THE MOTIVATION OF STAFF IN THE OUTDOOR EDUCATION INDUSTRY

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i. DECLARATION OF AUTHOR'S RIGHTS

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TABLES;

VOLUME II: APPENDICES;

iv. DEFINITION OF TERMS:

(The definitions below are given for reference, a fuller description can be found in the discussion of the study population; sections 5.2.1 and 5.2.2)

Outdoor education;

> Open to wide variety of definitions and terms this study takes as its definition of outdoor education; "A means of approaching educational objectives through direct experience in the outdoor environment using its resources as learning materials" (Hunt, 1989, p. 17) Included within this field, for the purpose of this study are such areas as 'adventure education' and 'outdoor and adventurous activities

The outdoor education industry (the industry);

> The organisations and individuals involved in the delivery of outdoor education, for the purpose of this study it is assumed that all outdoor centres which claim to foster personal development are, by default, educational.

The state sector;

> Centres and organisations which are funded by local authorities, commonly referred to as LEA centres.

The non-state sector;

> Centres and organisations belonging to the commercial and/or charitable sectors. Due to the large degree of overlap these two sectors are regarded as one for the purpose of this study.

Instructors;

> Anyone involved in the delivery of outdoor educational activities. Also referred to within the study as **outdoor education staff** or just **outdoor staff**. The term instructor has been used as a generic label, there is a wide variety of labels used within the industry including, tutors, facilitators, teachers and leaders.

Front-line staff;

Instructors involved in the day to day delivery of outdoor educational activities and not involved in the managing or running of a centre. For the purpose of this study these are taken to be instructors who are on three year contracts or less.

Seniority; due to the wide diversity and meaning of titles and contracts contained within the industry an assumed level of seniority has been used throughout the study. This goes;

Trainee instructor
Seasonal instructor
Group instructor
Course co-ordinator instructor
Senior Staff
Managerial staff

In a similar way contracts have been assumed to fit into the following time-frames;

Seasonal
One-year
Three-years
Five-years
Permanent

An assumption has also been made that generally the length of contract reflects a level of seniority within an organisation.

v. ABSTRACT:

This study examined the motivation of outdoor staff working in multi-activity residential centres. The study took place against the background of an outdoor industry undergoing major legislative and cultural changes. These changes were discussed at length. Notable amongst the outcomes of the discussed changes was a need to improve staff retention within multi-activity residential centres. The motivation of staff was studied with this in mind.

Following an initial pilot study, there were three major phases to the research. These were, a mail-shot questionnaire, focus group interviews and an investigation of personal constructs using a repertory grid (rep grid) technique. Structuring the study in this way allowed for quantitative data to be given depth and developed through qualitative techniques. Following a discussion of the major motivational theories, Herzberg's Two-Factor Theory was nominated as the grounding theory upon which the study was structured. This motivational theory aspect of the study was balanced with consideration of the social and cultural aspects of working in the outdoor industry.

The major finding of the study was that outdoor staff are heavily motivated by autonomy, responsibility, challenge, altruism and variety. They are most strongly de-motivated by external factors, notably poor centre administration and inadequate resources. A multi-layered motivational model was developed to give structure and synthesis to these findings. It was also found that outdoor staff are less interested in linear career progression in the conventional understanding than in progression through personal and professional development. It was noted, however, that this progression was subject to life-stage changes. Although outdoor staff were found to be transitory it was put forward as a recommendation that challenge and variety could be found from within a stable employment situation and that, as a result, the outdoor industry needed to adopt a different approach to career structure. A second model, the redeveloped career pyramid, was suggested to demonstrate these recommendations.

1. INTRODUCTION

The outdoor industry is one which, in recent times, has had to re-evaluate much of its dominant central ethos. This re-evaluation has, to a large extent, been driven by events outside of the control of the industry itself. These events, such as the aftermath of the Lyme Bay tragedy in 1993 and the effects of financial re-organisation within local education authorities, have the potential to affect fundamental changes within the outdoor industry. Notable amongst these changes is the increased need for a highly qualified and professional staff. This need is recognised within the industry, as Putnam (1996, p. 7) argues below.

> "Any service industry ..... has to look to the needs of ..... its own workforce if it is to meet the needs of its customers. All this suggests to me that in adventure education, the quality of staff training ..... and of in-service support is the crucial factor in building quality..... and in service support, for staff becomes increasingly important as the client base becomes more varied, or the problems and needs of particular client-groups become more specialised and demanding."

Even with this new found need to stand back and examine its staffing philosophy the industry has still failed to ask itself perhaps one of the most crucial questions any industry can ask. Why do people work within it and why do people leave?

1.1 OUTDOOR EDUCATION

Discussion about the actual nature of outdoor education tends to be long and complex. Hunt (1989, p. 16), for example, refers to the four major themes which can be approached through "experience ... out of doors" as being:

- Development of skills, whether technical, intellectual or social.
- Scientific or aesthetic appreciation of the outdoor environment.
- The concept of service, to society, the community, the environment or the activity.
- Personal development.

Because of the diverse nature of these themes, which are both discrete and interwoven, the field of outdoor activities has come to be represented by various branches which Hunt refers to as follows.

- Outdoor pursuits and activities: generally [taken to mean] activities, usually

synonymous with outdoor sports, in which the emphasis is on physical skill acquisition. Hunt suggests that pursuits are thought of as recreational whilst activities are thought of as educational.

- Field studies or environmental studies: an extension of classroom activities into the outdoor environment.

- Adventure training: pursuing physical outdoor training in situations which carry a greater factor of risk and uncertainty. Adventure education is allied to this, but the emphasis is more on the personal learning which arises from the experiential nature of facing risk and uncertainty.

- Also used, are the terms development training and personal and social development. Both of these imply a wide range of personal change in the broadest sense through the use of the outdoors.

The generic term in common usage is, however, outdoor education, defined by the National Association of Outdoor Education as a:

> "means of approaching educational objectives through direct experience in the environment using its resources as learning materials" (Hunt, 1989, p. 17).

A good summary of the development and modern diversity of the outdoor education industry is that used by the University of Strathclyde (1996) in its information leaflet for the BA Degree in Outdoor Education. This says that:

> "Outdoor Education is a subject which serves many purposes and exhibits several different faces. ... Most authorities view outdoor education as a medium for fulfilling a wide variety of different purposes. Recent educational thinking places great emphasis on the environmental and personal development facets of Outdoor Education. This reflects an historical change from a position where Outdoor Education was simply a collection of activities such as climbing and canoeing pursued for their own purpose."

1.2 CURRENT ISSUES WITHIN THE OUTDOOR EDUCATION INDUSTRY

It is only in recent years that the collection of organisations and sectors which deliver outdoor education have come to be known as "the outdoor industry" (Humberstone, 1995, p. 137). A major problem, however, with any study of Outdoor Education/activities arises from the nature of the industry itself. Far from being a discrete and homogeneous

entity, it is made up of a wide and diverse variety of sectors. These sectors range from personal development centres such as Outward Bound and outdoor management development centres like Brathay Hall, to high skills centres such as Plas Menai and Glenmore Lodge. Another sector comprises private multi-activity organisations such as PGL and Adventure International as well as a decreasing number of local education authority (LEA) centres. In addition, charities are widely represented as are individuals (sole traders) such as guides and freelance instructors. A further complication is that many of these sectors overlap to a large degree. For example, management centres may offer multi-activity breaks during quiet periods whilst many multi-activity centres will also offer corporate courses. Many LEA centres are also required, by financial constraints, to operate, and compete, in a commercial manner (these are discussed further in Chapter 3).

The industry, as a whole, has undergone a number of fundamental changes over the course of the last decade. As a result, any study of the outdoor industry must be placed within the political and cultural environment within which the industry now operates. Many of these changes impinge directly onto centre cultures and associated working climates which affect the motivation of instructors. Perrin (1997, p. 17), for example, talks of "weary and battered centres" where "philosophical principles are readily forsaken and become subordinate to the profit motive" (ibid., p. 16) and where principled instructors are becoming "dinosaurs in a market-driven economy" (1996, p. 48). To fully understand the motivation of outdoor staff, therefore, it is important to have an understanding of the current working climate.

Notable issues which have affected the outdoor industry include the image of the industry, the new licensing regulations, professionalism and commercialism, careers in the industry, changes in the state sector and the role of national bodies. Each of these will now be examined in some detail.

1.2.1 The image of outdoor education

Outdoor education, and outdoor activities in general, has had to face up to a number of unpalatable issues in the 1990s. Notable amongst the 'scandals' was the use of outdoor activities as remedial therapy for young offenders. The Bryn Melyn centre in mid Wales in particular was singled out by the press on a number of occasions in 1993 and 1994 for providing seemingly lavish holidays for young people who had been in trouble with

the police. This seemingly inappropriate use of the outdoors continued with a number of young offender 'holidays' being reported in the press and reached maximum media attention in the case of a group of Cardiff prostitutes being sent on an outdoor course "to improve their self-esteem" (The Times, 1993, p. 3). At the same time a seemingly large number of deaths (thirteen between January and March 1995) in the Scottish mountains bought a large reaction from the press. These reports not only questioned the safety of mountain activities but also the responsibility of those taking part. In a similar vein, the press was quick to pounce on incidents within the industry such as a manager who died of a heart attack whilst on an outdoor management development (OMD) course in south Wales (Mail on Sunday, 1993) and another manager who died of a heart attack whilst pot-holing on a similar course in Yorkshire (The Times, 1996). The Channel Four "Cutting Edge" film on the John Ridgeway centre, in 1993, with its emphasis on 'macho' style instruction also did a large amount of harm to the image of the industry in general.

The biggest single event, however, to hit outdoor education in this period was the death of four teenagers whilst on a canoeing trip in 1993. This tragedy, at Lyme Bay in South Devon, occurred whilst the teenagers were on a school adventure holiday at a commercial centre. The repercussions of Lyme Bay go far beyond the public image of outdoor education. Notable implications were the notion of corporate responsibility when, in a landmark judgement on 4 December 1994, Peter Kite, the manager of the company running the centre, was found guilty of manslaughter and jailed for two years. The company was also found liable and fined £60,000. Public outcry over the tragedy, led by the newly elected Labour MP David Jamieson, eventually brought about the 'Activity Centres (Young Persons') Safety Act' which received its Royal Assent on the 28th June 1995 (the implications and practicalities of the Act are covered in section 1.2.2).

Whilst these images are, of course, negative there have also been efforts to reconstruct the traditional image of the industry. Collins (1997, p. 21), for example, talks of the "dispelling of macho image" as a key feature of an industry increasingly geared towards "a well managed outdoor experience ..... with a main focus on highly educational outcomes". OMD training organisations in particular have been amongst the leaders in presenting their courses as being more about problem-solving than physical prowess (The Times, 1996). A notable feature of outdoor education in its modern guise is the use of reviewing techniques such as metaphors to relate outdoor experiences back to 'normal' life. These changes in the outdoor industry are, to some extent, consumer-led reflecting that the "paying public also know more and are asking for more" (Barnes, 1997, p. 5).

1.2.2 The Activity Centres (Young Persons') Act

The "unbelievably inept" (CoDe, 1995, p. 1) way in which the disastrous Lyme Bay canoeing trip was run, led not only to the company involved being found guilty of corporate manslaughter, but also to wide public scrutiny of the outdoor industry in general. The most tangible result of the tragedy was the legislative process which led to the 'Adventure Activities Licensing Regulations 1996'. In broad terms the regulations require that all commercial providers of the primary outdoor activities are licensed (HSE 1996). Potentially, these regulations could be the most dramatic thing ever to happen to outdoor education in this country (a summary of the regulations is given in appendix 1).

The degree to which political expediency drove the setting up of the regulations is a debatable point. It is certainly true that David Jamieson was, at the time, newly elected to Parliament as the result of a by-election and rode a degree of public fervour for legal action following the Lyme Bay disaster. This fervour was fuelled by numerous public and media appearances by the families of the children killed in the tragedy and a large degree of "media hype" (CoDe, 1993, p. 1). Pivotal amongst this hype was a Channel 4 documentary, four months after Lyme Bay, called "Jobs for the Boys" which highlighted poor standards of staff vetting in large outdoor activity organisations in the private sector. The Director of Coaching for the British Canoe Union (B C.U.) spoke of this pressure as "the emotive climate created by the media at the time" which meant that it was "not possible for anyone to stand out against the movement strongly enough to sway the debate" (CoDe, 1997, p. 3). What is generally accepted is that the Act was a draconian measure used to overcome a political public relations difficulty (Gilmour, 1996; Telfer, 1995, p. 41) where the Government needed to be seen to be responding to public concern.

Reaction to the licensing regulations has been mixed. Some people have welcomed them as a step towards greater public acceptance of the industry. Others have condemned their rushed implementation, cost and bureaucracy. Many people within the outdoor industry have rejected the viability of the regulations because they apply only to commercial organisations and are not all encompassing (cf. TES, 1994a; TES 1996). Others have questioned the cost of the regulations. After initial acceptance, for example, Loynes (1996a, p. 15) makes the point that the scheme will cost millions of pounds. He argues that "this money will be far better spent on staff development and, especially salaries to ensure that experienced people remain working in the field". What is certain is that

centres in general will be forced not only into tighter safety regimes but also to employ a much higher percentage of well qualified staff (Waring, 1997). This will have an inevitable effect on the employment patterns of outdoor staff with a need for greater training and increased longevity of employment in order to obtain a return on that expense.

1.2.3 Careers and qualifications in the outdoor education industry

One notable symptom of the changing nature of the outdoor industry is a greater emphasis on qualifications. This is due to a number of reasons the most prominent of which are as follows:

- A need to reassure potential clients in the aftermath of the Lyme Bay tragedy
- The need to meet standards laid down by the licensing regulations (section 1.2.2)
- The increasingly professional nature of the industry (section 1.2.5)
- The need, by employers, to use staff qualifications as marketing tools as a way of demonstrating excellence (section 1.2.1)

The current system of qualification is not, however, without its flaws. Most notably the strong emphasis on 'hard skill' national governing body awards as a yardstick of outdoor competence. This emphasis not only side-lines the importance of specific 'soft skills' such as the ability to carry out reviews but also overall skills such as leadership and judgement sometimes known as 'meta-skills' (Priest and Gass, 1997). An emphasis on hard skills also excludes many people who have a great deal to offer in the way of life experience and other attributes but who may find it hard to obtain this type of qualification.

One aspect of the increasing need for qualifications has been an opening up of the debate around careers in the outdoors (for example, the prominence given to careers discussion groups at the 1996 and 1997 Outdoor Forum conferences). Much of this debate has revolved around, not only the ideals and pitfalls of a professional career in the outdoors, but also about whether such a career is even possible.

A central feature of the career debate is the question of whether it is ethical to refer to careers in the outdoors at all. Yard (1997) for example, admits that the advertising for his own college (Bicton College, Devon) may be misleading although it is merely using the terminology of the workplace when referring to training for a career in the outdoors.

Much of this confusion revolves around the concept of a career itself. The Collins English Dictionary (1986, p. 239) defines a career, in work terms, as "a profession or occupation chosen as one's life work" or "a path or progress through life". The first definition reinforces the traditional, masculine, concept of a career as consisting of linear development with continuous paid employment, separate work and personal life and a system of hierarchical promotion as standard features (Frisby, 1992). The second definition, however, is more akin to that often perceived as being more relevant to outdoor staff.

Most staff stay in the outdoor industry for a maximum of five years (see section 3.1.9). Thus the notion of a life long industry career is difficult to apply in the case of the outdoor industry. In her guide to careers in the outdoors, Collins (1997, p. 22) talks of this distinction. She suggests that one interpretation of this apparent contradiction might be that the lessons learnt during a short time working in the outdoor industry are carried over into subsequent employment and/or "lifestyle". In this way it can be seen that the "path or progress through life" mentioned above is grounded in the experience and lessons learnt whilst working in the outdoor industry. Priest and Gass (1997, p. 300) expand on the concept of lifestyle and point out that for most outdoor staff the work itself is not only vocational but a "lifestyle investment". Lifestyle, in this model, is not just something that comes about as a subsequent result of working in the outdoors. Rather it is an intrinsic element of the outdoor industry itself. This concept of lifestyle, as both influence and career, would imply that it is not just the nature of the work that attracts outdoor staff. Perhaps there is a far wider and deeper lifestyle consideration, bringing in aspects of the beliefs, ethos and values which are central to the outdoors.

A second aspect of outdoor careers is that they often consist of two interactive levels, recreational and occupational (Loefler, 1995). This aspect maintains that a constant increase in activity skills level is needed to enhance professional development and, thereby, career progression. This may be another reason why outdoor careers are often short lived. It can be seen that this side of outdoor careers is linked with the importance of gaining qualifications, notably of a 'hard skills' nature, in order to progress.

The discussion of careers in outdoor education shows that there are practical constraints and a philosophical debate outlined. The concept of a career when applied to the outdoor industry has different connotations to that used in more mainstream employment. This new career concept would appear to be both short and non-linear when related to employment within the industry itself but longer lasting in terms of life

style and ethos; of "progress through life". However, it is also the case that the outdoor industry is making moves towards more conventional career patterns to reflect the emphasis on qualification and the financial advantages of staff longevity. Yet this career structure is still not based on the mainstream incentives of promotion and salary. It is difficult, therefore, to see how staff longevity will be enhanced if not through the greater facilitation of intrinsic factors such as job satisfaction.

1.2.4 Changes in the state sector

The 1988 Education Reform Act bought in a number of major changes in England and Wales notably the move to local management of schools (LMS) whereby schools took charge of their own budgets and a new national curriculum. In contrast to the previous system where Local Authorities and/or schools chose their own subjects and exam levels the new curriculum set a list of subjects and subject contents (known as programme of study). In addition LMS, by devolving budgetary control down to school level, deprived many local authorities of the funding needed to support outdoor education centres (TES, 1993a). This has led to many centres having to become self-funding, in other words to operate on a commercial basis or in some cases to close entirely. The TES (ibid) reported, for example, that fourteen state sector centres had closed in the previous two years whilst another eleven were under threat.

The National Curriculum in England and Wales

Under the national curriculum the school career is divided into four key stages with set components. The part of the curriculum pertaining to physical education came into force in August 1995. At each stage there is a requirement for physical education within which 'Outdoor and Adventurous Activities' (OAA) is situated (A summary of the key stage contents is given in appendix 2). It is only in key stage 2 (ages 8 to 11) however that OAA is mandatory. In all other stages it appears as an option.

The first criticism which educationalists were quick to point out was that OAA is neither outdoor education nor outdoor activities. The first is broader, the second is more specialised. OAA in the National Curriculum context is defined as:
(over)

- possible to teach on site
- requires no additional qualifications
- can be taught during the time available in a normal lesson

OAA is geared to provide a degree of adventure and challenge but in a safe and controlled environment. It is, in fact, possible to fulfil the requirements of the National Curriculum through in-grounds orienteering and a school gym obstacle course.

Furthermore, not only is Outdoor Education not mentioned within the curriculum but neither are residential activities prescribed. Indeed they are not seen as part of the curriculum in any way.

There are, however, two major redeeming factors for outdoor education within the National Curriculum. The first is that the National Curriculum only accounts for 80% of school time, thus leaving schools free to opt for outdoor activities. The second is that it contains a large need for cross-curricular core skills, many of which can be met admirably through an imaginative outdoor education programme (cf. McNeil et al, 1992; Macdonald, 1997). The drawback is, of course, that schools often, if not usually, lack the finance for these 'non-essential' activities.

The curriculum in Scotland

In 1993, national guidelines were laid down as to the contents of the school curriculum for 5 - 14 yr. olds. These do not amount to a mandatory curriculum but they do set attainment targets and programmes of study in a similar way to England and Wales. In Physical Education the guidelines are open statements in that they can be fulfilled by a number of combinations of physical activities. Outdoor Education is mentioned as one of these although the guidelines say that gymnastics, dance, sports and games should be the core activities.

An important difference, is that at level E, i.e. primary 7 to secondary, the programme of study includes:

> "where possible opportunities should allow pupils to experience residentially based work, e.g. 4/5 days engaged in outdoor activities" (SOED, 1992, p. 69)

In 1996 regional authorities in Scotland were reorganised into a number of smaller unitary authorities. This had a dramatic effect on state outdoor education provision throughout the country. Clare (1996, p. 5) predicted that "the reorganisation will set back outdoor education by many years". The new authorities found themselves in a position where they were unable to finance expensive outdoor centres which had previously been maintained by the much larger regional authorities. The result was a number of closures, often reported in the press as follows.

> "A decision by Borders councillors to close down and sell three of the region's four pioneering outdoor studies centres has been described as a tragedy by a leading teacher's representative" ('The Scotsman' 26/6/96, p. 4)

The situation almost descended into farce where ownership of centres and their assets came in dispute. Arrochar, for example, once the property of Strathclyde Regional Council, was ruled as belonging to Argyll and Bute. However West Dunbartonshire objected, believing it should have a share of the capital assets. Subsequent attempts by West Dunbartonshire to remove equipment resulted in a physical confrontation between employees of the two councils with the police being called to settle the dispute (Houston, 1997). The situation, in some areas where a large number of authorities was involved, was even more complicated. As Peter Wilson (The Herald 2/6/97, p. 24), principal of the Castle Toward centre described it:

> the concept of ten single-tier authorities, with all the other concerns which existed, co-operating over something as marginal as outdoor education was difficult for them to devote time and energy to".

Castle Toward, together with Achnamara and Ardentinny, all centres which had been closed, have reopened under a collective commercial business plan. This plan also aims to raise a bursary enabling less financially able children to attend courses at the centre. This plan is presently in its infancy. There is still concern that outdoor education throughout Scotland will be run on a commercial basis which will "disenfranchise" the very children that the state centres were originally set up to cater for (The Herald, ibid.).

1.2.5 Professionalism and commercialism

One topic encompasses virtually all of the other issues encountered within the modern outdoor education industry, that is the move to an era of professionalism. This is a

process that, whilst not generally accepted, is seen as inevitable, Beames (1996, p. 9), for example, writes that:

> "Being an outdoor leader in the 1990s means being a practitioner who upholds the accepted standards of the profession, since instructing has evolved into just that - a profession, a practice. The conduct of outdoor instructors is increasingly coming under ..... scrutiny"

Some people have even gone so far as to equate outdoor staff with professionals in other vocational occupations. Richardson (1996) for example, puts instructors on a par with nurses and teachers whilst senior instructors are placed on a par with ward sisters and senior teachers.

The move to professionalism has been driven by a number of factors notably the following:

- A difficult financial environment leading to greater market place competition

- Greater emphasis on qualifications for both legislative and promotional reasons

- Changes in school curricula requiring an organised political lobby movement by the outdoor education industry

- The need for the outdoor education industry to present a united front following the Lyme Bay tragedy

- An increase in outdoor based academic qualifications - although this can also be seen as a result of increased professionalism

There is still a strong move to resist the concept of professionalism from traditionalists within the industry. The traditionalist stance would appear to consider the term professional to be a derogatory one which implies working, on a commercial basis, for financial and status reward. A key difficulty, therefore, with adopting the concept of professionalism in the outdoors is the idea that in doing so the industry is:

> "entering the market place and adopting market place values [and] in the process leaving behind the values of the social movement that gave rise to the field."
> (Loynes, 1996, p. 52)

Professionalism is thus associated, indeed taken as synonymous, with, not only commercialism but with an industry driven not by social ideals but market demands.

The idea of working for reward is, of course, at odds with the altruistic and participative concepts which are traditionally seen as essential components at the heart of work in the outdoors. Hopkins and Putnam (1993, pp. 208-209) voice this concern with the

comment that "the introduction of a much more business-like and focused approach might lead to the loss of the idealism .... which characterised [outdoor education] in its early days". This stance has, however, been most exemplified by Mortlock (1995, p. 37) who accused modern outdoor instructors of being qualification obsessed, "primarily concerned with image and status ..... pseudo-instructors". Mortlock harks back to a utopian age of "natural adventurous challenge [in the] University of the Wilderness" an age exemplified by the enthusiastic amateur and the gentleman adventurer.

The difficulty with the stance taken by Mortlock is that he comes from a state educational background which is opposed to the private sector. Humberstone (1995, p. 140) makes a very similar case opposing the private sector as an area where "financial considerations and the pursuit of profit are paramount". Like Mortlock, Humberstone is an educationalist who, whilst arguing against the commercialisation of the outdoor industry, tends to ignore the element of protectionialism involved when decrying the loss of professional status accorded to staff in LEA centres. It is notable that this status protected "higher pay and more beneficial conditions of work" (ibid) than the non-state sector. It can be seen that there is often an assumption of the state sector being 'good' whilst the non-state sector is somehow 'bad'. This is exemplified by the comment of Nigel Hook (TES 1993b, p. 2) of the Central Council for Physical Recreation who voiced concern at "the demise of local authority run centres and the rise of the commercial sector out to make a quick buck". The decline of state/LEA outdoor provision is, therefore, taken as synonymous with the decline of quality outdoor provision. This blanket rejection of the values of the commercial sector has, however, had its own critics. Rawlingson-Plant (1997, p. 9), the owner of a commercial centre herself, notes that:

> "We are a private centre and as such have had, I believe, to prove to our colleagues in the outdoors that we hold values which are not necessarily always profit driven - a misconception held by some about all commercial centres"

Interestingly whilst the idea of operating as a professional industry may be rejected the idea of operating to 'professional standards' is usually embraced wholeheartedly. Loynes (1996, p. 56) for example, writes that the outdoor industry needs to "reject the status of a profession", yet he is happy to describe himself as an outdoor professional. To a large extent this reflects the twin definitions of professionalism, defined by the Collins English Dictionary (2nd edition; 1986, p. 1221) as:

> "1. the methods, character, status etc. of a professional
> 2. the pursuit of an activity for gain or livelihood"

The same dictionary defines a professional as someone who, amongst others things, is:

"extremely competent in a job etc. ..... a person who engages in an activity with great competence ..... an expert player of a game who gives instruction undertaken or performed for gain ..... a person who engages for his livelihood in some activity also pursued by amateurs."

It can be seen that working in a professional capacity can be seen to have different connotations. This is further complicated by the concept of belonging to a profession. Traditionally this has been restricted to the 'learned professions' of law, theology and medicine. In more recent times the concept of belonging to a profession has been expanded, often arbitrarily, to include such things as engineering and accountancy. The banking system, for example, in its criteria for professional studies loans, specifically defines a profession as; doctor, dentist, veterinary surgeon, optometrist, architect, solicitor, barrister or studying for an MBA (Lloyds Bank, 1994)

Given these complications it is worthwhile to arrive at some statement of what is meant by professionalism, a profession and the concept of being a professional. Bilton et al. (1987, p. 382) suggests that professionals can be defined by:

"skill based on theoretical knowledge, an extensive period of education, the theme of public service and altruism, the existence of a code of conduct on ethics, insistence upon professional freedom to regulate itself and the testing of the competence of members before admission to the profession."

The work of a professional involves "central values such as health, justice and education, and is therefore of functional importance for all social groups" (Bilton et al, ibid. p. 383). It can readily be seen from these criteria that whilst the work of an outdoor instructor may meet the value framework of a professional, the organisational structure of the industry has some way to go before it can say the same.

One of the notable obstacles to the professionalisation of the outdoor industry is in its disjointed nature. This is most evident when the large number of organisations and governing bodies within the industry (see section 1.2.6) is taken as evidence. One of the features of a profession is typically that there is a self-governing body of practitioners which, as Jackson (cited in Gourlay, 1994) says, has a significant impact because professional authority is that enjoyed by those who have been appointed on the basis of qualifications attested by a professional group of peers.

It is questionable whether an all-encompassing and omnipotent organisation is either practicable or desirable within the outdoor industry. The National Governing Bodies, for example, already do a specialist job within their own fields. To bring them together would create a vast bureaucracy. There is, however, a need for a single organisation which would be representative of the industry as a whole (this is discussed in more detail in section 1.2.6). As one possible scenario for such a body, Higgins and Sherrington (1997, p. 44) suggest that "there may be a role for an organisation which provides access to a register of professionals". Such a body would, in effect, be acting as a professional register which by virtue of inclusion or exclusion will be setting the standards for an outdoor profession. Higgins and Sherrington (ibid) rightly point out that this would go a long way towards improving the public image of outdoor staff as people who work within a "mature, well regulated profession."

It is not only the stigma of commercialism, however, that can be used to build a case against the concept of professionalism, there is also concern that the concept will affect the very ethos of outdoor education. According to Loynes (1996, p. 55), a professional body by its own definition distances the decision making process from its clients. Inherent in this distancing are such issues as "a commercial form of contract that cannot accept risk as a consequence of consumption." Likewise professionalisation "disempowers the people it is intended to serve" (Reynolds, 1991, cited in Loynes, 1996, p. 56). In this context it can be seen that the central tenets of outdoor education, namely student/client decision making and the perception of risk, are in danger of being alienated by a move to professional status. Evidence of this process can already be seen in the increased use of rope courses which, whilst exciting, remove all elements of risk and control from the participants in exchange for a guaranteed experience. This notion of professionalism, however, is contrary to the idea that there is a certain moral status attached to the work of a professional which:

> "involves 'central values', such as health, justice and education, and is therefore of functional importance for all social groups. Consequently this work commands both high material and symbolic rewards" (Bilton et al, 1987, p. 383)

Despite the concerns and confusion there can be little doubt that the move towards a professional-based industry is inexorable. Additionally, whilst it may seem a contradiction, the voluntary sector, despite its charitable ethos, will certainly at some stage have to operate under professional constraints. This can already be seen in the move towards expanding the outdoor activities' licensing scheme to include the charitable sector with a voluntary licensing registration scheme.

1.2.6 Organisations within outdoor education

As mentioned in the section on professionalism (1.2.5), one of the features of a profession is a single overseeing body. Such a body is vital to represent the collective voice of a profession, or industry, at a national and international level. The outdoor industry, however, is noticeable for the proliferation of bodies which claim either to speak for the industry or for one particular sector within it. Higgins (1997, p. 17), in a call for a single professional body, comments that an outsider might think that the outdoor industry has "more representative organisations than members".

The organisations which most outdoor instructors will come into contact with are the National Governing Bodies (NGBs). These include the British Orienteering Federation (BOF), British Mountaineering Council (BMC), National Caving Association (NCA), British Canoe Union (BCU) and national organisations set up to specifically control qualification schemes such as the Mountain Leader Training Boards (MLTBs). NGBs, which usually attract Sports Council funding, exist primarily to implement qualification schemes and control the running of their own specialist sporting areas. Although NGBs have no legal status they are the source of commonly accepted certification which is used as a basis of competence assessment.

In addition to the NGBs there are a number of organisations which have a say in the running and representation of outdoor education. Notable amongst these are; 'The Council for Outdoor Education, Training and Recreation', 'The UK Institute for Outdoor Careers and Qualifications' and the 'National Association of Outdoor Education' (NAOE). (A detailed list, and description, of fourteen of the most important organisations is given in appendix 3.)

Attempts to set up true national umbrella bodies to represent the industry have been largely unsuccessful for various reasons. The 'Development Training Advisory Group' (DTAG), for example, attempted to form a national organisation in 1986 which failed when another body, the Development Training Users Group, withdrew its support. DTAG tried again in 1988, this time inviting commercial and charitable organisations to join, again this came to nothing as did a third attempt. DTAG now sees the NAOE as the national body representing the interests of the development training side of the outdoor education industry (Everard, 1993).

Not only is there of a large degree of fragmentation amongst the large number of

organisations but there is also acrimony and confusion with regard to how national are 'national' bodies. In many cases these has led to the setting up of separate Scottish and, more occasionally, Welsh and Northern Irish, bodies. Bodies with UK or British in their titles, therefore, sometimes only represent one or two of the home countries.

The future role, and indeed existence, of a single national organisation to act as a 'professional' body is a volatile and strongly debated current issue within the outdoor industry particularly with the perceived move towards professionalism (cf. the debate in "The Journal of Adventure Education and Outdoor Leadership", Vol. 14 issues 1, 2 and 3). The need for a single professional body was debated in open forum for the first time at various regional outdoor council conferences at the end of January 1998 and a steering group was set up shortly thereafter.

1.3 DISCUSSION OF THE CURRENT ISSUES

If the formation of such organisations as Outward Bound and the Brathay Trust in the 1940s is used as a yardstick the outdoor industry can be said to be entering its second fifty years. This period is when, according to some theorists (Pickering, 1997), social movements reach the height of their productive life span and go into decline. If such a situation is to be averted a new phase of development must begin before the speed of decline becomes too fast to counteract it. In the context of this theoretical life span curve it can be seen that the outdoor industry currently may need to enter a phase of new development. It may well therefore be no coincidence that societal, legislative and cultural changes are prompting just such a change.

There will almost inevitably be a turbulent transition period, yet the speed of change throughout the industry means that new working practices and commercial considerations will shortly become the norm. This period of change and new development is perhaps best exemplified by the current debate over the need for a single professional body.

The first impression gained from the current issues outlined in this chapter is, however, that of an industry in its infancy. The concept of outdoor education as a philosophical ethos may be an old one, dating back to the days of Baden-Powell and *mens sana in corpore sano*; the bringing together of the disparate working practices into a collective whole, however, is a recent trend. The fact that this trend has been driven by

circumstances rather than ideology is a largely academic point. The direction that this new trend will take is uncertain. Although it may be anathema to many, the outdoor instructor of the immediate future, even those working in the 'voluntary' sector will be working in a professional capacity, governed by professional standards, qualifications and codes of practice. As such there will be little place for the instructor who is simply looking to fill in a couple of years between college and the world of a 'proper job'.

There are, at least, two possible scenarios for how the changes in the modern outdoor industry will affect its staff. First, it is inevitable that many 'traditional', probably older, staff will dislike the move to a professional ethos with its dependence on qualifications, paperwork and legislation. This dislike will inevitably be exacerbated by the increasing commercial orientation of outdoor education and the attendant needs for 'value for money' and 'quality systems'. It is likely that many of these staff will decide that their personal beliefs and working practices are incompatible with changes in the industry and either retire or move elsewhere. Secondly, however, it is just as inevitable that a new breed of 'professional' instructor will emerge who is willing, and even keen, to collect qualifications in order to enhance his or her long term career prospects. It is possible, although not probable, that this new look instructor will be more motivated by professional goals such as career and status than the traditional 'altruistic' ethos and beliefs of the traditional industry.

This might seem to paint a bleak picture where intrinsic motivation through beliefs is replaced by the extrinsic motivation of rewards. That would be misleading. At the present time it is unlikely that the outdoor industry will ever be able to offer the external incentives, such as pay and time off, that other industries offer. Whilst it can be posited that outdoor staff will become more professionally motivated it is also likely that they will remain highly vocationally motivated. At best this may involve a difficult balancing act and, at worst, may involve impossible compromises.

1.3.1 Critical issues raised by chapter one

- The industry is going through a period of, sometimes turbulent, change.
- There are still large degrees of fragmentation within the industry.
- A considerable amount of this change has been driven from outside of the industry.
- The industry needs to re-evaluate its staffing policies in order to match these changes.

- Long term employment and the commitment to training and re-training are likely to become the cornerstone of outdoor staff employment in a professional era.

- The licensing regulations have increased the need for qualified staff with attendant implications for employment contracts.

- The industry and its staff need to be seen to be acting in a professional manner to maintain public credibility.

2. AIMS OF THE STUDY

Birmingham (1989) makes the point that hundreds of studies on staff turnover have been performed since the early 1900s. The majority of this research has examined such topics as job satisfaction and dissatisfaction, retention, burnout and organisational climate with employees in stable, on going, non-residential positions. Little research has been done with seasonal employees, employees in isolated settings, employees in residential positions or with employees working non-traditional work schedules. A classic example of such a non-traditional field would be that of the outdoor education industry.

It should not be thought, however, that turnover is always dysfunctional. Indeed a high level of turnover has often been encouraged within the industry. Not only can this be justified in terms of employees who have 'burned out' on the job or have negative attitudes adversely affecting their co-workers but new employees can also bring a fresh approach to a job. This can be seen in outdoor organisations which have a deliberate policy of limited staff contracts in order to prevent their staff becoming dulled or stale. MacArthur (1995, pp. 401 - 402), however, highlights the depth of the turnover issue when he writes, as an outdoor instructor, that:

> "We are not really willing to make the full commitment to mainstream ways ... we are too transient in life to commit to one community, too concerned with our own freedom to invest in one place or one group of people for very long. ... Hence we cannot sustain the momentum for significant change in our communities."

The implications of MacArthur's statement is that outdoor staff, by their very nature, are prone to high turnover and there needs to be a fundamental change in the attitude of the industry as a whole, both employer and employee, before changes can be expected.

A cause, and result, of the high level of turnover found within the industry is a broad-based and slow-moving pyramid of advancement (see figure 1). Unlike junior staff, senior members of an outdoor centre are often long term and static in their positions. This means that opportunities for promotion for the large seasonal group of outdoor staff tend to be very limited.
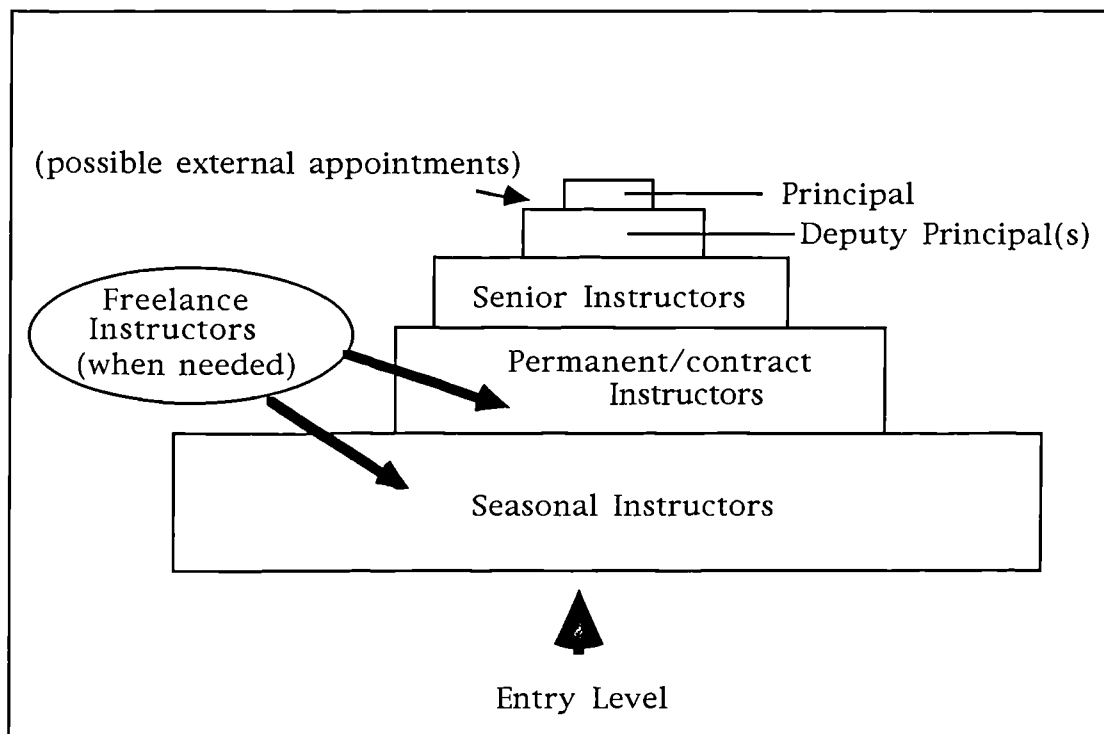
Figure 1. A typical staff pyramid at a medium to large sized centre.

In a 1989 study of outdoor centre provision Thompson (1989, p. 139) found that "interviews with centre staff revealed that there was a general dissatisfaction with their career expectations" . Plimmer (cited in Collins, 1997, p. 9) in a guide to careers in the industry confirms this with the comment that "It's a long slow road to a reasonable position". Collins (ibid, p. 22) meanwhile, under the heading "Career progression", notes that:

> "At present there is no clear pathway to progression. This combined with the less attractive aspects of the work, such as long hours and poor pay, results in many people disappearing from the industry after 3-5 years maximum."

Many staff, however, enter the industry with a realistic outlook of their career expectations. 'Claire', for example, interviewed as part of a study on women's careers notes that "I don't think anybody can set up into outdoor education ... with a career in mind, because it's not an area of work with anything like a defined career structure" (Allin, 1997b, p. 1). Likewise Birmingham (1989, p. 18) comments that "the field has no well defined career path. For field staff in many programmes there are only limited opportunities for advancement beyond the instructor level". It is also the case that financial constraints play a significant role in staffing levels in many centres which may only be fully operational for eight months or less each year.

Whilst the policy of high turnover may have had its justification in the past, these reasons no longer hold true. A central assumption of these policies was the notion of 'throw-away' staff. Van Der Smissen (1987, cited in Birmingham, 1989, p. 18) focused on this issue, and that of career structure, when talking about:

> "the lack of well established professional career paths, career ladder and promotional opportunities [which] highlight the attitude of 'throw-away leaders' who burn out in three to four years." (Acceptance speech for the Association For Experiential Education's Kurt Hahn Award, 1987)

There is a large amount of evidence (see section 3.1.9) to show that this attitude no longer works. Rawlingson-Plant (1997, p. 9), a centre owner, talks, for example of the need to "stop this short term attitude of here today, gone tomorrow". Morgan (1997, p. 308) highlights the ways in which organisations create an atmosphere of "workaholism" whereby staff are quickly burnt out, and then discarded, by their employers. Whilst it would be remiss to suggest that there is a deliberate policy of this nature in outdoor centres it can be seen that those centres which operate on a shoe-string staff and budget place considerable demands on the tutorial staff. These demands may mean that staff are unable to take sick leave when needed or are required to complete equipment maintenance work in what should be their rest periods. In addition, however, the requirements of legislation and client expectations mean that staff are much more qualified and professionally inclined than they have ever been in the past. Vinokur-Kaplan, et al (1994, p. 118), see this professionalism as reflected in job satisfaction and retention which is influenced:

> "not so much ..... by what workers concretely receive ..... as much as by what they believe they will have, or might have, in the future .... Thus these workers think like professionals, seeking a long term progressive career, and not just satisfying their economic needs".

An example of this is that, as Krausz (1982) points out; "for younger employees a lack of advancement opportunities [correlates] with the intention to search for another position". The industry as a whole, however, is still not paying more than lip service to this professionalism of the industry. The result is that for the first time in its history the industry is having to look actively for staff and retain them beyond the traditional one or two years before they are lost back to other occupations.

Traditionally the lack of research into outdoor staff has not been seen as a difficulty due to the largely transient nature of these staff and, more importantly perhaps, the ease of replacing staff from the vast pool of new entrants waiting in the wings. With the increase

in professionalism and commitment required of outdoor staff in recent years, notably since the repercussions of the Lyme Bay tragedy in 1993, this is no longer the case. The Chairman of the Association of Heads of Outdoor Education Centres (1995) for example, refers to a difficult year for the world of outdoor education and mentions, amongst other things, an unprecedented focus on qualifications and new constitutional structures for the outdoor industry. In an article on centre management Everard (1992, p. 17) confirms this concern and adds to it when he talks of difficult financial times in outdoor centres leading to "low staff morale". Watters (1990, p. 269) in his turn talks of the changes in outdoor education, one of which is employees seeking reasonable salaries and benefit packages. Other things have, however, not changed, as he goes on to talk about the "inordinate amounts of their time and energy" which outdoor staff are asked to contribute. One of the techniques frequently used to overcome both low remuneration and the need to increase staff certification is that of internal training which, as Farinelli (1992, p. 19) makes clear, is important for internal development and:

> "an effective means of supplementing an employee's paycheque and providing a real morale booster."

The problem with training arises when organisations fail to deliver, or fail to deliver at a high enough standard. Outdoor staff are becoming more aware of what it is that they want out of working for a centre. Jesset (1995) talking about his own centre, a major centre in the English Lake District, notes that:

> "Traditionally the work here has always been regarded by the management as a short term thing with people being here to see out their interest in the outdoors and then go back to a real job. They are now realising that things have changed and that staff can't even get to the professional standards required in less than two years."

He goes on to comment that "most of the staff here have their own agendas, they know what it is that they want to get out of working here". Krausz (op cit.) makes the point that "the role of advancement opportunities and turnover has not been studied in the field of outdoor adventure." It is an understanding of what staff want out of working for the industry that is now so critical.

Often the traditional approach within all industries has been to match the person to the task. Psychometric testing is a good example of this technique. If the employee then becomes de-motivated and leaves, it is assumed that it was the match that was incorrect. However outdoor education staff have, usually, chosen to work within the industry and made a commitment to do so. Therefore predicting who is going to leave an organisation

is not a solution to turnover problems. The more important question to ask is why are employees leaving?

This study looks at the difficulties involved with staff career structures outlined above and, bearing in mind the issues raised in chapter 1, asks how can the current situation be improved. In order to do this the study is primarily concerned with the motivation of staff within the outdoor industry. This focus is in two stages. Initially, the study looks at what motivates people to work in the outdoor industry. Secondly it examines the factors which will motivate staff to remain in the industry on a long term career basis.

The purpose of the study is, therefore

- To examine the motivation of staff working in the outdoor industry.

The first aim of the study is

- To investigate the factors which motivate people to work in the outdoor industry.

The second aim of the study is

- To investigate the factors which will motivate staff to remain in the industry on a long term basis.

It should be noted that the second aim of the study is primarily pragmatic in that it seeks to arrive at a mechanism whereby staff are motivated to remain in the industry on a long term basis whereas the first aim is to examine actual causality of motivation whilst at work. Whilst these two, different, viewpoints are not mutually exclusive they are by no means mutually inclusive in that it may be possible to motivate a person to remain in a position by removing causes for dissatisfaction without maintaining their motivation for the work itself.

The motivation of staff is not examined in a wholly individualistic sense. The study recognises, and examines, the cultural and social environment of the outdoor industry. This environment has not only made the study necessary but may also contribute in a significant manner to staff behaviour. To investigate that proposal, psychological and sociological theories are examined, as well as the current issues highlighted in chapter 1.

2.0.1 Critical issues raised by chapter two

- There needs to be a fundamental re-examination of staff career patterns in the outdoor industry.

- The starting point of such an examination needs to be an understanding of why staff choose to work in the outdoor industry.

- Practical concerns, reflecting the current issues in chapter 1, make it important that this understanding extends to why staff leave the outdoor industry.

3. LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1 STAFF IN THE OUTDOOR EDUCATION INDUSTRY

Although advanced in the USA and Australia research of any kind in the outdoor industry in the UK is in its early stages (cf. Barrett and Greenaway, 1995, below). The industry has traditionally relied on anecdotal evidence and testimonials to give credence to its claims for personal development and other attributes. This lack of research is found to an even greater degree when related to staffing issues. These issues can be catergorised as in the sections below.

3.1.1 Studies relating to staffing issues

Whilst there is a notable body of literature in the general field of outdoor education, the great majority of it is concerned with the impact of adventurous activities on the recipient and, furthermore, is largely anecdotal. Thomas (1985, cited in Birmingham, 1989, p. 30) for example, lists over 900 popular, theoretical and research citations. Of these a total of only seventeen articles concern instructors, of these:
- Eight are about instructor competencies, certification or training.
- Four concern the personality of instructors or successful instructors.
- One is about instructor behaviour during a course.
- One relates to instructor stress.
- Three concern other instructor oriented issues.

The bulk of research is about participants, outcomes and the programme as it concerns the participant. Barrett and Greenaway (1995) as part of a major literature review found that there were very few UK empirical studies. A majority of these works have looked at the effect of Outward Bound courses on students (cf. Strutt, 1966 and Fletcher, 1971 in the UK; Wetmore, 1972; Koepke, 1973 in the USA and Hopkins, 1982 in Canada). It is apparent that the 'golden age' of outdoor education expansion in the sixties and early seventies (Hopkins and Putnam, 1993) is reflected in the amount of research coming from that period. More recently, Wurdinger (1995) has challenged some of the fundamental findings which many of these studies laid claim to, notably the longevity of beneficial effects from Outward Bound courses. Nichols (1995) has also challenged some of the methodologies used, notably the reliance on post-course questionnaires.

Critically, Birmingham (1989, p. 115) raises the issue that "considerable research has been done about the student outcomes of participating in an Outward Bound course [but] what are the staff outcomes from teaching them?"

Barrett and Greenaway (1995, p. 53) found that much of the research carried out in the field of outdoor education was: "isolated ..... inconclusive.... over-ambitious ..... uncritical ..... not of a high standard .... difficult to locate....". The reasons for this, they claim, are that the majority of studies are "done by [college] students or those involved in the industry and not catalogued or cited". In addition, Birmingham (1989, p. 5) found that "the quantity of research regarding any instructor or administrative topic is inadequate to non-existent" whilst Humberstone (1995, p. 135) comments that:

> "scholarly discourse (what little there is) around dimensions of outdoor education is fragmented and often unreflexive and largely uncritical."

Even when compared to the studies carried out on students there is only a small amount of published literature available with regard to the administration and implementation of outdoor education activities which cover the leadership aspect (cf. Ford and Blanchard, 1985; Miles and Priest, 1990; Priest and Gass, 1997; Hunt, 1989; Ogilvie, 1993; Hopkins and Putnam, 1993). Whilst these texts do deal with the issue of outdoor education staff they are mainly working texts which are concerned with technical aspects of staff working relationships with students or issues concerned with recruitment and training Barrett and Greenaway (1995, p. 21) found, as part of a major literature review, that "there appears to be no research of ..... quality in the field of group leadership in outdoor adventure with young people [with one exception carried out in the seventies; Bolman, 1976". Ogilvie (1995) comments that it is the technical aspect of hiring and training staff that is written about rather than the motivations of staff. In addition the three most substantial of the texts relating to staffing, Ford and Blanchard (1985) Miles and Priest (1990) and Priest and Gass (1997) are North American and reflect the different culture found there (see section 3.1.3).

The index for volumes 1 to 11 (1984 - 1994) of the 'Journal of Adventure Education and Outdoor Leadership', the only national journal dedicated to outdoor education in the UK, lists a total of 377 articles. Of these, 10 deal with the actual instruction of outdoor activities, 25 cover leadership skills in the outdoors, 10 cover the management of outdoor provision, none of which relate to staffing issues, and there are 25 articles dealing with staff development. Significantly, there is only 1 article listed under research. Of the

articles dealing with staff development, 6 are concerned with the implementation of National Vocational Qualifications (NVQs) and the majority of the rest deal with other qualification developments. Only one article, Teschner and Wolter (1988), deals with the hiring, training and professional development of staff and this originates from an American journal. Articles of any sort mentioning staff issues deal almost exclusively with the technical competence of those staff.

One exception has been the ethnographic study by Humberstone (1987) which examined an L.E.A. outdoor centre in the midst of major organisational and fiscal changes. This study, although primarily concerned with aspects of teaching in the outdoors, does highlight the staff's personal and ethical values as being instrumental in maintaining their motivation throughout the period of change.

On the few occasions where outdoor staff have been the subject of specific study it has usually been following an event of some significance. An example would be the Cairngorm disaster of 1971 which led to a report calling for fully-qualified and long-experienced instructors (Mountain Magazine, 1972). Again the emphasis was concentrated on the technical side of staff involvement. The Lyme Bay tragedy in 1993 also revived the debate on staff competence and, as already highlighted, led to significant changes throughout the outdoor education field.

Not surprisingly, perhaps the only area which has seen a number of studies relating to outdoor staff has been the under-graduate population intending to work in the outdoor industry. The major, inevitable, criticism of these under-graduate studies is of their limited scope, most notably in the small size of their study populations. Consequently (as confirmed by Barrett and Greenaway, 1995) these studies have little more than curiosity value.

As highlighted later in the literature review Birmingham's (1989) study constantly returns to the importance of community, both within the centre environment and the greater context of the outdoor industry. This is largely because, as she says (p. 24), outdoor instructors have been found by a number of studies, to be more similar to each other than staff in other occupations. One university-based study by Salisbury (1997) has gone some way to confirming this commonality. In a Myers-Briggs (1987) Type Indicator survey of post-graduate outdoor education diploma students over four years (n=58) Salisbury found an important number of common traits. The most notable of these traits was that more than twice as many of the respondents were inclined towards introversion

as towards extroversion. The same was found with twice as many respondents inclined to being perceivers rather than judgmental. There was also a bias, although not a strong one, towards intuitive-feeling pairings rather than sensing-thinking pairings. Whilst it is difficult to draw conclusions from just these results it would appear that the students on the course were inclined towards the 'feeling' traits rather than the 'cognitive' traits. The introvert trait may help to explain the withdrawal from mainstream society that is sometimes associated with the outdoor industry (see section 3.2.3). With regard to gender there was one notable difference in that female respondents were much more likely to tend towards feeling than thinking whilst males tended to be biased in favour of thinking. Whilst this fits in with gender stereotyping it does not answer the question of whether these traits are the result of biology or socialisation; such a question is outside of the scope of this study.

