail questionnaire resulted in 17 responses (a response rate of 34%, after two reminders), of which nine people, seven women and two men in the 23-26 age range, agreed to be interviewed.

Each interview was conducted by phone and lasted for about one hour. They were recorded, transcribed and then analyzed in accordance with the thematic analysis method described above. The informants were asked to reflect on the interplay between outdoor recreation and environmental concern. However, as the Swedish expression for outdoor recreation, *friluftsliv*, may be too burdened by various values and preconceptions, outdoor recreation was discussed in terms of the more unbiased "nature encounter". All interviews were conducted in Swedish.

The interviews were semi-structured in the sense that they included appointed topics for discussions. Those consisted of the central elements to be derived out of the outdoor recreation-environmental concern relationship: *nature encounter*, *nature*, and *environmental concern*, and the relationship between them. These concepts are also central to prevailing

discourses and activities within Nature and Youth Sweden. Therefore, the trustees were also asked to reflect particularly on the significance of the organization as a social milieu.

Methodological considerations

The potential implications of combining qualitative and quantitative approaches are discussed in Chapter 1. Below focus is placed on various considerations with regard to response rates, the measuring of environmental concern, the use of focus groups and finally the overall choice of Nature and Youth Sweden as a case.

Response rates of survey and questionnaire

The national survey was distributed to 4700 Swedish citizens of whom 1972 (about 40%) individuals responded. This response rate is not satisfactory but mirrors a general trend of declining response rates for similar surveys in Sweden (SCB, 2010). A follow-up telephone survey directed to 433 non-respondents indicated that the likelihood of answering the questionnaire was not correlated with the interest for outdoor recreation (Fredman et al., 2008). The response rate for the minor e-mail questionnaire conducted for Paper IV was even lower, 34%. However, as the main purpose was to provide a screening for informants, a low response rate is less problematic. Also, the informants interviewed did not distinguish themselves from the other respondents of the questionnaire with regard to geographical location, age or sex.

Measurements of environmental concern

General measures of environmental concern are at risk of falling into reductionism. The only people who can be asked about train or air travel choices are those who have the economic and physical means of making such a decision. For some people, more appropriate mobility questions might involve alternatives of car versus bike, or even home site choice based on environmental reasons, such as proximity to daily needs and mechanisms of travel. The questions from the survey were initially adapted from item #48 on the 2008 SOM (Samhälle, Opinion, Medier) Institute's Swedish national survey. The SOM institute chose these items based on the principle of including a wide range of possible environmental behaviors for

respondents to consider (Martinsson, 2013, personal communication). These questions refer to a Swedish, and urban, context and have limited validity elsewhere. Moreover, the variations in the number of responses (see Table 1 in Paper III) lend possible support to the idea that all of the questions may not have been relevant, or context specific enough, to compel a response for the purpose of this study.

Focus groups

The reason for conducting a content analysis and focus groups was to reveal shared values, norms and dominant discourses relative to preferences and motives with regard to performance of outdoor recreation. Hence, the choice of district boards of Nature and Youth Sweden as focus groups had several advantages. Board meetings provide opportunities for condensed interaction between members and represent contexts in which ideas are formed and decisions are made. The boards are also authorized to decide on organizational activities. Moreover, the choice of boards was practical as it facilitated the participant recruitment process, and it was easy to locate a focus group in connection with an already scheduled meeting. Another advantage is that the participants were familiar with each other, which created good conditions for discussions.

A high level of group cohesion can sometimes be problematic when focus groups are conducted (Wibeck, 2010), as manifestations of group-think becomes more likely. In this case, however, it was rather an advantage that dominating perceptions were clearly expressed since the purpose of the study was to grasp the general views and meaning-making in an outdoor devoted group of environmentalists. Another aspect to consider regarding focus groups is the internal power relations within the group (Barbour & Schostak, 2005). Even though some participants were more dominating than others the agreement between the participants, between the different focus groups, as well as between the focus groups and the results from the content analysis of the members' magazine was manifest.

Transferability of the case study results

Paper II and IV are based on a case study of the organization Nature and Youth Sweden. This organization was chosen due to the way its operations take both environmental concern and outdoor recreation as starting points. This combination makes the organization a "critical case" (cf. Goggin, 1986). Given the uniqueness of this single-case, questions may be raised

regarding the transferability of the results (cf. Campbell & Stanley, 1966). Also, the members of the organization are generally perceived as hard core environmentalists, and highly devoted recreationists. Results from Paper II do show congruence with the results from the national survey regarding activities, traveling and environmental behavior, but the members can barely be claimed to be representative neither of environmentalists, nor recreationists in general.

The aim of the case study, however, was to “explore in-depth nuances of a particular phenomenon and the contextual influences on and explanations of that phenomenon” (Baxter, 2010, p.81). This may refer to the solving of concrete problems (such as why environmentalists travel for their outdoor recreation, Paper II) or broadening academic understanding of a phenomenon in general (such as the potential influence of outdoor recreation on environmental concern, Paper IV). Thus, the typical or average case, though representative, may reveal less information and may fail to shed light on the given problem or phenomenon (Flyvberg, 2006).

With regard to transferability, it is also of importance to clarify the differences between statistical generalizations and analytic generalizations (Yin, 2003). The results from Paper I and III claim statistical generality through the large probability samples that were randomly selected and representative of the population. By contrast, analytic generalization, relies on theory with much wider applicability than the particular case studied. With firm support from theory the carefully chosen case may therefore add greatly to the transferability of the results to other cases or a larger group. The relatively low number of informants in Paper IV was, therefore, compensated for by the richness of the data provided, and by the support provided from theory.

5. Paper summaries

As mentioned in Chapter 1 the studies in Paper I and Paper II were loosely guided by the overall questions of whether and how environmental concern influences participation and preferences in outdoor recreation. Similarly, Paper III and Paper IV related to the questions of whether and how outdoor recreation practices influence levels of environmental concern. The way forward in both cases was from broad research questions and quantitative descriptions (Papers I and III) to more specific questions and qualitative approaches (Papers II and IV). This chapter provides an overview of the papers, presented in *Table 3*, followed by a summary of each paper.

Table 3. Overview of the papers.

Paper	Research Questions	Data	Analyses	Key Findings
I. Environmentalism and tourism preferences: A study of outdoor recreationists in Sweden (Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism).	Do environmentalists distinguish with regard to outdoor recreation practices?	National survey on outdoor recreation.	Non-parametric Chi-square tests to identify differences between environmentalists and non-environmentalists. Test of correlations between environmental concern and participation in recreational activities.	Environmentalists spend more time in the outdoors and prefer simple, non-motorized activities. They do not avoid traveling for their recreational experiences.
II. Traveling for nature? On the paradox of environmental awareness and travel for nature experiences (Tourism).	Why do environmentalists travel for their outdoor recreational experiences?	Focus groups with members of Nature and Youth Sweden. Content analysis of member's magazine.	Thematic analysis of data with themes emerging from condensing of meaning units.	Informants travel in spite of awareness of the negative environmental impact. Motivations for traveling refer to particular setting preferences and needs of social and spatial distinction.
III. Nature to place: Rethinking the environmental connectedness perspective (Journal of Environmental Psychology).	What are the theoretical principles of the environmental connectedness perspective? What is the validity of the claim that nature experience ultimately results in environmental behavior?	National survey on outdoor recreation. Literature of geographical ideas on human-environmental relationships.	Test of correlations between stated feelings of connectedness and pro-environmental behavior. Analysis of the environmental connectedness perspective based on a review of geographical ideas.	There is a modest relationship between measures of environmental connectedness and pro-environmental behavior. The environmental connectedness perspective is based on a materialist/realist ontology, where nature is portrayed as an agent with inherent power to change behavior.
IV. Affiliation and affection: Outdoor recreation and the making of environmental practice (in manuscript).	Does outdoor recreation participation contribute to environmental concern? What are the contextual conditions required for making environmental concern an outcome of outdoor recreation participation?	E-mail questionnaire. Semi-structured interviews with members of Nature and Youth Sweden.	Thematic analysis of interview data with main themes emerging from condensing of meaning units.	Outdoor recreation is perceived as a contributor to environmental concern by the informants. The required contextual conditions are related to place relations, outdoor experiences and social context.

I. Environmentalism and tourism preferences: A study of outdoor recreationists in Sweden¹

International research on outdoor recreation and environmental concern has, to a large extent, focused on specific activities, showing that there are positive associations in particular between so-called appreciative activities and environmental concern. This paper looks at a variety of outdoor recreation related characteristics to explore the preferences among Swedish environmentalists. Special focus is on the environmentalists' socio-demographics, and whether and to what extent they are distinguishable with regard to their outdoor recreation practice.

In the study the environmentalists are defined on the basis of self-reported behavior. The group is associated with gender, education, urban living and number of children in the household. The likelihood of being an environmentalist is significantly higher among females, highly educated individuals, and individuals living in cities of 50,000 inhabitants or more. By contrast the likelihood is significantly lower if there are children (up to 12 years) in the household.