3.1.2 In-house studies

Literature from within the industry dealing with staff issues in the UK is even more limited, indeed it seems to be somewhat of a forbidden subject. One large and important centre in North Wales (Centre B, 1995) has addressed its staff retention difficulties (100% turnover over a 2/3 year cycle) through the use of a questionnaire to all staff followed by a series of workshops carried out over the winter of 1994/95. A major flaw in this study, however, is in the nature of the target population, the questionnaire was only sent to the 15 long term permanent members of staff; short term, 1-year contract and seasonal staff were not included. Although the study is still of significance, because it provides evidence of a concern with staff retention, the limited study population make it impossible to generalise about its results.

Another study, completed as part of an MBA degree done from a different centre, within the same organisation was written by a member of the management team (Cambray, 1993) This concentrates on looking at how to improve staff performance through incentives. Again this study has to be considered of limited benefit because not only was it carried out by a member of the in-house management team but the results were given directly to senior management without any attempt being made to disguise the identities of the study respondents. As this was known at the time of the study being carried out it is unlikely that staff felt themselves to be in a position where they could be totally honest. In addition the study only looks at a single member of staff from each of the organisations five centres which is unlikely to produce a balanced outcome.

One of the major objections to the work done by Cambray, and indeed any manager, is the notion of power corrupts (Hammersley, 1995). This notion, which holds that research is essentially political, maintains that it is impossible to disassociate the position of power from the research process. Research carried out from this position, or influenced by this position in terms of funding or patronage, is therefore inherently subject to bias.

Another major commercial outdoor organisation (organisation P) asks its staff to complete evaluation forms as part of their open college in-house training. This form is primarily aimed at evaluation of training but also asks staff for their opinions of different aspects of work within the organisation as well as their possible future career plans (results of this survey were, however, not available at the time of writing)

A paper on staff retention by Robinson (1991, p. 30) talks of staff being "persuaded to carve their own outdoor career based on a validated career structure [and a] lifelong career development process". As with other papers written from within the industry, it is important to see Robinson's work in context in that he is advocating the National Vocational Qualification (NVQ) scheme which his own company administers. This consideration must lead to suspicion of inherent bias, even if well intended.

3.1.3 The American approach

There appears to be a greater acceptance of staff issues in the USA where outdoor education has evolved along very different lines to this country. Notable amongst these differences is the lack of reliance on certification in the USA where the preference is for experience and commitment. Teschner and Wolter (1988, p. 22) describe this attitude thus:

> "We believe that 'paper' qualifications are useful for credibility, but of limited relevance to programme effectiveness. Usually certificates are very narrow in scope."

The other major notable difference is the pattern of staff contracts awarded in the USA. These tend to be of course length duration or at the most by season. The member of staff is paid for the course and is totally committed for each day of that course, irrespective of its length. He or she will then be effectively unemployed, and often homeless, until the next available course. (cf. Birmingham, 1989, p. 63). Staff will also be expected to

undergo long periods of staff training which are usually unpaid. Wages per day are, however, typically much higher.

Teschner and Wolter (1988; 1990), amongst other American writers, are much more concerned with the overall character and personal development of the member of staff, noting that "staff who seem especially keen to learn and grow ..... have long-term potential" (1988, p. 22). In an article on staff development they make the pertinent comment that:

> "If we want our programmes to achieve the highest level possible, we must constantly act to ensure that our staff achieve their highest levels" (1990, p. 283).

Stehno (1993) continues this theme with an article on staff development models which notes the importance of a development programme being mutually beneficial to both staff and employer. Furthermore, Stehno specifically highlights the concept of a staff development programme acting in a holistic manner attending to, not only technical skills, but also staff motivation and personal development. As a working example of this he cites the case of Southern Illinois University which found that permanent staff, i.e. of one to seven years employment, working on wilderness programmes had a problem with:

> "redundancy of issues and the repetitiveness of outdoor activities and groups. After working in the same course areas, instructing the same events and working with the same populations there was little personal or professional challenge and limited opportunities for growth" (Stehno, 1993, p. 436).

The wilderness programme recognised that this was an issue which affected staff effectiveness. In an attempt to overcome stagnation, it adopted a staff development structure which followed a six point plan of recruitment, orientation, communication, support services, instructional clinics and evaluation (ibid, p. 434).

The issue of staff turnover is also handled more explicitly in America. For example, a paper on the subject was presented at The National Conference on Outdoor Recreation of 1990 (Gilbert, 1991), and staff turnover and retention were both discussed in the 'Journal of Parks and Recreation' under the heading of professional issues (Attarian, 1991). The Association for Experiential Education dedicated an entire journal issue (Spring, 1986) to outdoor adventure staffing issues.

Amongst American studies Riggins (1983, p. 107) found that the motivation to work for Outward Bound in the USA fell into four categories:

- The opportunity to pursue favourable working and lifestyle conditions.
- The opportunity to teach others.
- As a response of previous outdoor experiences of a positive nature.
- As a response to previous experiences of a negative nature.

66.1% had responses in category one. Of these 40.4% cited a love of the outdoors as their primary motivation.

In 1989 Birmingham produced her work on the turnover and retention of staff which examined the reasons for turnover at Pacific Crest Outward Bound School (n=246) North Carolina Outward Bound School (n=155) Outward Bound British Columbia (n=30) Nantahala Outdoor Centre (n=168) and Wildwater Limited (n=61). The later two are whitewater companies providing rafting and canoeing/kayaking. The centres are located in the Pacific mountain region or south-eastern corner of the USA. There was a 61.03% return rate in the survey. The study used an amalgamation of three primary research tools. These were first, for reasons of convenience, two commercial questionnaires: 'Likert's Survey of Organisations - 2000' for organisational climate information and the 'Fundamental Interpersonal Relations Orientation-Behaviour Personality Assessment' to assess inter-personal relationships. In addition an author-developed questionnaire, partially based on the work of Cotton and Turtle (1986) was also used to complete the final research survey.

Three quarters of the respondents mentioned the importance of intrinsic rewards, notably "love of the work, love and enjoyment of the people (staff and students), fulfilment of personal goals, love and enjoyment of the outdoor life, challenge, the community, the interaction with people, enjoyed teaching, had fun, were experiencing personal growth, liked helping people, experienced great job satisfaction, had personal freedom, wanted to live one's ideals, and were learning new things." In addition several extrinsic rewards were mentioned "being able to be paid for what one loves, having respect from one's peers and the students, having an income, advancement, and recognition on the job" (Birmingham, 1989, p. 100).

Complaints tended to centre on extrinsic factors, notably as in the quote below.

> "low pay, few or no benefits (health insurance, retirement, etc.) a poor perk
> system, lack of job security, lack of enough and/or year round employment
> opportunities, lack of staff training, lack of constructive feedback, being
> evaluated only occasionally, lack of privacy on courses/trips and in the housing,

low quality housing ..... lack of stable living arrangements, not enough decent housing (overcrowding) lack of compensation for planning periods, lack of compensation for attending required staff training, lack of compensation for work done beyond contracted time periods, inability to predict schedules, lack of opportunity for mid and top management level advancement, lack of intellectual stimulation, poor workload control, communication problems and decision making problems within the organisation" (ibid. pp. 100-101).

The community factor was particularly acknowledged as being important, of all non-work variables it was ranked the highest overall (p. 110). Birmingham concludes (p. 113) that the three areas which could specifically be addressed to counter high turnover rates are community, job security and benefits. The study raises the point (p. 114) that low pay levels are a universal factor in turnover but, interestingly, not "an immediate direct statistical factor".

The major methodological critique of Birmingham's study is in its population diversity and the generalisations which Birmingham draws from this sample. Birmingham writes, for example, (p. 113) that "since the results appear to be reasonably consistent for two outdoor adventure industries (Outward Bound and rafting) across five organisations ..... it may be possible to generalise cautiously to the outdoor adventure industry in North America". It also worth noting that her study was also intended to include the United Kingdom, although for logistical reasons this did not happen. The sample population for the United Kingdom phase was intended to be just two Outward Bound centres.

It is apparent where there has been thought given to staff issues in the UK it is still on the traditional lines of economic rewards in return for effort and certification as a career path. This contrasts strongly with the USA approach as exemplified by Teschner and Wolter (1988, p. 24) which recognises that the outdoor staff's relationship with their occupation is much more of a two-way process. They note that "Educational programmes ... often fail to recognise its significance for training staff". Horwood (1983, p 26) observes in agreement with this that "learning is definitely not confined to the clients". Furthermore, Barth (1980, p. 147) points out the importance of this issue to the programme operator when he observes that "when teachers stop growing so do their students".

3.1.4 Gender

Genders are not a primary focus of this study but it would be negligent to discuss outdoor education staff without considering this issue. The outdoor education industry has always been heavily biased towards male staff with the result that:

> "Women are ... under-represented at all levels of management and leadership ... outdoor education must acknowledge and address this criticism" (Humberstone, 1996, p. 47).

Interestingly Plimmer (cited in Collins, 1997, p. 9) turns this argument around and talks of the "many opportunities for women ..... [who] are very badly under-represented". Loeffler (1995) in her career model for women emphasises the various constraints found, such as gender role socialisation, 'the glass ceiling', and personnel policies. As Allin (1997a) points out, however, she omits any analysis of positive experiences of being female in the outdoors or that women's careers may actually be enhanced by their gender. Whilst it cannot be denied that there are opportunities for women in the outdoor industry, in order to facilitate this further there needs to be a greater understanding of why there is a gender imbalance.

There is a sizeable body of literature on women in the workplace (cf. Morrison, et al, 1987) some of which concentrates on women in leisure service management (cf. Frisby, 1992, for a good example) and on women in sports (cf. Hargreaves, 1994). In the outdoor industry whilst there has been some work done on female participation. Little of this has been related to staffing issues. Notable outdoor studies include Ayland (1991) who looked at women youth workers in outdoor education and an ongoing study by Allin (1997a) who is looking at life histories of women outdoor staff. Neither of these studies, however, place the issues involved in the specific context of the outdoor industry workplace. Interestingly, in a study of instructor effectiveness at Nantahala Outdoor Centre in America, Phipps and Claxton (1997) found that female instructors were rated more highly, by their students, than the male instructors in all aspects of the study. In highly simplistic terms, however, the gender issue is generally assumed to be something of a vicious circle where women are not inclined to enjoy outdoor activities because of a lack of women instructors. There are, therefore, few women coming up into the industry as instructors. The situation, in the opinion of Roberts (quoted in Paterson, 1989, p. 3), an outdoor education advisor, is:

> "due to the limited number of women instructors - if women and girls saw and were instructed by more women, then women students might see an outlet for their own skills and femininity within outdoor activities/ outdoor education."

The subject of gender imbalance within the industry is, however, rather more complex than Roberts might indicate. Neither is purely having as many female as male instructors the simple numbers exercise it may at first appear to be. To approach gender imbalance from this perspective fails to take into account what women can bring to the industry in terms of a feminist and/or female perspective or pedagogy (Henderson, 1996). Even within the women's movement there is disagreement. For example, cultural feminists call for the celebration of women's differences whilst radical feminists see the need for an independent female framework which need have no relation to the existing cultural/political structures. Liberal feminists, meanwhile, simply demand equal rights and opportunities. The whole subject of gender can, therefore, be seen as a difficult and emotive area of study (see also the role of the researcher, section 5.1.2).

The issue of gender, and female leaders, is of course not confined to outdoor education. There have been numerous attempts by such bodies as the Sports Council to encourage female participation in all sports, neither is the issue confined to women. O'Leary (1996, p. 69) points out that:

> "people in lower socio-economic groups, the young and the elderly feature prominently amongst that portion of the population who rarely engage in outdoor recreation."

In particular, whilst this section focuses on women instructors, almost everything in it could also be read with regard to under-representation of ethnic minorities amongst outdoor staff.

It is now widely recognised that factors such as child care, cost and accessibility are a bar to many women participating in recreation. These factors, according to Nolan and Priest (1993, p. 15) can be split into two types:

> "personal and programmatic. Personal refers to the self-perception a woman holds of herself in relation to a life of socialisation and stereotyping, while programmatic refers to the lack of participation opportunities in the outdoors."

O'Leary (1996, p. 1) however, goes on to say that the reasons for dis-proportionate leisure activity are complex and not widely understood and may be more due to:

"disadvantaged socio-economic positions than to personal apathy. In addition attitudes to the countryside have been shown to vary according to gender, class and ethnicity. Accepted norms of recreation have been socially constructed by powerful land owning and conservation interests ..... nature can be perceived as another world in which one is not welcome."

These factors, whilst holding true for recreational participation, are even more valid when applied to the progression to instructor level where there are even greater hurdles to overcome. Sharp (1998) as part of a research project for the Scottish Sports Council found that women drop out of the mountain leader training/instructor scheme much earlier than men. Whilst there are already a disproportionately low number of women involved as leaders early in the scheme (only one fifth are women), there are even fewer as the scheme develops. At the very top level of instructor there are only a small handful of women in the entire country. The Association of Mountaineering Instructor's membership list for 1994 confirms this picture with 299 full members of which only 22 are women and of these only 7 have their Mountain Instructors Certificate (the highest level of national mountaineering qualification)

Whilst there has been no conclusive explanation of why this situation occurs it has been suggested that courses such as those on the UK mountain leader scheme are biased towards masculine norms and values. When placed in a position of leadership, for example, particularly in a physically demanding environment such as mountaineering, women often feel less able then men. This problem, according to Edwards (1995, p. 32) is.

"psychological rather than physiological, in that women are often fit enough to be mountain leaders, but do not feel so because the men in the group tend to be stronger and faster on the hill."

To a large extent this reflects on the issue that a woman may feel the need to preserve her feminine identity in what could be deemed a traditionally masculine environment. More women are, however, being encouraged to attend leadership and qualification courses (Humberstone, 1996) through initiatives being taken within the outdoor industry (these are discussed further in appendix 4). Many of these initiatives mirror the list laid down by Loeffler (1996, p. 95) to increase women's participation in the USA. This list includes such things as the hiring of more women into executive positions, single-sex advanced skills courses and actively recruiting women instructors. A number of the strategies suggested by Loeffler would however, be of dubious legality in Great Britain where the practice of positive discrimination is not allowed; although positive action is allowed.

One important initiative, on which O'Leary (1996) reports, was that members of a women's group found that pre-course outreach work by the course co-ordinator was a crucial factor in motivating them to take part. This emphasises the point that 'outsider' groups, in this case women, are often reluctant to step into a domain perceived as being dominated by another group, in this case "historically a masculine domain" (Warren, 1990, p. 412). Women may need to be made comfortable with that first step.

Difficulties in introducing women to the outdoors may be a reflection of gender influenced upbringing (Warren, ibid). For example, men may feel happy tying knots, putting up tents and so on, but for many women this will be a new and alien experience. This is felt to a much larger extent on mixed sex courses where in addition to usually having greater physical strength men will also have a level of these learnt skills. Outdoor activities have the potential to address these issues. Yet the norm when under stress, such as when arriving at a campsite in bad conditions, is for people to gravitate to those activities in which they are most efficient. Gender stereotypes, according to Warren, are thus reinforced by men putting up the tents whilst the women get the cooking started.

Given this difficulty a major factor in getting women to make that first step is the concept of women-only courses run for both recreational and leadership objectives. Pottinger (1994, p. 16) argues that "women-only courses are a must for women ... who can then access the outdoors to women through becoming leaders". There is no doubt that women-only courses, and in particular women's leaders courses, do have a valuable role in redressing the gender imbalance within the outdoor industry. According to Mitten (1985, cited in Nolan and Priest, 1993, p. 16) "Women-only programmes can yield many positive benefits psychologically, socially and physically for the participants". Women-only courses, particularly women-only leader assessments, have, however, also been subject to strongly felt criticism and emotive debate, by both sexes. Much of this has come about because of the attitude exemplified by Pottinger (op cit. p. 16) who comments that:

> "I would not have considered a mixed gender training course and would not consider having my assessment at a mixed gender assessment centre, in such a potentially stressful time as assessment I would want the support of an all woman environment."

Comments like this have to some extent alienated women-only assessment courses, not only from men but also from other women. Many feel that if women are ever to be respected as outdoor leaders they need to be assessed, and pass or fail, under the same conditions as men. Cunningham (1994, p. 33) writes, for example that; "I feel the only

way we will ever gain respect as equals is to stop asking for, or demanding ..... special privileges and instead show that our feminine qualities are differences but not disabilities". The concern is that women leaders who have come through a women-only system will not be able to cope with the realities of leadership in a mixed society. Johnson (1990, p. 38) makes the point that women's courses are all very well but "whilst it is nice to be looked after, the result is that women never learn to function independently in some areas."

Interestingly whilst women-only assessments are criticised because of a lack of men on the course, assessments which are all male are not criticised for the same fault of being unrealistic.

There is a further difficulty with the idea of women leaders acting as a role model, Warren (1990, 1996) describes this as the "myth of the superwoman" (1990, p. 414). This is where female leaders, unlike their male counterparts, are seen to have achieved something unusual and even extraordinary by succeeding as female leaders. In this scenario they are so far removed from other women that the role model provided has no relevance to 'ordinary' women. Women-only courses, where students and staff can relate to each other on a social basis and demystify the role of the leader, are one way of breaking down this barrier.

Aside from the arguments there have been other setbacks for women's courses, one of which was the Channel Four film "Pink Pyjamas" made in the mid seventies which portrayed a fictional women's course (filmed at Outward Bound Eskdale) as being full of totally incompetent women who were more interested in sleeping with the male instructors than outdoor activities. This image, along with the alternative image of butch outdoor women, related to the 'superwomen' model, still persists to some extent.

The media image of female outdoor athletes has also presented other difficulties. Any semiotic investigation of climbing and canoeing equipment advertisements, for example, will show that sex is still used as an advertising tool. In a similar vein recent high profile female role models, such as rock climbers Isabelle Patisser and Catherine Destivelle, have been more noted for their skimpy outfits and athletic figures than their contribution to the sport. To some extent this has been the fault of these women themselves who have been quick to exploit a sexy image for the sake of publicity and lucrative sponsorship deals. Allison Hargreaves, who died so tragically on K2, was criticised by the media, however, as "irresponsible as a wife and mother" (cited by Loynes, 1996, p. 56) a

criticism that would never be directed at a male mountaineer. Nolan and Priest (1993, p. 15) comment on this issue that women are, in general, still constrained by their image of house-keeper and mother and "tend to feel guilty if any of their dual role responsibilities have been neglected." The effect of media images such as these is that "many girls and young women see adventure as inappropriate" (Bowles, 1996, cited in Humberstone, 1996, p. 48). It seems that, as far as image and media role models go, it is very hard for women to break through established stereotypes. This is particularly so when the societal "invisibility of women" (Humberstone, 1987, p. 85) is taken into account. In this hypothesis, literature and past and present media represent the achievements of men as significant, and either ignore or misrepresent the achievements of women. A modern example of this would be when Allison Hargreaves climbed all the Alpine northern faces in one season it was not hailed as a great mountaineering achievement *per se* but rather as a great achievement for a woman, particularly one who was pregnant at the time. In this way a milestone mountaineering achievement was effectively trivialised.

Assumptions about the style and role of male and female outdoor leaders are rife, few of which do either sex justice. Henderson (1996, p. 113) for example talks of:

> "the characteristics normally ascribed to men in the outdoors, such as competitiveness, aggression, and authoritarianism, ... characteristics popularly defined as female, such as co-operation, nuturance, and consensus."

On the basis of this assumption women in the outdoor industry are often seen as providing a gentler, more compassionate, counterpart to the more aggressive masculine leadership style provided by male instructors. Surprisingly, perhaps, Kiewa (1997) highlights a number of research articles which show that this assumption has a level of support and foundation. Eagly and Johnson (1990) for example, found that women leaders were no more people focused, as opposed to task focused, than men. But they were far more likely to display a democratic style of leadership than men. Cheng (1989, cited in Kiewa, 1997, p. 3) and Jordan (1992) both show that women display more 'social power concerns' in their leadership styles. A question which is not resolved, however, is do women leaders display this style of concern and leadership because of innate inclination or because of the pressure of social norms. It has been suggested (Allin, 1997b) that there is an historical element to the perceived difference in men and women's leadership styles. This historical element has occurred because outdoor centres needing to improve their gender balance traditionally recruited women from the teaching profession to complement existing male instructors who already possessed high levels of technical skills. This accentuated the belief that women had teaching, or 'soft', skills whilst men had technical, or 'hard', skills. It is interesting to juxtapose this argument

with the Myers-Briggs study by Salisbury (op cit.). This found that female post-graduate outdoor students were much more inclined than male students to feeling than thinking on the decision-making scale. Whether these questions confirm different attributes between the sexs or not is hard to say.

The debate over differing leadership styles has, however, often clouded more important issues. To blindly assume that women outdoor instructors are a good thing because they will be more caring is to stereotype them. It also does them a grave injustice by focusing on that one attribute to the exclusion, partial or otherwise, of others. As Warren points out; "women .... have been on the cutting edge of diversity" (1990, p. 416). There is also the inherent, and major philosophical and practical, difficulty with treating half of the national population as a single study population. However, it is apparent that, as Humberstone (1996) notes, there is still a lot of research to be done regarding women leaders in the outdoor industry.

3.1.5 The staff-client interface

That there should be so little research into staffing issues in the UK is perhaps surprising when it is considered that the staff-client interface is one of the most crucial aspects of outdoor educational activities. This is recognised by Barrett and Greenaway (1995, p. 20) who, although not specifically looking at staff issues make the point that "For some young people the direct influence of staff could be the most important ingredient of outdoor adventure". Kalisch (1979, cited in Barrett and Greenaway, 1995, p. 20) confirms this by saying that:

> "Although other elements contribute to the total learning situation .... it is the instructor to student and instructor to group interaction which is central to the positive growth experience"

Nichols and Taylor (1994, p. 47) expand on these points by claiming that:

> "findings suggest that the attitude of young delinquents to sport and outdoor adventure may be significantly influenced by the behaviour, attitudes and values of adult teachers, instructors or facilitators."

Kelly and Baer (1968) credit the instructor as the force which makes the [Outward Bound] process work, whilst McAvoy (1978) points to the instructor's role as critical. Buell (1981) singles out instructors as the most important element in the programme.

Hunt (1989) however, asserts that an outdoor leader who takes an activity because he or she believes it will be good for the participants, will be ineffective if that leader does not also have a passion for the activity. This 'passion' for the activity explains two factors in the motivation of outdoor staff. First, the clichéd answer of staff working in the outdoors because they enjoy the activities is put into context. Secondly, and perhaps, more importantly, it also helps to explain the assumed high motivation of staff (see section 3.1.6).

Putnam (1996, p. 15), a past chairman of the National Association of Outdoor Education and the Council for Outdoor Education, Training and Recreation and the present chairman of The Foundation for Outdoor Adventure comments that:

> "the quality of an outdoor programme ..... will be based on the quality of the staff who are in the front line [therefore] the best investment any provider can make is in their front line people"

He goes on to say that "Staff effectiveness [being] based to large degree on staff loyalty is driven by job satisfaction". Putnam, however, assumes, to a large extent, that this is a self-serving, and self-evident, truth. Likewise, the weakness in many of the assumptions made about staff-client interaction is that the staff component of the relationship will always be positive because staff are taken to be highly motivated. Whatever the assumptions, it is apparent that the staff-client interface is generally regarded as fundamentally the most important aspect of the outdoor education experience. It is, therefore, even more surprising that the staff half of the relationship is perhaps the least researched aspect of outdoor education.

3.1.6 The assumed motivation of staff

Ogilvie (1993, p. 37) makes one of the few mentions of the motivation of outdoor instructors when discussing the attributes a leader needs. He writes that:

> "Leaders of groups in the outdoors are different in being essentially self appointed in the sense that they are not designated or elected in the first place by others. Outdoor activity leaders tend to come to their leading through a belief that taking groups out into the hills or onto water is a good thing. They are primarily self motivated. They have come voluntarily to be in this situation so may be assumed to be well motivated ... "

Ogilvie was the warden of a major outdoor centre (Ghyll Head) for some twenty three years, an ex-chairman of the Association of Heads of Outdoor Education Centre, an ex-

deputy chair of the Mountain Leader Training Board and a member of the executive committee of the National Association of Outdoor Education. In addition the book from which this quote is taken is recommended as a standard text by the Mountain Leader Training Board. Against this background it would not be unreasonable to take Ogilvie's approach, along with Putnam's (op cit. section 3.1.5), as an example of the outdoor industry's managerial attitude, notably when he says that outdoor leaders are "primarily self-motivated" and in addition "may be assumed to be well motivated". The implication may be drawn from this that one reason for the lack of research into the motivation of outdoor instructors has been a belief, that with staff being presumed to be well motivated, there has been no need to undertake it. As Wurdinger (1997, p. vii) writes, "[in the field of outdoor education] we, sometimes, make generalisations that may not hold true for everyone".

Interestingly an early history of Outward Bound by Summers (1957, p. 47), then Chairman of the Outward Bound Trust, does talk about the difficulty an instructor faces in self-motivation.

> "An instructor's job is very exacting. Just when he is getting to know his [group] and perhaps seeing his influence making itself felt, it is nearing the end of the course. Soon there will arrive a new [group] on which he must start to work all over again."

Summers also talks of the need to keep staff fresh, to avoid staleness and to allow staff to broaden their experience. At the same time he mentions the importance of "giving staff a greater sense of security, opening up new prospects and ..... recognising merit". It seems, on first inspection, that the fifties were more enlightened times for outdoor education staff!

That motivation is an important part of instructors make up there seems to be little doubt. In a survey of 250 'experts' in outdoor education from Great Britain, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and America, Priest (1989, p. 74) found that "Motivational Philosophy and Interest" was ranked fourth out of seven key attributes deemed critical in outdoor leaders. Indeed it was ranked higher than personal traits and behaviour or physical fitness. He comments that:

> "Motivational philosophy and interest are the underlying reasons which cause (or motivate) outdoor leaders to have interests for leading other people in the outdoor setting"

He also asserts that, "rarely, if ever, are leaders in it for the money". In their study of instructor effectiveness Phipps and Claxton (1997, p. 24) found that of all the attributes

rated by students (n=234) for their instructors, motivation was clearly the highest (1997, p. 41).

It would appear from the available literature, however, that it is acknowledged that motivation is an important aspect in the work of an outdoor instructor. It is also assumed, however, that instructors bring this motivation with them as a matter of routine. Goddard and Leask (1992, p. 222) in a work on educational quality make the point that one of the "neglected components in the process of improving quality [is] the motivation of those involved [in the delivery of the product]".

Mortlock (1984, 1995) however, is opposed to the notion of people such as Ogilvie and Putnam that staff can be assumed to be highly motivated. He attacks much of the ethos of modern outdoor education and the staff within it when he writes that:

> "The growth of outdoor qualifications has led to instructors who are not committed to adventure in [the] personal sense, and who think that the qualification is a guarantee of their competence. ..... these 'cardboard cut-outs' ..... are often primarily concerned with image and status" (1995, p. 37)

Mortlock's attack on the motivation of many modern instructors as being "primarily concerned with image and status" needs to be balanced against his own strongly felt philosophies. In 1991 he left the post of Director of Outdoor Education at Charlotte Mason College with feelings of "Depression, disillusionment, anger [and] sadness" (1995, p. 34) at the state of outdoor education. Much of Mortlock's ideas stem from Hopkins and Putnam's 'golden age' of outdoor education in the 1960s when qualifications and regulations were at a minimum and experience of adventure was the primary requirement of outdoor education. Instructors at the time were often highly committed exponents of outdoor activities in their own right as opposed to what Mortlock refers to as modern "pseudo-instructors" (1995, p. 37) who, whilst they may have more theoretical knowledge may be less committed to outdoor activities for their own sake. It can be argued that Mortlock is both outdated and utopian but his views still carry weight. Thus they are representative of a 'purist-amateur' view of outdoor education which rejects the ideas of 'professionalising' the industry and argues that the only valid motivation of instructors is a love of the outdoors.

The notion of working for the sake of a love of the outdoors which outweighs materialistic needs has often been used by centre owners to justify extreme low wages. (This issue and the issue of wages in general is discussed in greater detail in section 4.2.3)

The only area in which there has been notable interest with regards to motivation is where voluntary staff are concerned. Watters (1990, p. 271) for example, talks of their possible motivations for working without pay as being more than just the personal satisfaction of helping others. These other reasons, which he claims may be the most important, he lists as:

> "a need to be part of a group. They may get an ego boost from being in a leadership position. Or they may enjoy the extra recognition and prestige that comes from being in a leadership position."

Ford and Blanchard (1985, p. 145) refer to the same issue, although in a somewhat simplistic way when they claim that "paid personnel are motivated by money most of the time and this is very coercive. Volunteers are there because they want to be." Watters (1990) rightly points out that it is managerial understanding of their motivations that may keep volunteers on track and motivated. However he restricts his understanding of the motivations of paid staff to salaries and benefits coupled with adequate time off. He seems to see these as the panacea to most of the problems facing professional staff. Hunt (1989, p. 205), likewise, refers to outdoor staff as belonging to an ill-paid profession but fails to take the argument further than that. Certainly, he specifically highlights the difficulty in attracting "properly selected, trained, qualified and experienced leaders" and the crucial importance of "personal qualities, values motivation" yet, he still approaches the issue from the stance of leadership provision rather than any concern in the leaders as people in their own right.

3.1.7 Management in the outdoor education industry

To some extent the assumption that staff are highly motivated by simple virtue of their being in the industry is partly a result of the somewhat haphazard management style found within the outdoor industry (as evidenced by Everard, 1992) and the widespread use of anecdotal information. These difficulties may come about because many senior staff in the industry are instructors who have worked their way up through the system, often by virtue of longevity, and have little or no managerial training. Conversely there are now an increasing number of 'professional managers' being appointed in the outdoor industry who have no experience of the industry and often lack an understanding of outdoor staff. Mortlock (1995, p. 37) writes on this issue that it is:

"disturbing in recent years [that there] has been the growth of highly influential ...... managers who have no great interest in either young people or the great adventure traditions of this country."

This trend in management can be reflected in the changing culture of modern outdoor education which exists under tight financial constraints and often operates along more business like principles than in the past. Many instructors may find that this new business-oriented approach results in conflict with their own educational goals. Halliday (1990, p. 49) talks of the different attitudes of managers and educational professionals and comments that:

"managers are characteristically concerned with things like power, status and money..... which sustain institutions ..... there is a tension between the manager's competitive search for external goods and teachers own attempts to realise internal goods. The ideals and creativity of the practice are always vulnerable to the competitiveness of the institution."

Halliday sees this conflict as "an opposition between two views that might be called 'consumerism' and 'professionalism' with apparently no way to settle matters" (ibid, p. 50) This attitude has been confirmed by interviews with outdoor staff. One experienced instructor, 'Claire', for example, commented that she was disillusioned by "her changing working conditions and business oriented management" (Allin, 1997b, p. 5)

Despite this new trend of professional managers, Everard (1992) found that fewer than half of the centre managers attending training courses at Charlotte Mason College in 1990/91 had any form of management training. Yet, they were running centres with an average annual turnover of one million pounds and up to seventy staff.

The second problem, that of anecdotal information, is evident when hard facts are sought. To some extent this is a reflection of residential centre culture where it is often the case that "Idle ..... gossip can cause staff problems" (Ford & Blanchard, 1985, p. 146). Even when formal notice of turnover and retention problems is given it is often done in an anecdotal style. The Outward Bound Trust Corporate Plan 1993-1997 for example, identifies a "trend of high staff turnover" (1992, section 7.2) without giving any figures other than declaring that there will be a fifty percent increase in staff retention.

A third, more pragmatic, issue involved with outdoor management is that identified by Stehno (1993) who notes that many outdoor centres are prone to short term, 'fire-fighting', financial planning. This may achieve its objective in the short term but can cause severe consequences in the long term. Stehno gives as an example of this the

general staff dissatisfaction caused by the large amount of effort required to maintain equipment which has not been adequately maintained or replaced in an attempt to reduce overheads. It is notable in the staff development plan highlighted by Stehno (section 3.1.3) that:

> "providing the necessary equipment and resources ... is evidence of the organisation's commitment to both staff and participants ... [this] allows staff the freedom to concentrate on their primary concerns of instruction and supervision" (ibid, p. 434)

Although this quote is the only one to be readily found in the front line literature on the subject of commitment to staff its importance cannot be overstated. This is because, first, it specifically brackets together an organisation's commitment to staff and clients as being interwoven. Secondly, Stehno attacks the short term approach of many managers in the outdoor industry which has led to the throw-away attitude to staff which is the underpinning of this study (see Chapter 2).

3.1.8 'Burnout'

Although not directly part of this study the concept of 'burnout' is an important issue that cannot be separated from the work of outdoor staff and, therefore, needs consideration. The nature of 'burnout' itself is not clear. Evans and Fischer (1993) suggest that it is multi-dimensional consisting of emotional exhaustion, depersonalisation from clients and/or colleagues and feeling a lack of personal accomplishment. Although all three dimensions are present in 'burnout' they can be of varying proportions. Mental exhaustion is, however, generally recognised as the core of 'burnout'. Critics of the multi-dimensional model (Garden, 1991; Shirom, 1989) do indeed argue that exhaustion, both mental and physical, is the only true facet of 'burnout'.

Whichever the relevant model it is widely accepted that 'burnout' is an issue within the outdoor education industry. Butler (cited in Collins, 1997, p. 9), for example, talks of working in the outdoor industry as being "low paid, highly demanding and vulnerable to associated 'burnout'". Priest and Gass (1997) place 'burnout' as a significant feature of work in the outdoors with its inclusion in a chapter on themes in the industry which includes areas such as professionalism and technology. They note that the work of outdoor staff requires:

> "strong commitments to our work, serving in a very altruistic manner that requires us to give certain levels of self-sacrifice and service to others. Such a high level of commitment can produce a great deal of energy ... for our clients but can also prove expensive to us personally" (ibid, p. 300)

Priest and Gass list the demands of long hours, physically demanding work and emotionally charged issues as contributing to the 'burnout' of outdoor staff. Gass (1993, p. 418) points to the committed nature and energy of outdoor staff and notes that as an industry "we have capitalised on [that] energy" This is an example, he claims, of the way in which the strengths of outdoor staff at work are also weaknesses when it comes to avoiding 'burnout'. Priest and Gass (op cit.) also note that the dedicated nature of staff can lead to strong disillusionment, and emotional 'burnout', when their high expectations are disappointed by programme/centre constraints and limitations. In addition to these difficulties it is often the case that high work-loads and safety considerations dictate that staff must remain alert and active even on days where perhaps they are operating, or feeling, 'below par'. Not surprisingly Raglin (op cit.) notes that 'burnout', which he describes as distress resulting from emotional and mental demands, is traditionally found in the human service fields, of which the outdoor industry is an extreme form.

It has been shown, by among others Golembiewski, Munzenrider and Stevenson (1986, cited in Birmingham, 1989, p. 2) that 'burnout' is relatively independent of individual demographic or personality characteristics. Correlations are found instead with a variety of workplace factors. Rusbelt, et al. (1986 cited in Hardy and Jones, 1992, pp. 11-12) argue that a notable cause of 'burnout' is where people feel a sharp increase in their own performance but fail to see any increase in the rewards associated with this effort. This can be related to the work of Maslach (1981, p. 43) who found that:

> "There is no one 'personality type' that is likely to suffer more frequently from burnout. In fact, often highly motivated and dedicated staff suffer from burnout. A frequent response is to 'blame the victim', rather than look for the environmental factors contributing to the situation."

It can be seen that outdoor education staff, although not directly cited, are in a classic potential 'burnout' employment with high stress levels and the need for a high level of self-motivation coupled with low levels of recovery time and reward.

Although there is a lack of specific research in the outdoor industry regarding 'burnout' a major study involving 12,000 NHS nursing staff (Kennedy and Grey, 1997) gives some valuable insight into the condition. This study found that the positive factors of a nurse's work included direct patient contact and working with fellow nurses whilst negative

aspects included the high workload, staff shortages and poor communications. The study concluded that the strengths of the work were high levels of involvement, peer cohesion and task orientation. The areas that needed attention were increased supervisor support, increased autonomy, a decrease in work pressure and the need to attend to some aspects of physical comfort. The action plan proposed by the study included an emphasis on continuing professional development, improved communication and the individual acknowledgement of good work. Although it is always difficult to transfer issues from one study population to another the similarities between nursing and outdoor staff enable some lessons to be learnt from the Kennedy and Grey study. Perhaps the most notable aspect of the study is the prominence given to areas such as autonomy, personal development, working with like minded peers and patient (client) contact.

3.1.9 The need to study staff in the outdoor industry

It might be asked by the lay observer, however, why there is a need to examine the motivation of outdoor staff. Even when faced with the reality of long hours and restricted time off the standard layman's impression is 'well it's easy work. He's just out playing'. But, as Watters (1990, p. 270) replies to this impression:

> "Certainly it's play but it's other people's play and that is the catch. There is a big difference between personal recreation and the recreation that is done for others".

In a discussion on the phenomena of 'burnout' (section 3.1.8) Priest and Gass (1997, p. 300) refer to this mix of work and play with the observation that "this blurring of the boundaries between work and play can be depleting rather than replenishing" This comment highlights the complications that arise when the work of outdoor staff becomes too closely associated with their life outside of the centre programme. It is often heard that work in the outdoor industry is more of a lifestyle (section 1.2.3) than a job. However, it is this very lifestyle that can make it hard for staff to regenerate themselves. Moreover it also makes it hard to separate the emotionally demanding issues and values of the work place from those of everyday life. Outdoor work can thus be seen as uniquely exacting in the demands it places on the staff involved.

Building on this theme Watters (op cit, p. 270) likens the outdoor staff person to a "raft with a slow leak ... staggering home at the end of emotionally demanding trips, flaccid and deflated". This is confirmed by Fiander (cited in Collins, 1997, p. 9) who asserts that "careers in the outdoors are fully demanding ..... there is little play". Grey (1988, p. 35)

in an article on the National Association for Outdoor Education talks of its "underpaid and overworked" members. It is this side of the industry that is not seen by the layman. Crowther (1984, cited in Thompson, 1989, p. 35) acknowledges the popular misconception of work in the outdoor industry. He comments that outdoor staff "often have, despite popular opinion, monotonous and frequently professionally isolated jobs". This professional isolation, engendered in large part by the attitude that outdoor education is often not seen as a 'proper job', has been increased in recent years by financial constraints and centre closures. This atmosphere of financial insecurity at centre level has also led to an increase in freelance employment at the expense of full-time or even seasonal jobs. As Thompson (1989, p. 35) says "centre staff have felt more vulnerable than ever over recent years".

The Hunt Report (Hunt, 1989) in its survey of some 950 individuals involved in outdoor education as providers, users or those who had an interest found that over a third of the responses (albeit there was only a 36% response rate but these were mainly from providers) cited difficulties in attracting suitable staff as a major hurdle in programme provision. 50% of respondents said that their requirements were not easily met when looking for new staff. Similarly centre managers (as evidenced by interviews, see below) are quick to admit to staff retention problems but few have any data to back this assertion up beyond "staff seem to move on every year or two" stories. There is a general feeling in the commercial and charity sectors of the industry that staff are quick to move on. This, however, is based on experience and anecdotal evidence rather than a study of the problem.

That said, the issue is big enough in some centres to warrant action. Centre 'B' (discussed in section 3.1.2), for example, carried out an investigation, over the winter of 1994/95, into its own staff attitudes because of a 100% turnover rate on an approximately two year cycle. The manager of a centre (Ripley, 1995) in the Lake District used in the pilot study described this cycle as:

> "A typical cycle seems to be that a permanent member of staff will not want to face another winter so he leaves and creates a vacancy. This is offered to a summer temp who obviously is going to accept it rather than spend the winter on the dole. He uses the winter to pick up a few qualifications and then does another summer for the fun of it before deciding that he can do better elsewhere, leaves and the whole thing starts again."

Cambray's study (1993) (also discussed in section 3.1.2), presents evidence from Organisation 'X' of permanent staff retention difficulties. This study gives figures for

annual labour turnover as high as 33.3%. Interestingly his figures are worked out using employee longevity of more than a year as a base line and do not therefore give any indication of length of stay in the industry just that a certain percentage leave on a year to year basis. The implication of a 33.3% turnover is that staff stay for an average of three years but this fails to take into account the small, but significant, number of, usually more senior, instructional staff who stay for much longer terms. The inference must be then that the turnover rate amongst the bulk of staff is less than three years. Given that it is usual for staff to be in a centre for at least one season before attaining permanent status these figures would suggest that staff in organisation 'X' only stay on a permanent basis contract for one or two years.

In addition to the anecdotal information available (cf. Lewis, 1997a and 1997b) it is evident (e.g. from organisation X above and, notably, from interviews carried out during the pilot study) that five years in a single centre would be considered a very long time. Ross (1986) and Collins (1997) confirm this with the estimate that the work span for many outdoor adventure staff is notably less than five years. This short stay has a number of repercussions for centres. First, and most obviously, it means that there is an ongoing induction and training process which is both costly and time consuming. Allied to this is the difficulty in ensuring that there are enough experienced staff to cover activities at a suitable level. As already highlighted (in Chapter 1) centres are now much more aware of the, greater, training and certification needs of staff which are now required. The financial disadvantages of employing short-term staff are highlighted by Lewis (1997b, p. 24) who cites the costs of initial training for a constant stream of new staff as being "a drain on funding and energy". The consequences of improved staff retention, he maintains, include "a resultant rise in safety skills, client welfare, and enjoyment".

A second problem is that client groups become 'attached' to particular staff, particularly if the centre has a policy of staff responsibility for clients. When a client's designated member of staff moves on there is a potential for losing that client if he or she decides to re-evaluate their needs and look for a fresh centre (Harrison, 1997; Ripley, 1995). Moreover, continuity of courses and programmes, which may influence a client to rethink their needs, are also affected when staff move on. In addition if the motivation of staff were more fully understood it should be possible to realise their full potential. As Vinokur-Kaplan et al (1994, p. 94) explain it, by matching the goals and needs of the organisation and the individual it is possible "to create organisational conditions by which motivational energy can be released to achieve goals and outcomes that benefit

both the individual and the organisation". Rawlingson-Plant (1997, p. 11) meanwhile, talks of the "very special people" needed to work in the outdoor industry and the need for a raise in "the profile and status of outdoor instructors both with employers and the general public". She concludes that:

> "every other industry recognises the commercial benefits in investing in their people - we [the outdoor industry] must also be prepared to change our attitude and do so; we must become more professional in all ways in dealing with our staff".

This gradual acceptance by the outdoor industry of the need to change the way it handles its staff is exemplified by Peter Thompson (1997), the personnel manager of P.G.L. (the largest outdoor organisation in the UK) who comments that "the industry is going to have to change and develop with regards to its staff - for everyone's benefit". The key to this change needs to be an understanding of the motivation of outdoor staff.

3.2 OTHER DIRECTIONS - OUTDOOR ACTIVITIES

Another route to take when looking at staff working in outdoor centres is to look at investigations into commonalties found in their backgrounds. The obvious choice is an assumed interest in outdoor activities. This gives some indication of possible characteristics of outdoor staff. Rossi & Cereatti (1993) for example, maintain that 'high risk' sports are chosen by high sensation seeking subjects who are constantly in need of new challenges and may quickly get stale remaining in one place. Robinson (1985 in Hardy & Jones, 1992, p. 9) confirms this hypothesis and talks of people being involved in high risk activities as needing constant arousal. It would appear from anecdotal and other evidence however, (Hardy & Jones, 1992) that many adventure sports enthusiasts do not conform to this type of personality. Ewert (1985) looked at the motives of climbers in an attempt to answer the classic question - 'why do people climb mountains?'. Following questionnaire responses from 460 climbers at Mt. Rainier in Washington he found that people climb for a variety of reasons but notably for challenge, catharsis, recognition, creative opportunities and physical setting. He also noted that there were differences in motivation between experienced and inexperienced climbers. The later were more inclined to motivations of recognition and socialising whilst the more experienced climbers were more motivated by factors such as challenge and personal testing. Bryan (1979, cited in Ewert, 1985, p. 242) concurs with this in his contention that motivational impulses change with experience from extrinsic to intrinsic. Hobbs (1995) carried out a similar study of the motivation of Jordanhill under-graduate students who

were engaged in outdoor activities. Despite his small sample group (29 questionnaires returned, n=35) the conclusions of his study broadly agree with those of Ewert. On a more practical level Chris Bonnington (1981, p. 175), speaking from experience, notes that"

> "Climbers tend to be individualists, accustomed to taking their own decisions and as a result they do not respond to authoritarian leadership."

This may give a good indication of why outdoor staff often seem to value autonomy and the right to make decisions so highly as well as why many find it hard to survive in a more structured mainstream environment such as classroom teaching.

3.2.1 Magic moments

Outdoor instructors often comment on 'magic moments' when they are at one with their group in relation to the activity and/or the environment. Some instructors when involved with groups report (cf. Pilot Study, section 5.3) that their work is sometimes a succession of these magic moments with long periods of routine in between. Furthermore instructors often report that these moments are the aspects of the work that gives it meaning. Such moments can be as simple as reaching the summit of a hill together or more intangible such as sharing stories after a meal.

These magic moments can be divided into three groups:

- Flow. Is seen as a physical state bought about through activity at an optimum level in terms of physical and mental ability. (Flow is discussed in greater depth in Section 4.2.2). Of the three states, however, flow is the only one which has received any amount of detailed analysis, notably by Csikszentmihayli (1975, 1990) and Csikszentmihayli and Csikszentmihayli (1990).

- Peak experiences. These are sometimes referred to as transcendence have a spiritual connotation and usually involve empathy with nature or sharing with close companions. They are essentially emotional in character.

- Plateau experiences. These are the moments which are most often referred to as 'magic moments', they are of a lesser intensity than peak experiences and refer to moments of calmness or shared experience.

Maslow (1964, p. 62), in his seminal text on peak experiences, notes that:

> "so many people find [peak experience] so great and high an experience that it justifies not only itself but even living itself. Peak experiences can make living worthwhile by their occasional occurrence. They give meaning to life itself. They prove it to be worthwhile."

Maslow cites these moments as being intense emotional experiences which can bring about great personal revelations. He even goes so far as to say that peak experiences can be thought of as "a rebirth" (ibid, p. xv). In this context it can easily be seen not only how outdoor instructors refer to these moments as giving meaning to their work but also how these moments can be central to the personal development ethos of outdoor education.

Although distinct experiences the three states have strongly overlapping features. Csikszentmihayli (1990, p. 164) confirms this, by saying that "more than anything else, the quality of life [and flow] depend on two factors; how we experience work, and our relations with other people".

3.2.2 Ego

It has long been recognised that ego is a factor in outdoor activities. Mike Stroud (1993, pp. 27-28), for example, gives a graphic account of his feelings on the subject after his epic crossing of Antarctica with Ranulph Fiennes.

> "There was one less acceptable motivation - ego. How much of me wanted to go out and prove myself, not internally, but to others? How much of me wanted to revel in admiration and praise? ... I sometimes wondered whether I was fooling myself and just not admitting that it was the achievement in the eyes of others that mattered."

Priest notes that ego when transferred to outdoor leadership rather than activities is a difficult issue and needs a:

> Healthy self-concept and ego (which) refers to outdoor leaders who are not entirely devoted to themselves and who know their true abilities. Potentially disastrous consequences are possible from a leader who is leading in order to be the centre of attention." (Priest, 1989, p. 75)

Richards (1977, p. 2) whilst he agrees with Priest also makes the point that staff are often relatively young and possibly have unconsolidated ego-identities. Indeed one of the

features of young staff he maintains is "identity exploratory behaviour". The dangers in this position are simple but not always widely recognised. As Richards makes clear the work of an outdoor instructor is a very glamorous one which puts the holder in a position of prestige, he notes that "students perceive instructors as extraordinary people [who are then] looked to for leadership and guidance [this] is a very heady thing." (ibid, pp. 2-3)

Perrin (1996, p. 48), a columnist in "Climber" magazine confirms this, in an article on rock climbing instructors, and talks of the instructors who needs their "moment of glory" and has "a captive audience in the safety of the institution". Having said this, however, it is often part of the job of the instructor to provide a role model for his or her students. As Priest and Dixon (1991, p. 169) point out, this 'referent power', the power of role models, is the most voluntarily accepted by people. Simpson and Yoshioka (1992, p. 219) go even further in an article on leisure in general when they say that:

> "leisure [is] an activity of the highest order, recreation professionals become
> social reformers who redesign the delivery system and re-educate the public"

Zajonic (1965, in Martens, 1975) puts forward the idea of 'Audience and Coaction Effect' as allied to the issue of ego. This theory, which could help explain the 'buzz' gained by an instructor working with a group talks of the positive effects of having an audience, or from being part of a group carrying out similar activities. Zajonic points out that outdoor pursuits are carried out by individuals within a group. An example of this (used by Hobbs, 1995, p. 9) would be kayakers who independently paddle a river although part of a group. In his or her case the instructor who, although working as part a group on, for example, a hill day, is enjoying the effects of having an audience for his or her actions. This can more readily be seen amongst young instructors who 'show off' whilst doing such things as setting up climbs or demonstrating canoe paddle strokes.

It should not be thought, however, that the issue of ego is always presented in such overt circumstances. Instructors may not even realise, or admit to themselves, the quiet ego-satisfaction of seeing a group succeed through their own covert actions, prompting a review session for example.

3.2.3 Avoidance of everyday stress

Piet (1987) and Lester (1983) (both in Hardy & Jones, 1992) suggest the radical idea

that mountaineers need to actively demonstrate competence in high risk situations because they have trouble coping with the conventional day-to-day stresses of everyday life. They claim that a major reason for mountaineering is the feeling of competence generated by controlling stressful situations. As Chris Bonnington (1981, p. 72) writes:

> "The world of the sea, air or mountain is wonderfully simple, a place of black and white ... but the world of ... every-day life is so much more complex".

This proposition is worth transferring to the environment of a residential outdoor centre where staff constantly work in stressful situations of ensuring group safety, both physically and mentally, yet do not have to face the stresses of conventional life such as bills, mortgages and house repairs. Csikszentmihayli & Csikszentmihayli's (1990, p. 150) work on flow makes the point that the cares and concerns of everyday living are excluded when engaged in flow-inducing activities. Interestingly, Drasdo (1973) argues that it is only when people are removed from their everyday materialistic environments that they can best assess their true dependence on material needs. Further to this he also claims that, in a philosophical sense at least, mountaineers are not escaping from the stressful reality of everyday living but returning to a true reality which can only be found in the natural environment.

Surprisingly, Hardy & Jones (1992, p. 12) point out there is in reality very little research into why people carry out high risk sports. They state that:

> "..... another interesting question which has yet to be satisfactorily answered relates to reasons why people participate in dangerous sports, and processes that underlie their apparent ability to maintain, or even enhance their performance when they are under extreme pressure."

Whilst theories such as flow-states and ego are amongst those transferable from outdoor sports to outdoor leadership it is clear that there is still much work to be done in both of these fields as well as the crossover area.

3.3 REFLECTION ON THE LITERATURE REVIEW

There is a great deal of literature available within the field of outdoor education, but there is little regarding staff and virtually no mention of staff motivation. What staff literature is available regarding staff in the UK deals almost exclusively with technical matters such as qualifications and hard skills. This is despite the available evidence and body of opinion which shows that there is a need to study the motivation of staff for

purely financial reasons as well as academic ones.

Despite this lack of staff literature the fact that there is a turnover issue within the industry is acknowledged, if only implicitly, through in-house studies and anecdotal information. The issue, and difficulty, of high turnover has been studied to a greater degree in America than it has in the UK. The information this provides is useful but not conclusive given the different nature of the outdoor industry in the USA. One issue that is highlighted, both in America and the UK, is the importance of the outdoor centre community. This, however, is an area which has seen major changes in recent years and its impact on the motivation of staff is now rather clouded.

A major issue that has received attention, perhaps more so, than any other 'non-technical' aspect of staff employment is that of gender. It is apparent that there is a significant gender imbalance throughout the industry which is heavily biased towards men at all levels. Despite, however, general agreement that this imbalance needs addressing there is little agreement on the solution to the situation. In addition to this, there is even less understanding of the general difficulties and underlying motivation of women staff than there is for men. Given the changes in the outdoor industry, notably a move away from a 'macho' atmosphere and towards professionalism (Current issues, Chapter 1) the role of women instructors may, however, prove to be of great significance in the future.

Where staff in general are mentioned in the majority of the outdoor literature it tends to be with regard to their impact on clients. The conclusion here is that the role of staff is one of the most, if not the most, crucial aspects of outdoor educational activities. Given this assertion it is even more surprising that so little account is paid to staff elsewhere. The heart of this lack of research into staff motivation would appear to lie in the assumed motivation of staff where, because of the nature of the work itself, outdoor staff have been assumed to be highly motivated by virtue of their vocational calling. This attitude has led to the clichéd explanation of high staff turnover being attributed to extrinsic factors such as inadequate salary and time off. It can be argued that this attitude is not only outdated but also responsible for the lack of understanding of outdoor staff often shown by professional managers. Haphazard management styles, often a legacy of traditional practice, are also reflected in the difficulties associated with ascertaining hard facts about staff in the industry.

Given the lack of direct evidence the literature review looks at other possible causes of motivation, and de-motivation, of outdoor staff. 'Burnout' is considered both as a cause and an effect of high turnover and, whilst it is impossible to establish a direct causal

relationship, strong links are established. The same is also true when considering the impact of magic moments, peak experience, flow, ego and the avoidance of everyday day stress on the motivation of staff. Although strong links to motivation can be made with all of these factors a lack of research means that causality has not been established.

The lack of conclusive evidence displayed in the summary above provides the two common themes which run throughout the whole of the literature review. Most notable is the lack of interest in the reasons why staff are prepared to show the considerable dedication required to work in the outdoor industry. (Appendix 5 has a list of the major sources used in researching the literature review.) This is despite the large amount of research carried out into the effects of outdoor education and the general agreement that well motivated staff are essential to the outdoor industry. Furthermore, much of the available literature is either anecdotal or simply based on opinions. This does not necessarily imply that this literature should be dis-regarded. Rather, it needs to be seen for what it is; the views and opinions of people, usually from within the industry, rather than empirical evidence. As such, much of the literature within this review provides valuable insights but without providing substantive proof.

Secondly, it is clear that what research has been done has shown that the motivation of staff is far more involved than simple extrinsic incentive. More esoteric issues such as the needs for community, social interaction and personal development are also highly apparent. Furthermore, such theories such as flow, magic moments, ego and avoidance of everyday stress may all act as pointers to the motivation of staff but, at present, do not explain it. The nature of work in the outdoors with its links to high-risk activities, strong ethos, communal living and lack of immediate fiscal remuneration make the study of outdoor staff motivation rather more complex than any study carried out to date.

3.3.1 Critical issues raised by chapter three

- There is a lack of critical examination of staff motivation
- There is evidence of a turnover level which is unacceptably high
- There is a clear, practical, need for a study of staff motivation
- Staffing policy is largely dictated by anecdotal evidence
- There is some evidence pointing to staff motivation being complex and interdependent on a variety of intrinsic and extrinsic factors
- The work of an outdoor instructor is both demanding and critical to the well-being of the outdoor industry and its clients
- There is a significant gender imbalance within the industry

4. REVIEW OF THEORY

The study, which aims to build a working theory of motivation, comes under the loose heading of a systems analysis approach in its methodology (MacKay et al., 1996; McCartney et al., 1998) This reflects the scope of the study which is seeking to investigate motivation within a specific industry. As such it falls among motivational, organisational and social theory and, therefore, needs to take into account all of these. It starts by investigating the work environment of the outdoor industry and the meaning of work in a broader societal sense. The chapter follows this with a review of motivational theory and concludes by making a synthesis of these two parts.

4.1 ORGANISATIONAL AND SOCIAL THEORY

Because of its size and diversity (see section 5.2.1), it is difficult, if not impossible, to apply a single unifying theory of organisation to the outdoor industry as an homogenous whole. There are, however, a number of features which, being prevalent throughout the industry, are important to consider. The most notable of these is organisational culture and community. To a large extent these two inter-linked factors are both a cause and a result of an outdoor instructor's identification with their work.

Identification with work

Employment, in modern western societies, has largely been formed as a result of industrialisation and capitalism. A major feature of capitalism is that work is generally viewed as a status of wage-labour (Bilton et al, 1987). Even in 'enlightened' companies which utilise maximum employee involvement the essential structure of a capitalist based organisation is based around profit. Part of this need for profit is that the wage-labour element becomes subject to the labour market. This means, in effect, recruiting and employing staff in the most effective way for the benefit of the capitalist aims of the employer. One of the major effects of this has been the creation of the employer-employee relationship together with the, largely Marxist, concept of the alienated worker.

Despite this people are often defined by what they do. As Handy (1997, p. 92) writes, "work has always been a major strand in people's self-description, and, therefore, a major

component of their identity". This is even more so in cases, such as the outdoor industry, where people are not only identified *by* their jobs but also, on a personal level, identify *with* their jobs. Allied to this is the unusual vocational element of outdoor work where, even where the capitalist, or economic, imperative applies, there is a sense of shared purpose. Moreover, many outdoor organisations, even in the commercial sector, work on a largely 'not for profit' basis which leads to a greater staff identification with the goals of the organisation. This identification is one of the major reasons why outdoor staff can, generally, be seen as operating in an industry which is not alienating in the workplace. The identification of outdoor staff with their employer's aims is, however, not absolute. The "dominance of the economic imperative" (Handy, ibid. p. 4) which governs the working environment can still cause alienation and subsequent strain on the employer-employee relationship (this is returned to in section 4.1.2).

4.1.1 Organisational culture and the outdoor centre community

Organisational culture has always been a somewhat tenuous concept to describe. Indeed Williams (1987, p. 87) describes culture itself as being "one of the two or three most complicated words in the English Language". In the context used here, however, it can be simply described as the "particular way of life ... of a people [or] group (Williams, ibid., p. 90). Given this definition of culture it is easy to see that organisational culture can be described as:

> "the sum of accepted norms and modes of behaviour in an organisation. Staff attitudes and embedded organisational structures combine to create unique cultures in every [organisation]" (O'Leary, 1996, p. 75).

Critten (1994) extends this definition, crucially for the outdoor industry, to include, not only beliefs and attitudes, but also values. Handy (1997, p. 157) expands on the idea of values when, rather than using the term culture, he talks instead of the American idea of the "soul and personality of an organisation". This he describes as one of those concepts which is largely indefinable but is instantly recognizable when it is met. Positive soul, he says (p. 158), is noticeable for a belief that the organisation is on "some sort of a crusade, not just to make money, but something grander, something worthy of one's commitment, skills and time". In the case of the outdoor industry this sense of a crusade is manifested in a number of ways but most typically through the values of an organisation and critically through a community of shared values. South (1986, p. 1) highlighted this a decade ago when he said that:

"Once upon a time one of the greatest impacts on a participant arriving for an adventure programme was ... the vitality of the community of staff living fully to a set of values."

As with culture, community as an ideal is also hard to define. Abrams (1982) for example, claims that the term has been used in so many different ways that is has become devoid of any real meaning. One of the aspects about the term community that is clear, however, is that it carries "warm and favourable connotations" (Newby, 1987, p. 37). This aspect of community can be seen, particularly given the supposed ideals and ethos of outdoor centres, as the antithesis of a modern, commerce and self-oriented, society. Relating this aspect of the outdoor centre community to the values mentioned by South (op. cit.) it is clear that community can be regarded as being much more than the simple dictionary definition of "the people living in one locality" (Collins English Dictionary, 1990, p. 320). The outdoor centre community implies that staff not only live together but also share common values, beliefs and goals. Certainly the argument put forward by Emile Durkheim (1961, cited in Rollinson, et al, 1998, p. 533) that myths and rituals, in a sociological setting, are symptomatic of underlying beliefs and values would support this implication.

The importance and relevance of organisational culture to staff motivation can not be underestimated. The ethos and goals of an organisation are reciprocal and closely inter-twined with the culture of that organisation. Hersey and Blanchard (cited in Teschner and Wolter, 1990, p. 279) observe that:

"the closer ... the individual's goals and objectives to the organisation's goals, the greater will be the organisational performance."

The implications are, that in an industry where motivation is considered to be largely intrinsic, a shared sense of communal ideals and vocation is of much greater significance than extrinsic motivators such as salary. Hopkins and Putnam (1993, p. 221) agree with the significance of organisational culture and point out that:

"Managers need to pay careful attention to the culture of their organisations; and to focus on 'culture' as an explicit part of their work."

Hopkins and Putnam are referring to the commercial benefits of organisational culture for the clients' benefit rather the staff's, as so often found in research literature. This is missing the fact that the welfare and happiness of the client are directly influenced by the well-being and happiness of the outdoor staff. The impact that strong organisational

culture has on that organisation's performance is strongly debated It is certainly the case, however, that the culture in areas such as Japanese companies has become synonymous with their success. Because of this many British and American companies have tried to emulate Japanese practice (Rollinson, et al, 1998) usually with only limited success. The reason for this lack of success is possibly because organisational culture, in this case, is tied strongly into the national culture, of Japan, which has evolved over many centuries (Morgan, 1977). It is not, therefore, easily transferable to other countries with their own distinct national cultures.

A major impact on organisational culture can occur when the financial direction of the organisation is changed through such events as the employment of new management, organisational take-over or financial crisis. In such cases there may arise a sub-culture within an organisation which is at odds with the culture being imposed, or suggested, by the senior staff (Morgan, 1997). A good example of this in the outdoor industry was the change in financial ethos at Outward Bound imposed in 1996 as a result of its merger with the Duke of Edinburgh's Award Scheme, itself following a major financial crisis (Harrison, 1997).

Sub-cultures are not always, however, a negative thing and in the case of large departmentalised organisations they can even be positive (Rollinson, et al, 1998). However sub-cultures formed through unwelcome change imposed upon a workforce, such as that formed at Outward Bound, can be very divisive to an organisation's development and certainly to its internal harmony.

It is important to remember, however, that organisational culture is "an active, living phenomenon through which people jointly create and recreate the worlds in which they live" (Morgan, op cit. p. 141). As such it can clearly be seen as a phenomenon which is constantly in flux and subject to change. This aspect of organisational culture is sometimes referred to as organisational climate (Rollinson, et al, 1998) with culture being relatively stable and climate being subject to change. Organisational climate also has a more direct bearing on the lives of the workforce with culture being less tangible. A good example of this in recent times has been the increased emphasis on safety in many outdoor centres which has led, in some cases, to a reduction in staff autonomy and an increase in centralised control (Jesset, 1995). In this example it can be seen that the culture of a typical outdoor centre, usually revolving around ideals of personal development, has remained stable but the climate, the move to greater safety controls, has changed. Interestingly it can be argued that this change is at odds with the wider

industrial pattern where "distinctively female styles of management" (Morgan, op cit. p. 136) have led to more networked or organic styles of management.

A good example of a change in organisational climate which has already been mentioned, above, is where there is a change in the financial situation of a firm (Dastmalchian, 1986). One way in which financial difficulty is handled within an organisation is for an increase in formal structures, less egalitarianism and greater psychological distance between managers and employees. Thus, an increased amount of centralised control over safety issues happening at the same time as a period of financial difficulty and restructuring, as happened at Outward Bound, would have an almost inevitable impact on the managerial/employer - staff/employee relationship.

4.1.2 The employer-employee relationship

In recent times, as already highlighted in 4.1.1, the sense of community in many outdoor centres has been under attack from a number of sources, ironically many financial in origin. Amongst these has been the cost-cutting measures of staff living outwith the centre and an increased use of freelance staff throughout the industry. Rasmussen (cited in Collins, 1997, p. 9), for example, writes of "centres either closing through cuts or changing to only employ part time/freelance staff". In addition, professional managers have often failed to bridge the gap between vocationally-motivated staff and career minded management. It is in the implementation of financial constraints and a different ethos "that managers have the power to corrupt the sense of community amongst [teaching staff] necessary for the successful flourishing of a practice" (Halliday, 1990, p. 49).

Managers do not, of course, only have the power to corrupt, they also have the power to create. As Morgan (op cit. p. 147) writes "the fundamental task facing managers rests in creating appropriate systems of shared meaning that can mobilize the efforts of people in pursuit of desired aims and objectives". The critical element of this statement is that the meanings, which underpin organisational culture, are "shared".

To delve further into how organisational theories relate to the workers it is also necessary to examine the relationship of the worker not only with the task but with the employer. This can be taken as either of two psychological contracts (Schien, 1980).

- Calculative contract; which is entered into voluntarily and where there is an explicit understanding of goods, e.g. wages, being exchanged for services, e.g. work. Whilst control is retained by management it is done through the supply of desired outcomes. As the desire to work is a major influence on many workers (particularly in times of high unemployment) provision of work itself can be taken as a desired outcome supplied by management.

- Co-operative contract; where the worker and the organisation/ management share the same ideological goals. Under this contract whilst management retain overall control, notably through personnel selection, day to day decisions are taken on a more equal footing with workers having a large creative role to play.

(Note that there is a third style of contract, the coercive contract, where management assume full control. Although this is possible in some factories it is normally seen as applying to institutions such as prisons where the 'workers' have not entered into the contract on a voluntary basis.)

It is where there is a dichotomy of understanding between employers and employees as to the type of contract in use that tension arises. An example in the outdoor industry would be where staff believe themselves to be employed on a co-operative contract in that they are in sympathy with the aims of the organisation and working on a 'vocational' basis but the management prefer to adopt a calculative style of contract and treat the staff as employees rather than kindred workers. The same situation can be seen as conflict between the two main schools of psychological thought (outlined in the next section) where the staff believe themselves to be 'humanistically' motivated but the management is using a coercion/ reward style.

This critical management-employee relationship is reflected at the core of two opposing views of management philosophy; unitarist and pluralist (Fox, 1974, cited in Rollinson, et al, 1998, p. 682). Unitarist management revolves around the idea of the organisation as an harmonious entity in which there is a common purpose and aim at all levels of the organisation. This is contrasted to the pluralist approach which recognises that organisations are made up of groups of people which, while they may follow the company line in public, have their own agendas. It might be thought that outdoor centres being, typically, quite small would have little room to accommodate a pluralist agenda. It is recognised, however (Jesset, 1995) that outdoor staff may have their own purposes in working for a centre, which have nothing to do with the aims of that particular

organisation. Typically these aims tend to revolve around the opportunities to gain experience and qualifications. Pluralist managers recognise that conflicts may exist because of staff having private, legitimate, purposes to pursue. They also recognise, however, that these private aims can be used to the companies' benefit (Rollinson, et al, 1998). In-house training would be a good example of this mutual satisfaction of separate aims.

As with the psychological contracts discussed above it is when separate agendas are not recognised by unitarist managers that a potential for harmful conflict arises. A current example of unitarist policy in action is in the Human Resource Management approach to personnel policies where the human resources, i.e. the workforce, are considered in much the same way as other resources which are utilised for the greater good, usually in terms of profitability, of the organisation. The Human Resource Management school of thought is reflected by the Taylorism approach to management which is discussed in the next section.

The emphasis on separate agendas in the employee-employer relationship also needs to take into account the move over the last two decades towards a 'New Right' ideology of individualism. Notable within this ethos is the idea of individual people pursuing individual goals with the full backing of the state legislative system. The most obvious example of this is in the breakdown of organised labour with the reduction in power of the unions and the increased ability of employees to move between employers. These changes have "fundamentally [altered] the nature of British collective labour law" (Miller and Steele, 1993, p. 224). These fundamental changes have been so successful in their intent that the very ideology, or culture, of the British workplace has also been changed. Although the Thatcher-inspired Conservative Government has now been replaced by the 'New Labour' Government of Tony Blair, much of the New Right ethos still pervades the workplace. It is difficult to say, however, how much this ideology has permeated the outdoor community, which has always advocated a more non-materialistic lifestyle (see 1.2.3). Whilst it is certain that the industry itself is having to act in a more commercially oriented environment the effect that this has had on the staff is not so clear.

4.2 MOTIVATION THEORY

The section starts with the building of the motivational construct as used in this study. This construct defines motivation and the components of motivation as used throughout

the study. In addition it discusses the questions raised by this construct.

The section then goes on to examine and outline the major work motivation theories. The section also sets out a number of issues involved with motivation and an in-depth discussion of the place of wages in work motivation. In particular, it examines how wages are related to motivation in the outdoor education industry.

4.2.1 The motivation construct

The exact definition of the motivation construct is one which has taken various forms as the science of psychology has progressed. The term 'motivation' itself has evolved from the Latin *movere*, meaning 'to move'. In that context, it can be taken that motivation is the force required to move, or drive, a person to take a particular action. In the case of this study; to work in the outdoor education industry.

However, understanding the construct of motivation involves more than simple behavioural drives. Atkinson (1964, cited in Steers and Porter, 1991, p. 5) refers to motivation as"..... the contemporary (immediate) influences on the direction, vigour, and persistence of action."

This definition not only expands the construct to what influences the direction of the action, or behaviour, but also includes dimensions of longevity (persistence) and effort (vigour). Vroom (1964) makes the point that motivation includes a choice between alternative forms of voluntary activity. This further expansion of the construct takes motivation another step further away from simple Pavlovian ideas of drive (see section 4.2.2) and introduces the dimension of choice.

It is generally accepted that there are three components to motivation (Steers and Porter, 1991):

- How the behaviour is directed - the drive, or direction, component.

- How the behaviour is sustained - the persistence component.

- How the behaviour is energised   - the vigour component.

This study looks at a group of people engaged in a very specific activity or behaviour, that of working as outdoor education instructors. This behaviour and, therefore this study can be related to the three components above and questions raised from this correlation.

The drive component

Given the modern welfare state system under which work in UK is carried out it can be assumed that basic drive is no longer towards the essential physiological needs of survival. The welfare safety net ensures, in theory at least, that these essential needs such as shelter and food are met without the need to work. The drive component therefore needs to be revised. This is where the alternate choices of Vroom (op cit.) enter the motivation construct. The drive under this revised model is not towards satisfying essential needs but towards the quantity and quality of that satisfaction.
Clearly the drive force has been exceeded by an element, albeit possibly unconscious, of choice.

Conversely if basic physiological needs are met by the welfare safety net, why work for a financial return which fails to offer a significant improvement on this margin of provision? This is often the case in outdoor education where staff work, usually for long hours, in return for no greater satisfaction of basic needs than could be provided by unemployment benefits or social welfare. In addition staff are usually educated to the point where they have a choice of improving on this basic level of return. In other words outdoor education staff have made the choice of rejecting higher paid work in favour of work in the outdoor industry, indeed some staff have moved from relatively highly paid jobs into lowly paid instructing jobs (cf. section 6.1.1 and appendix 17).

Clearly, there must be other drives at force over and above those of improving the quantity and quality of basic needs. This study examines what these drives are. Why have outdoor education staff made the *initial choice* to enter the industry?

The persistence component

This component is at the heart of the practical aspect of this study. In effect it is a progression of the choice made in the first component above. Not only have staff made the choice to enter the industry but they must also make a constant renewal of that choice in order to stay in the industry. This renewal of choice may be made in the light of

changes to the original reasons for entering the industry. It is often quickly realised, for example, that not all client groups are easy and/or rewarding to work with (cf. section 3.1.9).

There is, therefore, not only a renewal of choice but also a development of reasons for that choice. In addition to reasons for continuing in the industry the persistence component also contains the need to overcome reasons for leaving the industry. As will be seen later these reasons to leave can be very powerful and take many forms.
The study looks at why staff take the *continued choice* to either stay in or leave the outdoor education industry.

The vigour component

This component looks at why staff should expend effort at a particular level. Within outdoor education this level of effort is often extremely high with staff being committed to standards of quality and showing high levels of enthusiasm. It can be argued, for the purpose of this study, that the vigour component within outdoor education staff is, to a large extent, a by-product of the first two components of drive and persistence. This can be rationalised by arguing that the work, by its very nature, requires high levels of enthusiasm in order to sustain the interest of both client groups and staff. Given this, the persistence component includes the choice to maintain a high level of vigour.

The construct and questions raised

Following the discussion of the three components of motivation above the motivation construct used in this study can be hypothesised as:

- the factors which enable *initial choice* followed by the factors which enable *continued choice*.

The research questions arising from it are as follows. First, why should staff choose to enter the outdoor education industry? Secondly, why do staff continue to make the choice to stay in the industry? The study is concerned with asking:

- *what* are the factors which motivate staff to make those choices?

The study also seeks to confirm these factors by asking *why* they motivate outdoor education staff. It is important that the distinction is made that the principal question of the study is asking *what* and the secondary question is asking *why*.

4.2.2 Introduction to motivation theories

Motivational theories used in a workplace context are generally split into two categories, those which deal with needs and those which deal with processes. The former, those which deal with needs, are sometimes referred to as 'content theory'. This category includes the work of such writers as Maslow, Herzberg and McGregor. These writers, usually referred to as being from the 'humanist school' of psychology, all deal with the internalised needs of people at work. They approach motivation largely as an intrinsic feature of the workforce.

The second category of theory is one which deals with the processes used to encourage motivation and for this reason is often referred to as 'process theory'. This category of theory usually starts from the assumption that people can be motivated by extrinsic means, pay being the classic example. Notable amongst these theories is expectancy theory and the work of Vroom (1964). Much of process theory has been influenced by the classical work of Ivan Pavlov (1849-1936) who showed that dogs can be made to salivate at neutral stimulus which had been associated with food. This response, known as 'a conditioned response', led in turn to the phenomenon of 'operant conditioning', which has generally become known as the basis of the 'carrot and stick' type of motivation exemplified by B.F. Skinner (1904-1990) which is discussed below. Process theories in the context of the work place are often referred to as belonging to the 'Behaviourist School' of psychology.

The historical use of motivational theories and techniques by personnel management professionals is a long and chequered one. Early theory maintained that workers were essentially similar, being programmable and showing a natural disposition to avoid work if possible. This theory, or more accurately its associated techniques, came to be known as **'Scientific Management'** after a term used by Taylor (1911). Scientific Management took away control over the task in hand from the workers and replaced it with a directive management style. Workers in this model, which is firmly rooted in Calvinist work ethic principles, were little more than a resource who were controlled by economic needs and

incentives. A major criticism of Taylor's work (Rollinson, et al, 1998) is that it relies too heavily on an assumption that the major motivational force in work is monetary reward. However, this analysis is simplistic and ignores examples of highly motivated people working in lowly paid positions.

The style of management utilised in the Scientific Management school reflects the principle of reinforcement. This is central to the operant psychology theories of Skinner (1953). Skinner's work has always attracted a great degree of controversy not least in his contention that "It is unnecessary and misleading to speculate about feelings, thoughts, or other 'inner states' as causes of behaviour" (Nye, 1979, p. 25). Skinner maintained that essentially people are controlled by their environment, hence the lack of necessity to acknowledge 'inner states'.

Following on from Taylor and scientific management, however, was a school of thought that advocated possible increases in productivity through altering the nature of the work itself. The key experiments which played a pivotal role in this school, carried out by Elton Mayo, were the **'The Hawthorne Studies'** carried out at the Hawthorne works of the Western Electric company. These were reported by Roethlisberger and Dickson (1939) and later by Brown (1954). This work looked at working conditions, notably the effects of workplace illumination, rest pauses and the length of the working day. The Hawthorne experiments paved the way for the concept of the worker as social being, influenced as much by social needs as economic considerations. This concept was to have profound effects on theories of motivation as exemplified by such writers as Maslow and Herzberg (below). Although improved productivity was noticed the relationship was not always a simple one and there is now a widely held belief (Orne, 1962) known as the 'Hawthorne Effect' which claims that the simple fact of conducting tests on workers makes them feel important and thus increases productivity. Vroom (1992) argues that a probable cause of the Hawthorne Effect resides in the fact that workers were consulted about their feelings and reactions and thus felt more involved in the work place. Whatever the cause of the phenomena it is important that any study of the workplace allows for this effect.

Content theories

It was investigations into the Hawthorne Effect that led McGregor (1957) to produce his Theory-X/Theory-Y ideas in which he rejected the idea that workers are essentially work shy. Theory-X he saw as the traditional management approach to the workforce in which

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they are regarded as lazy, don't like work and rather than looking for responsibility are geared towards finding security. In this scenario the workforce needs discipline, coercion and control to be effective. This theory, he maintained, is the basis for industrial conflict and was the widely used management stance at the time because the work of people such as Taylor had deemed it to be necessary. Theory-Y, however, which McGregor built up as a result of a lifetime as a social scientist studying people's behaviour is the complete antithesis of Theory-X. The workforce, he claims, far from being lazy is essentially imaginative, responsible and hardworking. Whilst Theory-X suppresses workers and is therefore largely self-fulfilling, Theory-Y opens the way to greater productivity through ideas such as decentralisation and delegation, job enlargement, participation, consultative management and performance appraisal. A good example of the two theories in use is taking the traditional British car production line with large degrees of control, staff unrest and low production as Theory-X whilst the Japanese technique involving joint goal setting, worker participation and high productivity can be taken as Theory-Y.

Theory-Y with its emphasis on workers' needs can be seen as an example of the 'humanist' school of psychology. This is usually acknowledged to have been exemplified by the work of Carl Rogers (1964, 1969) and George Kelly (1955). This school of psychology, unlike Skinner's, claims that the most important determinants of human behaviour are inner qualities, notably a will to grow and develop towards fulfilment.

The growth towards fulfilment concept is the key feature of what is perhaps the best known theory of work motivation; Maslow's **'Hierarchy of Needs theory'** (1943). This theory maintains that workers have several layers of needs that must be fulfilled, starting with basic physiological needs and moving up, through safety, social and esteem needs, to needs of growth and 'self-actualisation'. Maslow's self-actualising man has much in common with Rogers' (1969) fully-functioning man. The classic model of Maslow's Hierarchy is presented in the form of an ascending pyramid (Figure 2). Adair (1990) does, however, point out that this traditional model, which he claims was never used by Maslow himself, implies that basic physiological needs are the primary needs and that progressively higher needs are also progressively smaller and thus less important. This could lead to the idea that the scientific management school is correct in that physiological needs of the workforce are paramount and strongest, Therefore, meeting these needs through coercive means such as pay and reward will be successful. Maslow's theory, being humanist in philosophy, would contradict this notion.
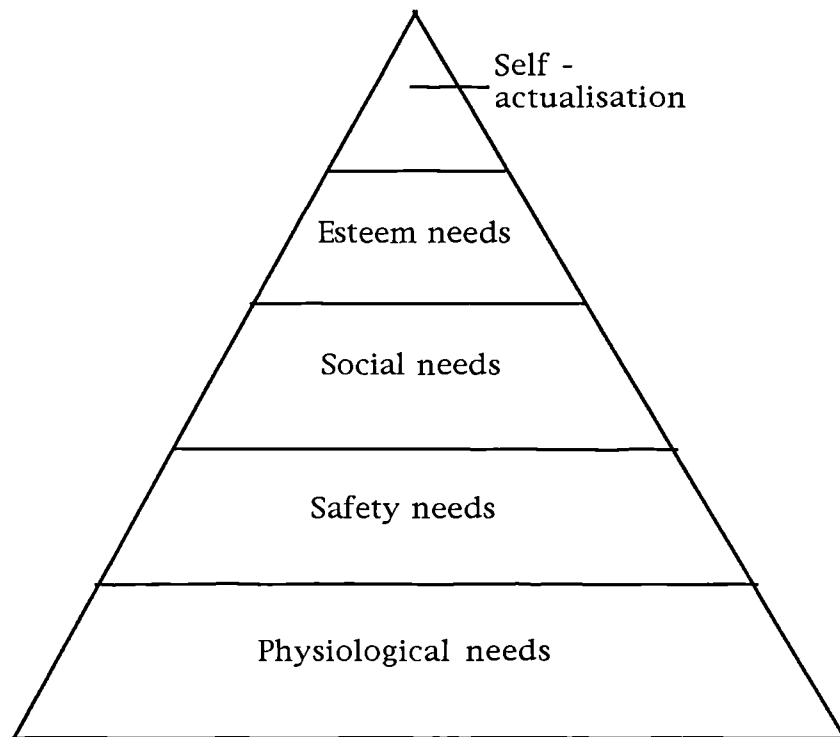
Figure 2. Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs

Adair (1990) suggests that the pyramid would make more sense in purely humanist terms if it was reversed with the physiological needs being the smallest, and therefore easiest to satisfy, whilst the higher needs become successively larger and more important. Whichever model is truer to Maslow's theory the notion that needs are satisfied sequentially holds true. Some studies, as reported by Davies and Shackleton (1975) and Guest (1984), have found that the higher level needs can be related to job satisfaction even when lower level needs are not satisfied.

Maslow's work is, however, open to criticism on a number of fronts, notably that his research is vague and empirically unsound (Petri, 1991). This reflects Maslow's technique, in which he based his theory on a study of unnamed individuals many of whom were historical where he relied on written accounts of their lives. The second major criticism of the self-actualising school of thought is that it serves a small elite. It is apparent that people tied to routine work or confined by a lack of education or expectations will find the path prescribed by Rogers and Maslow virtually impossible. On occasions when Maslow's hypothesis has been tested it has not always held true. Wahba and Bridwell (1979, p. 52) note that Maslow's work has "received little clear or consistent support from the available research" although as Robertson et al (1992, p. 24) point out:

Notwithstanding this, Maslow's Hierarchy, perhaps because of its simple and elegant nature, still forms the basis of much of the theoretical work carried out in motivation within the workplace. As Rollinson, et al. (1998, p. 156) report, many managers still rely on Maslow's theory as a descriptive framework for identifying the needs of the workforce and, as they say:

"even if the theory only results in this happening, it could ultimately be said to have some value."

The major theory which has been used in work design is Herzberg's 'Two-Factor or Motivator-Hygiene Theory' (1968a). Herzberg was very much of the humanist school of psychology in that he believed that the purpose of life, and by default work, is to move towards some concept of growth. This is reflected in his theory which states that the motivation factors in the workplace are those which encourage growth or as he puts it "that unique human characteristic, the ability to achieve and through achievements to experience psychological growth" (1968b, p. 254). Although he doesn't specifically refer to him Herzberg's theories very much follow on from the work of Maslow.

The Two Factor theory takes the stance that there are two factors in play when considering the motivation of people in the workplace. These are motivators which are intrinsic to the job itself and hygienes or de-motivators which are extrinsic. He lists the basic growth or motivating factors as achievement, recognition, the work itself, responsibility and growth or advancement. De-motivating factors or hygienes include company policy and administration, supervision, interpersonal relationships, working conditions, salary, status and security. His hygiene factors are associated with basic biological needs and drives, for example "hunger is a basic biological drive [which] makes it necessary to earn money [so] money becomes a specific need" (1968b, p. 254) The former, motivator, factors are those associated with job content whilst the latter, hygiene, factors are associated with job environment.

The essence of Two Factor Theory is that hygiene factors do not provide motivation in the workplace but a lack of them leads to de-motivation. Motivators are motivating in their own right. Herzberg categorised as motivators those factors which occur predominantly on the positive side, (achievement, recognition, work itself, responsibility and advancement). He labelled the remaining predominately negative factors as

hygienes, or de-motivators. It is important to note that motivators and hygienes do not act exclusively as motivators and de-motivators. Figure 3 shows that they can also act in the opposite role, although in a more limited manner.

(HYGIENES)   (MOTIVATORS)
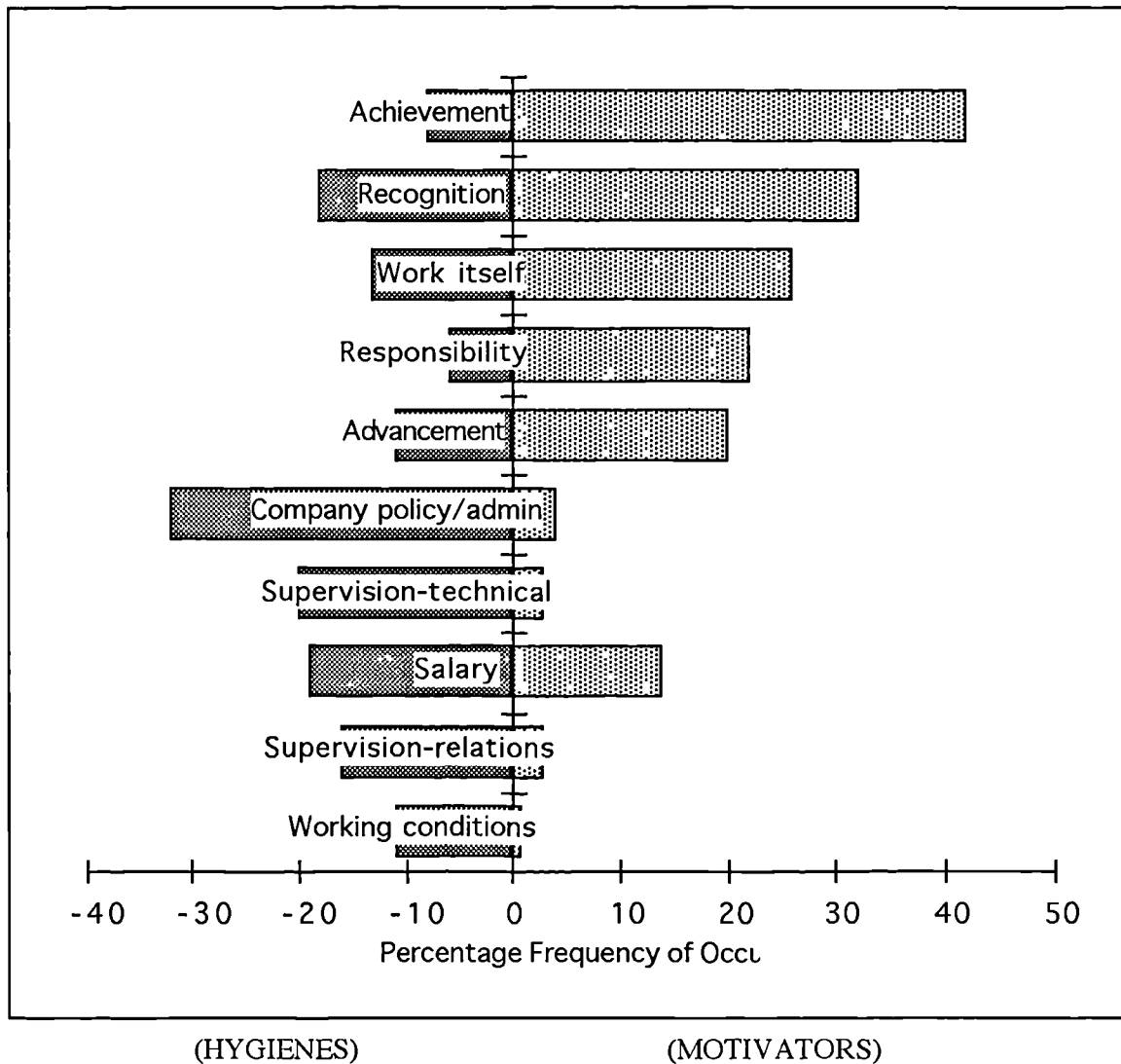
Figure 3. Comparison of Herzberg's motivators and hygienes.
(adapted from Adair, 1990, p. 54)

For example, salary is a notable hygiene because its absence is a significant de-motivator. However, its presence can, to a smaller extent, act as a motivator (wages are covered in more detail in section 4.2.3). These factors can be charted as shown in figure 3 in which the frequency of each factor occurring in interviewee replies is charted together with whether it was a negative or positive occurrence.

Herzberg's (1968a) conclusions were based on a series of semi-structured interviews with

203 engineers and accountants based at nine plants or factories based in or around Pittsburgh. Each of the subjects was asked to identify periods in their history when their feelings about the job were markedly lower or higher than usual. A distinction was made as to whether the incident was of a long or short term nature but it was left to the interviewee to place their experience on the continuum.

A critique at this stage is in the ambiguous nature of the labelling which has made it hard for subsequent researchers to follow the methodology used in Herzberg's original study. Adair (1990) for example points to the use of the label 'factor' which Herzberg uses to categorise 'first-level factors' which describe actual events, 'second-level factors' which describe the associated feelings connected with that event and 'factors' which are a combination of both together. 'Attitude' was taken to be the normal or habitual mode of regarding aspects of life on the behalf of the interviewee whilst 'effects' is used to describe the interviewees' reports of quantifiable changes in areas such as job performance, relationships or health. The use of factors, attitude and effect formed the basis of the semi-structured interviews.

Another major critique which has been levelled at Herzberg's methodology is in the structure of his interview questions which leads the interviewee to think in terms of a dichotomy of good and bad (Davies and Shackleton, 1975). This brings in the concern that when people are asked to think in terms of good and bad, particularly with regard to extremes that there is a natural tendency to think of the self as being responsible for the good items, whilst external influences are responsible for the bad (Robertson and Smith, 1985). Attribution theory (below) supports this critique with the need for preserving self-esteem leading to respondents attributing causality for failure to external factors (Hardy and Jones, 1992).

Aside from methodological issues of procedure there is also the problem with Herzberg's sample group. This consisted of accountants and engineers and is, therefore, hardly typical of the working population. As with Maslow it would appear that Herzberg's work is best suited to a professional minority. It could be taken that it is in the nature of this class of worker that they have some measure of liberty in selecting a career and therefore their work is one that they have chosen to do. It can be questioned whether the theories would apply to workers who experience higher levels of alienation from their work. At least one study, by Goldthorpe et al (1968, cited in Rollinson, et al. 1998, p. 160) shows that car assembly line workers regarded work merely as a means to an end . For these workers there was an instrumental orientation to work as opposed to the vocational or

professional orientations experienced by Herzberg and Maslow's subjects.

It seems to be the case that whilst theoreticians may argue about the merits and methodology of Two Factor theory it has proved very popular and successful when applied to practical situations. A number of practical studies (Khojasteh, 1993; Frase, 1989) have validated Herzberg's work when used with specific populations. Notable amongst these is the study done into professionals in Christian Education done by Wilson (1987) which showed a strong relationship between job satisfaction and Herzberg's motivator factors. This study is particularly relevant given the common factor of vocational belief which is found in both the population of the Wilson study and outdoor education staff. Hackman and Oldham (1976, p. 251) note that Herzberg's theory has prompted a great deal of research and "inspired several successful change projects involving the redesign of work". Hackman and Oldham (1980, cited in Argyle, 1989) also provide a source of corroboration for Herzberg's work by noting that there is a strong correlation between job satisfaction and intrinsic motivation. They put forward the following characteristics as being central to this intrinsic motivation; the meaningfulness of work (skill variety, task variety, task significance) responsibility for work outcomes and knowledge of results. These characteristics can be seen to share much with Herzberg's motivators.

Herzberg (1963) himself reports on seventeen replications of his initial work carried out by other investigators which he claims verify his findings. It is apparent in these claims, however, that he was quick to dismiss differences in the findings as 'inversions' which could be simply explained away. Salary for example usually appeared as a motivator and not as a hygiene. He explained this by saying that:

> "All hygiene needs are connected with salary and, because of this, salary is the most visible, communicable and advertised factor in all the world of work. Salary permeates the thoughts and expressions of people when they view their jobs. In such circumstances, it is hardly surprising that salary often seems to be a satisfier to the individual" (Herzberg, 1963, in Adair, 1990, p. 57).

Moving along similar lines to Herzberg and Maslow, McCelland (1961) laid down as the central core of his 'Theory of Learned Needs' three main needs. These are:

• The need for achievement (n Ach)
• The need for affiliation (n Aff)
• The need for power (n Pow)

He surmised that most individuals have all of these needs but to highly varying greater or lesser extents.

It is interesting to note that McCelland argues that these needs are learnt or acquired through experience. In particular they are developed as a result of childhood experience and cultural background rather than of inherited factors.

McCelland perceived that the need for achievement had the most stable tendency of the three and for this reason his work tends to concentrate on this need (Cole, 1993, p. 91). A result of this is that his theory is often known as **Achievement Theory**. As noted by Steers and Porter (1991) and Handy (1993), individuals with a high need for achievement may display a tendency for success due to realistic goal setting, but they are not noted to be good team members because of their need to exercise responsibility. This aspect of goal setting is a critical area of needs theory and stipulates that whilst high need achievers will set realistic goals, low need achievers will set goals that are either too high or too low. This allows them either the facility of having an excuse for failure or an excuse for easy success. Having obtained easy success the person with low achievement needs has no need to increase the level of future goals, thus avoiding the possibility of failure.

Another aspect of individuals with high achievement needs is that money in its own right is not motivating. This is because financial reward is seen primarily as a form of feedback and recognition and not, therefore, perceived as reward for its own sake.

McCelland was also keen to concentrate on achievement because he was involved in developing an objective scoring system for the 'Thematic Apperception Test (TAT). This test was developed, by Murray in the 1930's, to measure levels of achievement motivation and was one of the first tests to produce a quantifiable method of measuring an aspect of motivation. In the TAT, subjects are asked to build a fictional story around an ambiguous picture, and in doing so are assumed to reveal their unconscious personality. Murray (1938, cited in Wiener, 1972, p. 172) described it as:

> "The purpose of this procedure is to stimulate literary creativity and thereby evoke fantasies that reveal covert and unconscious complexes."

The TAT, despite its seemingly subjective nature, has been found by a number of researchers (as cited in Evans, 1975, p. 91) to be a consistently reliable technique. Despite this, many people (Rollinson, et al. 1998) see this use of a possibly subjective

instrument as being a major flaw in McCelland's work.

Of the other two needs, individuals who exhibit high affiliation needs are noted as good team workers who regard the social aspects of the workplace as highly important. In successful people, however, it will rarely be dominant. Some of the more contentious arguments revolve around the need for power. Some psychologists, for example, have argued that the need for power is the "major goal of all human activity" (Steers and Porter, 1991, p. 42). Whether this is true or not, it is more certain that the need for power is the basis of managerial success. McCelland surmised that there are two distinct variations of the need for power. Personal power is that where individuals exercise power for its own sake, whereas social power is that where individuals are more concerned to exercise power in order to achieve the goals of an organisation. Managers who exercise a high need for power by itself can be counter-productive in their relationships with others. However if combined with other needs, and in particular achievement needs, it can lead to highly productive results.

Staff involved in outdoor education would appear, at least on a superficial level, to exhibit a reasonably high level of all three of the above needs. Power needs are easily seen, in the guise of social power, as the desire for a client group, under the direction of an instructor, to succeed. The desire for power for its own sake amongst outdoor staff is a debatable point. Affiliation needs would appear to be high amongst outdoor staff both through group work and through the community of the outdoor centre. This needs to be balanced, however, against the sometimes high levels of autonomy required by instructors 'leading' groups. The most debatable of the needs amongst outdoor staff is the need for achievement. Although it would appear that they are constantly looking for new challenges the reality is that the majority of outdoor staff are working well within their own ability levels, usually in order to maintain levels of success for the client group. The question this raises is; do outdoor staff enjoy working at this level because they are unconsciously enjoying easy success and their achievement needs are the lowest of the three?

In contrast to the elegant simplicity of theories such as Maslow's Hierarchy McCelland's work is notable for its quasi-statistical theorising. This may be one reason why, although popular with theorists, needs theory has found little favour with the lay-person.

A major critique of McCelland's initial study on needs theory is that it did not relate to women at all. Lesser (1973, p. 202) points out that McCelland's work deals with many

countries and cultures without once mentioning women. This could be seen as a reflection of bias on McCelland's part. It also reflects the state of motivational studies at a time when there was little research available which involved women. Research since has shown that women's need for achievement varies as much, if not more, than it does in men (Lesser, op cit.). This hardly seems radical. Other research (cf. Horner, 1973) which is more contentious, would seem to indicate that women are more inclined towards the avoidance of success than men. The implications of these findings are that:

> "anxiety about success may well prove to be one of the major factors underlying
> sex differences that have been detected in research on achievement-related
> motivation and performance (Horner, op cit., p. 224)

Horner suggests that women have stronger affiliative needs than achievement needs. Horner's findings have, however, attracted a great deal of criticism. Birrell (1978) has questioned the idea of fear of success being a stable personality characteristic. Rather, she claims, it is a "situational or cue-specific tendency" (Birrell, op cit, p. 150). In this way low achievement needs, notably in a sporting context, are developed because success is seen as a masculine attribute. Low achievement is thus a product of gender and culture specific socialisation rather than psychological differences.

'Attribution Theory' develops the concept of needs theory. This theory, which assumes cognitive development and reasoning, is highly relevant to workers where a degree of autonomy is required. Its main premise is that an individual needs to feel that achieving a set goal was largely due to his or her efforts. Likewise attribution theory might suggest that workers aim for success by carrying out tasks which they know are within their capabilities. However, for real feelings of success, the task in hand needs to contain a suitable degree of challenge. Handy (1992, p. 57) lays down the rules for achieving this psychological success as:

- Setting a challenging goal for ourselves;
- Determining our own methods of achieving that goal;
- Having a goal that is relevant to our self-concept.

The idea of self-concept, or ego, is crucial to an understanding of attribution theory. Psychological success which comes about from satisfying the rules above is the main tool in enhancing self concept in an individual's psychological character. Allied to this need for psychological success is the need for an individual to control their environment and further to feel competent in that control (Deci, 1975). In Deci's argument it is the amount of self-determination linked to the ability to overcome challenges that is crucial to

motivation. Petri (1991) comments, however, that a large number of studies (notably Glass and Singer, 1972 and Perlmuter and Monty, 1977) have made the point that it is not the actual control of a person's environment that is crucial but the perceived amount of control being exercised. This can be seen as highly relevant in outdoor centres where the amount of control exercised by an instructor is less than might be believed. The instructor might believe that he or she has chosen the venue and/or activity for the day. The truth is that constraints such as the timetable, weather, group ability, availability of free sites, resources and staff probably left little real choice. The instructor has, however, gone through the motions of making the decision and is therefore perceived to have control. In other words, the instructor has attributed the decision to factors under his or her control. This attributing of causality to internal sources rather than external influences has been termed the "fundamental attribution error" (Petri, 1991, p. 300). Heider (1944), the originator of attribution theory, provides a model of this process. The moment of attribution is called the attribution choice point. An interesting example of the attribution choice point in outdoor education work is evident in the expression, widely used in the industry, that 'there is no such thing as a bad group, there are only bad instructors'. This expression highlights the internal attribution of the instructor in the staff-client relationship.
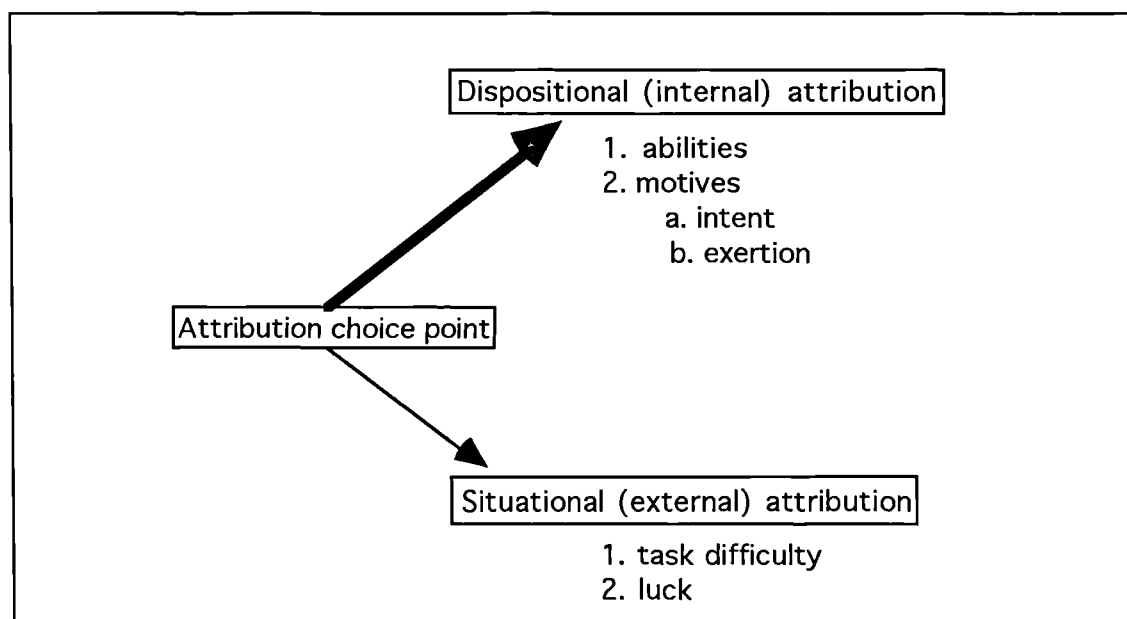

Figure 4. Heider's attribution model (Petri, 1991, p. 301)

Heider's model (Figure 4) makes it quite clear that attribution is biased (thicker arrow) in the direction of internal attribution, which Heider calls "dispositional attribution". It is now held (Weiner, 1974) that Heider's model (which was not empirically checked, by

Freize, until 1973) is too simplistic. A number of more evolved, multi-dimensional models have been developed. Heider's original model is, however, elegant and serves to demonstrate the internal-external dichotomy which underpins so much of motivational theory. Heider himself wrote that it was merely common sense that;

> "the result of an action ..... depends on two sets of conditions, namely, factors within the person and factors within the environment." (1958, p. 82)

This two factor model is still useful and is the underpinning of attribution theory. However, the model moved to a new stage of development with the publication of Rotter's 'locus of control' theory in 1954 (Weiner, 1974). This theory showed that the two factors - internal and external - can be both stable and unstable. Figure 5 shows the model that is in general use today. It combines the elements of stability and instability with internal and external attributions. There has been some criticism that the four attribution elements in the model were derived from intuition rather than research and are too restrictive (Biddle, 1993). This has not detracted from its popularity. The attribution model shows how a person may attribute success in a task to an interaction of internal and external factors on the one hand, and stable and unstable dimensions on the other.

LOCUS OF CONTROL

		Internal	External
STABILITY DIMENSIONS	Stable	Ability	Task Difficulty
	Unstable	Effort	Luck

Figure 5. Attribution Theory Model (Adapted from Weiner, 1974)

The model in action can be illustrated through the following examples. Success gained through ability is a personal characteristic involving a stable state and an internal locus of control. Such success probably has a good chance of being repeated. However, there may be no feeling of pride if the external factor of difficulty is too low, and the task is accomplished easily. Conversely, success in tasks set at a very high level of difficulty may be attributed to luck. This being an unstable dimension there will be a low expectancy of future success.

In a similar manner failure can also be associated with stable and unstable dimensions. Failure attributed to a perceived feeling of low effort being put into a task may, for example, lead the person to believe that success is attainable in the future. Failure due to the task being too hard or through lack of ability, may lead the person to expect failure in future efforts.

Perhaps one of the most important aspects of attribution theory is that it is cognitive rather than mechanistic. This implies that there is a thought process involved in making attributions. For example, a person with high achievement motivation who fails at a task will be likely to blame an unstable dimension thus leaving the route open for future success. Conversely, a person low in achievement motivation might attribute success to luck. Luck, being unstable and external is a poor basis on which to rely for a repetition of success. This cognitive process does, of course, lay attribution theory open to the critique that it has a hedonic, or self-serving, bias which seeks to preserve self-esteem (Biddle, op. cit.). This would imply that success is usually attributed to internal factors whilst failure is blamed on external factors. Some studies have shown (cf. Miller and Ross, 1975) that internal attributions are common under success conditions but self-protecting attributions are, surprisingly, not so common under failure conditions.

One of the more contentious areas of attribution theory is its role with regard to gender. It has been found that women are more modest in their self-attributions than men (Deaux, 1984, cited in Biddle, op. cit., p. 444). Deaux (op. cit.) has suggested that, as with achievement theory, this may be because women have lower expectations rather than because of a psychological difference. This would tend to indicate that socialisation, leading to lower confidence, is a cause of lower self-attribution for success in women.

Process theories

Where the humanist school of psychology is largely based on the idea of fulfilment the behavourist school is usually regarded as being grounded in the idea of expectations. Perhaps the most fundamental difference between the groups of theories, however, is in individuality. Content theories tend to regard people as having homogenous needs, while process theory is more inclined to allow for individual differences. This is largely done by assuming that the causes of motivation are cognitive rather than innate. This concept is seen most clearly in the expectancy-valence theories of Georgopolous, Mahoney and

Jones (1957) and, notably, Vroom (1964). **'Expectancy-Valence Theory'** works on the underlying assumption that people work in return for desired, or expected outcomes usually of an economic or reward nature.

The key features of this theory are the following.

- Valence - the anticipated satisfaction gained from the outcome of a particular act, or series of acts.
- Value - the actual satisfaction gained. This can be expressed as first level (immediate) or second level (following on from the first level) outcomes.
- Expectancy - the belief concerning the likelihood of a particular act being followed by a particular outcome.
- Force - the pressure it takes (in other words the motivation) in order to carry out the act in anticipation of the valence.