The study identifies several distinct outdoor related characteristics of the environmentalists when compared to those classified as non-environmentalists. The environmentalists spend more time in the outdoors, claim more frequently closeness to nature as a motive for outdoor recreation participation, they are in a greater extent in possession of a second home and claim that outdoor recreation opportunities have an impact on their choice of residential location.

In terms of outdoor activities, the study supports previous research insofar as it shows positive correlations between environmentalism and participation in appreciative activities with little environmental impact (biking, birdwatching and nature studies and various types of walking), while negative correlations were identified for hunting and snowmobiling representing consumptive and motorised recreation activities. Most of the preferred activities are quite simple and common, requiring no special equipment or travel to distant places. Paradoxically, however, results show that the environmentalists also declare that traveling away from their residential areas is of importance for their participation in outdoor recreation.

¹ Wolf-Watz, D., Sandell, K. & Fredman, P. (2011). Environmentalism and tourism preferences: A study of outdoor recreationists in Sweden, *Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism*, 11(2), 190-204.

The findings suggest that the expressed activity preferences may simply reflect the environmentalists' concern for the environment. However, results show no dislike regarding fishing and motor-boating, as examples of consumptive and motorized activities. Moreover, the fact that the environmentalists stress traveling for their outdoor recreation participation contradicts environmental concern as it very likely involves use of fossil fuel-dependent transportation, and probably will contribute to climate change. These results call for more in-depth qualitative research to further understand environmentalists' outdoor recreational choices.

II. Traveling for nature? On the paradox of environmental awareness and travel for nature experiences²

Climate change is widely seen as one of the major environmental problems facing the world today. At the same time nature-based tourism, including ecotourism, shows a steady rise. The second paper is based on the finding in Paper I, that distant traveling is important for environmentalists' engagement in outdoor recreation. The aim is to analyze why environmentalists travel for nature-based experiences in spite of their presumed awareness of that most transportation modes generate negative environmental impacts. In order to understand this, Paper II presents a qualitative study based on focus groups with members of the Swedish youth organization Nature and Youth Sweden, and a content analysis of the member's magazine of the organization. This organization combines a great outdoor interest with a profound commitment to the environment.

Results show that the members of the organization are highly aware of the negative environmental impact of most means of transportation, and work persistently for a reduction of it on a societal level. However, results also show that the outdoor recreational activities of Nature and Youth Sweden require extensive traveling, thus corresponding with the results in Paper I. During the period studied about 55% of the activities offered to members took place at a distance of more than 300 km from the metropolitan areas of Sweden (Stockholm, Gothenburg, Malmö and Uppsala). Given that almost 70% of the members live in these areas

² Wolf-Watz, D. (2014). Traveling for nature? On the paradox of environmental awareness and travel for nature experiences. *Tourism* 62(1), 5-18.

this indicates a relatively high level of mobility. Journeys to remote destinations, such as the Swedish mountain areas and off shore islands abound.

The findings indicate that environmentalists' traveling may be explained by the way meaning and significance is ascribed to particular outdoor settings. Emerging from the focus groups and content analysis are preferences for settings characterized by the qualities of biodiversity, natural quiet and absence of other people as well as of human impact. Places that are too affected by human activity are dismissed, such as industrial areas, business areas and shopping malls, but also green spaces such as managed forests and town parks.

The study also reveals that these nature preferences comprise a social dimension. Socializing is a claimed motive for traveling and the importance of physical travel is clearly related to the need of corporeal proximity, not only to specific places but also to fellow members.

Furthermore, the traveling of Nature and Youth Sweden seems to be part of a process of othering and exclusion. Apart from references to specific physical characteristics, less attractive environments are also frequently depicted by referring to the kind of people who can be expected to appear at such undesirable sites, such as tourists, brats (rich man's kids), forest company representatives, as well as ordinary, "unenlightened" people. The preferable settings are defined in relation to less attractive places where other people dwell, as a way to separate "us" from "them", and "where to be" from "where not to be".

Thus, traveling for nature-based experiences reflects not only the demand for particular nature qualities, but also the need to, at least from time to time ensure a distance and distinction to people and environments that represent perceived downsides of the society, including environments where the environmentalists lead their everyday lives. Both reasons taken together, that is the preferred places as well as social distinction, motivate traveling for outdoor recreation.

III. Nature to place: Rethinking the environmental connectedness perspective³

A recurrent environmental theme refers to the notion of individual “nature encounters” and “nature experiences” as pathways to pro-environmental behavior. Paper III examines the so called environmental connectedness perspective, developed within conservation and environmental psychology, as a scholarly application of this notion. The perspective posits that direct encounter with a generalized, or non-specific nature, leads to environmental connectedness and a subsequent pro-environmental behavior. Essentially it is hypothesized that spending time in nature will, given repeated experience, help an individual feel connected to nature, and more inclined to care about nature.

The paper examines the bases for, and strength of, this perspective through an empirical study and a review of geographical ideas on human-environmental relationships. The empirical study uses data from the national survey on outdoor recreation and nature-based tourism (see Chapter 3 for more detailed information about the survey). The survey includes questions that comply with the environmental connectedness perspective, and the nature experience to environmental behavior progression. The results show a very modest relationship between measures of environmental connectedness and self-reported environmental behavior. Above all, this indicates that connectedness does not automatically imply a commitment to engage in the specific behaviors. These results are similar to findings of previous research.

The following examination of the environmental connectedness perspective takes as a starting point a review of human geographical thought. History shows how most disciplinary efforts on this matter reflect a Cartesian divide, where nature and culture are placed in opposition to one another, and where one of them dominates the other. The approaches within the human-environment theme are also generally based on either an idealist/social constructionist ontology or a materialist/realist ontology. Applied to this schema the environmental connectedness perspective appears to be based on the latter, neglecting the human domain of perceptions, values, and representations. The environment equals “nature” and is portrayed as

³ Beery, T.H, & Wolf-Watz, D. (2014). Nature to place: Rethinking the environmental connectedness perspective. *Journal of Environmental Psychology* 40, 198-205.

a geographically undefined agent with the inherent power to change human attitudes and behavior.

In the paper it is argued that the environmental connectedness perspective may suffer from reductionism, dualistic thinking and a strive for explanations based on one-way causality. Based on this, the paper concludes with a proposal that the elusive concept of nature should be replaced by the relational concept of *place*. It is argued that place transcends outdated dichotomies by capturing social construction and recognizing the material basis for it. Finally it is concluded that the understanding of human behavioral change calls for considerations that go beyond plain progression models and their inherent pursuit for universality and necessity, and an understanding of environmental concern as a phenomenon occurring within the interplay between individuals and their various interacting contexts. Paper IV makes an attempt to address these considerations.

IV. Affiliation and affection: Outdoor recreation and the making of environmental practice⁴

Like Paper III this final paper takes as its point of departure the contemporary environmental challenges and the recurrent notion of the potential influence of direct nature experiences on increasing levels of environmental concern. While research on this topic reports on associations between outdoor recreation and environmental concern, it also indicates that any such effect of outdoor recreation must be seen as relational and context-dependent. Due to this, the aim of the paper is to examine the contextual conditions required for making environmental concern an outcome of outdoor recreation participation.

The examination is based on an e-mail questionnaire and nine interviews with particular members, trustees, of the organization Nature and Youth Sweden. The theoretical foundation draws from sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, and especially his concepts of practice, habitus and field. Results from the e-mail questionnaire make it clear that outdoor recreation is perceived as a contributor to the respondents' environmental concern. The following interviews, however, reveal that this course of events is neither straightforward nor universal, but relative to a range of interacting factors. From the trustees' accounts outdoor recreation and

⁴ Wolf-Watz, D., in manuscript.

environmental concern emerge as sets of actions that simultaneously relate to cultural meaning, personal experience, and interpersonal relations.

Using the perspective of Bourdieu the significance of direct experience of nature may be explained by the dialectical process of objectification and incorporation. The objectification reflects the way the informants ascribe a variety of affective values and beneficial qualities to particular physical environments, and especially to environments perceived as pristine and untouched by humans. These include a view of nature as good, ideal, and genuine, and a belief in nature's inherent propitious powers. The incorporation refers to the process where the informants embody these values, and associated norms and behaviors, by the bodily encounter with these particular physical environments. This encounter is described as "being present in place" and includes activities such as wandering, exploring the surroundings, listening to the sounds of nature and so on. Environmental concern, as an outcome of their encounter, is mainly referred to as a commitment to preserve and protect favored environments. Accordingly the informants see no distinct division between their outdoor interest and their environmental concern.