The theory is neatly summarised by the formula: Force = Valence x Expectancy.

In essence this theory tells us that workers will be motivated to put in as much effort as is needed to achieve what is perceived by them as a desirable outcome. Expectancy theory is still a powerful force in work motivation studies. Guest (1984, in Cole, 1993, p. 92) goes so far as to say that "expectancy theory continues to provide the dominant framework for understanding motivation at work". In practical terms the constraints of expectancy theory can be explained (Griffin, 1992) as follows.

- Employees must believe that improved performance will be rewarded.
- Performance must be measurable and clearly attributed to the individual.
- Rewards must be large enough to be valued.
- The reward must not come at an unacceptable cost.

Expectancy theory is highly relevant in the current political climate as it can be used as both an argument for and an argument against performance related pay. The principle of expectancy theory, that people work for expected results, or incentives, would lead to the assumption that performance-related pay works in theory. The practical factors, outlined above, show, however, that in reality it is unlikely to. The second point, above, that performance must be measurable and clearly attributed to the individual is normally the main stumbling block for this type of incentive scheme.

The implications of expectancy theory are difficult to apply to outdoor education because of the intangibility of the expected rewards. Rewards as esoteric as pleasure in the accomplishments of others are almost impossible to measure. Therefore, although valence is undoubtedly present, perceived outcomes are hard to quantify.

A development of Vroom's work is exemplified by Porter and Lawler's (1968) 'Expectancy Model'. This arises from a criticism of expectancy-valence theory that even when the expectancy level is high other factors can influence a person's actions. Porter and Lawler note that value is highly individualised and can in, in addition, be influenced by prior actions and their results. The major difference to Vroom's work is however the area of effort. In the Expectancy Model this is supplemented by two other variables, 'personal abilities and traits' and 'perceptions of role'. The importance of these roles is that they can have a blocking effect as well as a facilitating effect. Incompatible perceived roles on the part of the subject can, for example, cause a blocking effect.

The final element of the expectancy model is that of satisfaction. In Vroom's theory, this is related as a simple return on effort, but Porter and Lawler highlight the element of equitable return. This means, quite simply, that the result, or value, must not only be attainable but it must also be considered fair for the amount of effort expended. The Expectancy Model also contains the premise that this equity is fed back to the next action thus building up a cognitive memory on which to draw.

The principal theory with relevance to 'fairness' is 'Equity Theory'. The basic underlying premise of this theory is that employees seek fairness, or justice, in the employee-employer relationship. Perceived imbalances in this relationship, i.e. unfairness, are assumed to result in psychological tension which initiates "cognitive and behavioural changes directed towards the eradication of the tension" (Kanfer, 1992, p. 17). It can be seen in this context that outdoor staff helping themselves to equipment from stores or extra food from kitchens (both known problems in the outdoor industry) are acting to address a perceived imbalance. Greenberg (1990) notes that employee theft is indeed a much larger problem with companies in which workers feel exploited. Theft is seen in this context as a way of addressing inequity.

Equity theory, which was largely developed by Adams (1963, 1965) is concerned primarily with distributional fairness. This refers to the end result, or distribution, or a reward or punishment procedure. Procedural fairness which deals with the process by which such distribution comes about is an extension of the theory rather than an intrinsic

part of it. Equity theory has now been predominantly overtaken by expectancy theory (Mowday, 1991) but it is still relevant to the argument about wages. According to Adams the ratio of a person's inputs and outcomes is balanced, by that person, against the equivalent ratio of the other person involved in the exchange ,or against a third person involved in a similar exchange. If these ratios are unequal then a state of inequity is said to exist.

It is important when discussing equity issues to place them in the context in which they occur. The importance of pay and conditions, for example, which would normally be related to industrial norms needs to be taken in the special context of the outdoor education industry. **'Cognitive Evaluation Theory'** (Deci, 1975, Deci & Ryan, 1980) declares that acceptance of a level of pay is an arbitrary outcome which gains meaning through cognitive processes. When related to outdoor education it can be argued that these cognitive processes may lead to the conclusion that pay and conditions are not equity issues because of a sense of vocation which elevates the worker above them. This might sound utopian, and needs balancing against the equity issues raised earlier, but it is still an issue that needs consideration.

When related to Herzberg's Two Factor theory equity issues can be used to explain the discrepancies that arise with regard to salary. Herzberg's conclusion that salary is a hygiene factor (Figure 6) rather than a motivator factor makes more sense if it is related to other theories. For example, fairness of salary (as in equity theory) can be seen as the hygiene aspect of salary. Quantity of salary provides feedback, and it is this recognition (as in achievement theory) which is the motivating aspect.

(Hygiene)	(Motivator)
Salary	

-20   0   +15
(Percentage Frequency of Occurrence)
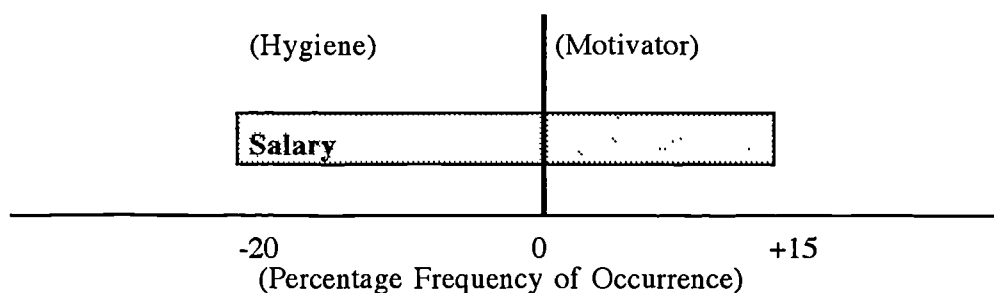
*Figure 6. The Salary component from Herzberg's
Two Factor Theory.*

Equity theory, has attracted a great deal of attention and has been well evaluated. It also has a firm 'common sense' basis which makes it easily understood by the layman.

Rollinson, et al. (1998) make the point, however, that because comparisons of fairness are largely subjective and open to individual interpretation it is openness that is important in the managerial process.

Flow

Although not strictly speaking a theory of motivation, Csikszentmihayli's (1975) 'Flow' has been shown to be an important element in 'magic moments' (Section 3.2.1). These 'magic moments', in turn, are often cited as part of the motivation for working in the outdoors. As already noted in the Literature Review, Maslow (1964, p. 62), claims that these moments can "make living worthwhile by their occasional occurrence. They give meaning to life itself. They prove it to be worthwhile."

The concept of flow is a useful tool in understanding the highs often claimed by skilled performers and athletes not only in a physical field such as gymnastics but also for cerebral pursuits such as chess. This reflects an important aspect of flow, which is that it evolved from studying "people who expended much time and energy on activities that provided few extrinsic rewards" (Csikszentmihayli, & Csikszentmihayli, 1990, p. 150). Csikszentmihayli also included rock climbers, as a classic example of flow, in his study. Features in this state, which he maintains is a high state of intrinsic motivation, include undivided task attention, a limited stimulus field, perceptions of personal control over the activity and clear goals. Skilled performers are said, by Csikszentmihayli to achieve this state when performing at an appropriate level. Climbers, and many other outdoor activity enthusiasts, talk of these moments of flow as being where they are totally at one with their environment and their activity.

Flow is not confined to highly skilled operators it is a progressive state which reflects the optimum levels of skill being matched to the amount of challenge being experienced (Figure 7).

A_1 for example, in figure 7, although at a low level of challenge has an appropriate level of skill and is thus in a state of flow, A_4 although at a much higher challenge level has a higher level of skill to meet it and is thus also in a state of flow. A_2 however has a high level of skill which is not being met and is therefore in a state of boredom whilst A_3 has the opposite problem being in a state of anxiety due to not having the required level of skills to meet the level of challenge. An important feature of flow that it is not stable as skill level increases the individual will be motivated to seek a higher level of challenge in

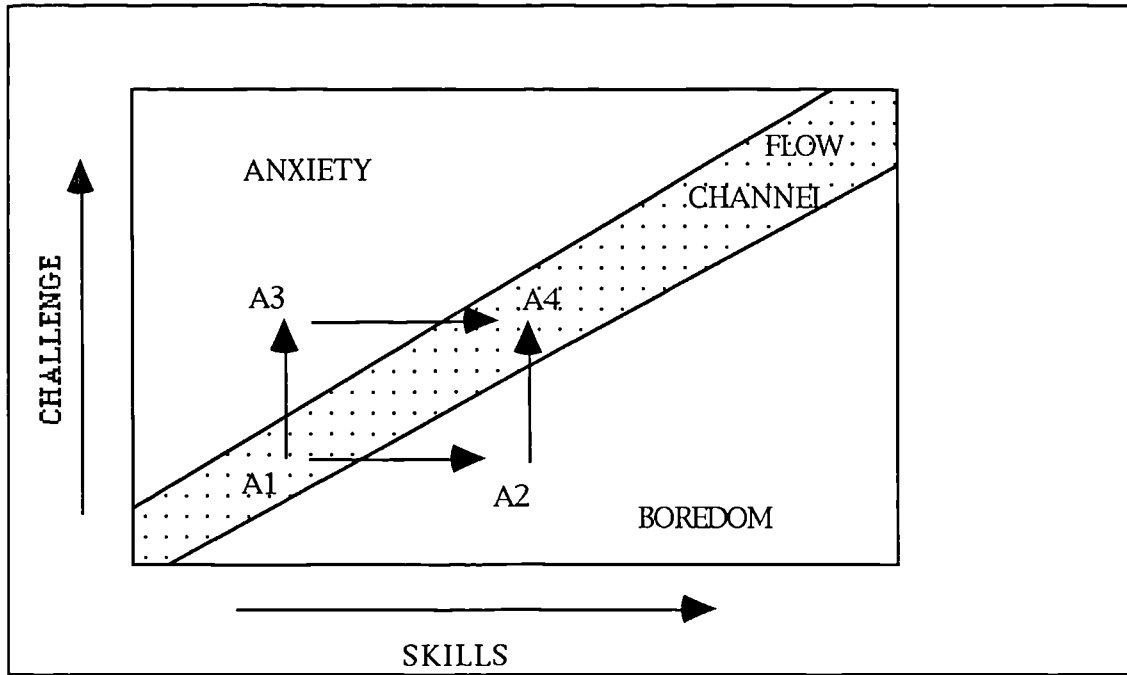order to return to a state of flow.

ANXIETY

CHALLENGE

FLOW
CHANNEL

A3   A4

A1   A2

BOREDOM

SKILLS

Figure 7. Csikszentmihayli's Concept Of Flow (1990, p. 74)

An instructor working with a group well within his or her ability might well become bored. The same instructor working with a group which is at a higher level than they could effectively cope with would be in a state of anxiety. Conversely, the instructor with a group which is challenging and demanding at exactly the right level for the his or her skills would be in a state of flow. Here they are 'carried along' by the demands, and possibly excitement, of their work.

The difficulty with flow states as motivators is in their inherent unstable state. For an instructor to continue to experience flow, according to Csikszentmihayli, his or her level of challenge must continually increase to match an assumed increase in skill, the alternative being stagnation into the boredom state. It is certainly true that boredom is a factor in 'burnout' (see section 3.1.8). As instructors are often in a position where their work is largely repetitive it can be hypothesised that in order to overcome this limitation challenge can also be of an internal nature. In other words the degree of skill required to complete a task at a basic level has not changed but the standard at which the task is completed may be improved. An example might be the completing of a review with a higher level of response from students. The challenge of the review has not changed. Rather a higher level of skill has been met by the challenge of a higher standard of review.

4.2.3 Wages

As is rightly pointed out by Herzberg (cited in Adair, 1990, p. 57) wages are an issue which pervades all aspects of the work place to a greater or lesser extent. Low wages are prevalent not only in the outdoor industry but throughout the leisure field. Critten (1994, p. 119) makes the point that the leisure field:

> "depends very heavily on 'intrinsic' rewards, on the capability of staff to take ownership for their own development. It is interesting in an industry not well known for high rates of pay that it compensates for this by providing an ideal culture for people to acquire multi-level skills"

It is debatable whether the outdoor industry, with its dependency on short term staff, does provide an "ideal culture" for skills acquisition but there can be little doubt that this stance is one of the justifications for low wages.

Interestingly it has been argued by some employers in the outdoor industry (John Ridgeway is a good example) that low wages are a good thing as it means that staff are working for love of the work rather than for financial reward. This has been backed up by a number of studies (Deci, 1971, 1972; Weiner and Mander, 1978; Pittman, Cooper and Smith, 1977; Smith and Pittman, 1978) which have shown that task-contingent payments, i.e., payments relative to work load, actually decrease the level of intrinsic job motivation. Griffin (1992, p. 33) even goes so far as to say that "supporters of performance pay start from the false premise that pay is the main motivator at work". It is important to stress that many of these studies, as were Herzberg's, were concerned with attitude rather than productivity. It is also an issue with much of the work carried out in this field that the task in hand is actually intrinsically interesting rather than routine or tedious. This is backed up by, amongst others, Lepper, Greene and Nisbett (1973). Also, Danner and Lonky's (1981) studies of school children showed that the task in hand must be optimally challenging for task contingent payments to have an undermining effect. These studies showed that a group of school children which were not rewarded for intrinsically interesting work retained their interest whilst a similar group rapidly lost interest, and failed to regain it, once they had been rewarded for the same task. It is interesting to note, however, that as Aaker (1981, p. 32) states:

> "It is somewhat surprising that our highly developed society continues to rely on 'low level' physical and security needs as primary motivators."

When discussing the issue of wages amongst outdoor education staff it is always important to recognise that there is a wide variety of needs and expectations amongst staff. These range from the previously employed older member of staff who may have money put aside to sustain a higher level of lifestyle to young members of staff who would expect low, entry level, wages no matter what their employment might be. In broad terms, it can be said that outdoor staff pass through the following two 'wage issue' stages.

- Younger staff where wage levels are an issue because of feelings of equity.
- Older staff where wage levels are an issue because of additional commitments such as dependents and mortgages.

One aspect of wages which is frequently overlooked (Handy, 1993) is that wages are often a basis for comparison. This is particularly important in the outdoor industry where highly qualified and experienced tutorial staff can often be paid less than unqualified cleaners and kitchen porter staff, who in addition work fewer hours and may have better conditions of employment. In this case it would not be unfair to say that the intrinsic motivation of one group of staff is being undermined by the extrinsic rewards of another. Staw, Calder and Hess (1975) showed that an important factor in the dichotomy between intrinsic and extrinsic motivation is the environment in which a study occurs. They argue that it is in cases where extrinsic payments are not regarded as the norm that payment most affects intrinsic motivation. Again, this can be related back to the outdoor centre environment where high wages are not regarded as the norm for tutorial staff. This is a very important factor to take into account when carrying out any study of outdoor staff. Because self worth can be attributional to extrinsic motivation (Petri, 1991) comparisons on extrinsic factors such as pay serves to lower that self-worth. As Steers and Porter (1991, p. 40) point out "money is a form of feedback and recognition". In addition if extrinsic factors such as pay are dominant individuals tend to discount their own intrinsic motivation and relate their motivation, or lack of it, to those extrinsic factors. This perhaps explains the clichéd answer of 'low wages' as the primary reason for staff leaving the outdoor industry.

4.3 REFLECTION ON THE THEORY REVIEW

It is immediately apparent that there is a wide range of theories all of which have a degree of relevance to most work situations. Indeed it is as well to think that no one theory has the sole correct solution to the study of occupational motivation (Rollinson, et

al. 1998). This reflects the present trend in motivational research which has started to focus on the interactive aspects of the various theories as opposed to the previous prevalent ideology which examined the theories as discrete entities (Kanfer, 1992). Hyland (1981, pp. 11-12) even goes so far as to say that psychology itself is still at a "pre-paradigmatic stage". This implies there is still a wide range of theories and schools of thought which need to be bought together. Kanfer (1992, p. 2) goes along a different route and voices concern, despite the wide range of theories in current use, that:

> "prevailing theories of motivation are insufficient for addressing contemporary problems in the workplace."

A more realistic approach would be to take it that each theory has its salient points and an overall synergy is nearer the answer. Steers and Porter (1991, p. 577) take this approach with the comment that current theories should be seen as "complementary rather than contradictory". It is worthwhile to remember that:

> "Motivation is a complex issue. Different people are motivated by different things. Pay is just one factor: participation, job enrichment, recognition, resources, working environments and so on can be equally important. Concentrating on just one of these factors alone is unlikely to have a major impact on performance." (Griffin, 1992, p. 31)

Allied to the mass of motivational theories is, of course, the need to take into account the organisational element. Organisational culture, for example, has been discussed as having an important impact on staff motivation as has the nature of the employer-employee relationship. A synthesis of the contemporary theories would, however, result in an unworkable mass of variables. It is probably this very difficulty that has meant that there is, as yet, no single working theory of work motivation.

According to the humanist writers, such as Maslow and Herzberg for example, motivation is largely intrinsic. In other words people are largely self motivating and external factors do little to increase this motivation. Adair (1990, p. 26) challenges this stance as being overstated. His fifty-fifty rule states that:

> "Fifty per cent of motivation comes from within a person and fifty percent from his or her environment, especially from the leadership encountered there."

As yet no one has challenged this assumption but it must be taken in the context of Adair's other work, notably his work on leadership (1968, 1988). In this, through the Action Centred Leadership model which he developed, he maintains that effective leadership needs to take into account three things; group needs, task needs and individual

needs. By maintaining a balance of these needs, which all interact with each other, a workforce can be motivated to work at its optimum level. Obviously, if motivation is predominately intrinsic Adair's work is largely invalidated. Whilst Adair's premise may be simplistic in itself it does make the point that to assume that motivation is intrinsic ignores a wide range of other factors. Again this reflects the importance of taking into account the cultural influences discussed above.

In a similar vein many motivational theories, notably Herzberg's work, have been criticised for their reliance on an intrinsic-extrinsic dichotomy. Rollinson, et al. (1998) highlights the importance in not regarding these facets of motivation as contradictory but rather as complementary. Each person will need a number of both extrinsic and intrinsic motivating factors in variable amounts according to their own needs.

This individual nature of people further complicates the already complex idea of motivation. Schien (1980) talks of 'complex man' who has a number of motivations acting at various times. In addition, these motivations act in the form of a hierarchy with different precedence being given in different situations. This, of course, contrasts with Maslow who saw motivational needs as acting in a linear hierarchical context. Levinson (1972) and Jacques and Zalenik (in Handy, 1993, p. 35) refer to the physiological and psychological stages of development in which an individual's motivations also develop. Furthermore it is questionable whether it is appropriate to study work motivation in isolation from other aspects of work such as cognitive abilities and situational constraints (Kanfer, 1992). Process theorists, notably Porter and Lawler, go some way to overcoming this problem, but these complexities are perhaps even more noticeable in the case of outdoor education staff. As Ford and Blanchard (1985, p. 148) rightly say "Outdoor leaders are individualists". Smith (1994, p. 50) sums up the difficulties when he writes that:

> "..... recognition must be made that motivation is complex in that [i] the needs of individuals differ; [ii] there is variability in the translation of needs into action; [iii] an inconsistency in the action actually taken and [iv] the reaction of individuals to successful or unsuccessful fulfilment of needs may also be dissimilar."

Process theories often fall down in the lack of account taken of human intuition and traits such as jealousy or anger. These traits are at odds with the rational cognitive process-making assumed by many theorists. A classical example of this would be someone resigning a job in a moment of anger or frustration. Similarly, many of the theorists seem to overlook the fact that an individual does not work in a social vacuum. Kanfer (1992, p. 41) comments on this when she says that "most theories of work

motivation tend to ignore the social, interpersonal context of job performance". The role of peers, social norms, societal expectations and organisational culture may all exert a far greater influence than is usually given credit for. A good example of this can be found in attribution theory which tends to ignore cultural influences (Steers and Porter, 1991). Mainstream American managers, for example, are taught that they are capable of great achievement and, consequently, also take responsibility for their own actions. Conversely, Muslims have a strong cultural belief in the power of God's will influencing their everyday lives whilst Hindus believe that their lives are in the hands of fate. The importance of organisational culture in outdoor education is another example where motivation theories need to take into account the importance of very real facets of the work such as a like minded peer group. Interestingly, Rollinson, at al. (1998) highlight the point that the majority of content theories originate in America where the cultural expectation is that fulfilment is satisfied through work. As they point out, this is not so strongly ingrained in this country where work and non-work are not always seen as separate elements of life. This, obviously, has implications for highly vocational jobs such as those found in the outdoor industry.

One issue which immediately becomes apparent is that even in recent works on motivation in the work place (Adair, 1990; Cole, 1993; Handy, 1993; Robertson & Smith, 1985; Robertson et al, 1992; Rollinson, et al, 1998; Vroom, 1992) the emphasis is still on theories which evolved in the forties, fifties and sixties, such as Herzberg's Two Factor Theory and Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs. Why this should be is not totally clear but, as Robertson & Smith (1985, p. 106) point out, "[these theories] are popularised in management books and courses". Although neither of these theories, or indeed other popular theories such as McGregor's X/Y Theory or Equity Theory, is without its critics they are still in popular use today. Indeed Adair (1990, p. 1) a management 'guru' himself, comments that:

> "In my judgement no other comparable studies of motivation to those of Maslow and Herzberg have emerged from other authors. Or, rather, they have emerged but not stayed the course. Maslow and Herzberg have stood the test of time. This fact does not, of course, guarantee them but it does at least suggest that there is a large element of truth in them"

Rollinson, et al. (1998, p. 163) suggests a far more likely reason for the continuing popularity of these theories:

> "Maslow's theory, which is the simplest of all, is probably the best known because it is easy to grasp, and probably gives managers a feeling of 'being in control' by knowing how to motivate employees ... Herzberg's work comes a close second. Again it is easy to understand [why, as it] explains things in terms managers are likely to find intuitively appealing, and offers something they probably feel that they can apply."

The aspect which managers find "intuitively appealing" might well be the idea that higher wages are not the answer to motivation problems. Rather job enrichment through such aspects as greater responsibility are maintained to be more effective, and probably cheaper! The popularity of these two theories extends beyond personnel managers. Lay people, such as outdoor instructors, may appreciate Maslow and Herzberg due to the simplicity of presentation which is inherent in these theories.

Clearly further reflection is required so that strong, appropriate theory may emerge from the existing knowledge and from the evidence of people on the current world of work. This study faces that challenge in the context of the outdoor education industry.

4.3.1 Critical issues raised by chapter four

- Everyone work in a social environment, this is particularly so for outdoor staff who work in a strongly communal field
- This is most strongly reflected in the importance of community and organisational cultures to outdoor staff
- It is important not to underestimate the importance of the employer-employee relationship, this is particularly so where questions of values are raised
- No one theory holds the complete answer to motivation
- No theory at present addresses the issue of motivation as a synthesis of psychology and organisational/social theory
- However, each theory highlighted in this chapter has something to contribute to a wider understanding

5. METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

This chapter covers a wide range of both philosophical issues (methodology) and practical methods concerning the gathering and analysing of data. The chapter starts by examining the structure of the study and discussing the implications of the positivistic - subjective debate. It then examines the role of the researcher and other research issues before embarking on a description of the methods employed during the research phase.

5.1 METHODOLOGY

The chapter first concerns itself with the logic behind the research structure. There are four main phases to the study, these are:

- Pilot study
- Large scale mail-shot questionnaire survey
- Focus group interviews
- Investigation of staff personal constructs through a repertory grid (rep grid) technique.

The first phase of the study was a, two centre, interview-based pilot study. This was used to form the groundwork for the primary phases of the study. The pilot study is fully described in section 5.3.

The methods mentioned above cross the boundaries of an objective, positivistic, philosophy (through the use of questionnaires) and a subjective philosophy (through the use of personal constructs and group focus interviews). This balance is important in order to redress some of the traditional difficulties with research into the outdoors (cf. Nichols, 1995). Humberstone (1996, p. 49) makes the point that:

> "Research into [outdoor education] ..... is in its infancy. As such it is still in the UK largely underpinned by a logical positivistic epistemology ..... [such research] is consequently limited in its depth and vision of inquiry."

This study does continue the positivistic approach. It also complements this approach

with a more qualitative underpinning. This underpinning seeks, through critical inquiry of the questionnaire results, to increase the "depth and vision" of understanding. This use of qualitative technique to give context to quantitative results is becoming more generally used, notably in the field of psychology (cf. Debats, Drost and Hansen, 1995; Vaughn, et al, 1996; Henwood and Pidgeon, 1992; Henwood and Nicholson, 1995). The combination of quantitative and qualitative techniques can be used in two primary forms. Either qualitative information is used as the grounding for a quantitative instrument or a qualitative instrument is used to build context into quantitative data. In this study, both of these combinations are used. A pilot study of semi-structured interviews is followed by a data gathering survey and then the deployment of two different qualitative instruments.

Triangulation

By the use of three different methods in the primary research phases a simple triangulation can be established. Triangulation, in this study, is used to achieve correlation of results by a straightforward comparison process where the results of the three phases are compared against each other. McCartney et al. (1998, p. 72) comments that such a technique provides "different insights into many of the same issues ... resulting in as full a triangulated analysis as possible". In terms of verification among the three phases, the discussion of the research results (section 9.2) has a comparison of the results of each phase with each other. Answers given during the interviews, for example, are used as an additional check on the results from the questionnaire.

Moreover, one method of verification often suggested in qualitative research is that of "respondent validation" (Henwood and Pidgeon, 1995, p. 117). It can be argued, to some extent, that the triangulation technique used in this study is an example of this. Although verification is not carried out by the original respondents it is carried out by other respondents from within the same study population. An example of this would be the redundancy technique used in the interview stage where agreement between groups was the key element in deciding how many interviews needed to be carried out (see section 5.2.2).

5.1.1 Justifying the study

Each of the preceding chapters has contributed to the justification of studying the motivation of outdoor staff. Chapter One highlighted the current changes within the

outdoor industry which are leading to a new pattern of employment. These changes are also leading to new roles and operating methods for outdoor staff. Chapter Two highlighted the practical concerns which the study aims to address. These aims were carried on into Chapter Three which, most notably, demonstrated the lack of literature and research relating to the whole field of staffing issues within the outdoor industry. It was highlighted, in Chapter Three, that this lack of research existed despite the clear practical need to improve the retention of staff working in the industry. Finally, Chapter Four put forward the conclusion that no working theory of motivation currently exists which could be applied either generically or specifically to the outdoor industry. Moreover, this chapter highlighted the complexities of organisational and social issues (such as organisational culture) which influence the work paradigms of outdoor staff.

The conclusions drawn by these chapters reflect earlier studies of staff in the outdoor industry: they are usually of a pragmatic nature. This has meant they tend to ignore underlying motivation (section 3.1.9). Where staff motivation is considered it is usually assumed to be high, with staff being regarded as 'self-motivating' through their desire to work in the outdoors (see section 3.1.6). It is often not accepted that the reason for staff being in the industry has an influence on their remaining there. A study about motivation should investigate more than "what motivates staff to work in the field or what keeps them motivated at work" (Loynes, 1995). It should take into account both the unique nature of the industry and the nature of outdoor staff themselves. Using the normal motivational criteria associated with mainstream employment (section 4.2) has limitations when studying outdoor staff. The nature of work in the outdoor industry is more akin to an all-encompassing lifestyle (Collins, 1997), and so the study of staff motivation must be all-encompassing too. To study outdoor staff it is necessary to investigate their desires, interests, beliefs and values as much as the nature of their employment. It is also necessary to investigate possible changes in motivation, if any, which accompany career progression and/or lifestyle changes as well as major current issues within the outdoor industry. These include issues such as professionalism, the need for qualifications, career structure and the implications of recent events such as the Lyme Bay tragedy (described in section 1.2).

The nature of work in the outdoor industry means, therefore, that retention and turnover issues are not effectively approached from the conventional theoretical stances of work conditions, rewards, etc. If these issues are to be fully understood there must be an understanding of not only why are the staff attracted to work in the outdoors but also of the staff themselves and the issues surrounding them.

5.1.2 The role of the researcher

It has been traditional in scientific, empirically based, research not to explore the assumptions and beliefs of the researcher or the technique employed (Humberstone, 1997). It is, to some extent, possible to regard research carried out under this traditional quantitative philosophy as centred on researcher neutrality. The same cannot always be said, however, of a qualitative or subjective approach. Indeed Calder (1997, p. 360) states that:

> "The logic of the phenomenological approach dictates that the researcher have close personal involvement with consumers. He or she must share, participatively or vicariously, the experience of consumers."

In addition to the issue of researcher neutrality, the conflict of insider/outsider research needs to be addressed with regard to the philosophy of this particular study.

It is a fundamental of this study that, as someone who has been involved with the outdoor industry as an instructor, the researcher has approached the study from an 'insider' viewpoint. Given the unusual, closed nature of working in residential outdoor centres this viewpoint reflects the belief that more conventional outsider work-study techniques would have difficulty addressing, or even recognising, the issues inherent within the outdoor education industry. Strauss and Corbin (1990, p. 42) agree with this stance with the comment that;

> "Professional experience is a source of [theoretical] sensitivity... [where] ... the more professional experience, the richer the knowledge base and insight available to draw upon in the research"

The importance, and relevance, of the insider stance can also be measured against standpoint theory (Hammersley, 1995). This theory, which is often used by radical feminists as an argument for only women doing women's studies, contends that a social phenomena can only be truly understood by a person who has experienced that phenomena. Standpoint theory would argue that an essentially closed society, such as an outdoor centre community, would not be effectively researched by an outside, detached, observer. Humberstone (1987, p. 45) addressed these questions in her study of an outdoor centre and whilst she highlights advantages to the insider stance she also points out the importance of being able to view a phenomenon as "anthropologically strange". This refers to the idea that an insider may find many aspects of an institution so

common-place or 'common-sense' that they are not commented upon. The researcher, therefore, needs to be able to step aside and, whilst retaining an insider's insight, view the institution as an outsider. That was, undoubtedly, also the case in this study where aspects of outdoor staff motivation appeared to be common-sense because of familiarity with them on a personal level.

Another important element of the involvement of the insider researcher is that it acts as a:

> "bridge between researchers and practitioners [which encourages] research that directly impacts practice" (Vaughn et al , 1996, pp. 31-32).

There is a large practical dimension to the associated end-user benefits of this study, and so the bridge between research and practice is particularly relevant. It is also possible to challenge the precept that research is best carried out by neutral, academic, bodies. It can be seen that this stance supports the case for insider research where access to and understanding of the research in hand is dependent on inside knowledge and theoretical sensitivity.

Reflexivity

Barnard (1990, cited in Reay, 1996, p. 61) notes that:

> "Reflexivity is not achieved by the use of the first person ... it is achieved by subjecting the position of the observer to the same critical analysis as that of the constructed object at hand."

Stenhouse (1975, p. 176) agrees with this and writes that reflexiveness is the "capacity to review critically and reflectively ... processes and practices". The primary technique used in this study reflects this stance. In essence this meant "to take nothing for granted" Strauss and Corbin (1990, p. 93). Only aspects of motivation which were highlighted from reviews of the literature and from exchanges in the workplace with colleagues and others in the industry were used in question preparation. Not only were such aspects as the questionnaire and focus group questions (and answers) subject to this 'take nothing for granted' test but so were the research results. The stance was taken that results had to visibly arise from the course of the research process. These activities formed the initial ground from which questions and topics for more detailed investigation could grow with confidence and validity. In short, they set the scene for the pilot study. The pilot study did not probe or analyse respondents' replies to semi-structured interviews, rather it took them at face value and collated the issues raised to ascertain questions which needed to be

asked in subsequent phases of the research.

Secondly, data gathered from a standard empirical tool, the questionnaire, was used to provide the basis for the qualitative phases. In this way the questionnaire and subsequent phases worked in tandem both providing data and confirming data from each other. This mixture of quantitative and qualitative methodologies enables corollary and confirmation of results. It also enables a check to be kept on the researcher's own input.

Theoretical sensitivity did play an important part in the study. For example, an outside observer would struggle with the language of outdoor staff, expressions such as; un-accompanied expeditions, solo, rock sessions would all need to be explained and examined. More than this, however, an understanding of the industry meant that expressions such as "every group is different" (section 5.4.2) could be challenged and explored further, rather than taken at face value. This sensitivity was important to challenge such cliché answers. Thus, theoretical sensitivity and familiarity with the outdoor industry was used as a check on the results rather than an interpretation of them. The rule of 'take nothing for granted' remained a guiding absolute.

It is also important to note that, in part, it was staffing issues within the Outward Bound organisation, for several years the researcher's primary employer, which were the original inspiration for this study. This confirms the view of Humberstone (1997, p. 7) that research "may be influenced by the motives of the researcher or his/her practical ... history". However, throughout this study it has been ensured that this Outward Bound influence has been balanced by contact with the industry as a whole and only partial use of Outward Bound staff within the study population.

On a personal note, with regard to my own personal philosophy I am a strong believer in work in the outdoor industry being treated as a professional occupation, the 'proper job' of common jargon. I am sympathetic to the ideal of the enthusiastic amateur but it is my conviction that the industry needs to 'modernise' if it is not only to survive but to gain the respect of the general public. Moreover, this thesis and the values and beliefs inherent in its background and writing cannot be separated from my own background. This reflects my identity as a white, well educated, male with an essentially middle class upbringing. My background is most defined as one influenced by a military and masculine culture. This influence is perhaps most notable on the various sections which address gender issues. It is inherently difficult, if not impossible, for a man to truly relate to a woman's perspective; this thesis merely attempts what is, I hope, a balanced discussion of the issues

within that limitation.

5.1.3 Research ethics

Over and above the standard ethical codes of research (cf. "Ethical principles for conducting research with human participants" published by the British Psychological Society, Robson, 1994 and Cohen and Manion, 1994, pp. 347-384) the prime consideration with the ethics of this study concerned the need to preserve anonymity and confidentiality. This not only reflects the practical need of ensuring respondents felt able to speak freely but also recognises that many of the discussions within the research centred on aspects of employer-employee relationships. In addition to the employment issues, and the possible repercussions which might arise from their discussion, issues of ambitions, feelings and aspirations were also raised which could, and should, be regarded as private and personal.

Because of this prime consideration the identity of all respondents in the study, and their employees, have been coded (See appendix 6 for the covering letter sent to questionnaire and interview respondents).

On occasions it has been necessary to describe a centre in order to give context to answers. This has been done in a way which will, as far as possible, not disclose the identity of that centre. Although people with intimate knowledge of that centre might be able to recognise it from the description this was seen as inevitable and unavoidable. Sources within the centre remain confidential.

Permission to distribute questionnaires and interview staff was initially sought from centre managers or the appropriate senior person on site. Prior to interviews the procedure and implications regarding recording and writing up was explained and permission sought from the respondents on this basis. All permission was given verbally.

5.1.4 The influence of Outward Bound

One thing that is immediately apparent from much of the investigative work carried out in outdoor education is the dominance of Outward Bound. Birmingham (1989) for example, lists eighteen Outward Bound references in her study. Her own study is itself

dominated by Outward Bound. A possible reason for this bias within the small outdoor industry research fraternity is that Outward Bound has tended to run courses of a longer duration than other organisations thus providing a good population source for research data. Another more tangible reason is that Outward Bound is often taken as not only the market leader in outdoor education but also as the founding organisation and originator of outdoor education in the modern sense. A good example of this is where Wurdinger (1997, p. xvii) in his book on philosophical issues in outdoor education states that all the examples he uses come from Outward Bound because:

> "ideas first stated by Kurt Hahn, the founder of Outward Bound, have since become foundational to the entire field. Therefore, [these examples are] an analysis of the entire field of adventure education."

It is doubtful whether Outward Bound in the UK can still be seen as a market leader. Following severe financial difficulties and a merger with the Duke of Edinburgh's Award Trust they have in recent years become more market followers running courses for financial gain rather than ethical consideration. However, Outward Bound members and ex-members still exert a large influence within the industry in the UK. The National Association for Outdoor Education, The Council for Outdoor Education, Training and Recreation and The Foundation for Outdoor Adventure, for example, are all chaired or dominated by ex-Outward Bound staff. In addition a great many senior staff at centres are ex-Outward Bound. This is to be expected, and is easily accounted for, as Outward Bound is a very large organisation which has been around for a long time. Furthermore it has traditionally been seen as an entry level organisation from which staff move on to other centres.

Thus, any research into outdoor education has to take into account, and possibly compensate for, the high proportion of previous research which has originated from or exclusively uses an Outward Bound source. (see also section 5.1.2)

5.1.5 The rationale for using Two-Factor Theory

In order to ensure a stable and concise structural underpinning for the study it was decided to concentrate on one theory as the main structural and theoretical grounding. Herzberg's Two-Factor Theory, described by Hackman and Oldham (1976, p. 251) as "by far the most influential theory relevant to work redesign", is most closely suited for this purpose. It thus provides the scaffold for the conceptual framework used in building

the structure of the research. Herzberg's Theory is not only acclaimed as a suitable basis for work redesign, it is also suitable in this instance for the reasons outlined below.

- It is possible to differentiate between motivators and hygienes (see section 4.2.2). In this way the difference between what motivates a person to carry out a job and what retains that person in an organisation can be ascertained. This relates well to the initial construct outlined at the beginning of the chapter of motivation, viz, the factors that influence initial choice followed by continued choice.

- It is possible to investigate the claim that pay is not a motivating factor. This is of great significance in an industry where pay is an issue for retention but not necessarily for motivation.

- The theory is a well known one which is understood and used by a great many outdoor staff. This means that the study will not only be understandable but will also have face validity from the end-user/study population.

- Because of the practical nature of Herzberg it is possible for results from the initial part of the study to be related to other more conceptual theories at a later stage.

The major criticism of Herzberg's theory, which he himself acknowledged, is that he evolved a general theory of motivation from a very specific population group. It is not a difficulty in this study. This is because outdoor education staff have specifically chosen to follow their occupation for reasons other than financial reward, as evidenced by the low levels of remuneration. It can be seen that the issue of population specificity is appropriate and pertinent to this study which is concerned with a group with a number of distinctive properties. Another advantage of Two-Factor Theory is then:

- Herzberg's work is very group specific, an advantage in a study which is looking at a group atypical of the general population.

It is also possible, using Herzberg's dichotomy of motivator and hygiene, to investigate whether the humanist or behaviourist management style (best described by McGregor, section 4.2.2) is in use within the industry. The question can be asked:

- Is management approaching a humanist (motivator) problem from a behaviourist (hygiene) stance? There may be dissonance between the needs and expectations of

staff and management and the methods used to overcome this disparity.

5.2 METHODS

The methods used in each of the research phases are outlined in section 5.4. This section gives an overview of the study population and highlights issues associated with the research, notably difficulties in data gathering. To place the study population in context the section starts with an overview of the outdoor education industry.

5.2.1 Identification of industry sectors

The outdoor education industry is made up of a diverse variety of sectors, all of which have specific agendas and many of which overlap to a considerable degree.

The national centres. These are funded through the national sports councils and concentrate on teaching skills in specific sports. Staff in these centres tend to specialise and are highly qualified and regarded in their fields, and paid accordingly. These centres are Plas y Brenin in Wales and Glenmore Lodge in Scotland which concentrate on mountain skills and Plas Menai in Wales and Inverclyde in Scotland which concentrate on water sports.

Outward Bound and Brathay Trusts. These are two of the oldest and most influential organisations in the country. Outward Bound, which has two centres in the English Lake District, one in Wales and one in Scotland, was founded in 1941. Brathay, which was founded in 1947, is concentrated in the Lake District. Of the two, Outward Bound, which recently merged with the Duke of Edinburgh's Award Scheme, is probably more notable for a number of reasons. The first of these is the philosophy of personal growth through physical endeavour, which was laid down by its founder Kurt Hahn. This has long been taken as a key concept in outdoor activities. This is in part because of the size of the organisation and its traditional willingness to take young 'entry level' staff and because a great many outdoor organisations and centres are staffed by ex-Outward Bound staff. Brathay has established itself in the management training market and moved on from pure personal development work but Outward Bound is currently struggling to find an identity and purpose. This is largely because its traditional long duration personal development courses are no longer financially viable and the organisation has struggled

to streamline and modernise itself. Brathay staff work long and demanding hours and are, in general, well paid and treated as professionals, Outward Bound, however, has a tradition of paying low wages in return for extreme hours and commitment. The 1996 rates of pay for tutors varied around £100 gross for weeks which often involve a 100 hour commitment and very high levels of responsibility.

An important significance of Outward Bound is in the use of the name as a generic term for outdoor activity organisations and centres. The expression is also widely used as a pejorative term for a style of outdoor activity or course which involves an element of hardship. Outward Bound has a strong marketing policy designed to preserve its corporate identity and takes actions against other organisations which use the term Outward Bound as a generic description.

Charity multi-activity centres. Centres within this sector range from those which specialise in catering for the special needs market such as the Calvert Trust and Bendrick Lodge to centres which revolve around a Christian ethos such as the YMCA national centre in the Lake District and the Lindley Trust organisation. Wages in these centres tend to be low but there is often a sense of 'shared vocation'.

Local Education Authority (LEA) centres (Scotland has education authorities rather than local education authorities, LEA is used here as an inclusive term). The first LEA centre was the White Hall centre, set up by the Derbyshire authority in 1951. Many of these centres, which traditionally pay teaching wages and conditions, are facing an uncertain future as a result of education budget cuts. Some counties have abolished them altogether whilst others have withdrawn funding leaving the centres to survive by themselves as commercial organisations. A major authority re-organisation in Scotland during 1996 left many centres without direct funding and even led to some local authorities asset stripping centres which had been under joint control. The traditional role of LEA centres was to provide subsidised outdoor experiences for city children. These subsidies are being withdrawn, and the competition for this market within the private and voluntary sectors is becoming increasingly fierce.

Also included within the LEA sphere are field study centres. Many outdoor centres now offer field studies as an option in an attempt to move into the educational market, however few are specialists. The number of specialist field studies under local authority control is decreasing although bodies such as the Field Studies Council do preserve a number in the charitable sector.

Private multi-activity centres. The largest sector in the outdoor industry, these range from small operations employing two or three staff to enormous organisations such as PGL. These centres have traditionally been remarkable for their uncontrolled proliferation, this is likely to change in the near future with the impact of the 'Activity Centres (Young Persons) Safety Act 1995' which requires registration of centres. Wages and conditions in this area vary enormously although wages are often low in return for 'training opportunities' and 'the chance to gain experience' (see section 4.2.3).

Freelance instructors. These can be split into two sub-groups, multi-activity instructors and specialists;

Multi-activity freelance instructors. This is a group that has only appeared in significant numbers over the last few years. Essentially these are instructors that work as normal instructors in multi-activity or management training centres but are employed on a daily basis, they may also run courses for clients in their own right as sole-traders. There are a number of reasons for the rise in numbers of freelance instructors but the main one is that there is a trend for centres to reduce their staff overheads by keeping permanent staff to a bare minimum and hiring staff on a daily basis only when they are needed. The attraction for the free-lance instructors is the perceived amount of money to be made as the daily rate will often be as much, if not more, than a centre instructor will be earning in a week. The reality, of course, is somewhat different. Work is increasingly hard to come by as the number of freelancers increase and the fringe benefits such as free training, sick leave and holidays are soon missed. It is almost impossible to ascertain the number of freelancers active in the field although an indication can be gathered from those registered with various centres. Cumbria Outdoors, for example, which uses freelance staff exclusively has twenty regular staff on its books and another forty registered, in other words it has three freelancers listed for every one that it regularly uses.

Specialist free-lance instructors. These are another growth area within the outdoor industry. These tend, although not exclusively, to be highly qualified people, such as Mountain Guides, offering a skills learning/guiding package to small groups of clients.

Outdoor management development (OMD). OMD is the name often given to the management training sector of the outdoor industry. This sector has undergone a number of changes since its inception in the seventies as an offspring of military style

leadership and team-building courses, usually run by ex-military personnel. After the economic boom years of the eighties the number of OMD providers increased from 15 listed in 1983 by Beeby and Rathbone (1983) to 113 listed in 1991 by Thorogood (1991). The nineties however proved to be a time of recession and with OMD providers failing to justify their techniques in tangible cost-benefit terms the expansion of this sector was halted. The sector was further damaged by a Channel Four "Cutting Edge" documentary, shown on the 25/1/93, which portrayed an OMD course run at the John Ridgeway centre in Scotland as an "exercise in sadism". As a result of these developments OMD has moved away from a task-oriented experiential style to a more business oriented classroom style methodology and as a result is starting to regain its respectability. A number of organisations (for example; Outward Bound and Brathay) run a commercial OMD section in parallel with a charitable youth development section.

5.2.2 The study population

Using the definitions above as a basis and taking into account the nature of the outdoor industry, the target population of this study is taken as being:

- staff engaged in outdoor education as defined by the NAOE (see section 1.1) and in addition working in multi-activity residential centres which have some form of central ethos revolving around personal, and/or personnel, development. The physical parameters of the study are England, Scotland and Wales.

Although this is still a broad field it excludes certain key elements. Notably excluded are:

- field study centres which are purely educational
- hard skills centres, where a high level of specialisation in one sport is a pre-requisite for instructors
- centres specialising in work with 'special needs' groups where the attraction of working with a particular client group is a major factor
- individuals such as mountain guides and freelance instructors because these do not fit into the 'norm' of outdoor activities which generally tends to be centre based

Even within the parameters of the target population there is still a wide variety of norms and cultures. As the Cumbria Local Authority definition (section 1.1) indicates, there is a wide range of activities and purposes covered under the outdoor education umbrella. First, the area crosses the boundaries of the private, state and voluntary sectors in that it

includes local education authority centres, charitable centres and commercial operations. It also includes centres which have a widely differing focus from one extreme of concentrating on adult courses and 'management training' style courses to those which are exclusively geared to children's courses. It should also be noted that many multi-activity residential centres will typically also include elements such as skills courses and field studies although these will be as part of a larger overall programme.

The focus of the study is primarily towards the private and charitable sectors although it does include the state sector for reference. This emphasis is included because of the growth of the private/charitable sector at the expense of LEA owned centres. Even where state sector centres still exist they are increasingly obliged to adopt commercial policies in order to survive and in many cases receive no subsidy. They are often, therefore, private sector centres in everything but name. This trend is expected, if anything, to gather pace over the next few years. In a similar vein, there is often difficulty in isolating commercial and charitable organisations as many operate across the sectors. Outward Bound, to give one example, has both registered charity status for its personal development work and also operates a commercial organisation for corporate training.

The reasons for these population parameters, and by default limitations, are simple and twofold.

First, they provide an accessible target population with definite limits. To attempt a study of the entire outdoor industry would not only be impracticable but also unsound due to its wide diversity.

Secondly, in addition to being the largest and most common form of outdoor activity centres, residential centres also form the starting point for a majority of instructors who go on to specialise in more discrete areas such as pure management training or hard skills. The study thus, by default, gives an insight into the broader industry.

The specific population sources for the questionnaire and subsequent phases are discussed below.

The questionnaire population

As discussed above, the target population consisted of outdoor instructors employed in multi-activity residential centres within Great Britain.

The primary source of addresses for centres was the Outdoor Source Book (1996). The Sports Council for England and Wales maintain no separate listings of centres, their primary source also being the Outdoor Source Book. The Sports Council for Scotland does, however, have its own listing which was used to supplement the Source Book. Other venues of gathering address data were tried but without success. The Health and Safety Executive was not able to release its list of centres and other accreditation organisations were reluctant to do so. The Jordanhill College list of outdoor centres was found not to contain any addresses that had not already been found. Whilst the final address list could not be termed 100% complete it was felt to be as satisfactory as practically possible.

The Source Book and Scottish listing were scanned for all centres of a multi-activity residential nature. These sources yielded 165 addresses (Source Book = 130 + Scottish listing = 35) which appeared to fit the population criteria. These centres were then phoned, first to obtain permission for the questionnaire mail shot and, secondly, to confirm their suitability and ascertain the number of staff working at the centre. Nineteen (8 + 11) centres had unobtainable phone numbers, either because the numbers had been listed incorrectly or because the centres had closed. This seemingly high number can be explained by the large number of centre closures experienced at the time of the survey together with a wide scale reorganisation of phone numbers by British Telecom. Twenty two (17 + 5) did not answer the phone or only an answering machine was obtained. Each of these was phoned on at least three occasions without success. In addition twenty three (16 + 7) were found to be unsuitable because they were sole traders, freelancers or non-residential rather than centres fitting the population criteria. Only three (2 + 1) centres declined permission for the questionnaire mail shot.

Finally, two centres were taken from the mailing list and used to pilot the questionnaire, these centres were the same ones used in the initial, interview based, pilot study. The final total of usable centres placed on the mailing data base was 85 from the Source Book and 11 from the Scottish listing, giving 96 in total. These varied in size from 2 staff to 100 with 54 of the centres having 6 or less staff. There was a mean size of 9 staff with a mode and median size of six staff. The total number of staff to which questionnaires were distributed was 889 The distribution of instructors to centres is shown in figure 8.

This figure is, however, not an exact number of staff as many centres asked for a rounded up number of questionnaires because they could not forecast with any degree of certainty the number of staff they might have working at the time of the survey.

Taking an assumption of one extra questionnaire being sent to each centre; the total study population (n) was 793 (889 - 96 centres) spread over the 96 centres.

In addition one centre (of 30 staff) phoned to say that due to an internal misunderstanding the questionnaires had all been returned uncompleted. The centre manager agreed to distribute the questionnaires but not until the end of the season. These questionnaires were ultimately not returned from the centre, which was removed from the mailing list.

• The final study population (n) therefore equals 763 (793 - 30) spread over 95 centres.
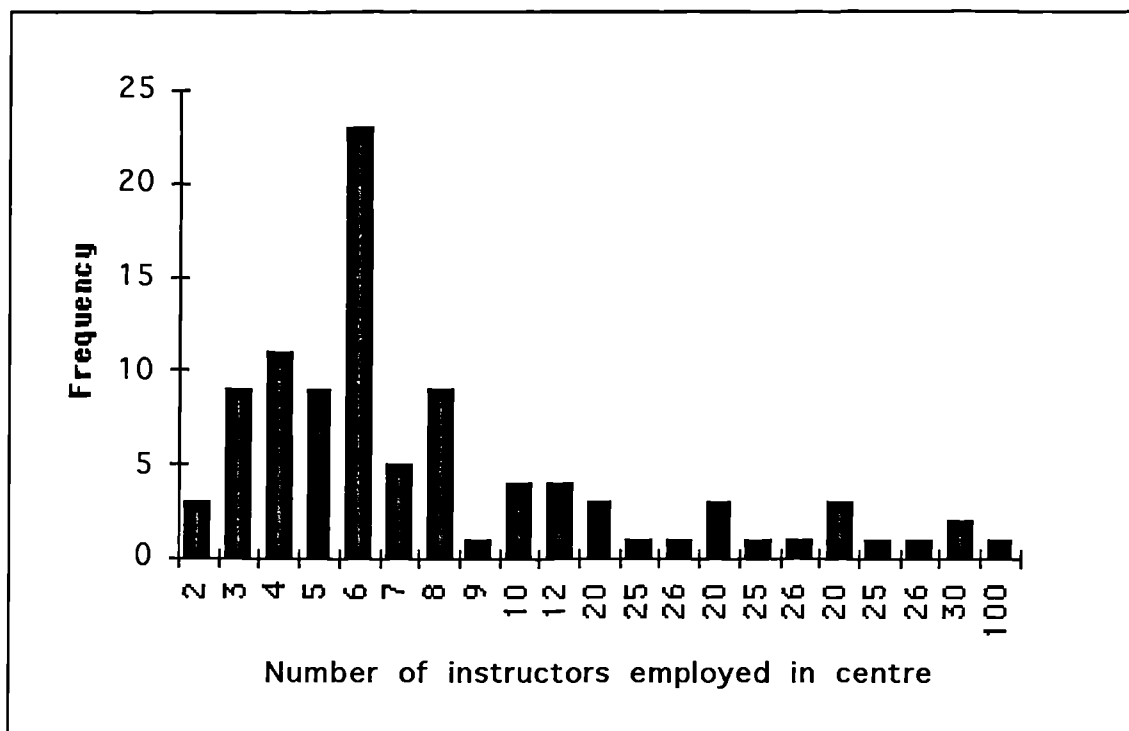
Figure 8. The distribution of staff amongst the centres used in the questionnaire

The focus groups population

Initially the study population remained as for the questionnaire phase with the additional constraint that the actual interview populations were dictated by the operational requirements of the centres involved. It was possible to stipulate that groups should ideally consist of approximately six instructors of both genders and should not include senior or managerial staff. Interviews were, initially, carried out at two centres on this

basis. At the first centre (centre M) the focus group consisted of four male and two female staff (two females at centre for five years +, three males in second season, one male in first season). At the second centre (centre L) there were two groups consisting of; eight males and two females and three males and two females (one male & one female on two year contracts, one male in third season, others in first season).

Following the development of the interview structures (to multiple interviews, see 5.4.2, below) it was decided that the focus group population also needed to be developed. First, it was decided that it was unreasonable, and impracticable, to ask centres to make time available for a series of group interviews. It was decided therefore to use open groups of respondents who did not necessarily work at the same centre but who still fitted the population criteria either in their present work or had fitted the criteria in their immediate working past. This opened the interview population up to freelance instructors and college students who were more likely to be able to attend repeated sessions. Secondly, the need for repeated sessions placed travel restrictions on the researcher which meant that the interview phase became focused around the Lake District and Glasgow, these being the two areas most readily accessible.

Given the success of the sessions with students when piloting the interviews it was felt appropriate to use the student populations of Jordanhill (University of Strathclyde, Faculty of Education) and Charlotte Mason (University College of St. Martin) as a population source for the multiple session group interviews. This was done on the proviso that the students involved had recently worked for a multi-activity residential centre within the target category. The use of students was also considered to have a second advantage in that it was felt that outdoor staff who had chosen to attend a degree in outdoor education had a level of career commitment and motivation and had given some thought to that commitment. Both of these groups consisted of six students, four male and two female, with an age range of from twenty to thirty years. Respondents in the student groups were recruited by a call for volunteers being put out by their respective course staff.

A group of outdoor staff based in the Lake District was used to provide balance to the student population. This group consisted of three male and three female staff who were either freelancers or worked in a variety of centres. As with the student population, the proviso was made that the respondents had recently worked (if not currently working) in a centre within the study population area. The respondents in this group were recruited by word of mouth. Half were previously known to the researcher, these respondents

recruited the other half of the group through personal contact.

The issue of population sampling was considered with regard to the selection of the groups used. The likelihood of respondents volunteering to sit on groups in order to complain about employment conditions was balanced against the likelihood of respondents volunteering because they were interested in the subject in a positive sense. It was considered that any deliberate selective sampling technique stood a danger of being counter-productive and the benefits of asking for volunteers outweighed any potential problems. A variety of populations (centres, colleges and freelance staff) was chosen to help ensure respondent balance. Furthermore, it was felt that students and freelance staff would be sufficiently detached from the centre environment to remain objective about employment conditions.

The number of interviews and the number of groups involved was left open-ended with the intention that redundancy and convergence of the data being produced would determine the extent of the interview phase. This agrees with the methodology laid down by Vaughn, et al (1996, p. 49) who stipulate that the number of groups depends on the degree of convergence and that "there should be a sufficient number of groups so that the findings tend to be repetitive and no new information is obtained". The data produced during the initial interviews was used as a factor in determining this repetition. The final number of groups interviewed was six. Of these, three were interviewed twice with each interview separated by about a month. In total 26 males and 13 females (plus pilot study respondents) with an age range of from nineteen to thirty five years were involved in the interview process.

The rep grids population

For the sake of convenience and to minimise disruption rep grids (described in section 5.4.3) were distributed immediately following the group interviews of phase II. A single respondent was nominated/asked to volunteer to ensure returns within a week (a stamped, self-addressed envelope was left for this purpose). Briefing on how to complete the grids was carried out verbally at the same time as distribution.

There was a mixed response to the rep grids with some respondents being enthusiastic and others being wary. Likewise returns varied with, for example, centre M returning 100% of its grids within a few days whilst centre L was chased for a response on a number of occasions and eventually only returning two (out of 16) completed grids.

Ultimately, return of the grids was entirely in the hands of those completing them which, after centre L, was thought to be unsatisfactory if a sufficient number of returns was to be gathered. The move to a smaller number of focus group interviews enabled the researcher to physically 'chase up' rep-grid returns and this was found to be much more effective. The final number of rep grids returned was 22 (giving a return rate of 56%), of these two were unusable due to being incorrectly filled in.

5.2.3 Difficulties in data gathering

There were two notable difficulties with all three phases. These were the reactions of some managerial outdoor staff and difficulties associated with the limited working season of the outdoor industry.

The defensive nature of some centres and managerial staff towards staffing issues was evident when telephoning to ask for permission to approach staff. One centre manager stated that to ask for information on wages and time off, on the questionnaire, was "impertinent" as this was "no-body's business but our own." Another centre manager when approached for permission to carry out a case study wrote that "the senior staff of [the organisation] are in the best position to identify the most relevant needs of staff" (Jeffrey, 1997). Interestingly a questionnaire response from the same centre (questionnaire 222) comments that the centre "seems unable to use its own talented staff to work effectively". The opposite of this issue also holds true, of course, and the great majority of centre managers were extremely helpful and went out of their way to ensure such things as questionnaire returns and the smooth running of interviews.

The difficulties associated with the working season of outdoor centres were more problematic in that this was a constant issue. Essentially, there is no good time in which to study outdoor staff. Centres are either running at full speed during the main season, working with a small core of full time staff during the quiet season, or training new members of staff in the interim. The only solution to this problem was to arrive at a compromise time (see individual phase methodologies below) and work towards minimum disruption of a centre.

5.3 THE PILOT STUDY

The aims of the pilot study were twofold.

First, it was used to identify issues of concern and interest to the study population prior to writing the main questionnaire. To a large extent this was confirming the validity of issues which had already been identified, from the literature review.

The second aim of the pilot study was to identify suitable methodologies for data gathering from an outdoor industry population. This identification was aimed not only at suitable interview techniques but also at other data gathering techniques notably appropriate question styles for the main questionnaire survey.

It was decided that the pilot responses would be used in a corroborative sense in connection with the focus group interviews (this is discussed more fully in section 5.4.2)

The pilot study was carried out during the spring of 1995. It consisted of an initial series of interviews with friends and colleagues to identify key areas of concern. These were followed by semi-structured interviews at two large Lake District outdoor centres (centre A, n=6 and centre L, n=8). At both centres a range of staff was interviewed, from volunteer summer staff to line managers.

The interviews were designed to make use of three separate techniques. First, they used direct questioning, secondly they asked for anecdotal examples (similar to Herzberg's methodology) and thirdly they used a score rating proforma. The reason for using the three techniques at this stage was to ascertain which was the most effective, if any, at gaining the information needed. The interviews were semi-structured and informal, in that opportunity was built in to deviate from the pre-planned questions and discuss other areas. It was possible to tape the interviews and transcribe them at a later date.

There were a number of differences in the two series of centre based interviews, notably that at the second centre, at their own request, the questions were given to interviewees some time in advance and the interview time was extended from thirty to forty-five minutes. At both centres interviews typically overran by at least fifty percent. There were also a number of minor changes made to the questions in response to comments made during the first set of interviews. The major change was in question eight (for the full questions see appendix 7) which had originally asked for two scores for each issue, one

for importance and one for fulfillment. This was found to be confusing, so the score for fulfillment was removed.

None of the interview styles proved totally satisfactory for a number of reasons. Notably, the anecdotal questions proved very difficult to answer as the majority of the respondents were unable to think of specific events and preferred to talk on a general theme. The score rating questions were also difficult to answer for all of the respondents, given the time constraints of the interviews.

A factor which became very apparent during the pilot phase was the time consuming nature of interviewing and the importance of arranging a fixed schedule with the centre. Originally it had been planned to spend half an hour, later extended to forty-five minutes, on each interview. In reality this became an hour or even more once the formalities and 'polite conversation' were included. Given the nature and work schedules of most outdoor centres not only was time limited for interviews but being able to gather enough staff together on a single day made large scale interviewing problematic.

A number of centres did decline to take part in the interviews for these reasons. It would also have been highly desirable, but impracticable, to have been able to arrange follow up interviews to explore themes raised by the first round.

5.3.1 Interview responses - summary

The following is a summary of the answers. A more complete transcript of the answers is given in appendix 8.

Despite a wide range of opinions there were a number of commonalties amongst the respondents. A desire for personal development was the largest expressed need. This was manifested in a number of ways, structured and formal development through training, progression through different challenges in the workplace and adequate time off to pursue personal sports being the most common.

Seeing the work as a 'lifestyle statement' was another common factor along with the importance of the work being worthwhile and valuable. The motivations for doing the job also showed a degree of variance but again there were commonalties, of which the most pronounced were the desire to share the powerful experience of the outdoors with

other people.

Common difficulties amongst the respondents were a lack of good time off; single days were generally seen as a waste of time, pay and lack of praise. The latter was strongly pronounced in some of the respondents who particularly disliked the general praise handed out at morning meetings. Half of the respondents were concerned that mainstream qualifications would be rendered invalid because teaching/business does not consider the outdoor industry as having valid status for those qualifications. The biggest desire after time off issues was for soft skills training followed by the importance of being able to run a good course without being hampered by inadequate resources and bureaucracy.

In general the overwhelming strength of feeling during the interviews was quite altruistic in that it was felt that most of the issues raised revolved around running good courses which was, in part, the initial attraction into the industry.

Aspects of the job such as low wages, long hours and poor career structure were readily identified as factors which led to low motivation. Ultimately this meant staff leaving the outdoor industry to return to more mainstream employment. What was not so readily identified from the interviews was the motivational aspects of the work which made it enjoyable and/or fulfilling.

Where staff identified motivators or aspects of the work that they particularly enjoyed these tended to be of a clichéd nature such as "I enjoy working with people/outdoors/and doing my outdoor activities." Many of these clichés were easy to break down through probe questions such as "what about when the group is difficult/ the weather is bad/when you are simply repeating activities?" The problem then arose that having broken through the web of clichéd and standard answers the underlying motivations for working in the outdoors remained to be discovered.

The main difficulty was that until the clichéd answers were challenged, and found to be short of foundation, staff who were interviewed believed them to be the all encompassing motivators. Few had ever really thought about what it really was that kept them in the industry; a fact noted with some surprise by the majority of interviewees.

5.3.2 Discussion of the pilot study

The issues

The pilot study confirmed that there are issues which are worthy of investigation in the motivation of staff in the outdoor industry. Although the two centres involved were very different in nature there was a distinct commonality of issues, most notably a strong desire to stay within outdoor education and a realistic outlook that this may not be feasible in the face of lifestyle changes. Short term issues were also similar across the board with most staff expressing concern with areas such as time off, finances and stagnation. Those issues found to have strong feelings associated with them formed a good basis for writing questions for the main phases of the research.

Positive motivation was found to be centred on working with groups, particularly in an autonomous way with centres providing efficient resources and back-up. Negative feelings, on a day to day basis, typically involved centre bureaucracy and frustration with resources and procedures. This finding lent further confirmation to the use of Herzberg's Two-Factor Theory as the grounding for the study.

An important point to emerge from the pilot study was the short term outdoor career expectations of the majority of the staff involved. This was found in spite of their desired intentions to remain in the industry. This contradiction is a strong validation of the study.

Methods

In terms of methods, the study provided a strong indication of one of the major hurdles which the research had to overcome, that of clichéd answers and the lack of real thought that went into many of the answers. To a large extent, this may reflect much of the culture within the outdoor industry which depends on quick 'soundbite' solutions and naturally gives rise to clichés. The pilot study also confirmed that large-scale interviewing would not be a practicable method of gathering data due to its time consuming nature, difficulties in arranging both initial interviews and follow-up interviews and the disruption caused to centres. This confirmation endorsed the decision to use a questionnaire as the major data gathering instrument with a smaller number of follow up interviews to develop the data gathered. It was also noted that the impression given by the staff during the pilot study was of an homogenous nature. It was decided to use a form of psychometric testing to further investigate this as it would have implications for the

general applicability of the study.

The conclusions drawn from the pilot phase of interviewing is that interviews on this topic and within the outdoor centre environment are satisfactory for exploring themes and issues. But, logistically, they are of limited use for gathering sufficient material for direct statistical analysis. It is pertinent to note that those centres which declined to have their staff interviewed would have been happy to distribute questionnaires for staff to complete in their own time. Although it is placing the onus onto outdoor staff the use of questionnaires means that they can be completed at leisure thus allowing time to be spent thinking about the issues. It was recognised, however, that an open-ended phase would be needed at a later stage to allow time for in-depth discussion.

Following the pilot study it was confirmed that the main data gathering instrument should be a mailshot subject-completed questionnaire. The main advantage of this technique was the ability to gather a large amount of data in a time-efficient way. The intention was to gather data from as many instructors falling within the subject population as practicably possible.

• The difficulties experienced, and lessons learnt, during the pilot study confirmed that the main data gathering device for the overall study should be a mailshot questionnaire.

• This would be followed by a phase of open-ended questioning to allow context and depth to be added to the quantitative data.

5.4 THE RESEARCH PHASES

5.4.1 Phase one - questionnaire

An original questionnaire, based on the results of the pilot study, was used for the study. The main reason for this was that the subject population, outdoor instructors, is not typical of the working population which mainstream motivational questionnaires are designed to examine. Notable unusual factors include the communal living conditions, long hours and the inter-mingling of work and hobbies (Birmingham, 1989). The questionnaire was designed in the knowledge that its results were going to be used as the

basis for gathering qualitative data later.

- The questionnaire format was compiled in accordance with standard texts on research, notably, Robson (1993) Oppenheim (1992) Munn and Drever (1990) Cohen and Manion (1994) and Bell (1993). Essentially this meant having a balance of closed and open questions plus giving respondents the chance to comment on closed questions and on the overall subject. The questionnaire followed a format of several distinct parts, these were colour coded to emphasis the changes. The sections were;

- 'The Past' which returned the respondent to their reasons for entering the industry
- 'The Present' which asked the respondent about their current employment
- 'The Future' which highlighted the respondents intentions
- 'Biographical Details' which built up a demographic/economic profile of the respondent.

The question topics used in the questionnaire came from a number of areas. The main source was the issues raised during the pilot study (above) These issues were confirmed by asking second and third year students (N=32) on the Jordanhill BA Degree in Outdoor Education in the Community why they wished to work in the outdoor industry. The answers given by the students were found to have a high correlation with the pilot study results. (The full answers are given in appendix 9.)

As the main theoretical grounding for the study was Herzberg's Two-Factor Theory. This dichotomy technique was replicated in the questionnaire. This consisted of asking contrasting questions, notably reasons for staying and reasons for leaving and features of good and bad days. In order, however, to avoid the critique of Herzberg's work that his techniques led to an inevitable dichotomy of intrinsic and extrinsic motivation the contrast is less explicit, with the exception of question 8 (see appendix 10) which directly asks for a comparison of good and bad days. This good and bad day question formed the basis of Herzberg's story-telling technique. However, it was found during the pilot study that most respondents were unable to recall specific good and bad days, and so the questionnaire asks for the features of hypothetical good and bad days rather than actual days.

Piloting the questionnaire

The questionnaire was initially written and distributed to a number of members of staff involved in research at the Faculty of Education for comment. It was also given to a small number of second year outdoor education students who had experience of working in the outdoor industry to see how long it took them to complete it. Following these comments, test runs and a substantial amount of rewriting the complete questionnaire was piloted at two major English Lake District outdoor centres (n = 12 and 15). Respondents were also asked to comment on the questionnaire design and content. The return rate from these centres was 42% and 53% (47.5% overall return rate) which was judged to be satisfactory. Generally the response from the pilot centre staff was that the questionnaire was both suitable and user friendly. The replies gathered from the questionnaire pilot were analysed and found to be unambiguous.

In its final form the questionnaire consisted of one hundred and twenty one closed questions, six of which had an 'other' field for additional answers and seven short open questions. The majority of the closed questions used a 5-point Likert scale allowing for a range of replies.

Timing and delivery of the questionnaires

As highlighted in section 5.2.3, timing of the questionnaire distribution was a difficult, and yet critical, choice. It is acknowledged that all centres were different but there are general commonalties which apply to the majority of the industry. The following factors influenced the choice of timing.

- It was important to have the questionnaires in place when centres were using their maximum capacity of staff in order to obtain the widest possible coverage. This precluded the winter months

- Staff needed to have been at the centre long enough to have formed an opinion. This precluded April and May when most new staff are being taken on.

- Staff needed to have both the time and energy/motivation to fill in the questionnaire. This precluded the height of the summer season, July and August when staff would be too busy or, in the case of LEA staff, taking annual leave. It also precluded the end of the season, September and October, when staff would be run down and/or in

the process of leaving.

- It was also felt to be highly desirable that staff should approach the questionnaire in a positive and balanced frame of mind. It must be remembered that the aim of the questionnaire was to examine motivation not just elicit a long list of moans and complaints. The beginning of the season, June, is generally regarded as a stable point for staff morale in most centres.

It can be seen, given the above factors, that June is the most suitable month for a questionnaire mailshot of outdoor centres. It is also recognised however that there is no such thing as a perfect time for any study and June should be regarded as a 'best fit' month.

Questionnaires were posted *en masse* to each centre with a covering letter to the centre contact thanking them for their help. Each questionnaire was sent together with a individual covering letter, stamped addressed reply envelope and details of a prize draw consisting of three token prizes donated by two outdoor shops, Nevisports and Inglesports. The questionnaires were posted on the 30th and 31st of May 1996 with a requested return date of the end of June.

Returns of the questionnaire

There were two unfortunate events which coincided with the return period for the questionnaires, both of which were connected with the Royal Mail. First, there were a number of one and two day strikes which undoubtedly delayed returns. Secondly, it was announced, after the questionnaires had been posted out, that the price of postage was to increase. This meant that for questionnaires not returned promptly the postage on the return envelopes was inadequate. It is impossible to gauge what effect this had on returns but it must be assumed that it did have at least a limited effect.

A follow up letter was sent, on the 9th of July, to 12 centres which had returned few or no questionnaires.

Returns were logged as follows;

13th of June	- 106 returns
17th of June	- 70 returns
8th of July	- 96 returns
14th of August	- 19 returns

Total returns (n) therefore = 291 (39%)

Given the return rates of other survey questionnaires within the industry (cf. Hunt, 1989) this return was considered satisfactory.

The return was spread over 76 centres from the 95 mailed, a return of 72% (for the full distribution see appendix 11) The distribution amongst the various sectors, as classified by the respondents is shown in figure 9.
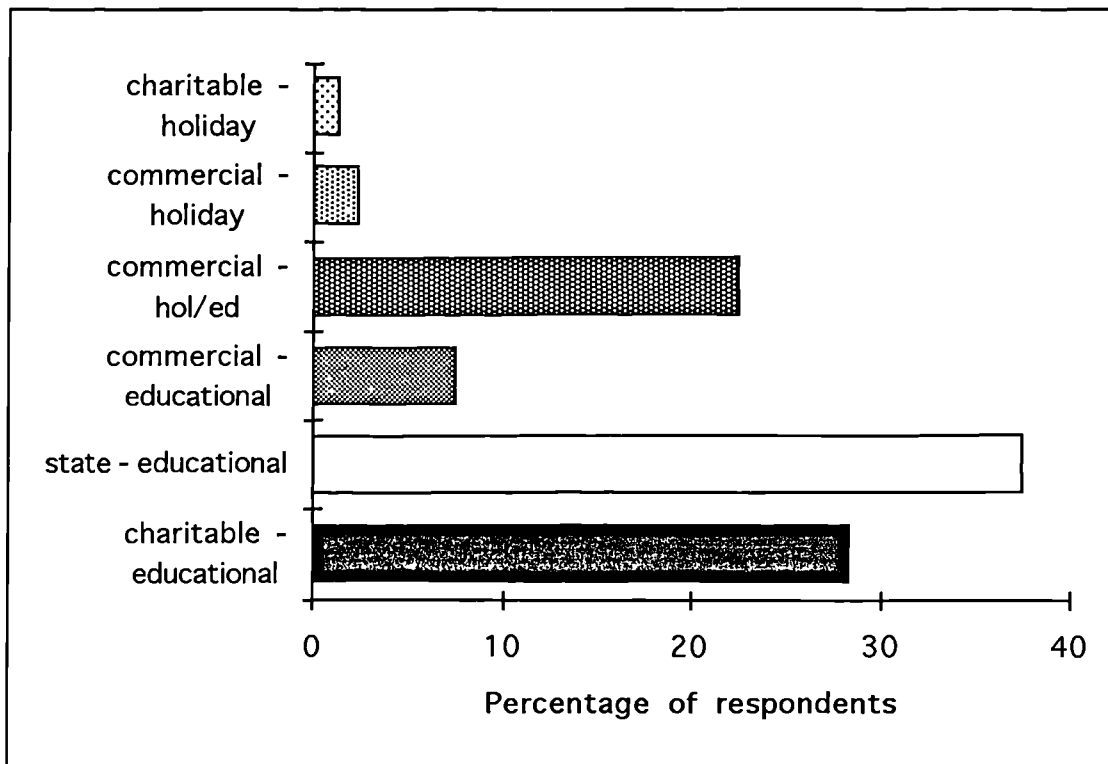
Figure 9. Questionnaire return by sector

When related to the definition of the study population (section 5.2.2) it is noticeable that state-educational centres (L.E.A. centres) represented the biggest single area of respondents at 37.5% of the total. This can, however, be offset by the number of categories into which commercial and charitable centres were split into. The charitable

sector makes up 30% of the respondents with the commercial sector making up the remaining 32.5%. The three major sectors are therefore almost equally represented in the returned questionnaires.

It is important to note that centres were placed into categories from the viewpoint of the respondents. Because of the blurred distinction between the sectors, as mentioned in the description of the outdoor industry (section 5.2.1) it was felt to be impracticable to definitely define each centre as belonging to a particular sector. In any case it is the staff's perceived view of the centre ethos which is the critical factor in motivation terms.

Analysis of the data

The questionnaire was a balancing act between providing a sufficient quantity of interpretative data and 'user friendliness'. The solution arrived at was to prepare questions that lent themselves to having the results presented in graph formats showing, typically, mean values plus notable cross-tabulations. Content analysis was utilised on open questions.

Analysis was carried out using the 'SPSS' and 'EXCEL' software on a variety of desk top Apple Macintosh computers.

A notable assumption made during the writing of the questionnaire, and in its subsequent analysis, was in the scales used for a number of questions. Typically these questions used five point ordinal scales, for example, question 1 uses a scale of

(tick one box on the scale 'extremely important' to 'extremely unimportant' for each question)

	extremely important	<------>	important	<------>	extremely un-important
a. working in the outdoors					

These questions could have been written using a five point quasi-interval scale, e.g.;

(tick one box on the scale 1 to 5, with 1 being extremely important and 5 being extremely unimportant)

	1	2	3	4	5
a. working in the outdoors					

This was felt to be unsatisfactory for two reasons. First, such a scale was felt to be too subjective and open to a wide number of interpretations, the use of ordinal scale 'prompts' made the results more consistent. Secondly, given the length of the questionnaire, it was important that the questions should appear simple to answer. For the same reason, anything more than the simplest of explanations was excluded.

For the purpose of statistical analysis, it has been assumed that the ordinal scale questions have been answered as if the scale was continuous and even, i.e. it has been treated as an interval scale. This is not unreasonable given that the ordinal scale used only specifies the higher and lower extremes plus a mid point, in this aspect it is similar to a conventional five point Likert interval scale. The assumption has been made, therefore, that respondents have treated the ordinal points on the scale as being of consistent relative importance. Standard texts on Likert scale analysis (cf. Oppenheim, 1992, pp. 195-200) also take this approach.

The scale was written with 'important' as the centre point because evidence from the pilot study (section 5.3) showed that this would be the "expected outcome" point (MacKay & Lundie, 1998, pp. 218-219). The pilot study indicated that all of the issues involved would be considered important with the variance being in how important they were. During the questionnaire data analysis this was found to be the case with only one issue being ranked as, just, less than important.

5.4.2 Phase two - focus groups interviews

Focus group interviews were carried out to both confirm and develop greater contextual understanding of the questionnaire data. This use of focus group methodology to develop quantitative data is an established technique and has a long history in market and consumer research. Focus group interviews are seen primarily as a technique for exploring personal behaviour and issues on an emotional level. The technique operates on a phenomenological basis to understand an issue or topic from the everyday knowledge and perceptions of the respondent group (Vaughn, et al, 1996, Creswell, 1998).

The group focus interview technique is held to have a number of advantages over individual, one to one, interviews (Hess, 1968, cited in Vaughn, et al, 1996, p. 14). These include;

- Synergism, where a wide base of data emerges through group interaction
- Snowballing, where one suggested ideas leads to a chain of comments
- Stimulation, where a group generates excitement about an idea
- Security, where the group provides comfort and encourages candid responses
- Spontaneity, where, because there is no need for every question to be answered, individual responses are more genuine and less forced.

Because of these advantages group interviews often generate richer and deeper data than that obtained from individual interviews.

The interviews were initially based on question eight of the questionnaire which asks for features of good and bad days. It was posited that this fulfilled two obligations of the interview phase. First, this data acted as a useful prompt for the interviews and secondly it provided a framework which replicated to some degree the Herzberg good/bad day techniques. The difference is that Herzberg used a rather more open-ended story telling technique whilst the interviews forming this study were semi-structured and based on previous data. Although a number of questions were prepared (see appendix 12) and used as prompts the interviews were allowed to flow in a semi-structured manner.

The decision to use group interviews was deliberate and, in addition to those advantages listed above, was based on two factors, one purely practical and the other more theoretical. The first, practical, factor was simply that, as had been found in the pilot study, interviewing individual members of staff was very time consuming and disrupted a centre to an unacceptable degree. Group interviews meant that the process became shorter and better contained.

The second reason for the group technique was that it was felt, that as instructors work in a group environment, and are used to the review/discussion process, group interviews would be a more comfortable and stimulating process. The technique employed was based on the focus group principle. The main feature of this technique is that it should; "encourage and utilise group interactions" (Wilson and McFall, 1995, p. 158). This stipulates that the researcher should set the scene and withdraw to allow the group an unrestrained rein to discuss the topic. As far as possible this was how the group interviews were conducted, this was successful to a varying extent usually depending on the age of the staff involved. With younger groups there was typically a greater need for prompting and, sometimes, challenging of answers.

The interviews were piloted on a mixed sex group of Jordanhill students, all of whom had worked in outdoor centres. It was found that the technique was very successful with this group.

Development of the interviews

The issues associated with the timing of the questionnaire phase were replicated with the interview phase. It was decided to carry out interviews in May as this was the time suggested by centres as being least disruptive. A week or so prior to the interviews being carried out six copies of the results from questionnaire question eight, features of good and bad days, together with a covering letter (see appendix 13) were sent to the centre in question for dissemination to the staff involved. This was done in reply to a direct request from the centres involved that the staff should have information on the topics to be discussed. It can be argued that the giving out of questionnaire data would act as an influence on the focus group members but, of course, their reaction could be either negative or positive. Given this, it was felt that the advantages of having prepared respondents out-weighed any possible philosophical disadvantages. A single copy of the interim results handout was also sent for the information of the centre manager (see appendix 14).

These initial interviews were regarded, by the researcher, as less than wholly satisfactory for two reasons. First, and surprisingly, the availability of suitable recording equipment was an initial major source of irritation. The major problem was the incompatibility of tape sizes on the various machines used within the university and the quality of the university equipment used. As a result of these problems it was not possible for full transcripts of the initial group interviews to be prepared. The text used for analysis was written up by the researcher from notes made during the interviews and the partial tapes available (see appendices 21.1 - .3 for significant statements taken from these interviews). In subsequent interview sessions this difficulty was resolved by the researcher purchasing the equipment needed outright.

Secondly, it was noted that some staff, notably younger staff, were prone to clichéd rather than considered answers. Although this was overcome to a large extent by debate with others from within the group the end result was that the initial interviews lacked as much depth as might be hoped. A good example of this is from centre 'M' where a young member of staff had said that one of the reasons the work remained interesting was that

every group is different, an often heard clichéd answer. This was challenged by other members of the group and he admitted that he had never thought about it. On reflection, he thought all the groups were very similar and in reality he varied his working style with each group to relieve boredom.

Given the difficulties with the initial interviews it was decided that, although the data produced was usable and valid, it needed to be improved upon in subsequent interviews. This improvement, both in the quality and quantity of the data, was implemented by a development in the interview methodology.

The major change made in the interview delivery was a move away from a large number of single-session interviews to a smaller number of multiple-session interviews. In this way themes and concepts developed during interviews could be explored in greater depth over an increased period of time. The major, practical, effect of this change was on the focus group population (as discussed in section 5.2.2).

As part of the development in the delivery of the interviews it was also decided to develop and tighten the interview technique. This consisted primarily of rewriting the questions used in the initial interviews (appendix 12) and writing a more detailed 'moderator's guide' (Vaughn et al, 1996). Much of this rewriting was based on the lessons learnt from the initial interviews. The role of the moderator's guide (appendix 15), which includes the interview schedule, was to give structure to the interviews and to ensure that they achieved their desired objectives. The first part of the moderator's guide affirmed the objectives of the interviews. First, they confirmed the data gathered through the questionnaire and, secondly, they developed this data in terms of depth and context.

Analysis of the interviews

Initially the NUD.IST (Non-numerical Unstructured Data Indexing Searching and Theorising) computer package was examined as an analysis technique for the interview data. The main advantages of using this package are that it provides a thorough and effective way of exploring extremely large amounts of text, such as in interview transcriptions. The text can then be broken down into defined categories and indexed allowing comparisons and analysis to be made. It was decided however for two principal reasons, one practical and one philosophical, not to use a computer analysis tool. The practical reason was that it was found that the process of learning how to use and analyse NUD.IST data was unjustifiably time-consuming given the relatively small amount of

interview text that needed analysis.

Philosophically, it was decided that, given the large amount of statistics produced by the first (questionnaire) phase of the study, that a contrasting traditional 'cut and paste' technique would give a good overall contextual grasp of the data produced. As noted by Creswell (1994) the use of computer programs such as NUD.IST can mean that a sense of the whole is not obtained from the data. The interviews were, therefore, subjected to phenomenological type analysis using the technique of clustering relevant data units (Hycner, 1985, Moustakas, 1994). The essence of this technique is that the interview text is read in detail and then delineated into manageable units of data relevant to the research question, these units are then collected, or clustered, into common themes. The phenomenological tradition emphasises the examination of a phenomenon, e.g. work, from the viewpoint of the respondent. Given this it can be seen as a highly appropriate technique for the analysis of a semi-structured qualitative technique such as focus group interviews.

Analysis of the data produced by the interviews was carried out in a number of steps. First, the interviews were transcribed verbatim (this work was carried out by a secretarial agency). Interview respondents were not identified other than by sex. The following steps were then followed.

1. The transcripts were read exhaustively and compared with the original tapes. This was done both in order to eliminate errors and to get a good grasp of the overall context of the data.

2. Significant statements related to the study were extracted using an iterative procedure. Iteration was utilised to reduce subjectivity to a minimum possible level. Although some phenomenologists stipulate that data should be subject to horizonalisation (Creswell, 1998) in other words treated as being of equal value, this was not done in this case. The reason for this omission is that it was felt important to reflect strongly held views, exemplified by a large number of people making the same comment, as opposed to mildly held ones.

3. The **significant statements** were then clustered and discussed to provide structure for stage 4. Some of these groups were as a direct result of questions raised during the interviews. Others were more indirect.

4. These clusters of significant statements were then interpreted by the researcher in order to give **formulated meanings**. In this step, commonly held views from across the focus groups were collated to highlight the central issues, or theme.

5. These formulated meanings were then summarised to produce **definitive statements** for the essence of each particular theme.

From the significant statements extracted from the focus group interviews a number of groupings, or themes, were highlighted (step 3 above). Some of these themes, such as activities, good and bad days and gender issues, came about as a direct result of questions set to the group. Others such as future intentions, lifestyle and comparisons with LEA centres, although prompted, were led more by the groups themselves. Although each group had its own identity which reflected its membership there was a high degree of commonality in the answers. An example of the individual identities would be that most of the students at one college were on an environmentally oriented teaching degree and therefore based many of their answers on issues in that context. The extracted significant statements were those which were common to a majority of the focus groups. In no case were significant statements contradicted by another group. Convergence of data and interview redundancy was, therefore, quickly established by the commonality of answers being given.

5.4.3 Phase three - personal constructs

A second method used to build on the data gathered through the questionnaire was repertory grids (rep grids). This technique is based on, but not exclusive to, Personal Construct Theory (PCT) (see below) first developed by George Kelly (1955). Using *rep* grids it was possible to examine how outdoor staff view not only the world of work but also what values and beliefs they attach to certain occupations. As part of the grid response these work paradigms were also compared to how the outdoor staff viewed their present self and ideal self (see below). By gauging how staff viewed occupational values and beliefs and also whether those values were positive or negative it was possible to build a picture of the belief/value systems of the respondents.

The rep grid technique was used rather than a more commonly known method of personality assessment such as Eysenck's Personality test because with rep grids the emphasis is on having no pre-conceived concepts into which results are fitted such as the

Eysenck extrovert-introvert scale. This reflects the original development of rep grids which were designed as a method for exploring the way an individual perceives, or constructs, personal paradigms. It can be seen that this technique has a lot in common with the phenomenological tradition used in the group interviews.

Personal Construct Theory

Personal Construct Theory (PCT) has undergone a upturn in popularity in recent years. Neimeyer (1990, p. 12), at al. for example, cite 1,678 publications on the application of PCT, a 100% increase over the previous decade. To a large extent this reflects the advent of computerised rep grid analysis which has bought the technique into wider, less specialised, use.

PCT assumes that people typically use personal constructs to evaluate their own actions and those of other people. The central essence of Personal Construct Theory, therefore, is that people's personal constructs form the basis for, and represent how, they view their own conceived reality. Put in more lay-person terms this simply means that whilst an individual exists in the 'real' world he or she constructs their own version of it as reality (Dalton and Dunnett, 1992). This study is concerned with how outdoor staff perceive their own reality in terms of employment and employment motivation, their work paradigm, and so this makes the theory eminently apposite. Kelly referred to this individual construction of reality as "constructive alternativism" (Dalton and Dunnett, op cit., p. 6). He went on to say that the key to understanding these constructs is that they are essentially bi-polar in nature. An example of this would be a mother using a "happy-sad" construct to interpret children's behaviour (Adams-Webber, 1990, p. 49). It is this bi-polarity that is utilised in the rep grids used in this study.

An essential facet of PCT is that it is cognitive in that reflexivity is employed by the individual to test existing constructs, and from that testing to build new constructs. This process implies that people are constantly struggling to make sense of their own reality, because of this experimentation Kelly invoked the concept of "man the scientist" (Dalton and Dunnett, op cit., p. 8). From this construction of reality and the anticipation of the associated constructs an individual's motivations and processes are channelled in a particular direction. This channelling through anticipation is known within PCT as the fundamental postulate and is the basis of the entire theory. Building on this fundamental postulate Kelly built eleven corollaries (see appendix 24) of which the major one, as far as this study is concerned, is the bi-polar nature of constructs already mentioned.

Rep grid construction

A standard rep grid was used with elements provided by the researcher and constructs provided by the respondents. The elements used were designed to elicit constructs with regard to how work in the outdoor industry is perceived by staff. There were ten elements (as shown along the top line in figure 10) and rows for ten constructs. The elements were chosen to provide a mix of, readily recognisable, professional, vocational, manual and skilled jobs. In addition the jobs chosen involved a variety of working hours, working conditions, salary and public esteem. The self and ideal self elements were used to elicit comparisons between staff's ideals and realities with regard to their present employment and ideal employment. These two elements also give a good indication of the respondents' values when related to what they perceive to be the values of other employment groups.

Respondents were asked to compare three randomly-generated elements and state how two were similar in a way which was different from the third. For example, in the rep grid line below (figure 10) a respondent has decided that the construct that a teacher and a policeman have in common which contrasts with a lawyer (the three selected elements) is that a teacher and policeman help others whilst the lawyer makes money. One possible conclusion that could be drawn from this construct is that the respondent sees helping others as incompatible with highly-paid employment. It can also be concluded that because the construct chosen is about making money that this is one way in which the respondent compares different jobs, in other words financial reward is a component of the respondents employment paradigm.
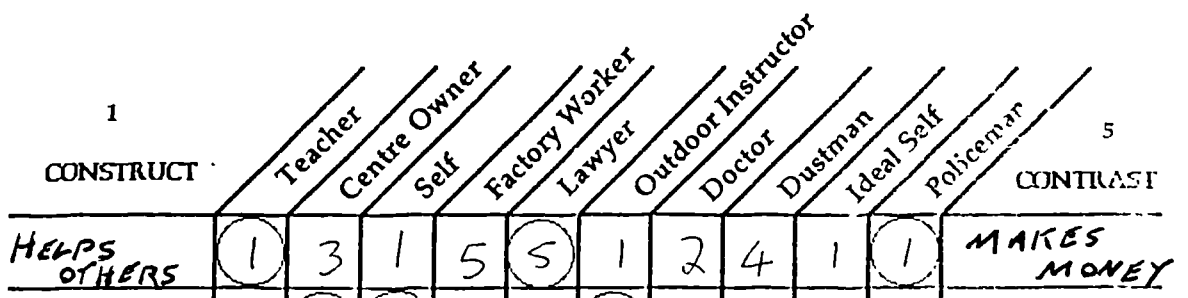
Figure 10. An example of a completed rep grid line

Obviously, drawing conclusions in this manner has to be done carefully. For example, if someone was asked to describe a London bus and they replied that it was red this would not necessarily imply that the person perceived the world about them in terms of its colour. Red just happens to be the obvious description of a London bus and this construct would therefore be regarded as redundant.

By examining how the self and ideal-self elements have been ranked it is possible to see if the construct and contrast; 'helping others' and 'making money' are perceived as positive or negative components of the respondents' employment paradigm. In this example the respondent has placed him/her self at the construct end of the scale although interestingly the centre manager occupation has been perceived as being as much interested in making money than helping others. It could be concluded, therefore, that the respondent sees 'helping others' as a much more positive component of employment than making money and moreover he or she is, to some extent, suspicious of the motives of centre owners.

This provides the bi-polar construct, as conceived by Kelly, against which the remaining elements are/were graded on a scale of 1 to 5 for fit against that construct. This method of triadic elicitation of data is thought (Bell, 1990) to produce more variety in constructs and greater inter-relatedness of their dichotomous poles. This in turns leads to an effective method of examining self-other discrepancies; in the case of this study, relating the work of an outdoor instructor to other occupations.

Analysis of the rep grids

Although there are a number of computer-generated analysis programmes for rep grid analysis it was decided to replicate the phenomenological cluster technique used for analysing the interviews. This decision reflects not only the common, qualitative, philosophy of phases I and II but also the relatively small numbers of rep grids involved. The limited numbers would, of course, have made meaningful statistical analysis invalid in any case. Given the importance of commonality outlined above there is an emphasis in the analysis on common themes and those constructs which were used by a greater number of respondents rather than on individual constructs.

The rep grid results were, therefore, plotted onto one large table (appendix 22) After unusable or redundant constructs (see above) had been removed the 20 usable grids produced a total of 149 constructs of which 79 were distinct variations. These constructs

were then grouped, by iterative means, into 9 clusters or themes. By examining both the number of constructs in the clusters and the ranking of the elements within the individual constructs it was possible to extract areas of commonality. These themes were then discussed in much the same way as the 'significant statements' in the focus group interviews. The main difficulty in clustering the constructs was in areas where there was a degree of overlap among the categories. An example of this would be a construct such as 'enjoys work in unpredictable setting' with the contrast of 'enjoys timetable structure'. This construct could feasibly have been categorised as 'job content/nature of job' or as 'freedom/autonomy'. The solution arrived at involved semantic interpretation where, in this example, to be categorised as 'freedom' a word related to freedom would need to have been used. The word 'timetable' which is used can however be seen to have a direct relationship to the 'job content' category. Through this use of semantic interpretation subjective interpretation has been kept to a minimum.

Both the semantic and iterative techniques of clustering rep grid information are based strongly on the work of Christie (1995) and Christie and Menmuir (1997). Christie acknowledges, however, that there is a "dilemma between the commonality which can be revealed in the statistical analysis of group grid data and the essential individuality of personal construct systems" (Caporaal, 1991, cited in Christie, 1995, p. 3). This dilemma reflects the theoretical notion which underpins personal construct theory that people's constructs are essentially individual in nature. Analysis of the data produced from rep grids *en masse* is, therefore, a move away from the essence of Kelly's original theory. As already highlighted, what this study does, however, is to look for commonalties amongst the individual constructs of the various respondents and as such can be seen to relate to the original theory.

The results of the three phases outlined above are presented in the next part of the thesis, beginning with the results of the questionnaire.

6. RESULTS - PHASE 1 (QUESTIONNAIRE)

6.1 BACKGROUND DATA

The questionnaire provided a large amount of background data which yielded important clues, and questions, relevant to staff motivation. Firstly, in order to appreciate the motivation of outdoor staff it was important to know what they were doing directly before entry into the industry and what their intentions were at that time. This provides a starting point for examining the possible reasons why people are attracted to the industry.

6.1.1 Career stage at time of entry

In reply to question 4a, which asks for the respondent's occupation before entering the outdoor industry, figure 11 shows the career stage (by percentage) at which people entered the outdoor industry. This reveals that almost 46% entered the industry from a profession different to outdoor education. In other words, a very large proportion of people move into outdoor education as a career change choice. Within this group a wide variety of different jobs (47) are carried out by respondents before the move into the outdoor industry. These range from engineering to bar work to accountancy to factory work. One interpretation of this would be that the skills required of an outdoor educationist are so simple that people from disparate backgrounds can enter the industry with relative ease. A more likely interpretation, however, might be that people from different backgrounds see outdoor education as so different from their current occupation that - whatever the skills and experience required - it is a very desirable occupation to move into. (Both of these interpretations are examined further in section 9.2.1.)

Figure 11 also shows the number of people who entered outdoor education directly from some kind of college course (related or unrelated to outdoor education). The respondents in this group cited a total of 65 different courses of which 76% were at degree or post-graduate level. An interesting feature is that overall, 25% of respondents

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enter the industry from an outdoor education related course (18.3% at degree level and 6 7% from other courses, notably HNDs) (see appendix 16 for full list of courses).
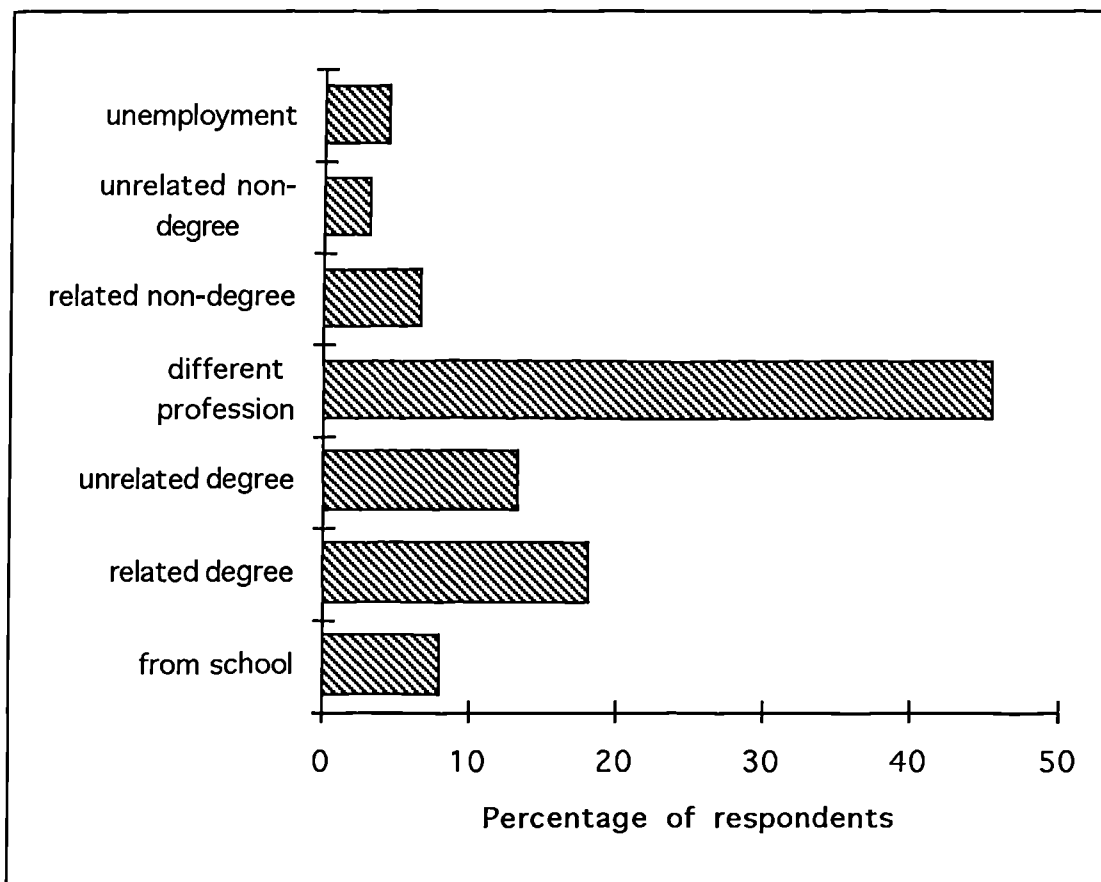
Figure 11. Career stage at/from which people entered the outdoor industry (n = 291)

There are three notable groupings within the 46% of people from different professions (see Table i). The largest of these (n = 69) listed teaching with a smaller group of 11 who were ex-military. A more diverse group (n = 23) indicated they had come from craft and related trades. It is notable that amongst the additional reasons given for working in the outdoors, seven respondents noted that it was preferable to teaching in a school environment while 10 cited the educational benefits of the outdoors as opposed to classroom teaching. This data suggests that a large group of people who enter outdoor education do so from a related profession, e.g., mainstream education.

Managerial/administration	4
Professional (inc. teaching)	69
Technical	2
Clerical	2
Craft and related trades	23
Personal service	3
Sales/financial sales	8
Military	11
Other	10

Table i. Number of respondents who entered outdoor education
from other occupations
(see appendix 17 for full list of occupations)

6.1.2 Career intentions at time of entry

Question 5 asks for the intentions of the respondent at the time of their entry into the outdoor industry. People may enter the industry on short-term contracts but it is suggested that their *intentions* would remain unaffected by this. This is particlarly so given that the short-term contract is the normal entry route into the industry. The three categories in the question are shown in figure 12; those people who had no long term intentions either within or without outdoor education; those who viewed outdoor education simply as a temporary occupation; those who moved into outdoor education as a full time, long term career.

Almost 54% of respondents entered the industry with the intention of making it a permanent career. 28% of respondents entered outdoor work with no firm intention while almost 20% see it as a purely temporary occupation. These figures suggest a high level of staff who are possibly not committed to outdoor education on a long term basis.
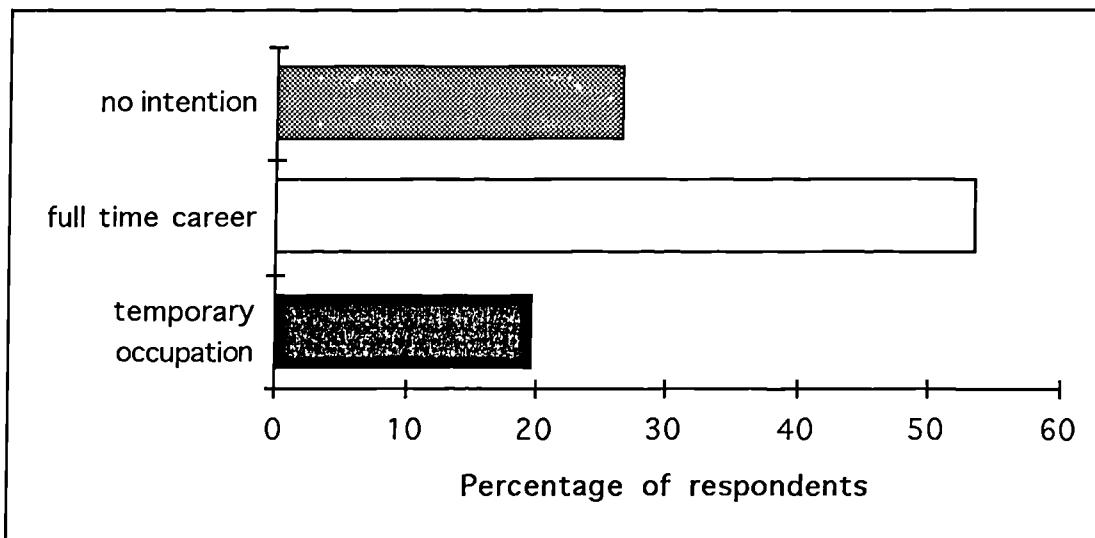
Figure 12. Career intention at the time of entry into the industry
(n = 291)

When career intentions are cross-tabulated against entry origin (table ii) it can be seen that the strongest correlation, 68.4%, was for those coming from a related non-degree and intending to follow a career in the outdoor industry. This can, possibly, be taken as indicative of the vocational nature of work in the outdoors which reflects well on courses at HND, HNC or similar level.

START	TEMPORARY%	CAREER%	NO INTENT%
from school	39.1	52.2	8.7
related degree	21.2	55.8	23
unrelated degree	34.2	36.8	28.9
different profession	14.7	56.5	28.7
related non-degree	15.7	68.4	15.7
unrelated non-degree	11.1	44.4	44.4
unemployment	0	53.8	46.2
overall % of total	19.8	53.7	26.5

Table ii. Cross tabulation of career intentions with entry origin
(n = 291)

When comparing the figures in table ii using a T-test (an appropriate and powerful test in this case, Clegg, 1990) it is notable that there are three significant groupings (p < 0.05), as shown in table iii, where career intentions can be seen to relate to entry origin.

CAREER INTENTION	ENTRY INTO INDUSTRY FROM;
Full time career	related degree/non-degree
	different profession
Temporary occupation	school
	unrelated degree
No career intention	unrelated non-degree
	unemployment

Table iii. Career intentions as a function of entry origin
(n = 291)

Cross tabulation of career intention against gender (Table iv) shows that women within outdoor education are probably less career-minded than men with a significantly higher (p < 0.05) inclination to view the job as temporary.

GENDER	TEMPORARY	CAREER	NO INTENT
male	15.5%	58%	26.5%
female	29.5%	43.2%	27.2%
overall % of total	19.8%	53 5%	26.7%

Table iv. Career intention as a function of gender
(n = 291)

6.1.3 Length of employment

This section examines the relationship between the length of current employment and a number of relevant factors including age, gender and employment sector.

Figure 13 shows that, across the industry as a whole, some 35% of respondents have been employed at their present centre for a year or less. Moreover, a total of 69% have been employed for five years or less.