Of relevance for this to happen are also the recreationists' practical outdoor experiences. The informants account for what may be called an adequate outdoor experience, being knowledgeable, confident and positively disposed to outdoor events. Equally important is the presence of an appropriate social context. The informants describe the organization Nature and Youth Sweden as a peer group where particular relationships to nature, and related norms and behavior, are acknowledged, accentuated, and formed, resulting in a homogenization of perceptions and actions. From this it follows that their environmental concern are actions based in what makes sense in this social context, and will grow as long as the social environment supports its upholding. Thus environmental practice appears as a set of actions that are, not least, socially motivated.

6. Discussion

The aim of this thesis is to study place relations in terms of outdoor recreation as part of the quest for environmental sustainability in late-modern societies. This is done through an examination of the relationship between outdoor recreation and environmental concern. The following discussion links the main findings from the empirical work to the theoretical frame of reference presented in earlier chapters.

Participation and preferences

The results of Paper I, Paper II and Paper IV show that environmentally committed individuals preferably engage in simple, appreciative, non-consumptive and non-motorized activities (with all due respect for the problems related to such categorizations), if possible in what is perceived as pristine areas away from urban environments. These activities especially include biking, birdwatching and nature studies and various types of walking. In contrast, activities which have negative connotations include snowmobiling and hunting.

Most preferable activities among the environmentally committed individuals are simple and common, and suitable settings for their performance are likely to be found nearby for most people in Sweden. Thus, the importance of traveling reported by the environmentalists reveals a need to engage in outdoor recreation at a distance from where these individuals lead their everyday life. The study of Nature and Youth Sweden (Paper II) supports these results, as a majority of the activities offered to its members took place at a distance of more than 300 km from the metropolitan areas of Sweden.

This willingness to travel makes sense when one considers the environmentalists' landscape preferences. Within Nature and Youth Sweden, journeys to remote destinations, such as the Swedish mountain areas and offshore islands are common and recurring. The most common qualities of a perceived attractive site reported, include richness of species, natural quiet and an overall absence of human impact as well as of other people. Natural quiet, therefore, should be understood as the absence of sounds from human activities.

These results are in accordance with earlier studies on outdoor recreation participation and preferences. Research on activities reports recurrent associations between appreciative activities and environmental concern (Hockett et al, 2004; Berns & Simpson, 2009). They also

coincide with market analyses on ecotourists (Wight, 2000), as these are generally considered as being environmentally concerned (e.g. Eagles, 1992; Wight, 1996; Tao et al., 2004). Regarding the importance of particular environments the results mirror the research by Bjerke et al. (2006) and de Groot and van den Born (2003) when reporting on preferences for “untouched” non-urban areas. Also in this case support may be drawn from research on ecotourism that suggests that the ecotourism market is made up of those who search for “nature-oriented” experiences in “pristine” environments (Wight, 2000). In fact, as shown in Paper IV, these environments represent “real nature”.

Emerging from the results is a distinct pattern of outdoor recreational practice: the environmentalists engage in particular activities in particular places. These places are not preferable only due to their appropriateness for specific activities, but to the way they are carriers of symbolic meaning and significance. With Bourdieu’s perspective (1977), these places are products of an objectification reflecting an ongoing spatial set-up based on dichotomies such as natural-unnatural, controlled-uncontrolled, urban and non-urban: they represent “the nature”. All this corresponds well with the longstanding recreational discourse that, based on the Romantic notion of “wilderness”, enunciates the simple outdoor recreation in perceived untouched areas (Svarstad, 2010; Senda-Cook & Endres, 2013; Lisberg Jensen & Ouis, 2014). In this discourse nature is viewed as a haven that provides an escape from modern society and its artificial and polluted environments. The unease vis-à-vis modern society results in a “cultural desire” for “natural” places (cf. Urry, 1995; Macnaghten, 2006).

Motivations for landscape preferences

As shown above the environmentalist prefer to engage in outdoor recreation in what is perceived as pristine areas, commonly at a distance from their urban residences. In their reasoning, presented in Paper II, the preferable places are frequently contrasted with undesirable ones. This particularly relates to various urban environments, including industrial and business areas but also to “green areas” not being natural enough, such as city parks and managed forests. Less attractive environments are also frequently depicted by referring to the kind of people who can be expected to appear at such undesirable sites. Accordingly, an appreciated place for outdoor recreation would lose its appeal if groups of people with other preferences and behaviors appeared - it would be “socially polluted” to use a term by Urry (1995).

Paper I shows how the environmentalists differ from non-environmentalists, as they spend more time in the outdoors, more often possess second homes and frequently refer to being close to nature as a motive for participating in outdoor recreation activities. However, while environmentalists differ in the outdoors, the results presented in Paper II make obvious that they also use outdoor recreation to distinguish themselves. The motive of being close to nature, therefore, reflects not only a demand for particular environmental qualities, but also the need to ensure a distance and a distinction from people and places that represent perceived downsides of the society, including places where the environmentalists themselves lead their everyday lives.

This links closely to the way discourses produce collective and individual identities by providing representations that make visible who belongs and who does not belong to a particular social group (Foucault, 1966). By demarcating nature, and setting off for it, environmentalists express what they have in common and establish a relation of difference with regard to other places and other people (cf. Veblen, 1989; Mowforth & Munt, 2009; Wynne; 1998). As such, outdoor recreation is used as means for distinction and social reproduction (cf. Bourdieu, 1984; Schein, 1997).

Fostering environmental concern

Results from the e-mail questionnaire to trustees of the organization Nature and Youth Sweden, presented in Paper IV, show that outdoor recreation, as “nature encounter”, is perceived as contributing to the respondents’ environmental concern. However, this course of event is neither straight-forward, nor universal, but relational, situated and context-dependent. As discussed in Paper III the perspective of environmental connectedness neglects the human domain of perceptions, values and representations, and the subjectivity of human experiences. A perspective of this kind separates the environment from the meaning people ascribe to their surroundings, and makes the recreationist behavior determined by material conditions. The results presented in Paper II and Paper IV contradicts this by showing how recreationists are co-creators of their outdoor experiences, contributing with their motivations, their meaning-making and their experience.

Therefore, it is concluded that “nature encounter” as a general prescription for pro-environmental change is likely to fail. These results are in line with research that questions the

expected nature experiences to environmental concern progression (e.g. Berns & Simpson, 2009; Hocket et al., 2004; Rickinson, 2004; Mayer & France, 2004). Rather, the findings show that every such outcome of outdoor recreation is relative to the various contextual circumstances that condition individual recreational and environmental practice. This especially refers to the meaning the informants of the study ascribe to the settings where the nature encounter occurs, to their practical outdoor experiences and to the concessions and constraints related to their social context.

From these insights it is here suggested that the influence of outdoor recreation on individual environmental concern depends on the following three interconnected and interdependent conditions:

- i) *favorable place relations,*
- ii) *adequate outdoor experience,* and
- iii) *appropriate social context.*

These three suggested conditions do by no means give a comprehensive answer, but in general terms they can be regarded as necessary requirements for the making of environmental practice within an outdoor recreational context. The conditions will be further elaborated below.

i) Favorable place relations

In this thesis the concept of place is perceived critical for addressing the issue of outdoor recreation and environmental concern within the broader theme of human-environmental relations. It is argued that people's place-making mirrors their creation of frames for understanding and acting in the world, and for the definition of relations to other places and other people. While Paper II reveals the significance of particular outdoor places for the environmentalists, the meanings ascribed to these places are further elaborated on in Paper IV. For the environmentalists nature, situated in pristine and untouched environments, represents the good, the ideal and the genuine. This place-making, or objectification to use Bourdieu's term (1977), also includes the perspective of nature as a provider of beneficial experiences. These relate to escapism, relaxation, joy and learning, and the ascribing of an intrinsic power to alter peoples' relationship to nature, be it via cognitive experiences, attachment to particular places or the sense of involvement and belonging. In Paper III it is argued that such

a perspective is questionable as point of departure for research, as it tends to reproduce nature-culture dualism and assumptions of one-directional causality. As representations and perceptions of recreationists, however, they must be considered as vital for the outcomes of outdoor related experiences. The favorable place relations reported in Paper II and Paper IV are crucial for the effects perceived as increased environmental concern.

The place relations accounted for are not solely a matter of projections of cultural constructions, but also derive from the bodily engagement and physical interaction with the chosen environments, that is, the incorporation (Bourdieu, 1977). The practices of wandering, looking around, listening and so on are at center of the interplay between the cultural and material dimensions that forms and maintain their relations to particular environments. A part of these relations is related to norms and values that point to particular ways of approaching the environment (cf. Sandell, 2007, 2013). These are reflected in the ways the environmentalists behave with regard to “nature”, in their preferences for appreciative activities (Paper I) and in their commitment to act on behalf of it (Paper IV). Thus, the outdoor recreation landscape is also a moral landscape, since it is used for socialization and creations of behavioral standards (cf. Grimwood, 2011; Flemsæter, Setten, & Brown, in press).

ii) Adequate outdoor experience

Of central importance for the dialectical process of objectification and incorporation described above are the experiences that form the recreationists’ habitus. As habitus generates dispositions for representations and practices, people engage in outdoor recreation in ways that reflect the processes that continuously form them, and make them more or less disposed for the realities inherent in these outdoor events (cf. Bourdieu, 1990a). As an open system that reinforces or modifies its structure the experiences deriving from these events contribute to the continuing development of habitus (cf. Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992).