81% of staff in the non-state sectors have worked in their present centre for five years or less. In the commercial sector the figure is higher still at 93%. Differences between the state and commercial sectors are highlighted in Figure 14. Specifically, the quartile distribution clearly shows that state sector employees not only spend longer in one centre (State mean = 7.6 years; Non state mean = 3.7 years) but the length of stay is also more widely variable in the state sector (State sd. = 7.0; Non state sd = 4.3).
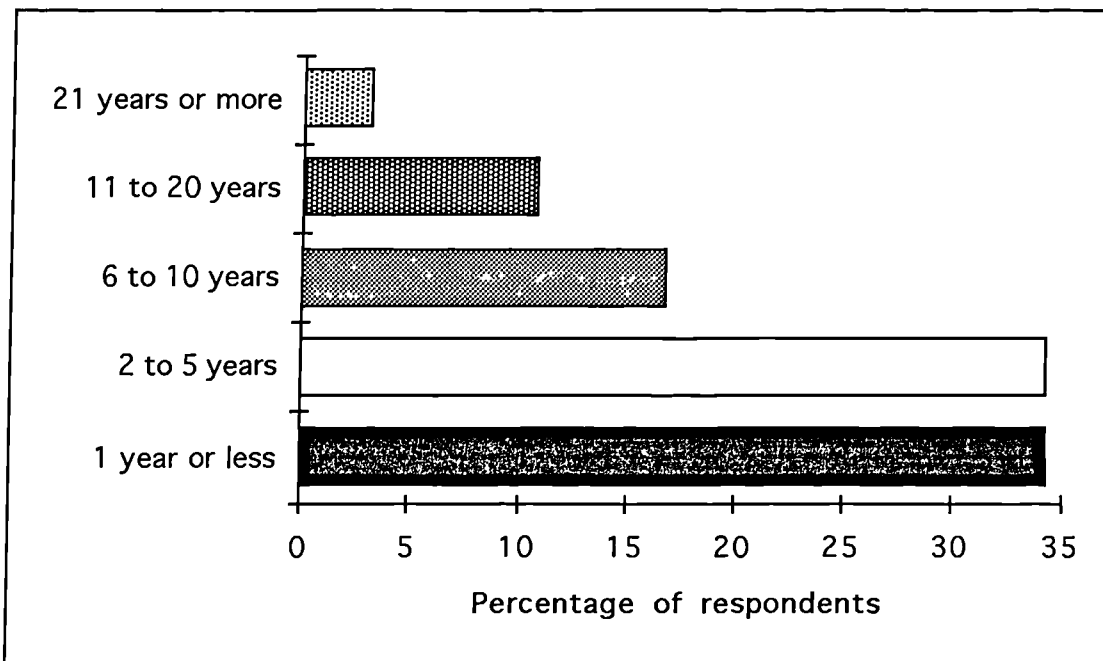
Figure 13; Years employed in present centre
(n = 291)
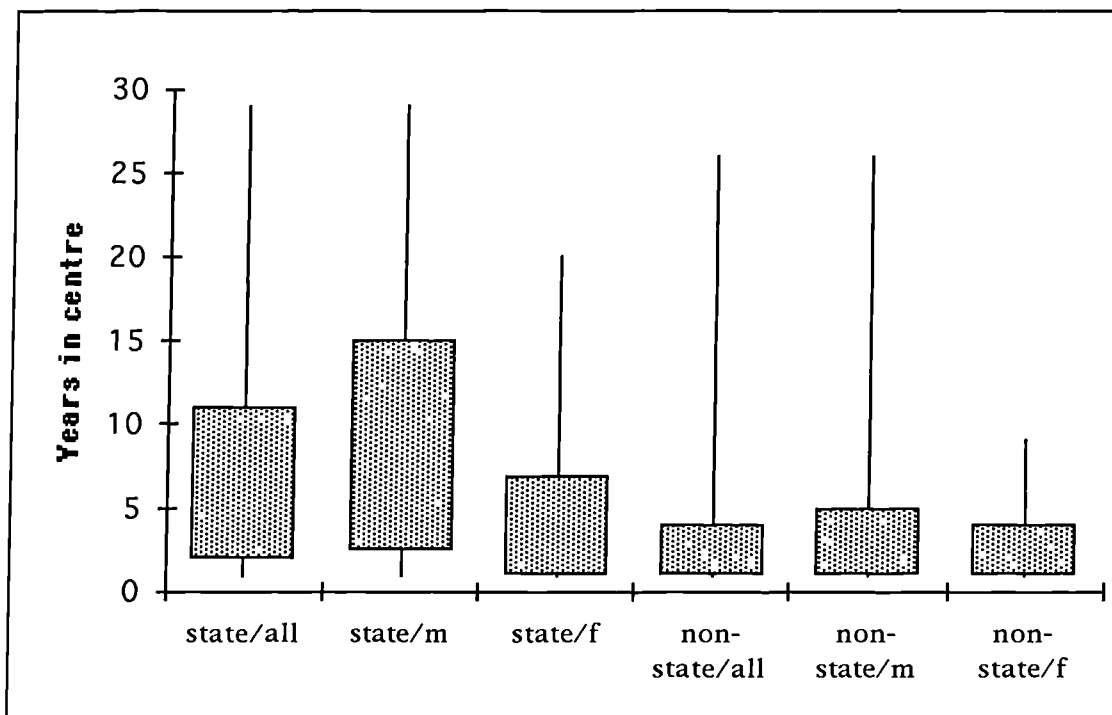
Figure 14; Quartile distribution of time worked in centre.
(blocked area = inter-quartile range, m = male, f = female)
(n = 291)

Taken together, this evidence confirms the high turnover rate in the outdoor industry outlined before in section 6.1.2. Differences also exist with regard to gender and

employment sector. Men, in the non-state sector, tend to stay longer (mean 4.1 years) than women (mean 2.7 years), with the variability in time of employment also being less with women (sd. = 4.7 years) than men (sd. = 7.4 years). Perhaps the most notable feature of employment length, therefore, is not just the short career stability of the non-state sector but the extremely short length of stay of women in this sector.

6.1.4 Age

A feature of the length of employment and patterns of work stability is the age of staff employed. This is shown in Figures 15 and 16.
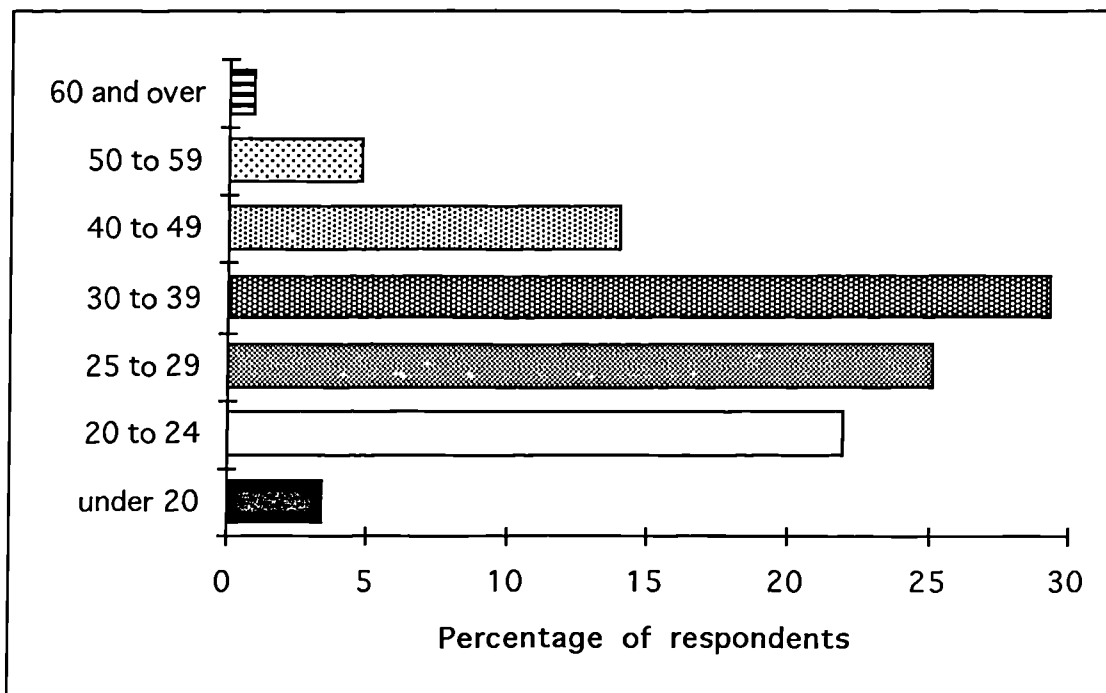
Figure 15; Age of respondents
(n = 291)

Figure 15 shows that almost 51% of all respondents are below the age of 30 years, although the largest number fall into the 30 - 39 year old category. Figure 16 shows that, as would be expected from section 6.1.3, state sector employees are generally older than non-state employees (mean ages of 36.9 years and 29 years).
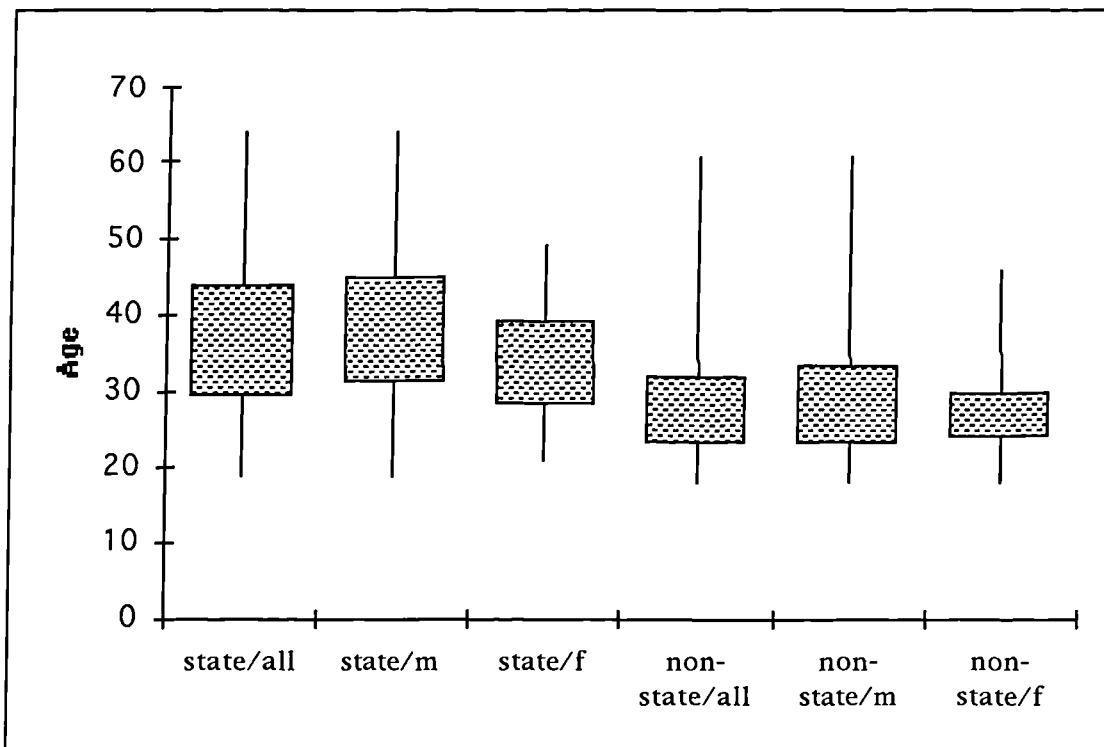
Figure 16. Quartile distribution of age
(blocked area = inter-quartile range)
(n = 291)

As shown in table v the same is true for males in both sectors, where men are older on average than women.

	STATE	NON - STATE
Men	38.6	29.5
Women	33.4	27.8

Table v. Age of men and women in State and Non - State sectors
(n = 291)

6.1.5 Contracts

Question 13 asks respondents to describe the contracted basis on which they are employed at their present centre. Figure 17 suggests, from the results to this question, that the emphasis is still essentially short-term. Thus, overall, 23% of respondents described themselves as being employed on seasonal contracts with a further 22% being on contracts of 5 years or less. Only 32% claim to be on permanent contracts. The commercial sector is most noticeable for short-term employment with 53% of the

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respondents being seasonal and a further 25% contracted for five years or less. Only 12 5% were employed on a permanent contract basis.
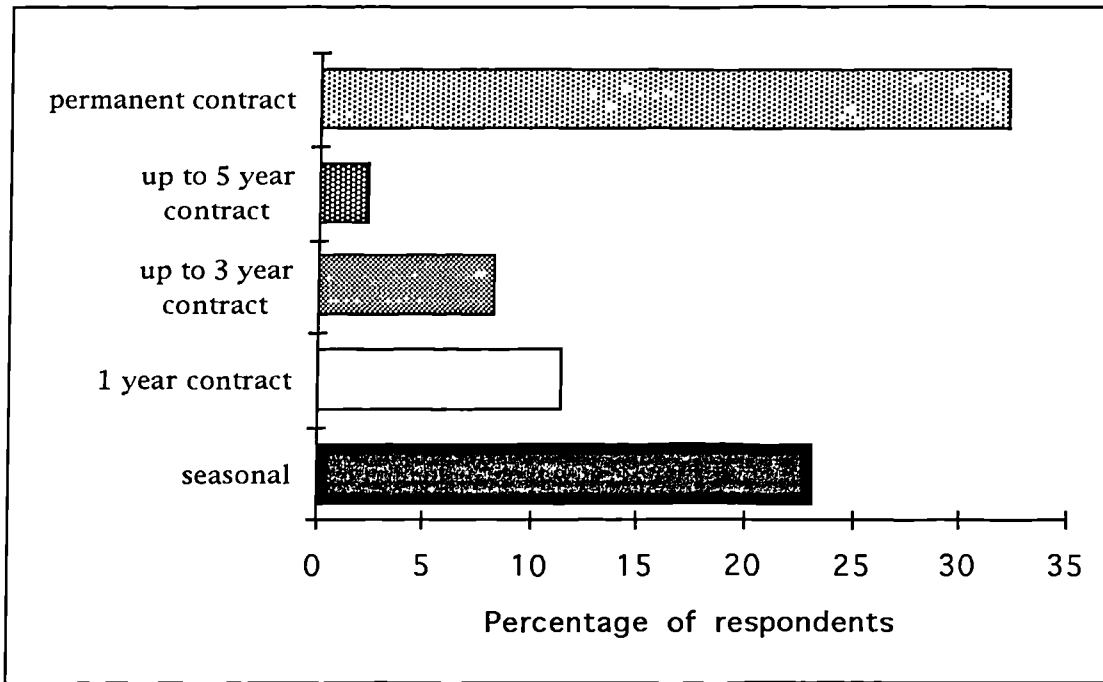
Figure 17. Length of contract
(n = 291)

6.1.6 Projected length of employment in centre

The low lengths of employment in the industry are reflected in staff expectations of the length of stay in their present centre, shown in figure 18. This shows the number of years that respondents expect to remain in their present centre.

A high proportion (74%) of respondents expect to move away from their present employment in under five years. This figure increases to 80% for the non state sectors. Again, these numbers are reflected in the seasonal nature of outdoor work to some extent. Many respondents who gave a reason for moving said it was because their contract/season was coming to an end. These figures agree, however, with anecdotal/literary and pilot interview evidence which indicates that five years, centre in the commercial and charitable sectors, would be considered a long time to remain in one centre. The figures for the state sector are, however, broadly similar with some 64% of

respondents saying they expected to move within five years. In many cases this was due to expected centre closure.
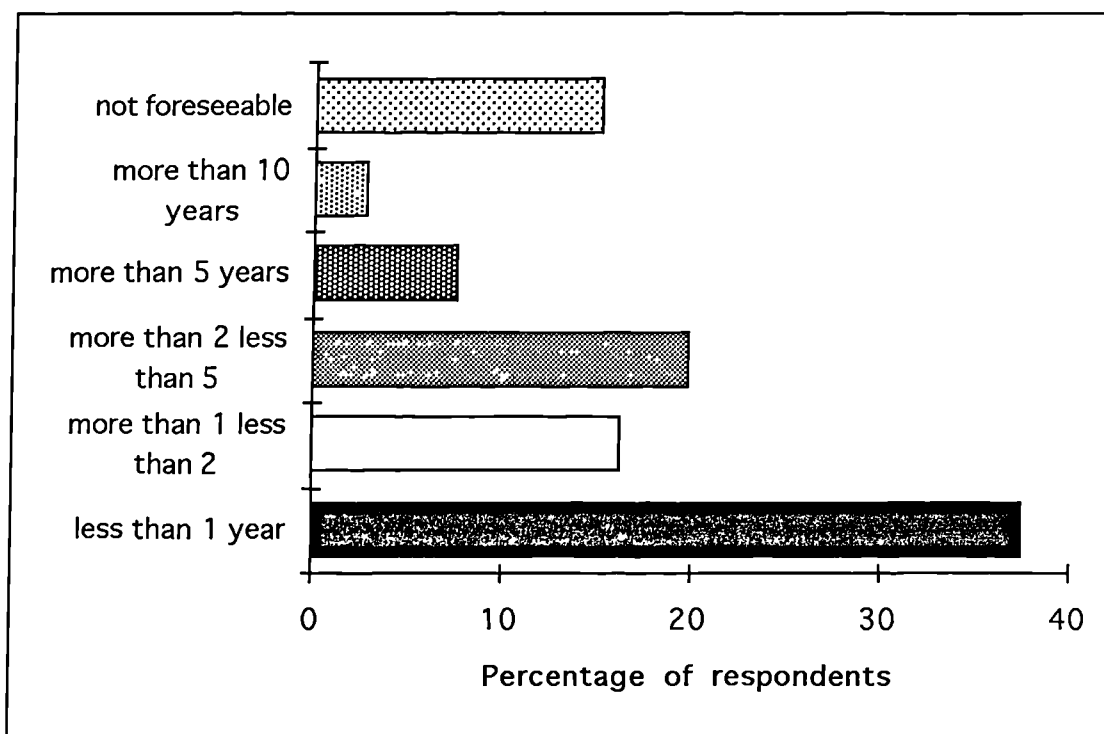
Figure 18. Expected time before leaving present centre
(n = 291)

6.1.7 Gender

The overall gender mix of the respondents was 69.7% male to 30.3% female.

Figure 19 shows clear differences in the gender ratio dependent on position. For example, trainee staff consisted of nearly ninety percent male staff while by the time the three year contract position is reached the gender mix is more balanced with fifty five percent being male. The most notable aspect of the figure is, however, the sharp drop in women in the more senior positions thereafter. This pattern is in keeping with the imbalance of male to female staff found throughout the outdoor industry as already highlighted. The mix did not vary to any significant degree amongst the centre types.
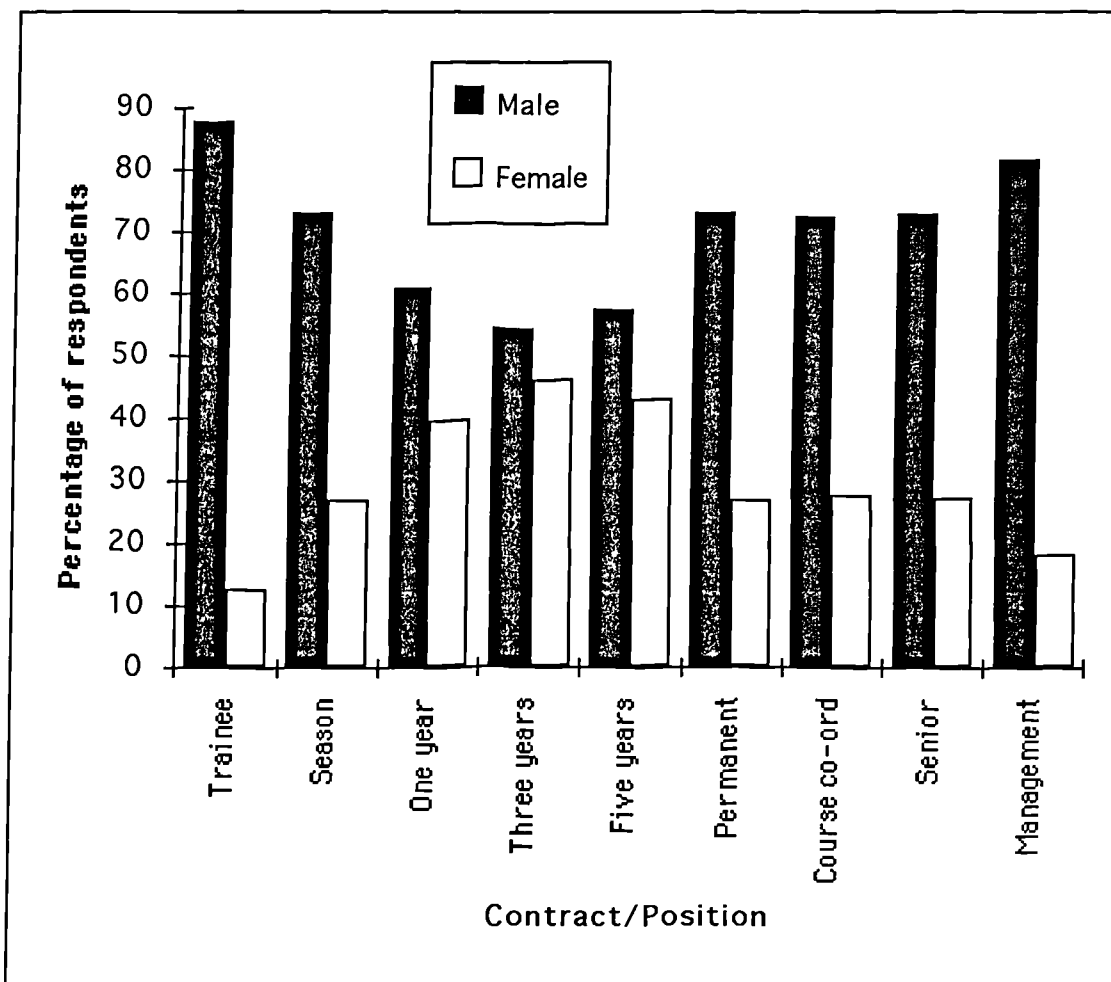
Figure 19.   Contracts/position as a function of gender
(n = 291)

6.1.8 Salaries

Salaries are difficult to compare across the industry because of the variety of accommodation costs incurred by staff. For the survey, staff were asked to classify themselves as living out and paying all their own accommodation and other costs, or living in and having these needs met as part of their remuneration. The highest proportion of staff living in was found in the commercial sector with 74.6% of staff living in. In the state sector this had dropped to just 22.5% of staff living in. Wages were also widely spread with 65.7% of state sector staff earning more than £200 a week living out and 46.1% earning more than £300, the top limit of the survey.

For the non-state sectors overall 50.6% of staff were earning less than £150 a week and were living in. 39.7% were earning less than £100, and 16.1% earning less than £50 a

week and living in. The commercial sector was the least well paid with 50.7% earning less than £100 a week living in, and 25.4% earning less than £50 a week.

6.1.9 Summary of background data

From the background data presented so far, it is possible to build a broad based picture of a 'typical' outdoor instructor working in the non-state sector. Firstly 'he' will most likely be male and well educated, either entering the outdoors from a different profession or college course. On entry, he may be intending to treat it as a career but possibly will not have made a firm decision. In his mid twenties this 'typical instructor' will probably be living in and earning between £50 and £150 a week. He will be on a short-term contract, possibly seasonal, and not be expecting to stay in his present centre for more than a couple of years.

This composite picture contrasts with staff in the state sector who are likely to be somewhat older with a greater likelihood of being married and living out. This stability may go some way to explaining the different career patterns between the state and non-state sectors. It would appear, however, that with changes in this sector (see Current Issues, Chapter 1) that contracts are becoming just as volatile for state employees as they are in the non-state sector.

This profile raises two notable issues, firstly the imbalance of gender and secondly the short career expectations of staff. In order to address these issues it is necessary to look first at what are the attractions of working in the outdoor industry.

6.2 ATTRACTION OF THE OUTDOOR INDUSTRY

It seems reasonable to assume that staff bring with them a degree of motivation for wanting to be outdoor instructors (cf. section 3.1.6), but what is the nature of that motivation? This question relates to the 'choice' element in the motivation construct outlined in section 4.2.1.

6.2.1 Initial attraction

There are a variety of reasons why respondents were attracted to working in the outdoor industry. Question one, in the questionnaire, asked how important were the attractions, outlined in Figure 20.

a = 'working in the outdoors'   b = ' being able to do your hobby as a job'
c = 'working with people'   d = 'being part of an alternative educational system'
e = 'a belief in the power of the outdoors to change people'
f = 'working with like minded staff'
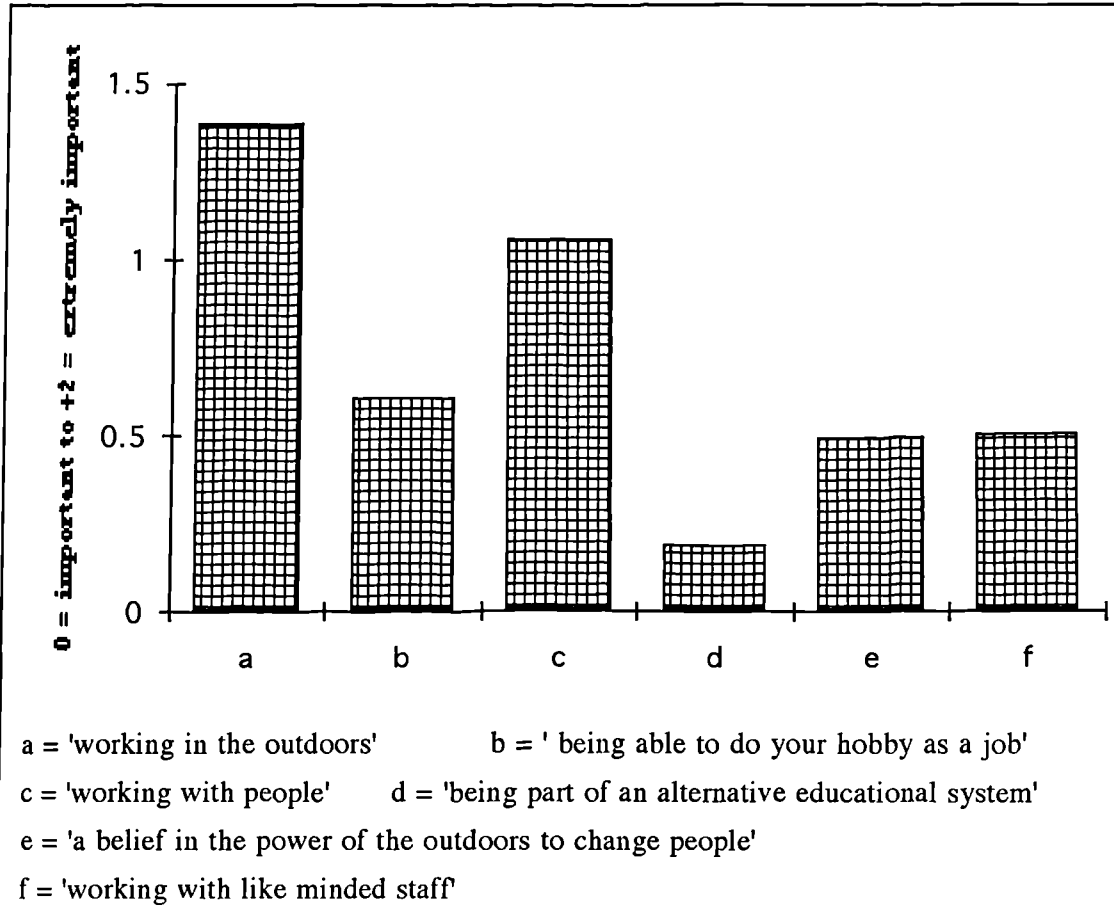
Figure 20. Initial attraction of working in the outdoor industry
(n = 291)

There was no significant difference in initial attraction (p > 0.1) between the state and non-state sectors. This would imply that, no matter what sector people choose to work in, the initial reasons for wanting to work in the outdoor industry are similar. It can be seen that the initial attraction of working in the outdoor industry (mean result of +1.384) is heavily biased towards working in the outdoor environment. Working with people is the second attraction (+1.059) while the least important attraction is being part of an alternative educational system (+0.19) This data would suggest that the most important factors for new staff are environmental and inter-personal.

6.2.2 Change in attraction

Almost inevitably the importance of the initial attractions will be modified as a result of the experience of working. Figure 21 shows the changes in the initial attractions relative to their first importance (figure 20).

a = 'working in the outdoors'   b = ' being able to do your hobby as a job'

c = 'working with people'   d = 'being part of an alternative educational system'

e = 'a belief in the power of the outdoors to change people'

f = 'working with like minded staff'
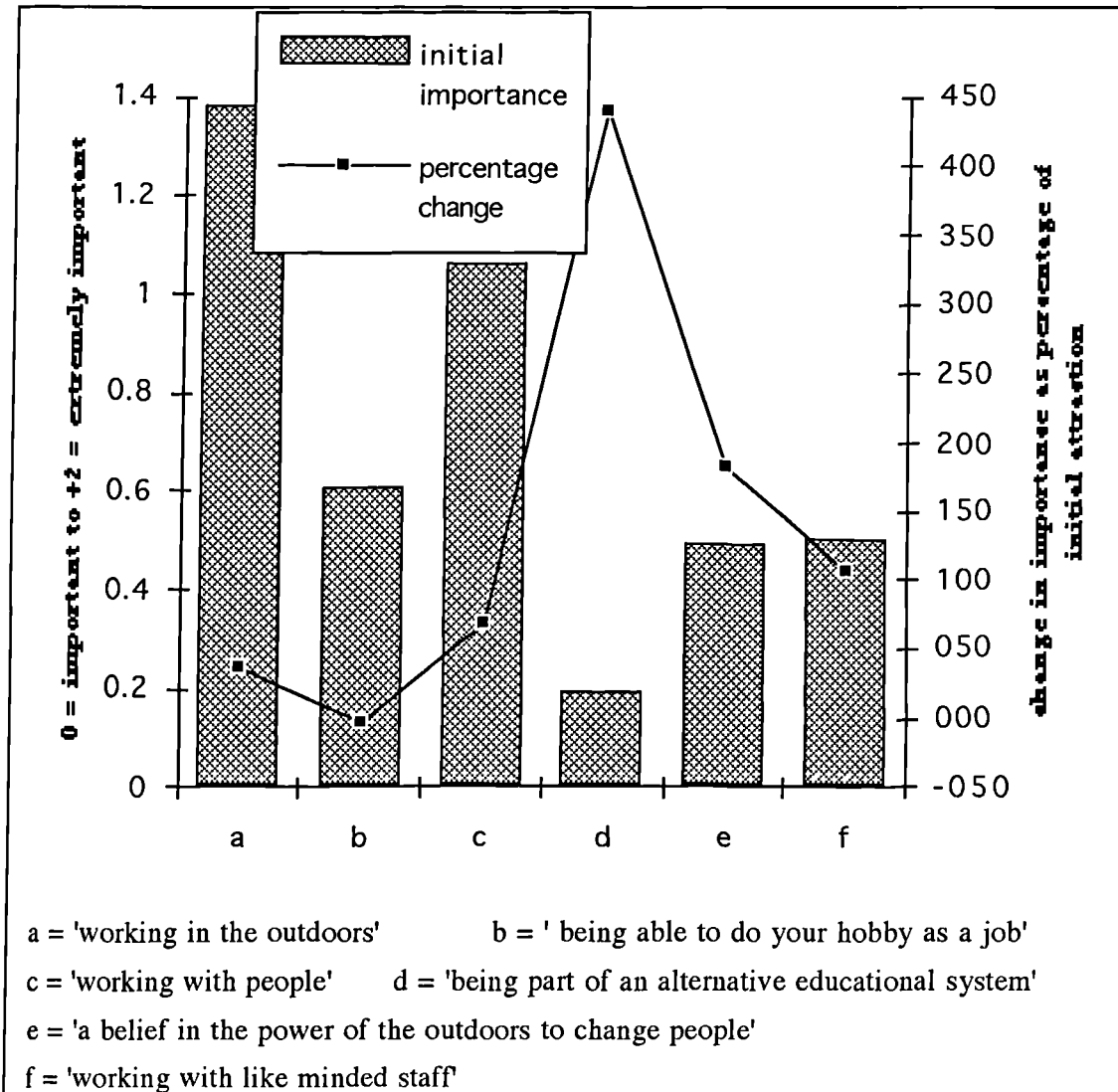
*Figure 21. The initial attraction of working in the outdoor industry
together with the percentage change in that attraction
(n = 291)*

It is notable that all but one of the attractions of working in the outdoors have increased in importance. The exception is 'being able to do your hobby as a job' which has decreased very slightly. The implication of this across the board increase is that staff are not leaving the industry because of a decrease in the intrinsic satisfaction of working in the outdoor industry.

The most notable increases in importance are in 'a belief in the power of the outdoors to change people' and 'being part of an alternative educational system'.

Table vi gives more specific additional reasons, mentioned by respondents, for continuing to work in the outdoor industry.

REASONS	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS
To gain more experience/personal development	22
A more senior position	16
I enjoy it	16
Living in area/countryside/away from cities	13
Liveable salary	12
To gain qualifications	11
Belief in the benefits of outdoor education	10
Opportunity to use skills	9
Use of qualifications	8
Preferable to teaching in schools	7
Lifestyle	7
Variety	6
Permanent employment/stability	6
Career development	6
Lack of alternatives	6
To pursue own hobbies	5
To enable/train staff	5
Challenge	5
Work with specific groups	5
Family responsibilities/ties	4
To introduce others to countryside/nature	4
Relationships with other staff	4
Ability to travel/work seasons	3
To pass on Christian beliefs	3
The pleasure of students/helping others	3
Preferable to other jobs	3
To provide opportunities	3
To challenge attitudes/encourage critical thinking	3
Autonomy/freedom	3
Its a stop gap job	2

Table vi. Reasons given for continuing to work in the outdoor industry
(see appendix 18 for full list of additional reasons)

6.2.3 Summary of attraction of the outdoor industry

It is notable that the two most important reasons given for continuing to work in the outdoor industry were personal growth and a more senior position with personal

enjoyment and living in a particular environment next. This implies a more self-centred approach to the outdoors than might be expected. It is important to remember, however, that these answers were only given by twenty two, sixteen and sixteen respondents, respectively, from the entire survey population of two hundred and ninety one. Interestingly, the initial question referring to changes in the attraction of the outdoor industry showed that the largest increases in attraction were inter-personal rather than self-centred. These could indicate that educational factors had increased in importance to the detriment of factors such as 'doing a hobby as a job' and living in a particular environment.

This apparent contradiction might be explained by compartmentalising attractions of the outdoor industry into work and non-work areas with work attractions and ongoing motivations being separated. Of course, the overall lifestyle nature of work in the outdoor industry will undoubtedly blur the dividing lines.

The fact that there were no significant differences ($p > 0.1$) in either attractions or change in attractions between employment sectors or genders would suggest that there is little or no validity in the notion that male and female or state and non-state staff have different personal agendas. This is an important proposal as it implies that the difference in employment patterns between these groups is not based on differences in their attraction or approach to the work itself.

6.3 MOTIVATIONAL FACTORS AT PRESENT CENTRE

Motivational issues were assessed in the questionnaire through two questions. The first of these asked how important issues were to respondents in the context of their present work. The second question asked how important the negative aspects of these issues were when/if choosing to leave their employment.

The main tabulated analysis, tables vii and viii, was carried out on front-line staff, on contracts of three years or less, at charitable and commercial centres, this group being the primary interest of the study ($n = 74$).

6.3.1 Importance of issues at work

The results (table vii) show a number of interesting features in the attitudes of the front-line staff.

The most notable of these is that the six highest rated factors are all intrinsic motivators with 'feelings of achievement' rated the most important and 'feeling that you make a difference to people' and 'having responsibility for your work' following closely behind. According to Herzberg's philosophy, this type of intrinsic motivator is central both to the work itself and to the staff member involved. This is in line with the humanist stance that work needs to be fulfilling in order to motivate staff.

Of the lowest rated factors, the most noticeable feature is that the need for a high salary is the only factor which is ranked towards unimportant. The implication, of course, is that staff are not motivated by high salary levels, which fits with Herzberg's view of salary as a hygiene factor. This assertion is corroborated by the fact that a 'decent salary' is only ranked towards the middle of scale. It is well below such things as 'having time off for personal development' and 'being able to make your own decisions'. The second-lowest ranked factor of 'centre administration of technical matters', suggests that front-line outdoor staff are keen on being left alone to concentrate on their work.

'Being able to get away from work' is the seventh highest ranked issue with adequate time off also ranked highly. 'Belonging to a community' is very low on the ranking. This suggests that front-line outdoor staff are not as insular as might be thought. Rather, they may regard employment in a centre more as work and less as total immersion, or lifestyle, in that centre.

ISSUE	RATING
feelings of achievement	1.383
feeling that you make a difference to people	1.340
having responsibility for your work	1.309
being able to enjoy being in the outdoors	1.280
having variety at work	1.250
being able to make own decisions	1.250
being able to get away from work in free time	1.200
recognition from clients	1.170
having good resources/materials	1.142
having client contact	1.120
having an adequate level of time off	1.050
having time off for personal development	0.980
privacy (if living in centre)	0.880
potential for advancement	0.823
agreeing with the company ethos	0.800
being able to plan when to have time off	0.740
the companionship of like minded people	0.720
recognition from colleagues	0.702
praise/thanks from clients	0.659
having a decent level of salary	0.630
recognition from management	0.601
being in charge of a group	0.590
getting finance for personal development	0.510
feeling of belonging to a community	0.500
the technical aspect of outdoor work	0.432
centre administration of personnel matters	0.300
personal comfort	0.170
centre administration of technical matters	0.061
having a high level of salary	-0.340

Table vii. Importance of issues at work
(scale = +2 extremely important to -2 extremely unimportant)
(n = 74)

There was no significant difference (when assessed by T-test) between the state and non-state sectors with regard to important issues at work ($p > 0.1$). It was found, however, that there was a significant overall difference ($p < 0.05$) in what men and women felt to be important issues for them at work. Women were much more concerned with privacy than men. Likewise the amount of time off allocated was more important to them. More fundamentally, the ethos and communal nature of a centre as well as working with like minded people were higher rated issues for women than men. Of all the issues, the only one noticeably rated as more important for men than women was the importance of technical challenge.

In order to check the spread of the results, the normal distribution around the mean of the results (0.8) was plotted. The mean plus 1 sd is 1.22 while the mean less 1 sd is 0.38. This would indicate that the spread of the results, at 1.383 to -0.340 which is greater than plus or minus 1 sd, is large enough to warrant attention. 'Having a high level of salary' is actually below the mean minus 2 sd, thus giving it added importance.

6.3.2 Reasons for leaving a centre

When it came to ranking reasons for leaving a centre (table viii) five out of the top eight factors given by front-line staff were extrinsic with lack of advancement and having an inadequate level of time off notably more important than others.

Three factors, 'low feelings of achievement', 'not being able to enjoy the outdoors' and 'not being able to make own decisions', were ranked highly. This highlights the picture of instructors working in the outdoors because they wish to develop, enjoy their work and act in an independent manner. This is further highlighted by the fact that 'not having time off for personal development' and 'not having enough responsibility' are also rated highly. Interestingly 'not enough technical challenge', 'not being able to run groups' and 'not enough client contact' are all rated quite lowly as possible reasons for leaving. This, paradoxically, may suggest that these factors are so central to the work that they are unlikely to become issues. Alternatively, it may be that other, hygiene, factors such as time off, could become so much of an issue that staff would leave even when the work itself is still fulfilling.

'Not having a decent level of salary' was ranked high at seventh but 'not having a high level of salary' was rated last, as high salary was for current issues at work. This suggests that while salary plays a part in opting to leave a centre the desire for high wages plays no part in the motivations of outdoor staff.

Overall, there was no significant difference between the state and non-state sector in reasons for leaving a centre (p > 0.1). Nor was there a significant difference in the reasons for leaving a centre between male and female staff in the non-state sector (p > 0.1) alone. There was no overall significant difference (p > 0.1) between men and women but it was apparent that lack of privacy was more of an issue for women when deciding to leave a centre than it was for men. Not enough technical challenge, poor

technical administration and lack of resources were found to be issues for men but less so for women.

ISSUE	RATING
lack of potential for advancement	0.850
having an inadequate level of time off	0.640
low feelings of achievement	0.560
not being able to enjoy the outdoors	0.560
not being able to make own decisions	0.540
lack of recognition from management	0.530
not having a decent level of salary	0.530
not being able to get away from work in free time	0.520
not having time off for personal development	0.500
not having enough responsibility	0.400
disagreement with the company ethos	0.390
not having variety at work	0.390
poor centre personnel administration	0.360
not being able to plan when to have time off	0.250
lack of good resources materials	0.230
feelings of not making a difference to people	0.230
poor centre technical administration	0.180
lack of privacy (if living in centre)	0.180
not enough technical outdoor challenge	0.130
not being able to run groups	0.120
lack of client contact	0.090
not getting finance for personal development	0.090
lack of recognition from colleagues	0.020
little companionship of like minded people	0.000
lack of recognition from clients	-0.120
lack of belonging to a community	-0.200
lack of personal comfort	-0.220
lack of praise/thanks from clients	-0.330
not having a high level of salary	-0.360

Table viii. Potential reasons for leaving a centre
(scale = +2 definitely to -2 definitely not)
(n = 74)

The normal distribution around the mean (0.243) sets the mean plus 1 sd at 0.54 and the mean plus 2 sd at 0.84. The mean minus 1 sd is -0.058 and the mean minus 2 sd is -0.35. This would indicate that the results at either end of the scale are at a wide enough spread from the mean to be significant.

6.3.3 Summary of motivational factors

The picture developed from the motivational factors section is that staff are highly motivated by the intrinsic nature of work in the outdoors. Issues such as 'making a difference to people', 'having variety' and 'enjoying the outdoors' are all ranked highly. It is also apparent that another issue of importance to staff is being able to work autonomously: responsibility and decision making are ranked highly.

The reasons for staff choosing to leave a centre are less clear. It is noticeable that the career structure of the outdoor industry does play an important role, with the lack of promotion potential being ranked much higher than any other factor. Likewise, salary is seen to be a factor in leaving, whereas it is not a highly ranked factor in issues in the workplace. As noted above, it is evident that intrinsic motivators play a clear role in staff motivation in the work place, but the role of extrinsic, hygiene, factors is not so clearly defined when it comes to reason for leaving a centre.

REASON	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS
contract/ season ends	32
money	16
age	16
centre closing	13
important for my own development	11
family commitments	10
to avoid boredom	7
to gain a variety of experiences	7
time to move on	7
bad management	6
don't want to get too settled/stagnate	5
need to progress	5
generally treated badly	4
working hours	4
concerns with job security	4
need for a career	4

Table ix. Reasons given for currently considering leaving a centre
(See appendix 19 for full list of reasons)

Respondents were asked for current reasons (in addition to the potential issues given in table viii) why they might be about to leave a centre. The results (table ix) showed that the practical considerations of contracts, seasonablity and centres closing were the foremost considerations, but other reasons appeared too. Most noticeable is that personal development and variety feature very strongly in the list. These are all secondary to

money and age, which confirms the industry as essentially for younger staff and lowly paid.

The open question results appear not to correspond exactly with the ranked list. It is important to bear in mind the small numbers actually represented in the list in table ix, but it is evident that personal development does play a part in the desire to move on to different employment.

6.4 DEVELOPMENT OF MOTIVATION FACTORS

The next stage in following the motivation of staff was to take the motivational issues (tables vii & viii) for all staff to see whether there were any changes over a chronological period of employment. The periods chosen were a year or under (to reflect seasonal staff) five years or under and greater than five years (to reflect the average, five year, career span already noted).

6.4.1 Changes in importance of issues at work

The most noticeable pattern in the changes in importance at work shown in table x is the predominant way in which issues become more important for all but three factors in the period following one year of employment. There is a more even split of increase and decrease in the period following five years. The reasons for this are difficult to gauge from the figures alone. But it may be significant that the only three factors to decrease in importance in the first period are those connected with working with a group in an outdoor environment. This could reflect the change in attitude and attraction of the outdoor industry which has already been highlighted at the start of this chapter. It may also be that the period between one and five years, which is when most staff leave, is the period following the 'honeymoon' first year when the reality of working in the outdoors has to be confronted.

The fact that many of the issues which increased in importance in this period decreased in the following period may suggest that staff who have worked more than five years in the industry are more settled.

ISSUE	DEGREE OF CHANGE		
	y ≤ 1	y ≤ 5 >1	y > 5
feelings of achievement	1.35	+0.05	+0.02
recognition from management	0.46	+0.32	-0.20
recognition from clients	1.05	+0.24	+0.02
recognition from colleagues	0.53	+0.24	+0.14
having responsibility for your work	1.15	+0.28	+0.05
potential for advancement	0.85	+0.15	-0.55
the technical aspect of outdoor work	0.49	-0.05	-0.11
centre admin of technical matters	-0.13	+0.30	+0.08
centre admin of personnel matters	0.06	+0.37	+0.08
praise/thanks from clients	0.58	+0.06	+0.18
having good resources/materials	1.10	+0.03	+0.17
being in charge of a group	0.68	-0.07	+0.22
having client contact	1.04	+0.07	+0.22
agreeing with the company ethos	0.65	+0.26	+0.09
privacy (if living in the centre)	0.83	+0.22	-0.53
having variety at work	1.19	+0.20	-0.24
personal comfort	0.19	+0.14	-0.48
being able to get away from work in free time	1.16	+0.14	-0.33
being able to make your own decisions	1.11	+0.19	+0 15
feeling that you make a difference to people	1.31	+0.03	-0.04
the companionship of like minded people	0.55	+0.32	-0.20
feeling of belonging to a community	0.49	+0.04	-0.08
being able to enjoy being in the outdoors	1.42	-0.22	-0.11
having an adequate level of time off	1.15	+0.04	-0.68
being able to plan when to have time off	0.67	+0.19	-0.28
having a high level of salary	-0.51	+0.25	+0.08
having a decent level of salary	0.57	+0.27	-0.44
having time off for personal development	0.90	+0.27	-0.44
getting finance for personal development	0.45	+0.22	-0.34

Table x. *The change in importance of issues at work*
(Scale at 'y ≤ 1'; -2 = extremely unimportant to +2 = extremely important.
Change thereafter is along the same scale) (n = 291)

Factors which show a increase in importance are interesting because they show a common theme connected with responsibility, centre administration issues, company ethos and decision making. The implications of this may be that with increased longevity of employment, and possibly seniority, instructors become more autonomous and also more involved in centre policy and administration. Recognition from colleagues also increases in importance.

Following this period, a number of factors decrease in importance with the most noticeable decreases being the hygiene factors of time off, advancement, privacy, comfort and pay.

6.4.2 Changes in reasons for leaving a centre

The likelihood of factors influencing staff to leave a centre decreases for more than half of the factors listed in the period following the first year (table xi) with a similar decrease in the period following five years' employment. The decrease is, however, not consistent for all factors. A good example is that not having a decent salary increases in importance, suggesting that low salaries become an issue for those that stay past the first year. After this, salary becomes decreasingly important, possibly as a result of increased responsibility being matched by financial reward.

ISSUE	DEGREE OF CHANGE		
	$y \leq 1$	$y \leq 5 > 1$	$y > 5$
lack of recognition from management	0.30	+0.35	+0.04
lack of recognition from clients	-0.20	-0.02	+0.44
lack of recognition from colleagues	-0.05	+0.09	-0.04
not having responsibility for your work	0.36	+0.09	-0.06
lack of potential for advancement	0.80	+0.16	-0.35
not enough technical outdoor challenge	0.20	-0.03	-0.36
poor centre admin of technical matters	0.10	+0.04	+0.11
poor centre admin of personnel matters	0.23	+0.17	+0.12
lack of praise/thanks from clients	-0.34	-0.02	+0.07
not having good resources/materials	0.15	+0.12	-0.08
not being able to run groups	0.20	-0.02	-0.50
lack of client contact	-0.03	+0.10	+0.16
disagreement with the company ethos	0.39	-0.10	+0.21
lack of privacy (if living in the centre)	0.14	+0.20	-0.76
not having variety at work	0.63	-0.40	-0.17
lack of personal comfort	-0.04	-0.25	-0.28
not able to get away from work in free time	0.74	-0.39	-0.08
not being able to make your own decisions	0.45	+0.03	+0.33
feelings of not making a difference to people	0.25	-0.21	+0.48
little companionship of like minded people	0.05	-0.21	+0.16
lack of belonging to a community	-0.11	-0.19	-0.10
not being able to enjoy being in the outdoors	0.77	-0.42	+0.04
having an inadequate level of time off	0.88	-0.36	-0.26
not being able to plan when to have time off	0.34	-0.20	+0.03
not having a high level of salary	-0.50	+0.21	-0.07
not having a decent level of salary	0.38	+0.30	-0.28
not having time off for personal development	0.57	-0.08	-0.26
not getting finance for personal development	0.02	+0.25	-0.50

Table xi. Changes in potential reasons for leaving a centre
(Scale at 'y ≤ 1'; -2 = definitely not to +2 = definitely.
Change thereafter is along the same scale) (n = 291)

The largest decrease in importance, after five years, as a reason for leaving a centre is lack of privacy, which again probably reflects increased seniority and correspondingly better accommodation. In a similar vein the factor which most consistently decreases in

importance is not having enough time off followed closely by not having enough variety, a lack of personal comfort and not being able to run groups.

Not being able to get away from work in personal time and not being able to enjoy working in the outdoors, are less important at first but become more so in the second five years, suggesting that these factors become more a cause of dissatisfaction with time. The reasons for this could be associated with lifestyle changes such as getting married or they may simply reflect the extra bureaucracy involved with seniority.

6.4.3 Summary of development in motivation factors

It is evident that there is a change in both present issues and potential reasons for leaving although this change is not consistent. Overall, the change for current issues show a slight overall increase in importance while the potential reasons for leaving show an overall decrease in importance. The implication of this is that while potential reasons for leaving, notably the hygiene factors, become relatively stable, presumably due to longevity of employment and increased seniority, and the work itself becomes more important.

A major difficulty in this section is the notion of causality, in other words what has caused the change in importance attributed to factors. A good example of this is that having an adequate level of time has decreased in importance overall by the largest amount of any factor. The reason for this may be that staff become used to long hours so that it becomes less of an issue. It may also be that with increased time served they receive a greater amount of time off. Alternatively, it may be that increased time served means increased seniority and they are thus able to manage their own time to a greater degree. Whatever the cause, it is self-evident that one of the features of people who stay for five years or more in the outdoor industry is that time off becomes less of an issue. This difficulty in attributing causality within the section means that the results are presented with a minimum of interpretation, and are used to help formulate questions within phase II of the research.

6.5 GOOD AND BAD DAYS

The prime technique used in Herzberg's studies was story telling related to good and bad days at work. Whilst it was found that this would be impracticable and difficult for the

questionnaire survey (see section 5.3.2) the technique was modified to a ranking system based on the answers given in the pilot study.

6.5.1 Factors which make up good and bad days

It is immediately apparent (figures 22 and 23) that the biggest factor which might contribute to a good or bad day is the nature of the group that the instructor is working with. This is, of course, one of the few factors which are outwith the control of the instructor. It is difficult to say what the implications of this are for centres wishing to retain a highly motivated staff. It would obviously be impracticable, for example, to change the client population of a centre in order to keep the staff happy. A practical answer might be to rotate instructors around the various types of groups.
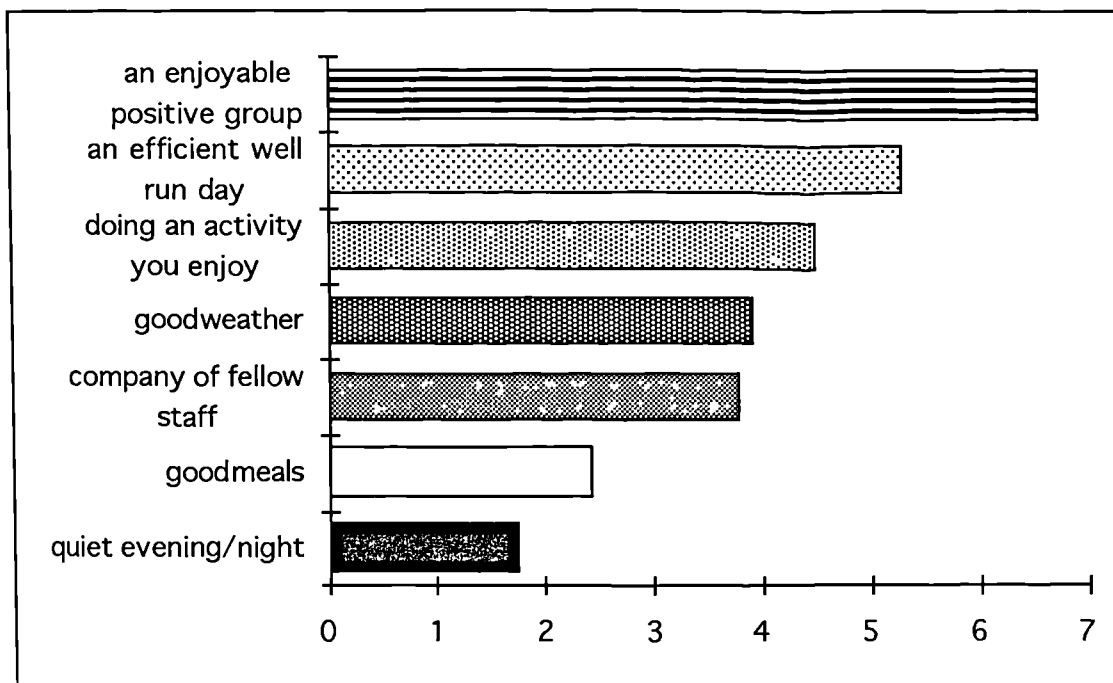
Figure 22. Ranked order of factors which make up a good day
(n = 291)

The organisation of the day runs a close second to the group as a contributing factor, slightly more so in the case of a bad day. Pilot study interviews which led to this question strongly supported the Herzberg's two-factor theory concept of a bad day arising from external influences such as centre resources or transport problems. A good day arises from internal influences such an instructors own organisational ability.

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What is certain is that staff like smooth, well run days, which leave them free to concentrate on working with their clients. The implications of this are that the centre needs a good administration/resource management infrastructure in place to support front-line staff.

Constraints on the nature of the activity undertaken are similar to those on the nature of groups being instructed. It would be impractical to match activities to instructors purely in order to keep staff happy, but centres need to be aware that taking part in an enjoyable activity is rated highly and rotate staff accordingly.

Of all the factors involved, the weather is the only one over which centres have absolutely no influence. It should be noted, however, that bad weather is rated only slightly lower than the nature of the activity, although much lower than group or organisational issues. Being prepared to be flexible with activities to match weather constraints and provision of adequate foul-weather clothing may go some way to alleviating problems with weather.

The company of fellow staff is not rated as high as might have been expected. This leads to the supposition that it is the group/instructor relationship which is the more important inter-personal factor. The antithesis of this factor, hassles with centre issues, is rated only slightly below the group and organisational issues suggesting again that outdoor staff do not like anything to detract from the group/instructor/work triangle. This might reflect the theory (section 3.2.3) that outdoor staff use the centre environment as an escape from mundane 'real world' issues.

Neither the quality of food or the importance of a quiet evening/night are rated as notably high contributing factors. They do, however, figure slightly higher as features of a bad day than a good day. This might suggest that, while a quiet evening or good food might not be remarked upon, a bad meal or evening could be.
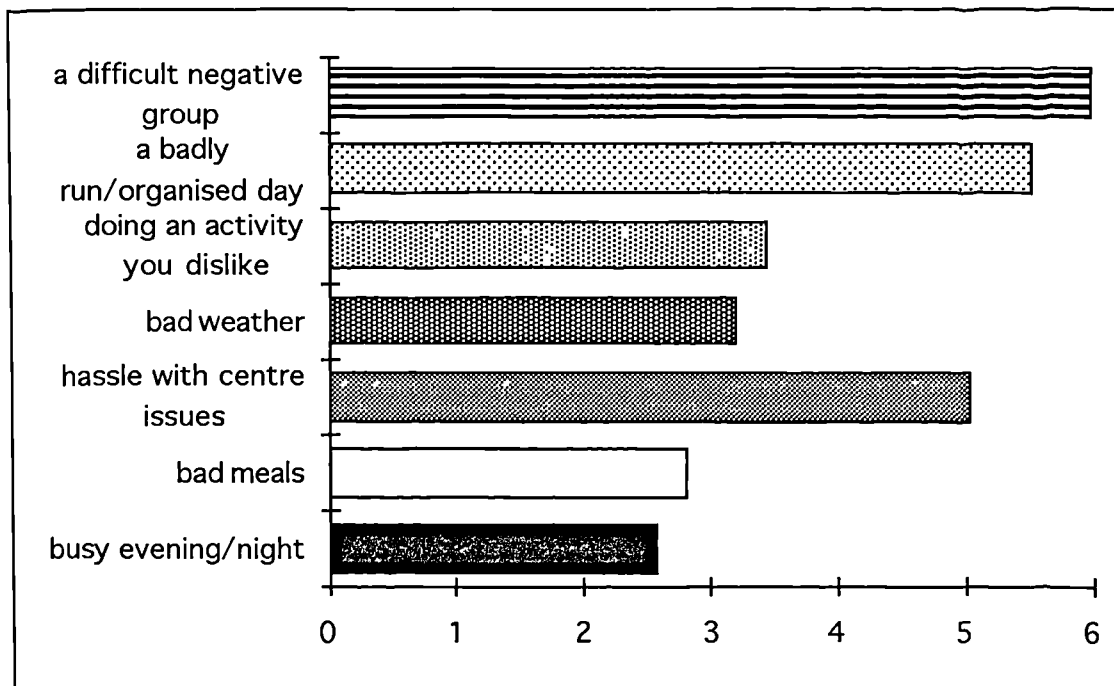
Figure 23. Ranked order of factors which make up a bad day
(n = 291)

Overall, it is apparent that the factors which contribute to a good day also figure highly on a bad day. The issue of causality and attribution is again highlighted here. For example, a bad group can be blamed on the group itself while an instructor may take personal credit for a good group. What is conclusive is the role of organisational and centre issues in contributing to a bad day. By implication, the largest total factor contributing to a bad day is external and outwith the instructors' influence.

6.5.2 Changes in good and bad days

There were no significant overall changes, as a function of longevity of employment, in the ranked order of good and bad days (p > 0.1) but it was noticeable that weather and activities both became relatively less valued. It seems most likely that this is a result of increased seniority whereby less time is spent actually working on outdoor activities. Badly organised days and busy evenings both showed a relative increase in value. Again this would be expected with longevity of employment and its attendant increased responsibility and, possibly, family commitments in the evenings.

6.6 FUTURE INTENTIONS

The options for future intentions were fairly well spread but it is evident that a large percentage (33.2%) were of the opinion that their next move might be to leave the industry and move into a different profession. The professions specified as possibilities included 25 who intended to return to teaching. This high figure is probably explained largely by the closure of LEA centres.
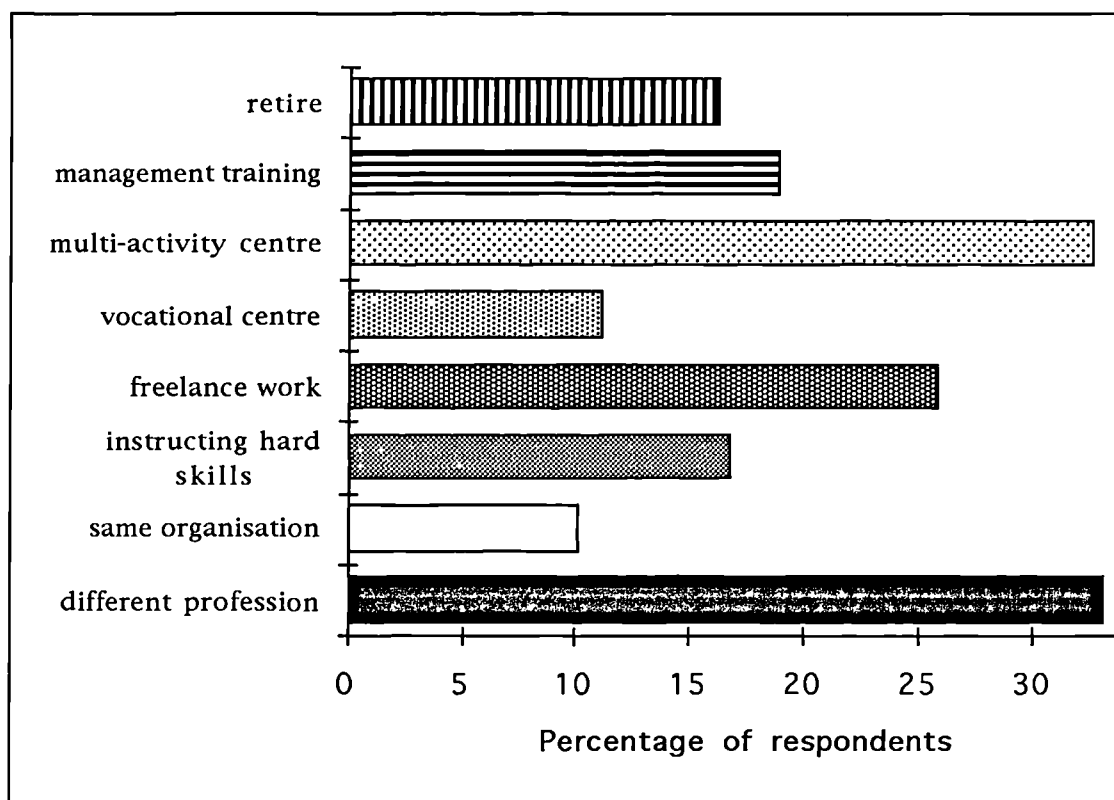
Figure 24. Possible destinations for staff leaving a centre
(% > 100 because of more than one choice given)
(n = 291)

15 respondents said they were unsure of their future intentions and eight indicated a desire to go back into education. The remainder of those that specified different professions were intending to go into a wide variety of occupations,. There was, however, a common trend of these occupations being person-oriented in such fields as the police force, nursing, community work and counselling. This bias gives a strong indication of the type of person-centred member of staff within the outdoor industry. (The full list of specified occupations is given in appendix 20).

32 8% of respondents said that they might move to another multi-activity centre although there were also notable numbers who saw management training (19%) or freelance work (25.9%) as possibilities. These are both current trends in outdoor work (see Current Issues, Chapter 1).

The relatively high number of staff intending to retire after leaving their present centre is again explained largely by state sector closures where the options open to staff were either to relocate into main-stream teaching or take early retirement.

6.7 DISCUSSION OF PHASE I RESULTS

It is evident that the questionnaire yielded a great amount of data. However it would also appear on first inspection that much of this data is contradictory. It is important before discussing the results further to place this apparent contradiction in context. The ranked tables (cf. tables vii and viii) represent data taken from the entire study population while open question results (cf. tables vi and x) only represent the much smaller numbers who replied to these questions. In table vi for example the largest single reason given for staying in the industry only represented 22 replies. This is not to say that these open question replies should be disregarded. They are a valuable source of information precisely because they come from staff who have, perhaps, given extra thought to filling in the questionnaire. It is just that it is important to keep in mind the difference, not only in the numbers involved, but also in the essentially conceptual nature of the closed questions as opposed to the more pragmatic nature of the open questions.

6.7.1 Summary and discussion of the questionnaire data

The picture of a young, male, well educated and lowly paid outdoor instructor on a short contract still holds true. The fact that almost half of the population entered the industry as a career change, or break, looks significant as does the fact that a large number of these had moved from main stream teaching or were trained as teachers. It is worth noting the ambiguous career intentions of outdoor staff and the fact that expected careers are typically of short duration. Also, staff entering the industry from a related college course or different profession appear to be more career oriented.

It is notable that women are significantly less career minded than men. There is also a distinct gender imbalance in the industry. This imbalance was carried on into the length of time typically spent at a centre, which was less for women than men. The fact that this difference is also much greater in the non-state sector than the state sector seems important. It may reflect career conditions in the state sector which, because of greater permanency, include maternity benefits. This is suggested by some of the comments given, for example;

> "I cannot see how I can have a family and do this job .... the hours are too unsociable" and "[lack of a job where ...] I could settle down and support my family" (questionnaires number 1 and number 203. See appendix 20 for the complete list of comments taken from the questionnaire returns).

The major difference found between male and female instructors was a significant difference in the importance of issues in the current work place. Women were more concerned with issues including the ethos and communal nature of a centre as well as more pragmatic concerns such as privacy. It was noticeable that the only concern rated higher by men was the need for technical challenge. There is a greater percentage of men in the outdoor industry. Perhaps due to this, the emphasis on technical challenge by men, as opposed to communal issues by women, plays a role in the culture of the outdoor industry, this may be detrimental to female instructors.

Differences between the state and non-state sectors were found in a number of different areas, typically of a demographic nature. Staff in the state sector were found to be more stable in terms of length of employment, older, and with a higher likelihood of being married. Salaries in the state sector are noticeably higher than in the non-state sector. There was no significant difference in either the attraction of the outdoor industry motivational factors or reasons for leaving a centre. Therefore, salary and contracts may play a major part in the stability of state sector staff. However, it is possible that professional status also plays an important role. The fact that family commitments and ties were mentioned as a reason for staying in an area by some respondents may suggest the former.

It is evident from the initial attractions of working in the outdoor industry that the cliché attractions (discussed in section 5.3) of working in the outdoors and working with people are borne out by the results of the questionnaire. However, that these reasons showed little increase in importance when compared with the importance of being part of an educational system and with belief in the outdoors as a developmental medium. This indicates that the conceptual importance of ethos and belief plays an important part in

the work paradigms of outdoor staff. On a more practical level continued personal development and promotion as well as continued enjoyment were also found to play an important role in staff retention.

Perhaps the most notable result of the questionnaire is that the six most important issues in the work place were all intrinsic motivators. Personal achievement, making a difference to people and responsibility were particularly important. This would corroborate the proposal that work needs to be intrinsically rewarding/fulfilling in order to be motivating. This is a central tenet of the humanist philosophical stance. The notion that this is so is confirmed by the number of hygiene factors such as salary and centre administration which ranked much lower in importance. As Herzberg would predict, hygiene factors play a much more important role in choosing to leave a centre. Lack of potential for advancement is the highest ranked potential reason for leaving, this confirms the role of promotion as a reason for staying with a centre. The implications of this assertion are particularly important given the flat pyramid career structure of the outdoor industry. The role of time off and the ability to lead a private life are also found to be important.

Although a number of intrinsic factors were also rated quite highly as potential reasons for leaving a centre. Many of these are strongly influenced by external factors. For example, personal decision-making is of an intrinsic nature but reflects the management style of a centre. It is notable that recognition from management is rated on a par with the ability to make decisions. The inference here is that what is at stake is the professional respect accorded to outdoor staff. A decent level of salary, ranked next in importance, should be noted too. This would also fit the suggestion, above, that state sector staff are more stable partly because of their higher professional status. Issues involving pay and time off figure highly in the reasons given for leaving a centre but this can be related to equity theory whereby staff are feeling undervalued. This notion emerges in comments such as;

> "instructors are ... undervalued", "staff are used as cannon fodder", "it's high time centres stopped exploiting their staff" and "the feeling of being exploited in outdoor ed is high" (questionnaires 283, 122, 111 and 11).

This is particularly evident with regard to salaries which are seen as playing little role in motivation in the workplace but a strong role in choosing to leave.

A particularly notable feature of the change in the importance of issues is the way in which, with three exceptions, all issues become more important in the period following one years employment. This is important because it is the period when the greatest drop out rate from the industry is noted. This is emphasised by the way in which these issues stabilise in importance after five years employment, suggesting that the period between one and five years is when career decisions are made. This is already known from the discussion on career lengths. The fact that this period is marked by a rise in importance of issues in the workplace is a new finding. Moreover, the fact that the largest rise in importance is having responsibility suggests a degree of frustration in staff after one year. This is further marked by the fact that having time off is the second highest rise in importance, together with having a decent salary. These rises would tend to suggest that outdoor staff seek on-going development on both professional and personal levels.

The changes in potential reasons for leaving a centre are less clear cut than current issues in the workplace. A consistent theme is that factors which would be alleviated by promotion such as salary initially increase in importance and then decrease. This suggests that long term employment leads to the alleviation of these factors, probably through promotion. Likewise factors which would be expected to increase in importance with lifestyle changes as reasons for leaving are shown to do so.

The graphs (figures 22 and 23) of the ranked features of good and bad days show that outdoor staff like two things above all others: having a positive group, and a well run day. This implies that staff are happiest when left to run groups and are not involved in the minutiae, or hassles, of centre administration. This reflects the initial attractions of working in the outdoor industry. Bad days are primarily attributed to factors outwith of the control of the instructor.

Overall it would appear that increased seniority is a mixed blessing. Some issues such as responsibility, development and a decent level of salary are better fulfilled. Others such as getting away from work and having a high level of salary become more of an issue. These changes in emphasis may be the result of lifestyle changes which, moreover, are better accommodated in state sector centres than in the non-state sector. Stability and the ability to lead a 'normal' life away from the residential centre are thus seen as important issues.

The future intentions of outdoor staff are equally split with, approximately, one third looking to leave the industry, one third looking to move to another multi-activity centre

and the rest divided between different outdoor industry options and retiring. Of those that were intending to leave the industry it was noticeable that the person-centred paradigm of the outdoor industry was reflected in potential future occupations. Moreover, none of the possible future occupations was notable for being particularly well paid. This suggests that salary may often be a reason for leaving an occupation but it plays little part in choosing one.

6.7.2 Conclusion of questionnaire data

Overall the questionnaire data presented a number of new and/or continuing questions to be answered in the qualitative phases of the study. Notable amongst these are the following.

- Why are there different career patterns for male and female staff? From the data presented, the culture of the outdoor industry may play a part in this. It may also be that the lack of long term contracts, with attendant lack of maternity benefits, in the non-state sector may have a bearing on the gender imbalance.

- There is also a lack of a clear-cut reason why the career patterns in the state and non-state sectors are different. Given the lack of motivational and attraction differences it seems likely that salaries and contracts play a major part in the difference. It also seems likely that professional status and respect have a function in the stability of the state sector. This has a major implication for the non-state sector because of the move towards professionalism discussed in the current issues chapter.

- What will be the impact of the current changes affecting the industry? The emphasis is generally on the negative aspects of the regulations. For example, one respondent (questionnaire 69) comments that "one of the main issues for me is the changing nature of outdoor courses ... I feel pessimistic about the future rather than optimistic as I used to be".

The following proposals also emerged.

- Staff in the outdoor industry are motivated by the nature of the work itself as much as anything else. Intrinsic motivator factors play a noticeably larger part in issues in the workplace than hygiene factors.

- Conversely, hygiene factors play a major, but not exclusive, role in choosing to leave a centre. Ethos and belief systems as well as frustration are also important.

- The debate about how much personal development plays a part in motivation is less conclusive. It has been shown that it does have a role but it may not be significant. To some extent the role of personal development may be a covert theme. This is shown by the ambiguous career intentions of new staff who are looking for career direction which may, or may not, be in the outdoor industry.

The implications of the findings so far are that the nature of the work itself needs to be developed in order to keep staff happy in the workplace. Also staff's retention for longer periods of employment depends on improvements in conditions of work such as salary, living conditions and time off. Long-term employment, in the form of careers, is unlikely if the outdoor industry is unable to meet the twin demands of professionalism and lifestyle changes.

7. PHASE II
(FOCUS GROUP INTERVIEWS)

The rationale and methods for the focus group study were outlined in Chapter 5, and the questions which it is intended to answer appear at the end of Chapter 6. These may be summarised as follows.

- Why are there different career patterns for male and female staff?
- Why are there different career patterns for state and non-state sector staff?
- What influence will the move towards professionalism have for staff?
- What is the importance and significance, if any, of on-going personal development?

These objectives and the questions from the initial interviews were combined and developed to give the full moderator's guide discussed in section 5.4.2.

7.1 FAVOURITE ACTIVITIES

When asked to relate what constitutes a favourite activity ghyll scrambling (sometimes know as gorge walking) was notably a clear favourite with many of the respondents.

It was immediately apparent that ghyll scrambling is perceived, by respondents, as a fun activity, even as a "silly activity ... [where] the group can let go a bit more" (appendix 21.6). There is an almost constant 'buzz' associated with ghyll scrambling with little, if any, in-activity. Other reasons why this activity is so popular with staff are also apparent. The most immediate factor is that everyone in the activity group is involved - including the instructor. Associated with this involvement is the idea that everyone will have some form of achievement. The attitude to ghyll scrambling was summed up by comments such as;

> "it's great fun, a great laugh ... every individual will have an achievement ...
> everyone will have one moment, it's just so full of fun ... you're involved ...
> actually doing the activity ... you can say and do daft things and they'll follow
> you" (appendix 21.5).

Moreover, comments such as;

" .... you're also competing with the elements, keeping things under control, the danger keeps you on edge .... there's a little bit more danger to it (appendix 21.5)

suggest that there is also an element of danger associated with competing with the elements. This is compounded by the instructor "leading away from normal constraints" (appendix 21.6). Thus, the activity is not only noted for its fun side but also for the fact that the instructor is directly involved, challenged and responsible.

Ghyll scrambling was contrasted by many of the respondents with single pitch top-roping (a least favourite activity) which was notable for its lack of group involvement, lack of direct instructor involvement and lack of variety for the instructor. Another favourite activity for many staff was caving which can be seen as having a great many of the elements associated with ghyll scrambling. In addition, caving was regarded as having the greatest element of novelty for most groups;

"I like caving because it's an experience which is quite new to my group members, a lot of people are more open to it ... caving is an experience, even if they only do it once, its something completely different" (appendix 21. 6).

Caving was seen, therefore, as having a particularly large impact on clients. This excitement of a new experience was transferred from the group to the instructor and was, therefore, energising for all those concerned in the activity.

A second popular activity was canoeing or kayaking, again an activity which directly involves the instructor. Interestingly one respondent highlighted the concept of canoeing as escapism;

"I find it easier [canoeing] because you're away from ... land, safe land. Just to get them away from their teachers, their instructors and just get them on their own ... just on their own ... sort of taken away from society" (appendix 21.4)

In many ways this element of escapism encapsulates the idea of outdoor activities/education as being something removed from the influence of mainstream society. It also reinforces the notion of the outdoor instructor taking responsibility for the group in isolation from these influences, notably concerns with avoiding risk (i.e."safe land").

The key formulated meanings, derived from the statements above, associated with favourite activities are as shown in table xii.

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NO.	FORMULATED MEANING
1	the activity is great fun ... the instructor acts as an entertainer
2	everybody is occupied all the time ... every individual will have an achievement
3	the instructor gets a buzz/enjoyment from the activity
4	there is a feeling of competing with the elements and keeping the danger under control ... this keeps the instructor 'on edge'
5	the instructor is involved ... actually doing the activity
6	the instructor physically 'leads' the group

Table xii. Formulated meanings associated with ghyll scrambling

Condensing these meanings gives the essence of a popular activity for staff as follows.

- A favourite activity is one which is both educational and enjoyable and involves the entire group on a continuous basis. In addition it involves the instructor on a direct level giving him or her a level of personal challenge and responsibility. This involvement acts on three levels -

  1. involvement with the activity

  2. involvement with the group

  3. involvement with self.

A number of the respondents commented, however, that the actual activity was of secondary importance to how the group responded. This was commonly seen as a function of experience in that the instructor had learnt how to stand back from the actual activity itself and concentrate on the learning involved for the group.

7.2 GOOD AND BAD DAYS

The story telling technique most associated with Herzberg's work on 'Two-Factor Theory' revolved around what are the features of good and bad days. This technique was also found to be successful with the focus group members.

Good days

The overriding theme of a good day (table xiii) was that of achievement. This need for achievement was highlighted in a number of ways,. The most notable was an achieving

group, feedback from the group reinforcing the achievement of the instructor and the role of the environment in obtaining that achievement.

The importance of the environment was universally held by the respondents, however this was on three different levels. The first, and least important, level was the environment in terms of physical comfort, most notably the weather. This was generally held to be important but it was also considered that bad weather did not necessarily make a bad day. Even really bad days were not held to be a major factor; "yes ... it does get wet cold and miserable, but there's a lot more [than just the weather] that you get out of it" (appendix 21.4). With hindsight, bad weather days were indeed often found to be some of the most memorable and powerful days of a course. The second level, which was generally the most important on a personal level was in terms of the environment as a source of aesthetic pleasure; "the sun on your back ... see the hills ... with snow" (appendix 21.5). In this sense the countryside was often seen in contrast to cities which were almost universally regarded as undesirable places to live or work. The third level was the environment as an educational medium. This level was regarded as being central to the ethos for outdoor education and many instructors approached this aspect of environment in an almost evangelical sense. An example of this would be;

> "we've chosen to [educate] through the outdoors because ... we know what the outdoors has to offer us and therefore we know what it has to offer [others] as well" (appendix 21.5)

One of the most commonly heard comments was the satisfaction in seeing children smile or react in positive terms. It was also noticeable that non-verbal feedback from group members was generally considered to be of greater importance than verbal feedback in the form of a direct thank you; "kids faces smiling ... thank me .... waving, looking dead happy" (appendix 21.4). Often this non-verbal feedback was associated with personal achievement as in;

> "giving a new experience to a child ... a new level of experience ... all you can see is the whites of their teeth and the smile that says I enjoyed it" (appendix 21.5)

Focus group members were quick to acknowledge that this element of feedback was not entirely altruistic and that they took personal pleasure in the role they played. Comments such as; "yes, its not just altruistic, it gives you a glow, it makes you feel powerful in fact" (appendix 21.4) and "that can be a selfish thing ... you get a kick thinking that you've changed something" (appendix 21.5) support the openness of the focus groups. Often the feeling of personal achievement was accentuated by comparison with mainstream

teachers: "you feel chuffed because you've got the kids to do something that the class teachers haven't got them to do" (appendix 21.5). This illustrates ego-involvement, although it seems to be commonly tempered with recognition and level-headed acceptance.

Central to the importance of personal achievement was the need to have autonomy of responsibility for the group and decisions which affect the group. Respondents commented that they would be more inclined to stay in a centre "where you have autonomy ... and you've got freedom of creativity" (appendix 21. 4). Moreover, there was often a high degree of possessiveness by outdoor staff towards their groups. Associated with this idea of responsibility is the question of interference from outside sources. A day which was characterised by outside problems was noted as being a bad day, but the absence of complications was also noted as being central to a good day. In some cases a good day was almost seen as the exception to the norm in this instance. This was highlighted by comments such as;

> "a day where everything runs smoothly and you just get in the van early in the morning and just drive off and have a nice day .. and nothing got in the way of that ... when you have actually done something, actually gone and done some sort of activity that's been related to personal development" (appendix 21.6)

Interestingly, the nature of the group was universally held to be a factor in having a good day but there was little agreement in what constituted a good group. The majority agreed that an enthusiastic and well motivated group made a day enjoyable, though some respondents noted that days where difficult groups are influenced for the better are amongst the most satisfying. Thus, good days can be held to be on two levels - enjoyable and/or satisfying. Furthermore, these two levels are neither mutually inclusive or exclusive.

Summarising the discussion above, the formulated meanings associated with a good day are as in table xiii.

NO.	FORMULATED MEANING	CONSISTING OF -
1.	the nature of the group is important	- enthusiasm - achievement - excitement
2.	feedback from the group is important	- verbal - non verbal
3.	personal achievement is necessary	- challenge - responsibility
4.	the environment is a factor	- location - role in learning - weather

Table xiii. Formulated meanings associated with a good day

These meanings can be summarised as follows.

• A good day is a day in which both the group and instructor feel a high level of achievement. This is manifest by positive feedback, notably non-verbal, from the group. The instructor needs to feel a good level of responsibility for the day and its outcomes as well as for the group. In addition there has been little or nothing in the way of outside complications. Whilst the outdoor environment is central to a good day this does not always mean that a good day is dependent on good weather.

There was strong agreement amongst the focus groups that a good day was characterised as described above.

Bad days

Although a bad day (table xiv) was not generally perceived as being the literal opposite of a good day there were a number of common themes. The most common of these themes was that a bad day was seen as being out of control of the staff involved. This detracted from the educational/group process.

Features of this lack of control were focused particularly on management systems and in particular when those systems were either failing or too severe. Examples of systems failure included chasing up transport and resource allocation which led to staff getting "frustrated [and] annoyed by getting things done" (appendix 21.3)

The majority of the respondents saw this kind of administration as being outside their remit when running groups. Some staff felt as if the burden of bureaucracy was a distraction from the main purpose of their work. A good example of this is;

> "I felt that I was really out on my own and I had a whole group of people to look after and nobody was giving me any support ... I'd a hundred and one things to do, paperwork or keys to get and you are just running around" (appendix 21.6)

The most notable examples of systems being too severe were those involved with time or timetable constraints. This was highlighted by comments such as "if you spent maybe an extra fifteen minutes then everything is going to come together but then it's just like I've got to get back" and "you can't be late, that's a frustrating day" (appendix 21.4)

It is clear that the first three of the formulated meanings in table xiv (below) are symptomatic of this issue of control and reflect the strong desire for autonomy which has already been highlighted as characteristic of a good day. In this respect, Two-Factor Theory fits the context of good days being characterised by autonomous control and bad days being characterised by lack of control.

The other themes of a bad day, those of lack of variety and personal lethargy can also be traced back to the same theme of management systems.Repetition such as "[I] hate repetitive activities with little input from the instructor" (appendix 21.1) was particuarly highlighted as a source of discontent. This lack of variety was often seen as a result of employing qualification-specific staff who were then only allowed to work on those activities for which they were qualified. This is one area which many respondents were concerned about, given the perceived constraints of the activities licensing regulations. In addition, over-caution on the part of centre management was often perceived as being the reason for constantly returning to the same established venues rather than allowing staff to explore further afield.

Personal lethargy (discussed further in section 7.7) was highlighted by a number of respondents who commented that there were simply some days when they couldn't face working with the groups or were un-motivated for a number of reasons. These reasons were characterised by heavy workloads, lack of time off and a continual stream of similar groups. Staff in this situation often commented that they felt "that I'm on auto-pilot ... just becoming a zombie, I think, gosh, I hate it. You know you've got to do it" (appendix 21.6). Many of the respondents felt strongly that they shouldn't be expected to work when in this condition. Interestingly, however, it was found that if the client group was

not functioning as well as it could be it was often the instructor who felt responsible. For example, one respondent commented that; "I feel that sometimes if a group is not working well ... I feel like I have failed as an instructor' (appendix 21.6).

The discussion relating to bad days can be summarised as the formulated meanings in table xiv.

NO.	FORMULATED MEANING
1.	a bad day is notable for rushing around/being hectic
2.	there are time constraints, usually at odds with the instructors objectives
3.	there is frustration with the system/management
4.	this is coupled with a lack of support from other staff/managers
5.	repetition is a strong feature
6.	personal lethargy may play a part

Table xiv; Formulated meanings associated with a bad day

These meanings can be condensed as follows.

• A bad day is a day in which the instructor running the group feels that the day is outside of his or her control for a possible number of reasons. The reason for this feeling, which is generally characterised by staff frustration, is often held to be management systems or the poor running of a centre. A lack of variety and personal lethargy are often components of a bad day, again these are often felt to be the result of management failings.

Interestingly, difficult groups were not noted as being a cause of bad days. A number of respondents did mention the problems involved with working with difficult groups but there was a determination that these should be seen as challenging days rather than bad days.

7.3 COMMUNITY AND LIFESTYLE

The outdoor community and lifestyle were not only seen as interwoven facets of working in the outdoors. Many respondents saw them as being central to their reasons for being

in the industry. The main features of the outdoor community and lifestyle are shown in table xv.

Many respondents felt that the industry was in a state of flux because of outside pressures such as commercialism and professionalism. These were seen as having particularly adverse effects on the values which underpin the outdoor industry. A number of respondents had already moved on from centres which they saw as moving to an essentially business oriented ethos. A good example of this was the comment;

> "then it got very business focused and I'm not too much into that and it diverted my attention away from my main theme of helping folk find their real potential and that was I think the time to leave and I did" (appendix 21.6).

Many respondents saw the outdoor community lifestyle as a direct reason for their continuing to work in the industry. There were a number of comments such as "a lot of it is about lifestyles basically, apart from anything else" (appendix 21.6). This identification with lifestyle was seen as being stronger than identifying with work in the outdoors as a conventional job. For example it was commented on that the "outdoors is not a proper job [it's] more of a lifestyle statement ... living your job" (appendix 21.1). Reflecting this importance there was a much stronger depth of feeling associated with lifestyle and community than just knowing a group of people who shared the same interest in outdoor activities; although this was a very strong factor. This communal sharing of interest was seen as being somewhat deeper than just sharing hobbies. It was seen more as a sharing of beliefs. An example of this would be the comment that;

> "it is important to feel that you have common goals and are actually connected ... to find other people that are of like mind, who want to achieve what you want to achieve." (appendix 21.4)

In this context outdoor activities were not generally seen as just a hobby but rather an integral part of the self-identity of the respondents.

Other common links included beliefs in person-centred work, a desire to live in the countryside and a rejection of materialistic values. Staff commented that "I like working with [people] that are genuine, that aren't materialistic, that have agreed to a certain lifestyle' (appendix 21.6). Travel to a number of common places, notably Asian countries and wilderness areas, was also a common theme as was the desire to carry on travelling. Although not specifically highlighted it was notable that the majority of the

respondents were educated to a high level with many of those in the student groups having considerable levels of experience and qualifications before going to college.

The community was also seen as being of a supportive nature which gave a release from the pressures of work. For example, it was commented that;

> "a centre full of staff that enjoy working with each other, complement each other [is] going to help things an awful lot" (appendix 21.5)

Even in its widest sense the outdoor community was generally noted for not only being essentially quite small. Most of the respondents had large numbers of mutual acquaintances, but also separate from mainstream society.

Condensing this discussion produces the formulated meanings outlined in table xv.

NO.	FORMULATED MEANING
1.	community is seen as being central to the outdoor lifestyle
2.	there is a wider community associated with outdoor staff than that exclusive to the outdoor centre
3.	there is a conscious acknowledgement of lifestyle as a major element of career choice
4.	community is seen as having common goals, values and beliefs
5.	lifestyle is interwoven with these same paradigms
6.	community is seen as being essentially supportive in nature
7.	the outdoor community is an alternative to mainstream society
8.	both the outdoor community and lifestyle are symbiotic with the natural environment

Table xv. Formulated meanings associated with community and lifestyle

The essence of the outdoor community and lifestyle can be summed up as follows.

• Community and lifestyle are tightly interwoven with working in the outdoors. The community need not be based on physical location, such as an outdoor centre, although it often is. Rather, in its widest sense, the outdoor community is based around people who share the same lifestyle based on common values and beliefs. This lifestyle is most usually manifested in a common interest in

outdoor activities, a love of the wilderness environment and travel. These common interests, values and beliefs often revolve around a rejection of material gain for its own sake.

7.4 FUTURE INTENTIONS

The future was seen in somewhat vague terms for most of the respondents. There was, however, strong agreement that it could only be thought of in the short-term and that mobility, or moving on, would be a feature of it. This is summed up by the comment that "in five years time, or four years time I may feel that it's the next move or the next change whatever that may be" (appendix 21.6).

Despite a universal lack of planning with regard to future intentions the respondents generally agreed that moving on was not only inevitable and natural but also essential. It was generally felt that "you have to go [away] to gain that experience ... where you can actually up your skills and development" (appendix 21.5). Mobility was a function of age and experience. It was generally regarded as important when the excitement and variety involved in working at the present centre became diminished. Moving on was regarded as "the only thing that is going to motivate you .... new places, new centre, slightly different way of working" (appendix 21.6) This approach to mobility and the future reflects the short-term intentions of the respondents who saw boredom and stagnation as inevitable if staying in one centre for more than a few years. The whole attitude to future employment amongst the respondents seemed to reflect a "culture of mobility of different challenges and different learning environments" (appendix 21.6). This is highlighted by the attitude that "as soon as they stop enjoying it they know that they can get employment somewhere else in another centre" (appendix 21.5).

Allied to this culture of mobility were the opportunities available to outdoor staff to move around within the industry. Transferable core skills were seen as playing a major part in the ability of staff to move on, as was the essential short-term nature of outdoor employment. The industry as a whole was regarded as not only tolerating the short-term attitude of staff but also, in many cases, treating them in a short-term capacity where they were seen as replaceable. This feeling was sometimes strongly felt and articulated such as in "our centre policy is that our staff are all replaceable ... and don't matter" (appendix 21.6). In the case of the majority of the respondents this situation seems to have led to a

chicken and egg situation with employers and employees each treating the other as short-term and expendable.

The majority of the respondents did, however, acknowledge that their present mobility was a reflection of a lack of family ties as much as the nature of the outdoor industry. Marriage and family, while not always regarded as inevitable, were seen as being the end of a mobile lifestyle. In this context stable family life was seen by many of the respondents as being incompatible with work in the industry which required staff to be mobile in order for them to stay motivated.

The formulated meanings associated with future intentions are shown in table xvi.

NO.	FORMULATED MEANING
1.	the future is seen only in terms of a few years
2.	moving on is seen as essential in order to stay motivated
3.	future intentions are usually vague and unformulated
4.	there is an acceptance that future intentions may reflect lifestyle changes
5.	future intentions often revolve around gaining experience
6.	freedom of mobility is seen as a positive attribute of the outdoor industry

Table xvi. Formulated meanings associated with
future intentions

Future intentions can be summed up as follows.

- Future intentions for the majority of outdoor staff are vague, unformulated and generally short-term in nature. There is, however, a clear indication that mobility is related to engendering new challenges, maintaining variety and facilitating learning opportunities. A high level of mobility is therefore seen as essential for continued high motivation. Despite this, there is acceptance that a mobile lifestyle is also tied to remaining free of family commitments.

It may seem as if the implications of the definitve statement on future intentions are totally negative in that mobility is seen as critical to continued high motivation. This does not always, however, involve a culture of short-term employment within a single organisation. One respondent for example commented that she had "stayed longer at the centre because of job changes and progression" (appendix 21.1). Other respondents highlighted the idea of mobility within an organisation such as moving around the

various centres within the international Outward Bound organisation. For example it was said that:

> "I like the idea of organisations like Outward Bound, they've got different places, they're all roughly linked, I think that's a good idea because you can work within your profession or within a company going to different places ... see different things, working on the same ideas ... you would be developing a career ... that would be beneficial to yourself and to the centres" (appendix 21.4)

This movement could either take the form of on-going progression through the centres, secondments to other centres or staff exchanges. It was also suggested that sabbaticals to allow staff to travel would serve the purpose of renewing motivation and interest while allowing for long term employment.

7.5 COMPARISONS WITH THE STATE SECTOR

There was a strong and universal agreement (table xvii) that the state sector was noted for the repetition of both groups and activities. On occasions this opinion was almost hostile with descriptions such as "they are stale, bored and rigid" (appendix 21.4) and "they walk up the same hill, go down the same caves ... [they're] switching off, doing things like a robot" (appendix 21.6).

There was, however, an acceptance that, with lifestyle changes such as marriage and having children, sometimes there was a necessity to work in the state sector because of its higher wages and more structured time tables. This lifestyle change was summed up as "[they say] this is the time when I have my wife and kids, they're set in life, that's it" (appendix 21.4). Some respondents put forward the view that this might imply that LEA centre staff have "got it all sorted out - they might have a family, just want a settled life with a bit more time off" (appendix 21.6) Despite this acceptance it was generally felt that the state and private sectors were different in a number of ways which precluded many of the respondents from feeling that they would ever want to work in an LEA centre. It was put forward by some respondents that staff in the state sector were fundamentally different to those in the private sector who were "more ambitious and more interested in travelling and getting new experiences" (appendix 21.4). This was reflected in the idea that having a marriage and family while in the private sector was "not something that happens in our world because people are not well paid, so they can move on because it doesn't matter" (appendix 21.4).

Although there was a general acceptance amongst the respondents that LEA staff were settled in their jobs it was acknowledged that the reasons for this were not clear cut. This acknowledgement can be seen in the formulated meanings for comparisons with the state sector given in table xvii.

NO.	FORMULATED MEANING
1.	the state sector is seen as consisting of highly routine work
2.	there is also a lack of variety of clients
3.	the state sector is seen as a suitable environment for staff with families
4.	entry into the state sector is seen as relating to lifestyle changes
5.	staff from the non-state sector and state sector are seen as having different agendas and motivations

*Table xvii. Formulated meanings associated with comparisons
with the state sector*

The formulated meanings for comparisions with the state sector can be condensed as follows.

• State sector staff are seen as being settled and largely un-adventurous when compared to the non-state sector where staff are seen as being constantly moving on in search of new challenges and variety. This is compounded by the work in the state sector being seen as highly repetitive. Although it is not clear why LEA staff are settled it is apparent that lifestyle changes such as having a family are important factors.

The question of whether LEA staff tended to have families because they were settled in their jobs or vice versa was left un-resolved. Interestingly, the issue of pay in its own right was not raised by any of the respondents although many did comment that LEA centre staff were more inclined to have comfortable life styles which reflected their better pay and conditions. Again this was related back to the idea of being settled.

7.6 THE IMBALANCE OF GENDER

The area which attracted the least consensus amongst the respondents concerned the imbalance of male to female staff in the outdoor industry. Agreement was reached with

regard to the formulated meanings 1 to 5 shown in table xviii but only general agreement was reached with regard to meanings 6 and 7.

All of the women in the interview groups highlighted the issue of the macho culture which they felt pervaded the outdoor industry. This was seen to manifest itself in a number of ways notably in the emphasis given to hard skills and hard skill National Governing Body awards. For example, it was commented that "the industry is a male, macho dominated environment, all about hard skills, which makes it difficult for women" (appendix 21.1). Although it was recognised that these awards were needed to set minimum standards of competence in the activities central to outdoor education it was widely felt, by all of the respondents not just the women, that there was far too much emphasis placed on them. Women were seen as not performing particularly well in governing body awards for a number of reasons including having a recreational interest in outdoor activities rather than a qualification focused interest. Additionally it was noted that the "confidence of women on courses, qualifications can be an issue" (appendix 21.1).

It was notable that the physical macho culture of the industry was seen as being pervasive throughout the industry including senior staff. One woman respondent related an episode where "[the interviewer] asked me if I was physically capable of performing the job, to which my response was if you look in my logbook you will find your answer' (appendix 21.6). What made this situation worst for the member of staff involved was that her log books included a number of physically demanding trips which the interviewer had not noted. Other respondents in this particular group also related similar stories which they had either experienced or knew about.

Although the masculine culture of outdoor centres was highlighted, many women respondents noted that it was the response from groups which left them feeling most demoralised. It was generally found that clients needed to be convinced that a woman instructor was capable of leading outdoor activities. Typical comments were that "male clients are very surprised when you [a woman instructor] get your hands dirty" (appendix 21.4) and "they think they've been short changed, [they've] got a woman" (appendix 21.4). It can be seen that, in this context, the masculine environment of outdoor centres is reflective of societal expectations of outdoor staff and gender roles.

A common issue amongst the women respondents was the idea of giving up a certain amount of femininity and becoming "one of the lads" (appendix 21.6). It was noted,

however, that women instructors who adopted this tactic were frequently labelled as being somewhat out of the ordinary. Women staff often, therefore, found themselves in a no-win situation where they were regarded as being either "bizarre to act feminine or seen as some kind of a freak if you act masculine" (appendix 21.4). It was, however, generally agreed that "you do have to give up a certain amount of femininity" (appendix 21.6).

Despite the difficulties of women in the outdoor industry there was a general, if not total, agreement that the present industry environment presented a number of good opportunities for women staff. This reflected the issues outlined below.

- The increase in key stage two school children as clients (with the inclusion of 'Outdoor and Adventurous Activities' in the National Curriculum, see section 1.2.4).
- An increased awareness of potential difficulties with male staff working with mixed gender, or all female, groups.
- An increased demand not only for all women groups (see section 3.1.4) but also for women instructors.
- The need to improve the image of the outdoor industry (see section 1.2.1).

Allied to the opportunities for women at grass roots level it was also noted that centres are increasingly looking to improve their senior staff gender balance and to increase the public profile of women instructors in a bid to provide role models for potential staff. It was highlighted that it was "important to have a balance of male and female staff" (appendix 21.1). Moreover, one respondent commented that it was a "good time to be a woman" (appendix 21.3). The respondents that disagreed with this stance argued that recruiting token women staff was worse than not recruiting women at all as this policy did not represent real opportunities for improvement in the gender imbalance. It was felt that the underlying sexist attitude seen as being pervasive throughout the industry needed to tackled before real change could take place.

This debate was also reflected in whether it was possible for a woman to have family commitments and work in the outdoor industry. It was acknowledged that in reality it was difficult but there was a strong feeling that this need not be the case. This was seen as reflecting society in general where it is considered acceptable for men to spend long periods of time away from the family but the same is not true for women. As an example of this attitude the case of the media reaction to Allison Hargreaves was highlighted with the comment that "[the media said that] Hargreaves should have been there for her kids - that sort of thing" (appendix 21.4)

The discussion on gender can be presented in the formulated meanings shown in table xviii.

NO.	FORMULATED MEANING
1.	the outdoor industry is male dominated
2.	there is a macho culture within the industry which is characterised by the emphasis on 'hard skills'
3.	there needs to be greater gender balance for the sake of the industry
4.	clients expectations often lead them to expect male staff to lead groups
5.	women staff often find it appropriate to reduce their perceived femininity
6.	the current imbalance can be seen as providing opportunities for women
7.	it is difficult, if not impossible, for a woman to balance family commitments with working in the outdoor industry

Table xviii. Formulated meanings associated with the imbalance of gender

In turn these meanings can be summarised as follows.

- Despite possible increased opportunities for women in the outdoor industry it is still the case that women have to compete against a masculine oriented culture. This is manifested most strongly in the emphasis on hard skills and hard skills qualifications. Sexism, whether overt or implicit, is present not only in all levels of the outdoor industry but also within the perception of many client groups towards women instructors.

It was notable that throughout the discussions on gender issues that there was not a male/female divide amongst the groups. Rather, each gender had varying views on the topics raised. This would tend to confirm that treating men and women as two discrete homogeneous groups is not only wrong but also counter-productive.

7.7 BURNOUT

There was widespread agreement that burnout (table xix) led to de-motivation and dis-illusionment when working in outdoor centres. The consensus was that the emotional

demands of working with groups were compounded by high levels of timetabled contact time often leading to staff running back to back groups for long periods of time with little or even no time for recuperation. The emotional demands of the work were particuarly highlighted. For example, it was said that "you go on an emotional journey with them, it's quite hard in terms of the level of input you put in" (appendix 21.6). Although all the respondents cited a joy of working with groups as a primary motivation it was also noted that "although I like working with a group I find that it's really hard work and it totally drains me" (appendix 21.6). As already highlighted in section 7.2 the result of heavy workloads, lack of time off and a continual stream of similar groups was a feeling of personal lethargy characterised by feeling completely drained. This draining of mental and physical resources was particularly acute on activities where clients had to be coaxed or emotionally propped up. It was highlighted that this sort of activity led to feelings of "you're really quite phased by the end of it" (appendix 21.6). It was agreed that the work of an outdoor instructor was seen by clients as being glamorous but the reality was that the work could be demanding, boring and even unpleasant on occasions. Respondents agreed that the initial excitment of the job is usually short lived and the reality "is that it can be boring, tedious work, you realise that when the glamour wears off" (appendix 21.1).

Difficulties with the nature of the work itself were noted to be compounded by outdoor staff having to sacrifice a normal social life due to the often long hours required of them. Dedication is required in the outdoor industry. For example, it was noted that:

> "you have to be dedicated to do what you do, because you give up a certain degree of other things in life, you know it's not a 9 - 5 job" (appendix 21.4).

This was seen as an example of the high level of dedication required from outdoor staff. It was highlighted by a number of respondents that personal relationships with people outside of the centre/outdoor community were very difficult and this often led to problems. The seasonal nature of outdoor work was also highlighted where;

> "you've got no money in your pocket - you're going to have to look for shop work or go on the dole or do something you don't want to" (appendix 21.4)

Coupled with the intense demands of the working season, the difficulties of the quiet season were generally seen as a prime reason for staff leaving the industry. In this context, it can be seen that the problems of little time off and low wages are increased rather than lessened by having no work over the winter period. Seasonal staff, in

particular, were noted to become worn down quickly, 'burnt out' by the demands of the outdoor industry.

The discussion on burnout can represented as in table xix.

NO.	FORMULATED MEANING
1.	work in the outdoor industry is emotionally demanding
2.	the time demands put on staff are often unreasonable
3.	the glamour of working in the outdoors is short lived
4.	there is a high degree of dedication required to work in the outdoor industry
5.	dedication is combined with making sacrifices in everyday life
6.	seasonal work in the outdoor industry has far-reaching implications

Table xix. Formulated meanings associated with burnout

Amongst all staff it was noted that the industry as a whole paid little attention to the emotional strain of working with large numbers of groups. The situation may be summarised as below.

- Outdoor staff are highly dedicated to their client groups, this leads to high levels of emotional involvement which, when coupled with physical tiredness and little time off, leads to burnout. This situation is particularly acute amongst seasonal staff who work for an intense period of client contact and are then left financially vulnerable and without the support of the centre community for long periods.

7.8 PROFESSIONALISM/STATUS

Despite the culture of mobility and short-term employment culture which has already been highlighted (section 7.4) the outdoor industry is still regarded by outdoor staff as a serious job. This is emphasised by the formulated meanings given in table xx.

Low wages were not seen by the majority of respondents as an issue in itself but they were seen as symptomatic of the status of outdoor staff. Respondents commented that the

outside perception of staff was often that "they think you're not going anywhere because you're not earning any money" (appendix 21.5). This feeling was made worse by a perceived lack of equity with other staff such as marketing and booking staff working within centres. This lack of regard was felt to be carried over into society at large where the attitude of the public was seen as "half admiration, half condescending" (appendix 21.5). The admiration in this context comes about because outdoor staff are perceived as having found an idealistic job. The condescension, however, is perceived as coming about for almost the same reasons where because the work of an outdoor instructor does not attract high wages or career benefits it is not seen as a 'proper job'. There was a strongly felt opinion amongst all of the groups, however, that "the outdoors is becoming more professional and should now be thought of as a proper job" (appendix 21.1).

The concept of professionalism was viewed with mixed feelings by the respondents. Amongst the key concerns was the worry that there would be an even greater emphasis on National Governing Body awards which would lead to staff spending all their free time chasing qualifications. This was universally seen as being un-representive of the nature of a professional. Respondents commented that they would "hate to see [the industry] institutionalised" (appendix 21.4). There was in fact a very strong feeling throughout the focus groups that professionalism and qualifications were completely separate issues. This was reflected by staff already operating to professional standards in terms of client care, responsibility and safe practice. One attraction of professionalism was that:

> "in a couple of years time when all the staff have their minimum qualifications and there aren't people around .. with the professionalisation of the industry they [centre managers] are going to have treat staff with a lot more respect" (appendix 21.6)

In this context it can be seen that outdoor staff feel that they are already acting as professionals, but that other people will be forced into treating them as such when this is formalised. There was a common feeling that outdoor staff should be regarded in much the same way as other education professionals. For example, it was stated that:

> it would be nice to be credited that you are an educator and therefore wherever you go you are seen as a person who is qualified, like a teacher status ... rather than just somebody who teaches canoeing" (appendix 21.4)

The formulated meanings arising from the discussion on professionalism/status are as shown in table xx.

NO.	FORMULATED MEANING
1.	outdoor staff suffer from a low status - both within the industry and with the public at large
2.	lack of wages is seen as reflecting both a lack of status and of equity
3.	outdoor staff already see themselves as working to professional standards although this is not generally recognised by others
4.	the need for qualifications has led to an increased commitment to the outdoor industry
5.	outdoor staff need to be respected for what they do and the responsibilities they carry

Table xx. Formulated meanings associated with professionalism/status

These formulated meanings can be summarised as follows.

• Outdoor staff already regard themselves as operating to professional standards. There is some resentment, however, that this is not respected by either the outdoor industry or the public at large. An example of this is the lack of equity within outdoor centres. Formal professionalism is viewed with mixed feelings as there is concern that it will increase the emphasis on National Governing Body awards. There is a belief, however, that professionalism will increase the status of outdoor staff.

7.9 DISCUSSION OF PHASE II RESULTS

One of the strongest recurring themes highlighted in this chapter (notably in sections 7.2 and 7.7) is the question of centre administration and resourcing. It was noted that while this is often done badly and can lead to difficult situations, if done well a centre can be highly supportive of the work of the instructional staff. Strong feelings were aroused by the subject of centre management with, for example, one respondent commenting that:

> "for me it basically boils down to the way the centres are run, not by the tutorial staff, but by the hierarchy ... all the bits we don't like about our jobs have a lot to do with the organisation of the centre" (appendix 21.6)

The consensus of the debate on centre administration was as outlined below.

• There is a strong need for outdoor staff to feel respected by the centre management.
• Front-line staff need to be consulted about issues that affect them,

- Poor centre resources are a major source of frustration.

- Good centre resources and administration lead to efficient courses and benefit both clients and staff.

- The role of the centre administration should be to support the front-line staff.

The prominence given to centre administration and poor resourcing as major contributors to bad days is, of course, a strong indicator of the negative influence of extrinsic factors de-motivation, or hygiene factors. This is given further credence when the attributes of a good day are taken into account. Table xiii clearly shows that a prime factor in an instructor having a good day is having autonomous responsibility for the successful running of the day. This is compounded by the evidence that non-verbal feedback from the group to the instructor is of significance as is the lack of outside complications.

When a highly specific feature of a good day is taken, that of the activity, once again the role of the instructor can be seen as being central. In this instance the favoured activity, ghyll scrambling, can be noted for its unusually high level of instructor involvement. This involvement is heightened in this case by the need to keep a moving group under control in a potentially very hazardous environment. The instructor is, therefore, not only involved on an intimate level with the activity and the group but also with control of environmental hazards. This total involvement leads to the instructor ultimately also being involved with self in that he or she is being personally challenged in a variety of ways and on a number of different levels. Assuming that other factors such as resource allocation and group suitability are correct, ghyll scrambling as a component of a successful day can be seen to represent an extreme example of the instructor being at the self-perceived centre of a days fulfilment. Although the respondents had their own favourite activities it is interesting that the actual activity being undertaken is not considered as a feature of good or bad days. This is highlighted in section 7.2 where the activity is noted as being of secondary importance to the overall educational objectives of the day. A bad day by contrast was one where the instructor, through external factors such as resourcing, felt removed from control of the day and consequently became frustrated in his or her educational objectives.