The processes that form habitus are complex and correspond to the overall life experience of an individual. In this context, however, the experiences related to outdoor activities are likely to be of particular relevance. The references to childhood outings and more recent outdoor events made by the informants in Paper II and Paper IV provide an overall picture of individuals accustomed to being outdoors. The informants are knowledgeable, confident, skilled, and as a result they enjoy being in nature. Overall, their outdoor experiences seem

adequate for the reported outcomes of nature encounter and are part of the formation of favorable place relations.

iii) Appropriate social context

Just as Bourdieu takes his point of departure in the social world, so do the trustees of Nature and Youth Sweden interviewed in Paper IV. In their accounts of nature encounter and environmental concern there are recurrent references made to various social contexts, of which Nature and Youth Sweden appears as most important for their understandings and practices. Reflecting their common interest in “nature experiences” and environmental issues the organization may well be considered as part of a Bourdieusian field (cf. Haluza-DeLay, 2006). For the informants, Nature and Youth Sweden provides a common platform for environmental campaigns and arrangements of outdoor events. Accordingly, meanings and significance related to the physical environment are at center of the internal discourse.

At the same time the organization plays a central role in their social life. Among the social contexts mentioned by the trustees, Nature and Youth Sweden stands out as *the* community to belong to. However, the involvement in Nature and Youth Sweden is not unconditional. The organization works for societal change, and so provides specific perceptions of the world, including explicit opinions of how society should be arranged and how people should lead their lives. The organizational assignment relates particularly to norms and behavior with regard to the environment. This implies expectations to be recognized by the members of the organization, reflected in the high degree of uniformity reported on by the trustees.

This homogenizing corresponds to what Bourdieu calls a “consensual validation” within a field, which produces a common rationale regarding appropriate perceptions and actions (Bourdieu, 1977). As such, Nature and Youth Sweden constitutes a social-cultural context where some representations and practices become more meaningful and understandable than others. From this it follows that performances of outdoor recreation and environmental concern appear as sets of practices that are also socially motivated and dependent on appropriate social context.

On environmental grounds

The findings of this thesis show how environmentalists and their participation in outdoor recreation are part of a socio-cultural context which ascribes significance to particular places in the outdoor landscape. Some of these places, via the recreationists' practices, contribute to the forming and maintaining of perspectives and/or actions, to attitudes and/or behavior that may be referred to as environmental concern. In Paper IV the informants describe this concern as a commitment to the preservation and protection of environments perceived as valuable.

Sandell's (2005; 2007) notion of ecot strategies refers to general ways of approaching the landscape. Thus it covers any landscape usage, including manifestations of outdoor recreation and environmental concern, expressed in terms of landscape relations. Applying this conceptual framework to the presented findings, one can see how preferences for appreciative activities in areas perceived as pristine, and the commitment to protection and preservation of particular designated environments, fall under the same category of ecot strategies: they coincide with the perception of the landscape as a "museum for external consumption" (Sandell, 2005, 2007). Thus, the reported environmental concern and outdoor recreation practices may be seen as complementary parts of a wider environmental discourse. Accordingly, the informants in Paper IV see no distinct division between their outdoor interest and their environmental concern; they are each other's accompaniments and logical outcomes.

This environmental discourse, in line with the landscape perspective of a "museum for external consumption", was grounded already in the early years of industrialization. It is based on a view of nature as a place to visit and appreciate for its beauty and purity rather than a landscape to use for production; and accompanied by a desire to set aside particular areas as "nature reserves" or national parks. Since it takes the modern industrial and urban society as reference, this view of nature becomes opposed to culture. From this it follows that demarcations of nature, for protection and recreation, refer to areas perceived as untouched, preferably at a distance from cities and other environments used by people (cf. Paper II).

The perspective of "museum" may serve as inspiration for more radical environmental engagement (cf. Svarstad, 2010; Sandell & Öhman, 2013). There are also well-founded and obvious reasons for the preservation and protection of particular areas. However, the conceptual and spatial division between nature and culture may also result in implications with regard to environmental sustainability. The desire to experience "real nature" may on the

one hand lead to degradation of those areas where this nature is perceived to be found (cf. Nelson, 1996; Buckley, 2015), and also, on the other hand, to the destruction of other places that are perceived as not being natural enough (Sendra-Cook & Endres, 2013). A number of scholars also assert that the upholding of a nature-culture divide may prevent the development of more thorough environmental practices (e.g. Cronon, 1995; Haraway, 1991; Head, 2008; Proctor, 2009; Plumwood, 1993). Another critical aspect, stressed in this thesis, is how manifestations of this discourse, in terms of affection for “pristine areas”, reinforce unsustainable patterns of transportations (Paper II). Today, awareness of climate change is high, and among the members of Nature and Youth Sweden it is generally seen as one of the most severe environmental problem (Paper II). In light of this, the traveling for outdoor recreation among these individuals, and environmentalists in general, appears as a paradox.

From a Bourdieusian perspective an explanation of this paradox can be found in the inert characteristics of social dynamics regarding change. The interplay between habitus and fields make individuals predisposed to act, perceive and think in ways that are rational relative to the prevailing views of the field. The “feel for the game” reflects “a system of schemes of practices and a system of perception and appreciation of practices” (Bourdieu, 1989, p. 19) resulting in a reproduction of actions and perceptions. Within this reproduction, perceptions, including for instance dichotomies such as nature-culture, become lasting and perceived as objective (cf. Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). While reproduction finds its reason in social processes within a group, it is also related to the process of distinctions between groups (Bourdieu, 1994; and Paper II). Therefore, certain practices locate people in relation to discursive positions to others within the group – and to members of other groups. From this it follows that environmental concern is made up by perceptions and/or actions based in what makes sense in particular social and discursive contexts. Moreover, as dispositions tend to be passed on to new members of the group, related attitudes and behaviors may appear consistent over time. In this thesis the case of Nature and Youth Sweden reveals the mechanisms behind the persistency of this environmental discourse.

Still, social change takes place! Habitus slowly evolves, due to changing material and socio-cultural conditions, and, importantly, through reflexivity (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1993). Learning and reflecting make people able to choose perspective and take distance. It is in this spirit Sandell and Öhman (2013) challenge predominant discourse by suggesting alternative educational pathways towards environmental concern within an outdoor context (see also Pedersen Gurholt, 2014). In this thesis it is suggested that a perception of outdoor recreation

as practice in places brings understanding to how and why individuals and groups engage in outdoor recreation. Therefore, when aiming for an outdoor recreational practice responsive to the uncertainty and diversity that characterize the pursuit towards environmental sustainability, the interconnected conditions presented above – favorable place relations, adequate outdoor experience and appropriate social context – should be kept in mind.

7. Conclusions

This thesis examines the relationship between outdoor recreation and environmental concern as part of the wider issue of environmental sustainability in late-modern societies. It includes studies of environmentalists' preferences and motivations with regard to outdoor recreation, and covers the inquiries of whether and how outdoor recreation can influence levels of environmental concern. As such, the results are of importance with respect to planning for outdoor recreation opportunities and development of nature-based tourism. The results are of particular interest for environmental organizations, as well as to schools and other institutions working for a more sustainable society.

Findings show that environmentally committed individuals favor participation in appreciative activities in what is perceived as pristine areas, preferably away from urban environments. For most environmentalists, being residents of larger cities, transportation is required for visiting these remote places. Hence, environmentalists' motivations for traveling also refer to discursive context, social identity and social position. The favorable outdoor places are carriers of symbolic values and used for establishing interpersonal relations. As such, these places make up a common environmental ground among the environmentalists, used for affiliation and distinction.

These aspects are crucial also regarding the influence of outdoor recreation on environmental concern. Primarily expressed as a commitment for preservation and protection of particular environments, this concern is not an outcome of "nature encounters" alone but rather reflects how outdoor recreation practice simultaneously expresses and constitutes environmental discourses and social position. Thus, the places where outdoor recreation is performed function as mediators and facilitators of this continuing process.

Building on the theoretical concepts of place, habitus and field it is concluded that the relationship between outdoor recreation and environmental concern relates to an interplay between individual, socio-cultural and environmental elements. The thesis rejects notions of simple progression models, that is, where outdoor recreation automatically leads to increasing levels of environmental concern. Instead environmental concern is situated and context-dependent, occurring within the nexus between individuals and their various interacting contexts. Outdoor recreation may be one of these contexts, if the conditions outlined above are fulfilled.

8. Sammanfattning på svenska

Människors livsstilar och miljöengagemang har avgörande betydelse för frågor om miljörelaterad hållbarhet. De kan dels relateras till hur naturresurser används och dels till i vilken utsträckning det finns stöd för politiskt arbete som syftar till en hållbar samhällsutveckling. Det är mot denna bakgrund som föreliggande avhandling tar sig an frågan om relationen mellan friluftsliv och miljöengagemang som en del av den större frågeställningen om hållbarhet i senmoderna samhällen som exempelvis Sverige.

Friluftslivet i Sverige och liknande länder har kommit att dela många av de karaktärsdrag som präglat framväxten av det moderna industri- och konsumtionssamhället, såsom en upptrappad kommersialisering, ett ökat resande liksom en ständig utveckling och användning av nya tekniker och produkter. Samtidigt har det alltid funnits en tilltro till friluftslivet som ett miljöpedagogiskt verktyg med syfte att utveckla ett mindre resursslukande och miljöförstörande beteende. De övergripande frågorna som tas upp är därför hur och varför miljöengagerade individer ägnar sig åt friluftsliv, och om deltagande i friluftsliv kan bidra till ett ökat miljöengagemang. Studierna bygger på data från en nationell studie av svenskars friluftsvanor och en fallstudie av organisationen Fältbiologerna. Avhandlingens teoretiska ansats utgår från begreppen plats, habitus och fält.

I linje med tidigare forskning visar resultaten att miljöengagerade individer föredrar att ägna sig åt ”naturnära” aktiviteter i områden som upplevs som orörda, gärna på avstånd från de städer där de annars bor. Artikel I visar att miljöengagerade kan ses som en grupp som i friluftslivet skiljer sig från dem som inte har samma engagemang. Motiven för miljöengagerades friluftsliv går att hänvisa till en förkärlek för ”orörd natur”, men också till frågor om diskursivt sammanhang, identitet och sociala relationer. Resultaten i artikel II åskådliggör hur de miljöengagerade använder friluftslivet som ett sätt att etablera ett fysiskt och socialt avstånd från samhällets avigsidor, och de människor som kan förknippas med dessa.

Diskursiva och sociala aspekter har också en betydelse när det gäller friluftslivets möjligheter att bidra till ett ökat miljöengagemang. Resultaten i artikel III ger inget stöd för enkla orsakssamband, eller för tanken att friluftsliv generellt bidrar till ett ökat miljöengagemang. I artikel IV föreslås istället tre villkor som tillsammans utgör de grundläggande förutsättningarna för att detta ska ske, nämligen: gynnsamma platsrelationer, adekvata

friluftserfarenheter, och lämpliga sociala sammanhang. Dessa villkor ger även en förklaringsgrund till vilket friluftsliv miljöengagerade ägnar sig åt och varför.

Sammantaget kan man utifrån studierna dra den slutsatsen att miljöengagemang utgör ett fenomen som formas och upprätthålls i relationer mellan individer och de sammanhang dessa verkar i. Friluftslivet kan vara ett sådant sammanhang, under förutsättning att villkoren ovan är uppfyllda.

9. References

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Appendix 1. Survey on outdoor recreation participation

En studie om fritidsaktiviteter och naturupplevelser



Mittuniversitetet
MID SWEDEN UNIVERSITY

TÄNK PÅ DETTA NÄR DU BESVARAR ENKÄTEN

- **Frågorna avser aktiviteter och naturupplevelser på din fritid. Inkludera inte aktiviteter och upplevelser i samband med yrkesarbete, studier etc.**
- **Vissa frågor kanske handlar om något du är mindre intresserad av, likväl är dina svar mycket viktiga för oss.**
- **Även om du tycker att några frågor är svåra att besvara exakt, svara så gott du kan. Dina svar är värdefulla även om de är ungefärliga.**
- **Returnera det ifyllda formuläret i det portofria svarskuvertet.**
- **Om du hellre besvarar enkäten på Internet, gå då till adressen:
<http://gathering.itm.miun.se/fritids.survey>
Logga in med de uppgifter som finns längst ner på enkätens baksida.**

Först vill vi ställa några frågor om dig, din uppväxt och dina eventuella vistelser i naturen.

1. Jag är...

- Kvinna Man

2. Jag är född år...

1 9 _ _

3a. Var bor du idag? Kryssa i det alternativ som bäst beskriver ditt bostadsområde.

- Landsbygd med högst ett fåtal hus inom synhåll
 By eller mindre ort på landsbygden med i huvudsak en- eller tvåfamiljshus
 By eller mindre ort på landsbygden med blandad bebyggelse, en- eller tvåfamiljshus och flerfamiljshus
 Tätbebyggt område, stadsdel eller förort med i huvudsak en- eller tvåfamiljshus
 Tätbebyggt område med blandad bebyggelse, en- eller tvåfamiljshus och flerfamiljshus
 Tätbebyggt område med i huvudsak flerfamiljshus

3b. Om du fyllt i något av de tre sista alternativen i föregående fråga ("tätbebyggt område...") vill vi att du anger typ av tätort:

- Mindre stad (mindre än ca 50 000 innevånare)
 Medelstor stad (ca 50 000 - 200 000 innevånare)
 Storstad (mer än ca 200 000 innevånare)

4. I vilken utsträckning uppfattar du följande som natur? Markera med kryss.

	Inte alls	Delvis	Till stor del	Helt och hållet
Skogar	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Badstränder	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Fjäll	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Beteshagar	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Åkrar	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Trädgårdar	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Parker i städer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Golfbanor	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Elljusspår	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sjöar och hav	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Fotbollsplaner	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

5. Ungefär hur ofta är du ute i naturen? Kryssa i det alternativ som passar in bäst för dig på vardagar, helger och längre ledigheter.

	Aldrig	Sällan	Ganska ofta	Mycket ofta
På vardagarna	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
På helger	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Under längre ledigheter, semestrar, lov etc	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

6. Ungefär hur ofta var du ute i naturen som barn (innan du fyllde 12 år)?

	Aldrig	Sällan	Ganska ofta	Mycket ofta
På vardagarna	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
På helger	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Under längre ledigheter, semestrar, lov etc	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

7. Att vistas i naturen brukar få mig att känna eller uppleva...

Markera med ett kryss i vilken grad du instämmer med följande påståenden.

	Helt oenig	Delvis oenig	Varken enig eller oenig	Delvis enig	Helt enig	Vet ej
...en ökad insikt om "samspelet i naturen", att allt hänger samman	<input type="checkbox"/>					
...en känsla av att staden är beroende av den omgivande naturen	<input type="checkbox"/>					
...en känsla av att jag själv och alla människor hör samman med, och ingår i naturen	<input type="checkbox"/>					

8a. Hur bodde du när du växte upp? Kryssa det alternativ som bäst motsvarar ditt huvudsakliga boende fram till 18 års ålder.

- Landsbygd med högst ett fåtal hus inom synhåll
- By eller mindre ort på landsbygden med i huvudsak en- eller tvåfamiljshus
- By eller mindre ort på landsbygden med blandad bebyggelse, en- eller tvåfamiljshus och flerfamiljshus
- Tätbebyggt område, stadsdel eller förort med i huvudsak en- eller tvåfamiljshus
- Tätbebyggt område med blandad bebyggelse, en- eller tvåfamiljshus och flerfamiljshus
- Tätbebyggt område med i huvudsak flerfamiljshus

8b. Om du fyllt i något av de tre sista alternativen i föregående fråga ("tätbebyggt område...") vill vi att du anger typ av tätort:

- Mindre stad (mindre än ca 50 000 innevånare)
- Medelstor stad (ca 50 000 - 200 000 innevånare)
- Storstad (mer än ca 200 000 innevånare)

9. Var växte du respektive dina föräldrar upp? Kryssa eller skriv det alternativ som passar bäst.

	I Sverige	I annat land, (ange vilket):
Jag själv växte upp	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
Min mor växte upp	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
Min far växte upp	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____

Här följer en lista över olika utomhusaktiviteter. Framför varje aktivitet finns ett nummer som vi hänvisar till i andra frågor längre fram. Samma lista finns också på baksidan av följebrevet för att underlätta när du svarar på frågorna.

10. Hur många gånger har du ägnat dig åt respektive aktivitet utomhus under fritiden de senaste 12 månaderna? Kryssa ett alternativ för varje aktivitet.

	Ingen gång	1-5 ggr	6-20 ggr	21-60 ggr	Mer än 60 ggr
1. Strövat i skog och mark (t ex för att titta på naturen, plocka svamp och bär)	<input type="checkbox"/>				
2. Tagit nöjes- och motionspromenader av annat slag	<input type="checkbox"/>				
3. Promenerat med hund	<input type="checkbox"/>				
4. Vandrat i fjällen	<input type="checkbox"/>				
5. Vandrat på vandringsleder i låglandsterräng	<input type="checkbox"/>				
6. Joggat/ terrängsprungit	<input type="checkbox"/>				
7. Gått stavgång	<input type="checkbox"/>				
8. Cyklat i terrängen (MTB)	<input type="checkbox"/>				
9. Cyklat på vägar	<input type="checkbox"/>				
10. Åkt rullskridskor/inlines/rullskidor	<input type="checkbox"/>				
11. Åkt skateboard	<input type="checkbox"/>				
12. Badat utomhus i sjö/hav	<input type="checkbox"/>				
13. Badat utomhus i pool/äventyrsbad	<input type="checkbox"/>				
14. Dykt, snorklat	<input type="checkbox"/>				
15. Paddlat kanot/kajak	<input type="checkbox"/>				
16. Seglat, vind/vågsurfat	<input type="checkbox"/>				
17. Kör/åkt vattenskidor/wakeboard	<input type="checkbox"/>				

	Ingen gång	1-5 ggr	6-20 ggr	21-60 ggr	Mer än 60 ggr
18. Fritidsfiskat	<input type="checkbox"/>				
19. Åkt längdskidor/turskidor	<input type="checkbox"/>				
20. Gått på snöskor	<input type="checkbox"/>				
21. Åkt utför på skidor	<input type="checkbox"/>				
22. Åkt Snowboard	<input type="checkbox"/>				
23. Åkt skridskor/långfärdsskridskor	<input type="checkbox"/>				
24. Kört/åkt motorbåt	<input type="checkbox"/>				
25. Kört/åkt snöskoter	<input type="checkbox"/>				
26. Spelat paintball, rollspel (lajv) etc	<input type="checkbox"/>				
27. Bedrivit geocaching	<input type="checkbox"/>				
28. Solbadat	<input type="checkbox"/>				
29. Jagat	<input type="checkbox"/>				
30. Kört/åkt hundspann	<input type="checkbox"/>				
31. Kört/åkt vattenskoter/jetski	<input type="checkbox"/>				
32. Spelat golf	<input type="checkbox"/>				
33. Orienterat	<input type="checkbox"/>				
34. Klättrat, bestigit berg	<input type="checkbox"/>				
35. Åkt pulka/kälke	<input type="checkbox"/>				
36. Ridit i terräng	<input type="checkbox"/>				
37. Arbetat i trädgården	<input type="checkbox"/>				
38. Tältat/övernattat i naturen	<input type="checkbox"/>				
39. Haft picknick eller grillat i naturen	<input type="checkbox"/>				
40. Studerat växter/djur/fågelskådat	<input type="checkbox"/>				
41. Mediterat, Yoga eller liknande i naturen	<input type="checkbox"/>				
42. Sportflugit motor- eller segelflygplan	<input type="checkbox"/>				
43. Seglat kite/drake, hanggliding, fallskärm, basejump och liknande	<input type="checkbox"/>				
44. Annat:	<input type="checkbox"/>				

Om du inte ägnat dig åt någon enda av aktiviteterna ovan kan du kryssa här och gå vidare till fråga 14

Olika utomhusaktiviteter kan ha olika betydelse på vardagar, på helger och under längre ledigheter. Titta på *listan över utomhusaktiviteter* på baksidan av följebrevet och besvara nedanstående frågor.

11. Vilken av aktiviteterna på listan har varit viktigast för dig på vardagar, under helger respektive under längre ledigheter de senaste 12 månaderna? Ange en aktivitet per rad. Du kan naturligtvis ange samma aktivitet på mer än en rad om den återkommande är den viktigaste.

Aktivitet nr _____ har varit viktigast för mig på vardagar

Aktivitet nr _____ har varit viktigast för mig på helger

Aktivitet nr _____ har varit viktigast för mig under längre ledigheter

12. Tänk nu på de aktiviteter du angav i föregående fråga. Varför har de varit viktiga för dig? Kryssa för de faktorer som haft betydelse för dig vid utövandet av respektive aktivitet.

	Den aktivitet som varit viktigast för mig på <u>vardagar</u>	Den aktivitet som varit viktigast för mig på <u>helger</u>	Den aktivitet som varit viktigast för mig under <u>längre ledigheter</u>
Utöva fysisk aktivitet	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Vara nära naturen	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Umgås med vänner	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Umgås med familjen	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Uppleva avkoppling	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Uppleva ensamhet	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Uppleva äventyr och utmaningar	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Komma bort från arbetet	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Komma bort från hemmet	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ha kul	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Möta nya människor	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Vinna anseende och respekt	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Uppleva en andlig dimension	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Nu ställer vi några frågor om framtiden. Vi frågar också om vilka utomhusaktiviteter som du inte kan utöva i den utsträckning du skulle vilja.

13. Titta på *listan över utomhusaktiviteter* på baksidan av följebrevet. Finns det någon eller några aktiviteter som du tror att du kommer ägna dig mindre åt om 5 år jämfört med idag? Ange högst en aktivitet per rad.

- Nej
- Ja → På vardagar minskar framför allt aktivitet nummer _____
På helger minskar framför allt aktivitet nummer _____
Under längre ledigheter minskar framför allt aktivitet nummer _____

14. Titta på *listan över utomhusaktiviteter* på baksidan av följebrevet. Finns det någon eller några aktiviteter du tror att du kommer ägna dig mer åt om 5 år jämfört med idag? Ange högst en aktivitet per rad.

- Nej
- Ja → På vardagar ökar framför allt aktivitet nummer _____
På helger ökar framför allt aktivitet nummer _____
Under längre ledigheter ökar framför allt aktivitet nummer _____

15. Var skulle du önska att du kunde ägna dig åt utomhusaktiviteter i framtiden (om ca 5 år eller mer)? Markera med ett kryss per kolumn.

	På <u>vardagar</u>	På <u>helger</u>	Under <u>längre ledigheter</u>
På ungefär samma platser som idag	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Närmare min bostad	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Längre bort från min bostad	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

16. Titta återigen på *listan över utomhusaktiviteter* på baksidan av följebrevet. Finns det någon eller några aktiviteter du skulle vilja ägna dig mer åt i dagsläget?

- Nej → Gå till fråga 18
- Ja → På vardagar skulle jag vilja ägna mig mer åt aktivitet nummer _____
På helger skulle jag vilja ägna mig mer åt aktivitet nummer _____
Under längre ledigheter skulle jag vilja ägna mig mer åt aktivitet nummer _____

17. Det kan finnas många olika orsaker varför man inte har möjlighet att ägna sig åt utomhusaktiviteter i den utsträckning man önskar. Tänk nu på de aktiviteter du angav i föregående fråga. Varför kan du inte ägna dig åt dessa aktiviteter i den utsträckning du önskar? Kryssa de faktorer som har betydelse för respektive aktivitet.

	Den aktivitet jag helst skulle vilja ägna mig mer åt på <u>vardagar</u>	Den aktivitet jag helst skulle vilja ägna mig mer åt på <u>helger</u>	Den aktivitet jag helst skulle vilja ägna mig mer åt under <u>längre ledigheter</u>
Kostar för mycket pengar	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Alltför fysiskt krävande	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Saknar tillgång till lämpliga platser / områden	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Saknar någon att utöva den med	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Saknar kunskap/ utbildning	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Saknar utrustning	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Saknar tid	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Saknar mod	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Familjesituationen	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Funktionshinder/sjukdom	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Annan orsak, ange: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Nu följer några frågor om det naturområde som är viktigast för dig att besöka på fritiden i regionen där du bor. Frågorna avser dina besök de senaste 12 månaderna.

18. Har du under de senaste 12 månaderna på fritiden besökt naturområden, som ligger högst 10 mil från din bostad?

- Nej → Gå till fråga 28
- Ja → Vilket naturområde är viktigast för dig?
Ange om möjligt områdets namn: _____

19. Hur skulle du beskriva detta naturområde? Markera med ett kryss.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Mest sjö och vattendrag | <input type="checkbox"/> Mest åker |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Mest hav | <input type="checkbox"/> Mest fjäll |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Mest skärgård | <input type="checkbox"/> Mest bebyggelse |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Mest skog | <input type="checkbox"/> Mest park |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Mest ängs-, betes- och hagmark | <input type="checkbox"/> Mest öppen (gräs-) yta |

20. Vilken aktivitet har du huvudsakligen ägnat dig åt i detta naturområde under de senaste 12 månaderna? Svara med aktivitetens nummer från den bifogade listan över utomhusaktiviteter på följebrevets baksida.

Jag brukar huvudsakligen ägna mig åt aktivitet nummer: _____

21. Ungefär hur långt är det mellan din bostad och detta naturområde? Skriv på en av de tomma raderna.

Cirka _____ kilometer, *eller* cirka _____ meter

22. Hur ofta har du besökt detta naturområde under de senaste 12 månaderna? Markera med ett kryss.

Mindre än 4
ggr per år

Cirka 4-8 ggr per
år

Cirka 1-3 ggr
per månad

Cirka 1-3 ggr
per vecka

Cirka 4-6 ggr
per vecka

Varje dag

23. Hur länge varade ditt genomsnittliga besök i detta naturområde (förutom resan dit och hem)? Skriv på en av de tomma raderna.

Cirka _____ dagar, *eller* cirka _____ timmar, *eller* cirka _____ minuter

24. Att besöka ett naturområde är ofta förenat med kostnader av olika slag, till exempel bilbränsle, buss- eller tågbiljetter, mat, dryck, utrustning, mm. Tänk nu på hur du brukar färdas till och från naturområdet du nämnt i fråga 18 och vad du brukar göra när du är där.

Hur mycket pengar spenderade du i samband med ett genomsnittligt besök i detta naturområde?

Resa dit och hem: Cirka _____ kronor per besök

Övriga kostnader: Cirka _____ kronor per besök

Total kostnad: Cirka _____ kronor per besök

25. Tänk dig att du skulle fortsätta att besöka och uppleva naturområdet i fråga 18 så som du brukar. Du skulle färdas lika långt och göra ungefär samma saker där som du brukar. Men tänk dig också att dina kostnader för att besöka området ökade, dvs blev större än vad du angav i föregående fråga.

Hur stor skulle då din totala kostnad för ett genomsnittligt besök maximalt få bli innan du skulle besluta dig för att inte alls besöka naturområdet du nämnt i fråga 18?

Min totala kostnad skulle maximalt få bli _____ kronor per besök

29. Har du någon gång besökt följande områden?

	Vet ej	Nej	Ja	Ungefärligt antal dagar du besökt området senaste 12 månaderna
Kosterhavet utanför Bohuslän	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	→ _____
Kinnekekulle i Västergötland	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	→ _____
Torup skogsområde öster om Malmö	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	→ _____
Järvafältet i norra Stockholm	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	→ _____
Laponia i Norrbottens fjällvärld	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	→ _____
Delsjöns skogsområde i Göteborg	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	→ _____
Blekinge skärgård	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	→ _____
Tyresta nationalpark i Stockholm	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	→ _____
Glaskogen i västra Värmland	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	→ _____
Söderåsens nationalpark i Skåne	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	→ _____
Muddus nationalpark i Norrbotten	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	→ _____
Hamra nationalpark i södra Härjedalen	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	→ _____
Tivedens nationalpark i Västergötland	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	→ _____
Store Mosse nationalpark i Småland	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	→ _____

Nu följer några frågor som handlar om begreppet friluftsliv och utövande av friluftsliv.

30. I vilken utsträckning anser du att följande är friluftsliv? Kryssa det alternativ som bäst stämmer med din åsikt.

	Inte alls	Delvis	Till stor del	Helt och hållet	Vet ej
Vandra i skog och mark	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Köra/åka med motorbåt	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Fjällvandringar	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Orienteringstävling	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Fågelskådning	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Köra/åka snöskoter	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Trädgårdsodling	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Gå i en park i staden	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Utförsåkning på skidort	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Bada i havet	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Paddla havskajak	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Spela golf	<input type="checkbox"/>				

Om du inte alls är intresserad av friluftsliv så sätt ett kryss här och gå vidare till fråga 33

31. Vad är negativt och positivt för dig vid utövande av friluftsliv? Kryssa det alternativ som bäst stämmer med din åsikt för varje påstående.

	Mycket negativt	Negativt	Varken eller	Positivt	Mycket positivt
Att det finns iordninggjorda lägerplatser med toalett, soptunnor, eldstad, mm	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Att det finns markerade leder och informationsskyltar	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Att det finns bullerfria områden	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Att man kan förflytta sig långa sträckor utan att se hus, vägar eller andra besökare	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Att området har sällsynta växter och djur	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Att området är obetydligt påverkat av människor	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Att det finns naturvägledning i form av guidade turer	<input type="checkbox"/>				

32. Olika faktorer i omgivningen kan påverka ditt utbyte av friluftsliv. Kryssa för i vilken grad du anser att följande aspekter är negativa eller positiva för ditt friluftsliv.

	Mycket negativt	Negativt	Varken eller	Positivt	Mycket positivt
Buller från trafik, industriverksamheter och liknande	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Buller från andra fritidsaktiviteter som t ex motorbåtar, snöskotrar och musik	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Närvaro av andra människor	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Minskad tillgänglighet till attraktiva områden pga stängsel, bebyggelse etc	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Bristande skötsel och underhåll av stigar, bänkar, grillplatser etc	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Skräp i naturen	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Tecken på miljöproblem som algblomning och liknande	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Spår av aktivt skogsbruk som kalhyggen, skogsbilvägar etc	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Lukt och ljud från jordbruk	<input type="checkbox"/>				

34. Människors möjligheter att utöva friluftsliv beror bland annat på tillgång till lämpliga områden, parkeringsplatser, leder, skidspår, vägvisning, information etc. Enligt din åsikt, hur bör nedanstående huvudsakligen finansieras? Kryssa för ett alternativ per rad.

	Bör huvudsakligen finansieras genom...			
	Skatter (alla "betalar")	Avgifter (användarna "betalar")	Ideellt arbete (intresseföreningar "betalar")	Vet ej
Vandrings- och skidleder	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Elljusspår, preparerade skidspår	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Parkering vid friluftsområden	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Informationsmaterial (hemsidor, broschyrer, kartor mm)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Skyltning och utställningar vid friluftsområden	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Badplatser	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Guidade turer i naturen	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Övernattningsstugor	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

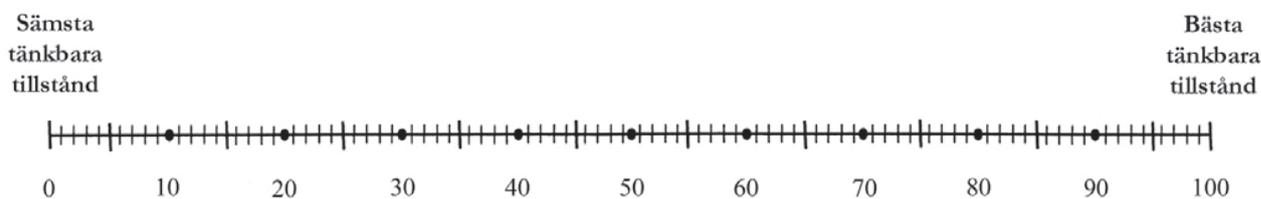
I detta avsnitt ställer vi några frågor om naturens tillgänglighet, allemansrätt, strandskydd, hälsa och miljö.

35. Allemansrätten ger möjlighet till att vistas ganska fritt i skog och mark utan markägarens tillstånd. Tror du att följande påståenden är sanna eller falska utifrån vad du vet om den svenska allemansrätten? Kryssa ett alternativ för varje påstående.

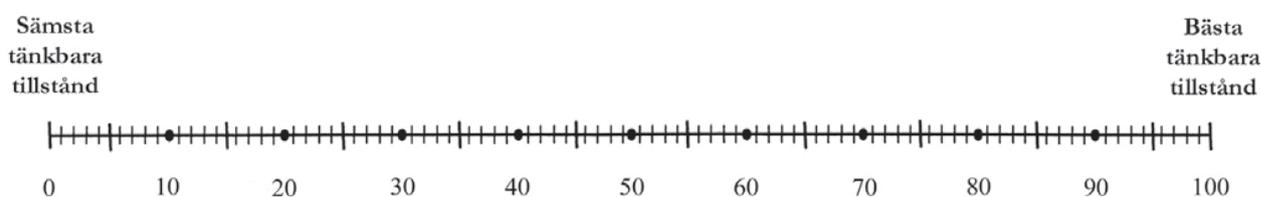
	Sant	Falskt	Vet ej
Du får plocka bär och svamp i skogen utan att fråga markägaren om lov	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Hundar får springa lösa i skog och mark året runt	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Du får fritt fiska med kastspö (handredskap) i våra fem största sjöar Vänern, Vättern, Mälaren, Hjälmaren och Storsjön	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Du får utan att fråga tälta en natt på mark som inte används för jordbruk och som ligger långt från hus där folk bor	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Du får utan att fråga fälla enstaka större träd i någon annans skog om du bara använder veden på platsen	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

38. För att förstå hur bra eller dåligt ett hälsotillstånd är har vi i denna fråga ritat en skala där bästa tänkbara hälsotillstånd har värdet 100 och sämsta tänkbara hälsotillstånd har värdet 0. Vi vill att du på skalan markerar hur bra eller dåligt ditt hälsotillstånd är i olika situationer.

a) Enligt din egen uppfattning, hur bra eller dåligt är ditt hälsotillstånd idag? Markera med ett kryss på skalan.



b) Enligt din egen uppfattning, hur bra eller dåligt skulle ditt hälsotillstånd vara idag om du under det senaste året (12 månader) inte alls hade haft möjlighet att utöva friluftsliv? Markera med ett kryss på skalan.



39. Vilket av följande gör du av miljöskäl? Kryssa ett alternativ per rad.

	Mycket sällan	Ganska sällan	Ganska ofta	Mycket ofta	Vet ej / ej relevant
Jag sänker hastigheten vid bilkörning	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Jag väljer att gå, cykla och nyttja kollektivtrafik istället för att ta bil	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Jag väljer tåg istället för flyg	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Jag sorterar hushållsavfall	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Jag äter ekologiskt odlad mat	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Jag handlar miljömärkta varor	<input type="checkbox"/>				

42. Turistande i naturen är för mig...

Dåligt	<input type="checkbox"/>	Bra						
Fritt	<input type="checkbox"/>	Tvång						
Gemenskap	<input type="checkbox"/>	Enskildhet						
Otrygghet	<input type="checkbox"/>	Trygghet						
Passivt	<input type="checkbox"/>	Aktivt						
Skadligt	<input type="checkbox"/>	Hälsosamt						
Meningslöst	<input type="checkbox"/>	Meningsfullt						
Smutsigt	<input type="checkbox"/>	Rent						
Lätt	<input type="checkbox"/>	Tungt						
Konkurrens	<input type="checkbox"/>	Samarbete						
Manligt	<input type="checkbox"/>	Kvinnligt						
Allvar	<input type="checkbox"/>	Glädje						
Billigt	<input type="checkbox"/>	Dyrt						
Vardag	<input type="checkbox"/>	Helg						
Hemma	<input type="checkbox"/>	Borta						

Nu några frågor om fritidsboende.

43. Äger du, brukar du hyra eller har du på annat sätt tillgång till fritidsboende (fritidsstuga eller annan fritidsbostad)? Markera ett eller flera alternativ.

- Ja, jag äger eget fritidsboende
- Ja, jag hyr regelbundet fritidsboende
- Ja, jag har tillgång till fritidsboende på annat sätt
- Nej, jag har inte tillgång till fritidsboende → Gå vidare till fråga 47

44. Var ligger ditt fritidsboende?

Om fritidsboendet är i Sverige, ange vilken/vilka kommun(-er); _____

Om fritidsboendet är i utlandet, ange vilket/vilka land/länder; _____

45. Hur många endagsbesök (utan övernattning) har du gjort i ditt fritidsboende de senaste 12 månaderna?

Jag har gjort ungefär _____ endagsbesök

46. Hur många övernattningar har du gjort i ditt fritidsboende de senaste 12 månaderna?

Jag har gjort ungefär _____ övernattningar

Nu följer några frågor om din bakgrund. Svaren behövs för att jämföra olika grupper i samhället. Vi redovisar aldrig enskilda svar.

47. Postnumret till min bostadsadress är: _____

48. Vilket av följande alternativ stämmer bäst in på dig?

- Ensamstående/singel
- Gift/sammanboende
- Särbo

49. Ingår det barn/ungdomar i ditt hushåll?

- Nej
- Ja → antal 0-5 år: _____
antal 6-12 år: _____
antal 13-18 år: _____
antal 19 år eller äldre: _____

50. Vilken eller vilka av följande beskrivningar stämmer bäst in för dig? Kryssa för ett eller flera alternativ.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Arbetar där de flesta tillhör fackförbund inom LO | <input type="checkbox"/> Har pension |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Arbetar där de flesta tillhör fackförbund inom TCO | <input type="checkbox"/> Har sjuk- eller aktivitetsersättning |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Arbetar där de flesta tillhör fackförbund inom SACO | <input type="checkbox"/> Arbetslös |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Arbetar i eget eller familjemedlems jordbruk/skogsbruk | <input type="checkbox"/> Föräldraledig |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Arbetar i eget eller familjemedlems företag | <input type="checkbox"/> Tjänstledig av andra skäl än föräldraledighet |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Arbetar inom offentlig sektor | <input type="checkbox"/> Värnpliktig |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Arbetar inom privat sektor | <input type="checkbox"/> Studerande |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Arbetar inom föreningsliv/ideell verksamhet | <input type="checkbox"/> Hemarbetande |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Har chefsbefattning | <input type="checkbox"/> Annat: _____ |

51. Vilken utbildning har du? Kryssa den högsta utbildning du har. Om du ännu inte avslutat din utbildning, kryssa då för den utbildning du just nu deltar i.

- Obligatorisk skola (t ex grundskola, folkskola)
- Gymnasieutbildning (även realexamen, folkhögskola, yrkesskola, fackskola etc)
- Universitets- eller högskoleutbildning

52. Ungefär hur stor är ditt hushålls sammanlagda disponibla inkomst (efter skatt men inklusive ev bidrag etc) per månad? Avrundat till närmaste tusental.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Lägre än 10 000 kr per månad | <input type="checkbox"/> 41 000 – 50 000 kr per månad |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 10 000 – 20 000 kr per månad | <input type="checkbox"/> 51 000 – 60 000 kr per månad |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 21 000 – 30 000 kr per månad | <input type="checkbox"/> 61 000 – 70 000 kr per månad |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 31 000 – 40 000 kr per månad | <input type="checkbox"/> Mer än 70 000 kr per månad |

53. Inkomsten ska räcka till många olika slags utgifter som boende, mat, kläder, resor, fritidsaktiviteter etc. Uppskatta ungefär hur mycket pengar du använt för utgifter som kan relateras till friluftsliv för egen del och för medlemmar i ditt hushåll under de senaste 12 månaderna.

Jag har använt cirka _____ kronor för utgifter som kan relateras till mitt friluftsliv de senaste 12 månaderna.

54. Är du medlem i någon friluftorganisation?

- Nej Ja

55. Vilket av följande saker har Du tillgång till? Markera med ett eller flera kryss.

- | | |
|--|---------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Regnkläder | <input type="checkbox"/> Skidor |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Gummistövlar | <input type="checkbox"/> Tält |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Vandringskängor | <input type="checkbox"/> Kikare |

STORT TACK FÖR DIN MEDVERKAN !

Enkäten du just besvarat ingår i ett forskningsprojekt om svenskarnas friluftsliv. I den avslutande delen av projektet kommer vi bl a studera hur friluftslivet varierar under olika årstider. Det gör vi genom en enkät på Internet som består av fyra delar vilka besvaras en gång i kvartalet med start i december 2007. Vi hoppas att du har möjlighet att medverka också i denna del av undersökningen.

För att kontakta dig och meddela när det är dags att fylla i enkäten behöver vi din e-postadress. Vi kommer naturligtvis inte att använda adressen för något annat ändamål, inte heller skicka den vidare till någon annan.

JA, jag ställer upp i den avslutande undersökningen. Ni kan kontakta mig på följande e-post adress.
OBS, skriv tydligt!

E-post: _____



Ulla Romild
Projektledare

Mittuniversitetet
Telefon: 063- 16 53 99
E-post: ulla.romild@miun.se

Inloggningsuppgifter till webbenkät: <http://gathering.itm.miun.se/fritids.survey>
Användarnamn: N
Lösenord: ute



Appendix 2. E-mail questionnaire

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december 2013

Naturkontakt och miljöengagemang, del 1.

Den här studien handlar om naturkontakt och miljöengagemang. Naturkontakt kan förstås ske i olika sammanhang, t.ex. som olika former av friluftsliv, exkursioner, läger eller annat. Betoningen här ligger på vad du själv upplever som naturkontakt.

Frågorna du ska besvara finner du nedan. De flesta är lätta att besvara, men fråga 5 och 7 kräver längre svar. Svara så utförligt du kan och ta den plats du behöver!

Kom ihåg att du är helt anonym, svaren redovisas aldrig med koppling till dig som person.

Fyll i svaren i detta dokument, spara det och bifoga det sedan i ett mejl till mig, se adress ovan. Kontakta mig gärna om du har några funderingar.

Stort tack för din medverkan!

/Daniel

-
- 1. Vilket år är du född?**
 - 2. Är du man eller kvinna?**
 - 3. Hur många år har du varit medlem i Fältbiologerna?**
 - 4. Vilken klubb i Fältbiologerna tillhör du?**

5. Beskriv ett givande naturmöte du varit med om (platsen, vad du/ni gjorde, på vilket sätt det var givande etc.).

6. Ta ställning till följande påstående: Naturkontakt bidrar till ditt miljöengagemang.

Markera det svarsalternativ som stämmer bäst med din åsikt.

Helt oenig *Delvis oenig* *Varken enig* *Delvis enig* *Helt enig*
eller oenig

7. Motivera utförligt ditt svar på ovanstående fråga (nr 6)!

Vänligen ange ditt telefonnummer här nedan om du kan tänka dig att delta i studiens andra del och bli kontaktad för en intervju.



On Environmental Grounds

This thesis examines the relationship between outdoor recreation and environmental concern as part of the wider quest for environmental sustainability in late-modern societies. Generally, outdoor recreation contributes to an increased use of resources and a growing impact on the environment. At the same time, outdoor recreation is also part of a wider narrative of fostering environmental concern, where forms of nature encounter are seen as potential pathways to pro-environmental attitudes and behavior. Thus, the thesis addresses themes of recreational participation and preferences among environmentalists - and the inquiry into the ways outdoor recreation may influence levels of environmental concern.

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