The significance of challenge was also highlighted as a factor in the mobility and short-term retention of outdoor staff. This, in turn, reflected the lifestyle of the outdoor community which revolves around variety, travel and new challenges through outdoor activities. It is difficult to say whether the need for new challenge, new learning experiences and variety are components of self-development or simply factors in

preventing stagnation. It is probably fair to suggest that the two are closely inter-twined and symbiotic in nature. The self-perceived beliefs and values of the outdoor community are also notable for the role they play in the employment patterns of outdoor staff. This is particularly so given the rejection of a materialistic philosophy espoused by the majority of the respondents. Confirmation of this rejection is given by the comparison with the state sector which was almost universally seen as being stagnant and un-interesting, but valued by its staff for the stability allowed by its higher wages and greater time off. Whilst it was accepted that lifestyle changes might force a situation where outdoor staff would be forced into a need for greater wages and stability there was agreement that such a situation was at odds with their present beliefs and lifestyles. The women members of the group were, however, more open to the suggestion that these lifestyle changes might have an impact on their current pattern of mobility.

Although the topic of gender imbalance in outdoor centres was hotly debated there was consensus that it was the masculine culture perceived as being prevalent throughout the industry which was the major factor in women being under-represented. Furthermore it was seen that this culture, with its inclination to short-term employment rather than lifestyle considerations, was a factor in women's shorter employment patterns.

This masculine culture may also have an effect on the burnout of outdoor staff. This was perceived as being caused by the long hours and total commitment required of staff. It was strongly felt by the majority of the respondents that their dedication led to them becoming emotionally involved with their groups to a high degree. This involvement was not, however, compensated for by managerial support, sympathetic programming or adequate time off. This issue is another factor in outdoor staff perceiving extrinsic, managerial, factors impinging on their own intrinsic commitment and motivation.

The focus group interviews established that variety, autonomy and challenge are critical within the workplace while lifestyle is critical within the outdoor community environment which encompasses the workplace. At present these requirements are met by a culture of mobility which serves both to maintain interest and enhance personal development. It was acknowledged, however, that this mobility need not conflict with stable employment if working practices within centres and mobility within the industry were improved and formalised.

8. PHASE III
(PERSONAL CONSTRUCTS)

The group focus interviews in phase II showed a high degree of commonality in the responses. This commonality is carried on into the third and final phase of the study which looks at perceptions of work from the viewpoint of the respondents using repertory grids (rep grids) to elicit personal constructs. The use of personal constructs aimed to verify the responses given during the interviews and to examine those responses from a different perspective. The data from phase II is, therefore, enriched and developed further. The use of rep grids allows the respondents' individual and personal paradigms to be examined with regard to nature of the work they do. Consensus is therefore a result of respondents individually highlighting common themes rather than working collectively as in the group interviews. Moreover, rep grids give an insight into the nature of the work respondents would aspire to do (by examining the relationship between the self and ideal self elements).

Results of the rep grids were plotted in the first instance onto one large single table (see appendix 22 for this full listing of constructs). Following the iteration procedure described in section 5.4.3, the 149 resulting constructs were grouped into 9 clusters, or categories (table xxi). Each of these categories had a distinct degree of commonality and was clearly separate from the other clusters. The first four of the categories listed account for sixty three per cent of the constructs used and are treated as the major themes with the remaining five treated as minor, or other, themes.

The number of times each construct was used was then counted and ranked within its categories (tables xxii - xxix).

The coding in table xxi is an abbreviation of the category themes and isused to identify how the constructs in appendix 22 have been placed into these categories. These codes are as below.

pc = person centred	jc = job content	fa = freedom/authority
cf = career/financial	ae = authoritarian ethos	s = status
e = educational	sd = self-development	r = relationship/s

NO.	CATEGORY	CODING	NUMBER OF TIMES USED
1.	person centred ethos/focus of job ethos	[pc]	31
2.	job content/nature of job	[jc]	27
3.	freedom/autonomy	[fa]	18
4.	career structure/financial implications of job	[cf]	17
5.	authoritarian ethos	[ae]	14
6.	status - internal (workplace) and external (society)	[s]	13
7.	educational aspects of job	[e]	13
8.	self-development/internalised aspects of job	[sd]	8
9.	relationship with others/environment	[r]	8

Table xxi. Categories emerging from clustering of personal constructs

8.1 'PERSON CENTRED'

CONSTRUCT	CONTRAST	NUMBER OF TIMES USED
helps other people	out for themselves	7
people person	job/business person	6
people oriented	result/money oriented	5
individual people interest	society/group interest	3
enhances people's ... well being	does not enhance people's well being	3

Table xxii. *Main constructs and contrasts associated with being person centred*

There was a strong theme of how person centred a job was (table xxii) with some twenty one per cent of the listed constructs having some connection to this theme. The widespread use of this category implies that outdoor staff are inclined to split the world of work into two halves; those who work with/for others and those who work for, unspecified, business oriented reasons.

Most notable of the person centred constructs was "helping other people" with the contrast being "out for themselves". This discrete construct was used by seven different

respondents. Outdoor instructors as an occupation were scored strongly towards the construct end of the scale but the self and ideal self elements showed a much more even spread. Almost half of the respondents using the "helping other people" construct put themselves at the contrast end. Perhaps most interesting was the even spread given to the ranking of ideal self. Four respondents were inclined to the construct end of the scale and the remaining three to the contrast end. This would suggest that outdoor staff may be inclined towards altruistic beliefs, but there is still a feeling amongst some of them that they would like a higher level of personal reward. Of the other occupations, teachers were ranked as almost exclusively helping other people, contrasting with lawyers who were seen almost exclusively as being out for themselves. The ranking of teachers compared with self and ideal self would suggest that outdoor staff see themselves as being less altruistic than those in classroom teaching. This is despite the higher wages and better contracts enjoyed by teachers when compared to outdoor staff. The implication must, therefore, be that these outdoor staff see their work, and possibly their lifestyle, as being the more rewarding and/or enjoyable (or self-indulgent?) of the two occupations.

The second ranked construct, that of being a "people person" as opposed to a "job/business person" has a lot in common with the third ranked construct of being "person oriented" as opposed to "result/money oriented". Together these two constructs represent nine per cent of the total constructs used. The most notable aspect of these constructs was that the ideal self was ranked almost exclusively towards the person centred construct end of the scale as opposed to the business/financial contrast.

Other constructs categorised as 'person centred' which were only used once, each included "people priority", "tries to develop and sees the best in people", "concern with the development of the individual", "helps people to understand/learn/enjoy the outdoors" and "gives people a memorable experience". In all of these cases the ideal self was ranked more strongly towards the construct, i.e., towards the 'person centred' end of the scale, than the current self. This would suggest, as already highlighted, a common desire to work closely with people, as a priority in the work-place.

8.2 'JOB CONTENT'

The major construct in this category (table xxiii), that of "variety/stimulating work" was the single most popular construct used accounting for some seven per cent of the total.

CONSTRUCT	CONTRAST	NUMBER OF TIMES USED
variety/stimulating work	repetitive/unstimulating work	10
has a life outside work	lives and breaths work	2
focus - skilled	focus - manual	2
male dominated profession	female dominated profession	2

Table xxiii. *Main constructs and contrasts associated with job content*

Everyone who used this construct placed their ideal self at the extreme construct end of the scale while their present self was only slightly more evenly spread. The job of an outdoor instructor was evenly spread, but exclusively in the construct half of the scale. Indeed it was the highest ranked of all the jobs. This is in contrast to jobs such as centre owner and teacher who, while more evenly spread, were ranked more towards the contrast end of the scale. This would imply that outdoor staff are strongly inclined towards jobs which are varied and stimulating. Furthermore, of all the jobs used in the grid, that of an outdoor instructor was perceived as being the most closely matched to this inclination.

The construct of "male dominated profession", although only used twice, showed a belief that the industry is male dominated and an associated desire to move towards a more even gender balance.

The other constructs categorised as 'job content' which included "enjoys work in unpredictable setting", "deals with bureaucracy", "stressed' and "erratic hours" (all of which were only used one each) give an indication of the working conditions within the industry. There was an even spread with regard to the elements of both outdoor instructor and present self, but ideal self was more inclined to be ranked towards the end of the scale most associated with variety and personal enjoyment.

8.3 'FREEDOM/AUTONOMY'

Despite the variety of constructs used in the freedom/autonomy category (table xxiv) there was a clear pattern of respondents being inclined to the autonomous/responsible end of the scale.

CONSTRUCT	CONTRAST	NUMBER OF TIMES USED
freedom of operation	not free	5
sticks to rules	makes own rules	3
has a great deal of responsibility	has little responsibility	2
free to work in several locations	not free to work in several locations	2
own boss	has a boss/company man	2
flexible/able to use new opportunities	rigid system	2

Table xxiv. Constructs and contrasts associated with freedom/autonomy

The ideal self was ranked as almost exclusively free of restrictions whether within the work place or when changing work. This was in contrast to the current self and outdoor instructor elements which were ranked more evenly across the scale. Perhaps most interesting was the fact that the outdoor instructor job was ranked as being freer from restriction than any of the other jobs. It was also ranked as being of equivalent responsibility to lawyers, doctors and policemen and higher than the other jobs.

Other constructs which were used once each included the "ability to move" and "freedom to change jobs". Together with constructs such as "free to work in several locations" and "flexible/able to use new opportunities" this is an important emphasis, given the context of this study.

8.4 'CAREER'

There was unanimous agreement that outdoor instructors were poorly paid with little career structure. Despite, however, an almost unanimous more ambitious ideal self there was less emphasis on moving towards the structured career/financial reward end of the

scale. Rather, the inclination was towards a mid point on the scale. This may indicate a desire for fair treatment rather than for high levels of reward.

CONSTRUCT	CONTRAST	NUMBER OF TIMES USED
ambitious	not ambitious	5
makes lots of money	makes little money	5
has a career structure	has little career structure	4
business career oriented	job satisfaction	2

Table xxv. Main constructs and contrasts associated with career

What is perhaps most striking within this category (table xxv) is that the outdoor instructor job is unanimously ranked the lowest of all the jobs on both the career structure and wage constructs and yet the highest on job satisfaction. This could be taken as a clear indicator of the effectiveness of intrinsic factors relating to job satisfaction.

8.5 MINOR THEMES

The other, or minor, themes were as follows.

8.5.1 'Authoritarian ethos'

CONSTRUCT	CONTRAST	NUMBER OF TIMES USED
authority figure enforces	facilitator/encourages	7
provides opportunities	restricts opportunities	2

Table xxvi. *Main constructs and contrasts associated with authoritarian ethos*

The use of this category (table xxvi) may reflect the alternative/non-mainstream view of outdoor education. The self and outdoor instructor elements ranked towards the far end of the scale away from authoritarian ethos, with the ideal self being ranked, almost universally, at the extreme of the scale. It was notable that teachers, however, were more inclined to be ranked towards the authoritarian end of the scale.

8.5.2 'Status'

CONSTRUCT	CONTRAST	NUMBER OF TIMES USED
working/lower class	upper class	3
educated/skilled	uneducated/unskilled	3
part of management/employer	not management/employee	2
profession/professionally skilled	non-professional/just a job	2

Table xxvii. Main constructs and contrasts associated with status

There was unanimous agreement that the job of outdoor instructor was only ranked towards the middle of the scale with regard to professional and public status. This contrasted with a universal desire to have greater respect and status. The ideal self element was ranked on a broadly similar level to other established professional groups such as doctors and teachers, confirming the desire to treated as equal to other professionals.

8.5.3 'Educational aspects of the job'

CONSTRUCT	CONTRAST	NUMBER OF TIMES USED
educates	doesn't educate	3
directly affects learning of client	indirectly affects learning of client	3
educator of skills/knowledge	educator of law	2
application of educational skills	application of manual skills	2

Table xxix. *Main constructs and contrasts associated with educational aspects*

There was a consistent ranking of the outdoor instructor, self and ideal self towards the educational end of the scale together with teachers. This would suggest that outdoor staff see themselves as being educationalists even if the centre they are working in is not part of the state, educational, sector.

8.5.4 'Self-development/internalised aspects of job'

The self-development category was not a major theme, but the universal ranking of the ideal self element at the end of the scale was associated with development, personal satisfaction and achievement. This contrasted with the self and outdoor instructor elements which were generally ranked as being less fulfilled in these areas.

It can, of course, be argued that this category could be included within the job content category (section 11.2.2). The basis for this argument would be that self development is not descriptive of a job, as the other categories are, but an integral part of it, this is discussed further in section 11.3.

8.5.5 'Relationship with others/environment'

This category revolved around relationships with the environment, notably a strong desire/need to work outdoors and with others. It was seen as desirable that relationships with others were both informal and two-way rather than formal and didactic. This supports the notion of outdoor education as an alternative form of education.

8.6 DISCUSSION OF PHASE III RESULTS

The ranking of the rep grid categories suggests that outdoor staff judge the world of work by two main criteria. These are whether a job centres around working with people and the jobs intrinsic nature with regard to job satisfaction, autonomy, responsibility and ethos. If the construct of being "person oriented" (contrast - "money oriented") is taken in conjunction with other constructs such as "helps other people" (contrast - out for themselves") it can be seen that staff typically see person-centred jobs as being contrasting to business centred jobs which attract financial reward. This contrast is taken further when the importance of financial reward and incentive is considered within the career category. This category shows that outdoor staff, while they rank themselves as the lowest paid of the elements, do not desire high levels of external reward. This type of reward is seen as being associated with occupations such as lawyers which are rated as being highly self-centred. Notably the rep grids also highlight the notion that outdoor staff are not motivated by the desire for high financial reward or structured linear careers.

It is, however, also notable that outdoor staff see themselves as enjoying the highest level of job satisfaction of all the elements. This is reflected in similarity among the self, outdoor instructor and ideal self elements in a number of constructs. Examples of this are found in the constructs "experiencing life to the full", "motivated intrinsically" and the constructs relating to freedom and variety. It is notable that job content is the second most commonly-used category. This is in addition to the categories of freedom/ autonomy, relationship with others and self-development/internalised aspects of the job. These four categories put together would account for forty one per cent of the constructs used and give a strong indication of the importance of intrinsic factors for outdoor staff. Typical words used in the constructs within these categories include; informal, learns, responsibility, individual, flexible, free and unpredictable. It is apparent that all of these words are associated with intrinsic motivational factors. The single most used construct is associated with variety, stimulating work and challenge. These three factors were linked together by many of the respondents. This would suggest that variety, stimulation and challenge are typically seen by outdoor staff as interwoven facets of a job.

The single most commonly used word was free/freedom which is why constructs associated with this aspect of work form a discrete category. Not only is the word 'free' used to describe attributes of a job but it is also used to describe the ability to move between jobs and locations. This implies that outdoor staff are not only conscious of their tendency to move on, but see it as a desirable part of their lifestyle. This can, of course, also be related to the importance given to variety and challenge already discussed.

Of the other categories it is evident that outdoor staff see themselves as working within an alternative educational framework worthy of professional respect and opposed to an authoritarian ethos. This is in contrast to many of the other jobs on the element scale. Most interesting, perhaps, is the respondent's view of outdoor centre managers which was frequently seen as contrasting with outdoor staff. This was most noticeable in areas such as making money, and being business-oriented as opposed to person oriented. This would suggest that there is often disagreement on fundamental levels between staff and managers. It was also apparent that centre managers were seen as less free than outdoor staff and considerably less free than the ideal self. This has implications for the idea that staff move on because of the lack of advancement opportunities, and casts doubt on whether those opportunities are actually desired. This does conflict, however, with the high ranking given to being ambitious. Outdoor staff may see the work of a manager as

being too structured for them early in their careers, but this attitude may change with time.

As with the group interviews, there was a strong degree of commonality in the rep grid results. This not only allows the drawing out of the common themes already discussed but also allows a strong degree of confidence in the universality of the results. In summary, the common themes highlighted by the rep grids point to outdoor staff not only viewing the workplace as either person centred employment or business and finance centred, but also as either mainstream or alternative. Outdoor staff typically see themselves as presenting a person-centred alternative to the authoritarian and materialistic ethos which they see as forming the basis of many of the other jobs. A key feature of this alternative ethos is the concept of informal two-way learning as opposed to the perceived formal one-way learning of mainstream education. Despite this altruistic outlook on employment, the rep grid results also point to outdoor staff being professionally-motivated in terms of their responsibilities and the desire for associated fair treatment in terms of status, respect and financial reward. This, however, is largely secondary to the strong motivation provided by personal enjoyment, autonomy, responsibility and, perhaps most critically, variety and flexibility.

9. CONCLUSION

This chapter is concerned with bringing together concepts, themes and findings from the previous sections of this study. It begins with a brief, re-examination of the literature, current issues and theories which formed the basis of the study. It then discusses the results of the research phases by developing a working motivation model. The chapter concludes by discussing the implications of this model and making recommendations for its implementation.

9.1 DISCUSSION OF THE REVIEW MATERIAL

The review raised many questions. Most prominent was the need to address the question 'what exactly motivates outdoor staff?' Allied to a need to improve the understanding of outdoor staff is the need to embed this understanding within the context of current changes affecting the outdoor industry. The review material of this study, therefore, has lessons for theory and practice.

9.1.1 The contribution of the literature review and current issues chapters

As already highlighted, in sections 3.1.1 and 3.3, the overriding theme of the literature review was a lack of research relating to outdoor staff. This lack was exacerbated, when staff were mentioned, by the assumption that staff are highly motivated by simple virtue of their working in the outdoor industry. This assumption needs to be set against the importance of staff in the client's outdoor experience and a high turnover of staff found in the non-state sector. Allied to the assumption of high self-motivation is the further assumption that staffing problems within the industry can be approached through conventional scientific management methods such as increasing salaries and time off. Part of the reason for this lack of understanding may be the general lack of managerial understanding found throughout the industry.

Gender is one of the more contentious areas in the literature review. It is not only subject to reasoned argument but also to ideological polemic. The review points to a number of tactics being used to address the gender imbalance found within the industry. However, it also points to a lack of understanding as to why women are under-represented throughout the industry. One possible explanation is the masculine-oriented image of

the outdoor industry and outdoor activities in general. This image is currently undergoing subtle changes, largely because of consumer and legislative demands. It would be expected that there would be a two-way relationship between these changes and the numbers of women employed in the industry, notably at more senior levels.

Burnout is prominent amongst the problems associated with outdoor staff. Many of its features were noted to be associated with the issues linked to high turnover. In particular, these were the difficulties associated with highly dedicated staff being burdened with heavy work loads, little time off and a lack of support.

There is not a large literature on the topic but the literature review does give a number of pointers. Firstly, American studies point to the importance of community and communal values. This theme is carried over into the concept of commonality amongst outdoor staff as well as organisational culture and its importance to staff. It was noted, however, that the outdoor centre community is increasingly threatened by financial constraints which have led to different staffing structures as well as the realisation of capital assets by selling off, or re-defining, staff accommodation. One feature of this situation is that outdoor staff have been shown to share a number of common traits and values as well as a shared sense of vocation. It was observed that the literature referred, for example, to a need for autonomy, personal development, working with like-minded peers and client contact, although this does not always seem to be acted on at managerial level.

American studies, such as Birmingham (1989), also pointed strongly to the importance of intrinsic motivation with regard to the job itself and the importance of seeing the work as a lifestyle statement rather than as a conventional career. The discussion on careers in the outdoors pointed strongly to the difficulties associated with using the term career in its traditional sense when relating it to the outdoor industry. The importance of non-linear, non-hierarchical progression within the industry is examined as an alternative concept of career. However, this is currently subject to the influence of the need to obtain qualifications and training in order to match a tightening legislative framework. Much of the career debate also revolved around the highly topical debate of professionalism and its impact on the industry as a whole. Of all the issues raised in the current issues, the subjects of professionalism, careers and qualifications are those which most directly impinge on the motivation of staff in the outdoor industry. It can be seen that these subjects are closely interwoven. The impact of changes in the state sector and educational curriculum is less immediate but still needs to be taken into account because of the impact these changes will have on the industry as a whole. A major impact of these

changes is, for example, likely to be increased commercialisation of the industry. It is difficult to gauge from the literature what the effects of this will be on staff. It does seem likely that there will be a level of conflict, possibly high, between commercial needs and altruistic values.

A common interest in outdoor activities suggests that staff may constantly seek sensations and new challenges. This theme also highlighted the individualistic nature of many outdoor activities and their participants. Perhaps even more interesting was the notion of magic moments. These were considered to be either of three distinct experiences; flow, peak experiences or plateau experiences. All of these represented moments of deep meaningfulness which gave expression to the ultimate values and beliefs of working in the outdoors. These moments were often sufficiently powerful enough to sustain those experiencing them for long periods of less satisfying work. The importance of matching the challenge to the individual instructor was also noted, particularly in relation to flow.

The subject of ego was more problematic because it is hard to quantify. Outdoor staff may appear 'glamorous' to their groups and often also provide role models by virtue of their position. The review indicated that younger staff are more prone to ego-enhancing behaviour than older staff, who may be more comfortable with their role. Even more contentious than the question of ego was the idea that outdoor staff are avoiding everyday stress by living an existence isolated from mainstream society with its attendant cares and concerns.

9.1.2 The contribution of the theories

Herzberg (1968a,) suggests that extrinsic factors such as salary and company administration serve to remove dissatisfaction, and hence aid retention of staff, rather than enhance motivation. This is borne out by a number of writers. McGregor (1957) for example, suggests that when staff are given support and encouragement (theory-Y) rather than crude external incentives (theory-X) they perform at a much higher level.

Many of the intrinsic group of writers, such as Herzberg, are heavily influenced by the humanist school of psychology, led by Maslow and Rogers. This school, with its focus on human growth, is particularly apt for the outdoor industry which sells itself as an educational tool for personal development. One prediction of the motivational theories when applied to outdoor staff is, therefore, that personal growth is a key feature of an

outdoor career. This growth aspect of motivational theory can be combined with the avoidance of everyday stress and the satisfaction of physiological, 'hygiene', needs. In that context it can be related even more to the staff who work in residential centres. In addition, the ability of outdoor activities to induce 'magic moments, peak experiences and flow' can also be applied to the concepts of self-actualisation and personal fulfilment which are key features of the humanist tradition.

Personal growth is, of course, just one of a number of factors which might influence outdoor staff. Achievement theory points to the need of individuals to experience achievement, affiliation and power. Attribution theory indicates the need of successful individuals for self-determination. Central to both of these theories is not only the concept of self-identity, or ego, but also the need for maintenance of that self-identity through realistic challenge and goal-setting. It can be seen that there is a strong humanistic link between these theories and those of Maslow and Herzberg.

It would be convenient if the theories already mentioned were the sole theories which examine motivation. However, this is not the case. Equity and expectancy-valance theories point to a need, if not for explicit rewards, then at least for being valued members of an organisation. These theories, allied to the behaviourist, scientific management, school of thought would suggest that reward, or the expectation of reward, is a factor in staff motivation. There are elements from these theories that need to be considered.

The theories of motivation outlined in the review would serve to indicate that the expected profile of outdoor staff would be independent, self-fulfilling and constantly developing. The implication of this is perhaps that outdoor staff are inherently unstable in terms of conventional career patterns.

The theory review also highlighted the importance of organisational and community culture in the functioning of an outdoor centre. Linked to this was an acceptance that the outdoor industry exists in a capitalist society, the values of which must have some impact on the relationship of the workforce with their employers. It was suggested that a common agenda, or at least acceptance of a pluralist agenda, was essential to the smooth running of a centre. The managerial approach to the ethos and values of the staff was seen as essential to facilitating such a situation.

9.2 INFLUENCES ON MOTIVATION - THE MOTIVATION MODEL

It is possible to break the results of the study down into identifiable areas. It is the synthesis of these areas which forms the motivation model. These areas are discussed in the following sections.

9.2.1 Entry Motivation

Entry motivation relates to the drive component of the motivation construct and, as such, is critical in that staff should enter the industry for the right reasons and with the right expectations. These expectations include an awareness of the low wages, long hours and working conditions which are typical within the industry.

The questionnaire results (section 6.2.1) show a clear initial attraction for the industry based on, firstly, 'working in the outdoors' and, secondly, 'working with people', both of which were rated towards extremely important. 'Being able to do your hobby as a job' was, however, rated as slightly less than important. After working in the industry these attractions showed a marked change (section 6.2.2), the most notable of which was a sharp increase (of almost 450%) in 'being part of an alternative educational system'. Other areas which showed an increase in attraction were 'belief in the power of the outdoors to change people' and 'working with like minded staff'. 'Being able to do your hobby as a job' however showed a drop in importance.

These findings were reflected by the group interviews which show that the focus group members were attracted by the educational, philosophical and ethos side of outdoor education rather than the activities. The activity itself was usually seen as a mere component of the work rather than an important feature (section 7.2). Working with other people was often mentioned as an attraction of the industry but usually within the context of the outdoors. Working with people for its own sake was seen as less attractive if removed from the educational environment of the outdoor medium. Rep grids (section 8.1) highlighted the central importance of work being people-centred rather than business or financially oriented.

It is also evident that different profiles of staff at the entry stage make a significant difference to their career intentions. People entering the industry from a different profession or from a related college course are more likely to be intending to treat the industry as a full time career (section 6.1.2). It can, of course, be argued that these two

groups are not likely to be treating the industry as stop-gap employment given the conscious decision they have made to enter it.

Entry motivation into the industry is generally complex and more involved than might at first be expected. The environment does play an important role but it is perhaps surprising that the activities themselves do not. It is possible that those staff who would have ranked activities higher may be working in pure skills centres.

Overall, therefore, it can be stated that;

- Staff who choose to work in outdoor education centres can be seen to have a strong affinity with the educational and inter-personal aspects of the work. Staff who enter the industry following a conscious decision to do so are less likely to treat it as short term employment.

9.2.2 External Motivators

There is a cross-over between work and personal development, which has been argued to be central to work in the industry. Therefore, it is not always a simple matter to separate extrinsic and intrinsic motivators. A good example of this is the importance attached to having an external element, such as time for training, allocated for an intrinsic purpose, such as personal development. Likewise, praise and thanks, particularly from clients, as well as non verbal feedback, can be taken as external bolstering of an internal process - job satisfaction. It is clear from these two examples that the external/internal debate is more complex than some of the motivational theorists, such as Herzberg, would imply.

However, pay, as Herzberg maintains, plays no major part in the motivation of outdoor staff (sections 6.3.1 and 8.1). There was a feeling throughout the study that "professional staff should receive professional wages" (all quotes are from questionnaire results in appendix 23 unless otherwise indicated) but this was more a question of equity and being valued than materialistic gain (sections 7.8 and 8.5.2). This argument relates well to equity theory although cognitive evaluation theory maintains that acceptance of a level of pay is an arbitrary process which, in the case of the outdoor industry, would allow for the acceptance of low wages because of a sense of vocation. Staw, Calder and Hess (1975) do, however, make it clear that higher wages for some members of staff will undermine the sense of vocation of the others.

Equity theory was found to have a strong support particularly when related to cognitive evaluation theory in examining the role of inter-employee parity of working conditions. The higher wages of one group of employees can undermine the intrinsic motivation of another group. This was related to the concept of worth and being valued as a member of a working community. Low wages were often seen as staff being exploited by centres, particularly when this was combined with long hours. Interviews with staff (section 7.8) highlighted the attitude that outdoor staff show little loyalty to centres partly because they feel that centres often show little loyalty to them. This attitude is summed up by the comment from one questionnaire respondent;

> "I feel that on the whole staff are used as cannon fodder for a season and
> therefore the high drop out rate is understandable, people need to feel valued"

Such comments were common with, for example "instructors being under-valued", "management relies too much on my charitable attitude", and "it's high time centres stopped exploiting their staff" among the expressions recorded. Comments such as these reflect a general dissatisfaction, almost bitterness, with the status of front line outdoor staff within outdoor centres. This is borne out by discussions during the focus groups which pointed to staff feeling that they suffered from a lack of respect both from within and outwith the industry. Rep grid results (section 8.5.2) highlighted the desire of outdoor staff to be treated as equal to other professional groupings such as teachers and doctors.

The practical difficulties with having little disposable income were most often associated with being able to follow personal interests which required the ability to travel away from the centre. This led to a feeling of:

> "It's very difficult to have a life outside the centre - little time off, remote
> location, living on site, no money to escape"

Lack of finance and time off is likewise a factor in being able pursue personal development such as in the case of training courses. Section 6.3.1. shows that 'being able to get away from work in free time', 'having an adequate level of time off' and 'having time off for personal development' are all rated as more important than 'having a decent salary'. 'Having a high level of salary' has, of course, already been highlighted as the only motivation factor which was ranked towards unimportant. However, salary is ranked as more critical when it comes to deciding to leave a centre. Section 7.5 showed there was strong agreement that the state sector had improved the external motivators of salary and

time off to the extent that they were no longer acting as negative hygiene factors. This was despite the feeling that work in the state sector was low on intrinsic motivation which rendered it unattractive. This removal of hygienes does, of course, need to be taken in context with LEA staff being seen as settled because of lifestyle changes and therefore in greater practical need of higher wages and time off.

More critical in terms of external motivation is the concept of feedback and/or recognition. The study looked at three aspects of this, from the perspectives of clients, colleagues and from management (section 6.3.1). Recognition from clients was ranked the most important of the three whilst recognition from management was ranked quite low. Feedback from groups, particularly non-verbal feedback, was an important factor in a good day (sections 6.5.1 and 7.2). This feedback was typically seen as confirming the achievement of the instructor and thus fits the concepts of Attribution Theory. It can be seen again in this context, therefore, that an extrinsic motivator, recognition, had a close connection to intrinsic motivation.

There was no real evidence for the influence of the behaviourist school of theories such as Expectancy-Valence Theory. However, this was difficult to gauge because of the intangibility of the expected rewards and the blurred distinction between working life and private life exhibited in the outdoor industry.

Given the difficulty of identifying true external motivators, their role in the motivation of outdoor staff can be summed up as below.

• Extrinsic motivation of outdoor staff serves little purpose in its own right. Size of salary is an example of this. It does, however, serve to confirm the importance of intrinsic motivational factors with, for example, salary confirming worth and feedback confirming achievement. Equity of treatment and a feeling of being respected is, however, critical in the closed environment of an outdoor centre.

9.2.3 External De-motivators

The most critical aspect of external de-motivators is that, as shown in figure 25 (p. 219) they can exert an influence out of proportion to the other factors. As would be expected from Herzberg's Two-Factor Theory, the de-motivators experienced in the work place were largely, although not exclusively, external in nature. Section 6.3.2 showed that five

out of the top eight reasons for choosing to leave a centre were extrinsic. The most notable of these reasons were 'lack of advancement' and 'lack of time off'. Linking these reasons with 'not having time off for personal development', also an important reason for leaving, it is clear that development in both a professional and personal sense is an important issue. Other highly ranked reasons such as 'low feelings of achievement' and 'not being able to make own decisions' reflect this feeling of frustration with lack of personal growth.

The prime assertion of Two-Factor Theory is that the motivator factors enhance motivation whilst the hygiene factors serve to remove dissatisfaction. This was largely the case with outdoor staff. The questionnaire results showed that three of the eight most important reasons for leaving a centre were intrinsic in nature, but there was an underlying focus on extrinsic, hygiene, factors. A number of factors, notably; having responsibility, having variety and enjoying your work were influenced by poor centre administration (discussed in section 7.2). This frustration was felt strongly enough by some respondents to lead to comments such as "all the bits we don't like about our jobs have a lot to do with the organisation of the centre" (appendix 21.6). In addition to issues such as inadequate resources, staff blamed centre administration for the factors which led to emotional burnout (section 7.7). Of particular note in this context were the long hours and lack of time off between groups which staff felt they needed in order to recover from the emotional demands of the work. This was compounded by staff having to sacrifice a normal social life and remaining tied to the physical institution of the outdoor centre.

Seasonal work was also seen by many questionnaire respondents as a major difficulty to the extent that:

> "One of the biggest factors for me for considering leaving is the lack of security in the job and lack of permanency. Always unemployed for four months of the year is not very motivating"

Financial problems, lack of paid holidays, and the need to find work outside the outdoor community all added to the difficulties of seasonal work. This was further compounded by the perceived lack of value given to staff (highlighted in section 9.2.2).

The external de-motivator section of the motivation model can be summarised as below.

- The most pronounced external de-motivator is frustration with centre administration and resourcing issues. This is compounded for seasonal staff by problems of insecurity and un-employment.

9.2.4 Environment

The environment, figure 25 (p. 219), is not only the surrounding 'box' in which almost everything else happens; it is also the largest single component of the motivation model. Thus, it is important to clarify what is meant by the various elements of environment. Firstly, there is the natural environment, the hills, rivers and so on, in which outdoor education is rooted. Secondly, there is the environment of the outdoor community. As emphasised in section 4.1.1, this community is not only the physical collective of an outdoor centre but also the wider community of people who share a lifestyle centred around certain common beliefs and interests. Birmingham's (1989) study points to the importance of the centre community. But comments made by respondents, notably in the focus group interviews (section 7.3), highlight the equal importance of the wider community.

As highlighted by the theory review (section 4.1) the sense of community within outdoor centres in an ideal situation is one in which both management and front line staff are involved. This is engendered by creating a feeling of belonging which comes from involvement in making important and trivial decisions together.

Successful centre communities undoubtedly play a major part in keeping staff well motivated, for example one questionnaire respondent noted that:

> "I currently work at the most supportive, happiest centre I have ever had the privilege of working at. It makes all the difference".

The outdoor community may be seen as an alternative to mainstream society and there was evidence of escapism by outdoor staff. In the interviews (section 7.1) canoeing was used as a metaphor for being taken away from society. The concept of an alternative to mainstream society is most clearly seen in the questionnaire result (section 6.2.2) which showed the strong attraction of 'being part of an alternative educational system'. There is also a strong suggestion that the outdoor community is centred on a rejection of materialistic values which typify mainstream society. This fits the evidence of Riggins

(1983) who found that the prime motivation for wishing to work for Outward Bound in the USA was the opportunity to pursue favourable working and lifestyle conditions.

It was also suggested that outdoor people are individualists. This could be seen as an argument for community not being important to staff but it is more pertinent to ask what is meant by community in this context. The questionnaire (section 6.3.1) showed that 'feeling of belonging to a community' was not ranked as particularly important. 'Agreeing with the company ethos' and 'working with like minded people' were, however, rated higher. Community in this context is the concept of a group of people with shared ideals and beliefs. There is a clear support in the interviews (section 7.3) for the idea that community can be seen as revolving around lifestyle rather than physical location. The idea of outdoor people being individualists does, of course, give credence to their not liking authority. The personal constructs (section 8.3) also highlighted that the desire for autonomy is an essential factor within the workplace. It is also noticeable in the personal construct results (section 8.5.1) that the self and outdoor instructor elements were ranked towards the far end of the scale away from authoritarian ethos. The ideal self element was ranked even further away being, almost universally, at the extreme end of the scale.

Section 6.4.2 shows that 'living in area/countryside/away from cities' was the fourth most popular reason for continuing to work in the outdoor industry. This theme of wanting to live in the countryside and away from cities was constantly returned to during the focus group interviews (section 7.3) and highlighted by the rep grids (section 8.5.5). Outdoor staff typically appeared to approach the natural environment in an evangelical sense with a strong desire to pass on its benefits to others. This was often a reflection of the value and benefits which the outdoors had for the staff themselves and which they felt needed to be repaid in some way.

Environment, as a stage in the motivation model, can be summed up as below.

- Environment is important to outdoor staff in a number of ways. The most obvious, and powerful, of these is the natural environment but the outdoor community also represents a working environment which pervades the outdoor industry. The physical community is less important than the community of like minded people sharing a common lifestyle based on shared interests and beliefs

The centre environment and female staff

The interview results in section 7.6 show that the centre environment was one of the critical areas noted by women respondents. The main feature of this environment which impacted on women was the masculine culture within centres which caused many women instructors to feel uncomfortable. This culture was found at all levels of the industry but most notably it was exhibited by centre managers and clients. Moreover, the emphasis on hard skills which this culture engendered was seen as a barrier to women. The questionnaire results confirm that men were more concerned with having technical challenge than women (section 6.3.1). Women were more inclined to be concerned with the ethos and communal nature of a centre as well as with privacy. These concerns were the only areas within the questionnaire returns which were noticeably different for men and women.

The question of how having a family, or the intention to have a family, affects women staff is less clear. Questionnaire comments such as "I cannot see how I can have a family and do this job" were common, but they were counteracted by other women staff, particularly in the interviews (section 7.6). There was a strong feeling amongst the respondents that women in the state sector are more able to have families because of the more settled and routine nature of work in LEA centres (section 7.5). This may, however, also be reflected in the generally older age of women in the state sector. The ambiguous career intentions of women entering the outdoor industry may reflect the unresolved nature of this question for women themselves.

It would appear that the implications for the motivation model of the different approach to environment and culture from men and women is more a question of degree rather than a need for a different model.

9.2.5 The Work

The work itself is not only the largest aspect of the employment of outdoor staff. It is also one of the most important sources of intrinsic motivation. In addition, the all-encompassing 'lifestyle' nature of working in the outdoor industry (discussed above) makes it of far greater significance in terms of personal identity than many more mainstream occupations.

Results from the various good/bad questions give a good indicator of motivation in the workplace. The theme of these was set firstly, during the pilot study with an example of a good day (appendix 8) given by a respondent from centre 'A'. The particular day in question was a hill day organised for a group of school children. A member of staff was given a fictitious identity as a park guide and conducted the school group on a walk in the Langdale district of the Lake District. The fact that this member of staff was not known by the group and furthermore was Australian gave the fictitious identity credence. The weather on the day was perfect and the group gelled well with a good deal of mutual help for each other. The key elements of the day for the respondent were that he had organised a day which was new and innovative; there was a degree of complexity in the creation of a scenario and identity; the weather was good and the group involved had an enjoyable and constructive day. This is a good example of the factors which seem integral to a satisfying day.

It can be seen that, with the exception of the weather, all the elements of the day were attributable to the respondent. The fact that the group in question was responsive was a bonus but it was the fact that the group was responsive to the ideas and effort of the staff involved that made the day a success from the staff viewpoint. It is also interesting that the activity in question, although appropriate for the group, was of a low level of technical challenge. This lends credence to the idea that the activity being used is secondary to its results.

This example supports the supposition that a good day, as Two-Factor Theory would indicate, is largely due to the intrinsic attributes of the respondent. It does need to be considered that, as Attribution Theory indicates, it is the staff's perception that they are exercising control over the day/group which is important on a personal level. This could suggest that intrinsic attributes are not always the cause of success, although it can be seen in this case that the staff's attribution of causality is close to reality. A further interpretation of the success of the day in the example given is that it consisted of a succession of 'magic moments' which rendered the day memorable for the staff involved.

Ego is a factor in the job satisfaction of staff but they are not primarily motivated by it as suggested by Mortlock (1984, 1995). Many of the respondents recognised that the work of an outdoor instructor may be seen as glamorous and that ego undoubtedly plays a part in their motivation, but this soon wears off. More important was the idea of having variety, both at work and within the wider outdoor community. Variety stimulation and challenge were seen as being the essence of successful outdoor work. This is highlighted

by the rep grid results (section 8.2) which highlighted these as the most commonly used constructs.

Outdoor staff were shown to exhibit high needs for affiliation and power. Both of these needs were found, however, to have caveats. The need for power seemed to be altruistic in that the power was desired in order to enhance the learning of others (sections 7.1 and 7.2). Affiliation needs were noted to be strong in one sense in that there was a desire to be part of the outdoor community, and possibly the centre community (section 7.3), But instructors also preferred to work in a largely autonomous capacity (section 8.3). The need for achievement was not directly proven. However, the importance of new challenge to outdoor staff indicates a high perceived need for achievement.

The importance of this factor reflects the essential content of McGregor's X and Y theory. This suggests that staff who are given responsibility for their work, and the support they need, are more successful than staff who are coerced by extrinsic motivators. Support for staff has a high degree of significance for outdoor staff who highlight a lack of support as a major de-motivator (sections 6.3.2 and 7.2). Discussions in the focus groups point out that this need not be the case. A supportive centre management-structure and adequate resources has far reaching consequences both for staff morale and motivation as well as for that of the client groups.

As already discussed in theoretical terms outdoor staff would appear to exhibit a reasonably high level of McCelland's needs for affiliation and power. The power needs can be related to the desire for a client group to succeed. This altruistic aspect of the work of outdoor staff is highlighted by the focus group interviews (section 7.2). These point to the success of the group as a factor of the staff having responsibility and autonomy of decisions, as being central to a good day. From the focus groups (section 7.1) it was found that a key feature of the essence of a successful activity was an "involvement with self". This shows the importance of the instructor being challenged whilst working with groups. The essence of a good day showed a similar theme of challenge. Likewise, the fact that the instructor has active involvement with the group, taking responsibility for them and for control of the natural hazards, is seen as central to the instructor's enjoyment of the activity being undertaken (section 7.1). Similarly, the rep grids highlight the importance of freedom and autonomy as central to the work of an outdoor instructor (section 8.3). Staff see their work as being freer of restrictions than almost any other profession and, moreover, they show a clear desire, as manifested in the ideal self element, for even greater freedom. Affiliation needs would appear to be high

amongst outdoor staff, most notably as a function of community within the outdoor centre and the wider outdoor community. However, this needs to be balanced not only against the sometimes high levels of autonomy required by instructors leading groups but also the individualistic nature of outdoor staff.

Typically, good days are exemplified by autonomous responsibility while bad days are exemplified by the failure or constraint of management systems.

The category 'job content' in the rep grid results is just one of the areas which points to the need for variety, stimulation and challenge. Recognition and achievement have been highlighted in the discussion as being closely intertwined. Feedback reinforces the perceived accomplishments of the instructor. Responsibility was seen as essential to the autonomous and anti-authoritarian nature of outdoor staff. Company policy/ administration and supervision have been shown to be contentious issues for staff on numerous instances. The questionnaire (sections 6.3.2 and 6.5.1) and the focus groups (section 7.2) highlighted the issue of poor administration, with lack of support and poor resources being the most common causes of staff frustration. Working conditions can also be tied into company policy and administration although the link is a more tenuous one. Indeed, the questionnaire results showed that working conditions were generally not considered of great significance (section 6.3.1). Salary was unequivocally seen by staff as having no motivational value although it was recognised that lifestyle changes could force them to look for work which paid a more realistic salary.

The work component of outdoor staff motivation can be taken as consisting of a number of facets. These are as outlined below.

- Prime requirements of work for outdoor staff are autonomy, responsibility, challenge and, most importantly, variety. There is a strong element of job satisfaction gained from a client group's successes which, although partly ego-centred, is essentially altruistic. External factors which get in the way of this success, such as inadequate resources, cause high levels of frustration.

9.2.6 Intrinsic Belief

Intrinsic belief is placed at the core of the motivational model because the literature suggests that this factor would be central to work in the outdoor industry (sections 3.1.1

and 3.1.6). Many respondents cited their beliefs as prime reasons for continuing in the outdoor industry (sections 6.2.2, 6.3.1, 7.3, and 8.1). It is particularly notable that outdoor staff typically see themselves as highly dedicated to their work, often making perceived sacrifices in other areas such as personal life and family. The most commonly-used of the construct categories produced by the rep grids was how person-centred a job was in ethos (section 8.1). This reflects the importance of personal beliefs. This person-centred ethos was typically seen as being at odds with more business oriented occupations. This conflict was clearly shown in an example given during the focus groups (section 7.3). An increase in business ethos, at the expense of the personal development ethos within a centre, caused the member of staff in question to move on to a different employer. It may be significant that women were typically more concerned with a centre's ethos than men (section 6.3.1). This may help to explain the conflicts they have with a hard-skills, masculine, oriented environment.

The jobs to which the questionnaire respondents saw themselves as moving continue the importance of a job being person-centred. A clear majority of the jobs were in support work such as youth work, teaching, the police force, etc. It is apparent that the beliefs and ethos of outdoor staff play a greater part in their work as the initial glamour and excitement of the outdoor activities wears off.

The belief of respondents was also shown to have an effect on whether to stay at a centre where the ethos was seen as departing from that of the staff member. Moreover, agreement with the company ethos was ranked as even more important than other issues such as having a decent level of salary and being able to plan time off. Section 9.2.2, confirms the idea of outdoor staff being vocationally motivated. This issue can be summarised as below.

- Outdoor staff are highly vocationally motivated with strong opinions about what their own personal beliefs and values represent. These opinions may lead them into conflict with the financial requirements of a centre but they are also one of the main reasons that staff are willing to work for minimal financial return.

9.2.7 Ongoing Career Choice

Entry motivation represented the drive component of motivation. The persistence component of the motivation construct is represented by ongoing career choice. The

aspect of continued choice within the outdoor industry has been shown to remain fluid and unformulated (sections 6.6, 7.4 and 8.4). This reflects the findings of O'Brian (1997) who noted that one popular reason for choosing to attend a college course on outdoor education was the flexibility it would give to future employment patterns. Careers in the outdoors are typically seen in very vague terms with little notion of progression in any conventional sense. The rep grids showed that respondents placed the work of an outdoor instructor as the least career-oriented of all the elements. However, the work of an outdoor instructor attracted the highest rating when ranking job satisfaction.

The study indicates that possible future plans of outdoor staff tend to revolve not around seniority but around different types of jobs. This reflects the "culture of mobility" which emerged in the focus group interviews (section 7.4). Outdoor staff see this culture of mobility as critical in their ongoing personal development. Possible future plans included moving into freelance work, management training or into centres of different types. Some 33% of respondents in the questionnaire phase (section 6.6) suggested that their next move might be to a profession outside of the outdoor industry but this was not reflected by respondents in the focus groups. This difference may have appeared because the focus group respondents were young outdoor staff or students while the questionnaire attracted replies from across the industry. Almost universally, respondents in the focus groups were unclear about their future plans except that they would almost certainly contain an element of mobility. Likewise longevity of stay, if it is considered at all, is typically only considered in terms of a few years. The rep grid results (section 8.3) showed a clear inclination towards freedom both in the workplace and when changing jobs. There is a pattern in the questionnaire returns (section 6.4), however, which indicates that there are clear stages of career choice. These are emphasised by the rise in the importance of issues at work after one year of employment and the stabilising in importance of these issues after five years. The period between one and five years can be seen, therefore, as the critical time when career decisions are made. This confirms the short career span highlighted by the literature review (section 3.1.9). It is evident that the largest single increase in importance is attributed to having responsibility. This reinforces the need for ongoing professional development as well as personal development.

The outdoor industry, and the staff who work within it, highlight the importance of self-development. Therefore, it is not surprising that Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs (section 4.2.2) was found to have a close connection with the conclusions to this study. However, there can be few study populations who could be so closely slotted into the hierarchy

pyramid. It may be that their physiological, safety and social needs are all met by living within the centre and outdoor communities. Needs for esteem are also met and reinforced by the ego-enhancement of leading groups. The only need remaining, therefore, is that of self-actualisation which itself is the ultimate goal of outdoor education. Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs may be popular with outdoor staff because of its elegant and simple structure and also because they can relate to it on a personal level through this desire for self-development.

The literature review does point to the idea of staff constantly seeking new challenges and as a consequence being highly mobile. American studies highlighted the idea of staff fulfilling needs of personal development through challenge, variety and mobility. The rep grid results (sections 8.3 and 8.4) highlighted this attitude that outdoor staff are mobile by nature. The freedom to move and change jobs is highly desirable.

The discussion on motivational factors amongst outdoor staff constantly relates back to the need for personal development. Section 6.3.1 shows that the largest single reason given for continuing to work in the outdoor industry was "to gain more experience/personal development" and gives a high ranking to "having time off for personal development". In a similar vein, section 6.3.2 shows that "not having time off for personal development" is a prime reason for leaving a centre.

Experience of travel and a continued desire to travel (section 7.3) are seen as important. Overall mobility of staff is shown most clearly in the focus group results on future intentions (section 7.4). These reveal that outdoor staff see mobility as not only desirable but essential for the renewal of motivation and an important feature of the outdoor industry. The reasons for this "culture of mobility" were to enhance life experiences and to find new challenges and variety. The focus group interviews, therefore, show a clear propensity towards self-development and challenge. Many respondents see them as a central facet of their characters. Thus,

> "the culture of our industry is about self-development, of people you work with and your self ... that's good that you're able to learn and you are developing and part of that development is moving to different centres. I think its very much a culture of mobility of different challenges and different learning environments" (appendix 21.6)

It is difficult to draw a line between the need for challenge and the need for self development. The evidence strongly suggests that outdoor staff are constantly in search of challenge and development and that it is in the inherent nature of outdoor staff to be

constantly moving on in search of new challenges. This is, however, subject to two caveats. The first, and most important, of these concerns life stage.

Section 9.2.7 highlights the importance of lifestyle changes and the effect they have on career choices. These same lifestyle changes will also affect the need of outdoor staff to look for new challenges. However, the industry is pre-dominantly a young person's one with almost 51% of all respondents below the age of 30 years. Therefore, lifestyle changes will probably not affect the majority of those within the industry as much as those who are choosing to 'settle down' and perhaps leave the industry.

The second caveat refers to the nature of new challenge itself. The image of 'new challenge' is of new employment, new locations and so on. Whilst this may be so for some people, it is not necessarily the case for everybody. Likewise, the expression 'moving on' implies short term employment and continual change. Again, this is not necessarily the case for everybody. Both new challenge and moving on can be found and/or generated from within stable employment. This, however, is a far from common scenario in the industry at present. Good examples of mobility and challenge within stable employment are the ideas of using secondments, movement within an organisation and job rotation. For these to happen, staff need transferable skills and the means of quantifying these skills. An example of such a scheme, given by a questionnaire respondent, would be;

> "To prevent stagnation I would like to see greater support given to mix with other centres and staff and to share new ideas"

Professionalism and professional accreditation might help to bring this about. This issue is discussed further in the final section of this chapter.

Burnout was one factor which respondents highlighted as affecting their future career (section 7.7). Many respondents commented that they saw outdoor staff as particularly vulnerable to burnout, the primary cause of which was seen as the emotional demands of running groups. This was compounded by being timetabled to run large numbers of groups on a continuous basis with little or no time off for recuperation. Lack of finance and transport make it difficult to get away from a centre during days off. Allied to this outdoor staff perceive an inability to escape from work issues. These factors cause the demanding and all-pervasive nature of outdoor work. Staff quickly become physically and emotionally exhausted when this is coupled with having to deal with poor centre administration, low staff numbers and lack of suitable resources. The masculine culture

of many centres may also play a part in this as it would be considered unseemly to ask for time off in order to recover from running an emotionally demanding course. Ironically, it seems that teaching clients the lessons of caring about others, the team and the task leaves the staff vulnerable to the very problems they are working to alleviate in others.

Staff working in the state sector were more settled but this was seen as a function of lifestyle changes rather than of the work itself being more satisfying (section 7.5). Staff in the non-state sector would appear to view their colleagues in the state sector as having to endure tedious work in order to accommodate a settled lifestyle brought on by family commitments. Whether this is, in fact, the real situation is irrelevant because this study is concerned with the perceptions of staff in the non-state sector. These staff are not impressed by the prospect of earning higher wages and/or settling down. Rather, non-state sector staff are more concerned with their own more esoteric needs such as the ability to travel. However, staff in the non-state sector are typically younger than those in the state sector and this is reflected in the lack of present commitments.

The changing nature of the industry was highlighted in Chapter 1. Two of the most notable current issues were the need for qualifications as a result of the Adventure Activities Licensing Regulations and the commercialisation of the industry. Both were considered to be detrimental to the industry in terms of philosophy and ethos. Staff were primarily concerned with qualifications becoming more important than experience. This was also seen as a feature of increasing professionalism. However, the positive side of this was the increased respect which many respondents felt would have to be given to outdoor staff. The regulations were also widely seen as destroying the ability of staff to implement adventurous activities. Commercialisation was seen as destroying the fundamental ethos of the industry and leading to a conflict with the beliefs of staff. The most dramatic representation of this is given by the prominence given to the person-centred versus business-centred conflict in the rep grid results. This concern is summed up by the questionnaire comment that;

"One of the main issues for me is the changing nature of outdoor courses - less adventure, more predictable - an accident would become a major news item - licensing system - worrying about what may go wrong - courses are shorter because of lack of money .... I feel pessimistic about the future rather than optimistic as I used to be."

.

It can be seen that there is likely to be a turbulent period of change before the career decisions of staff become more settled. The ongoing career choice stage of the motivation model can be seen as being a largely unstable phase, summarised below.

- Future intentions and career patterns of staff in the outdoor industry are vague, unformulated and typically only extend for a short time period. There is an acknowledgment, however, that this lack of commitment is dependent on remaining free of family ties which are seen as inevitable in time. Issues such as commercialisation and licensing are currently affecting the career decisions of outdoor staff.

9.2.8 Synthesis - The Multi-Layered Motivation Model

The discussions above can be synthesised into the model shown in figure 25. This model gives a dynamic overview of the motivational factors at work on outdoor staff.
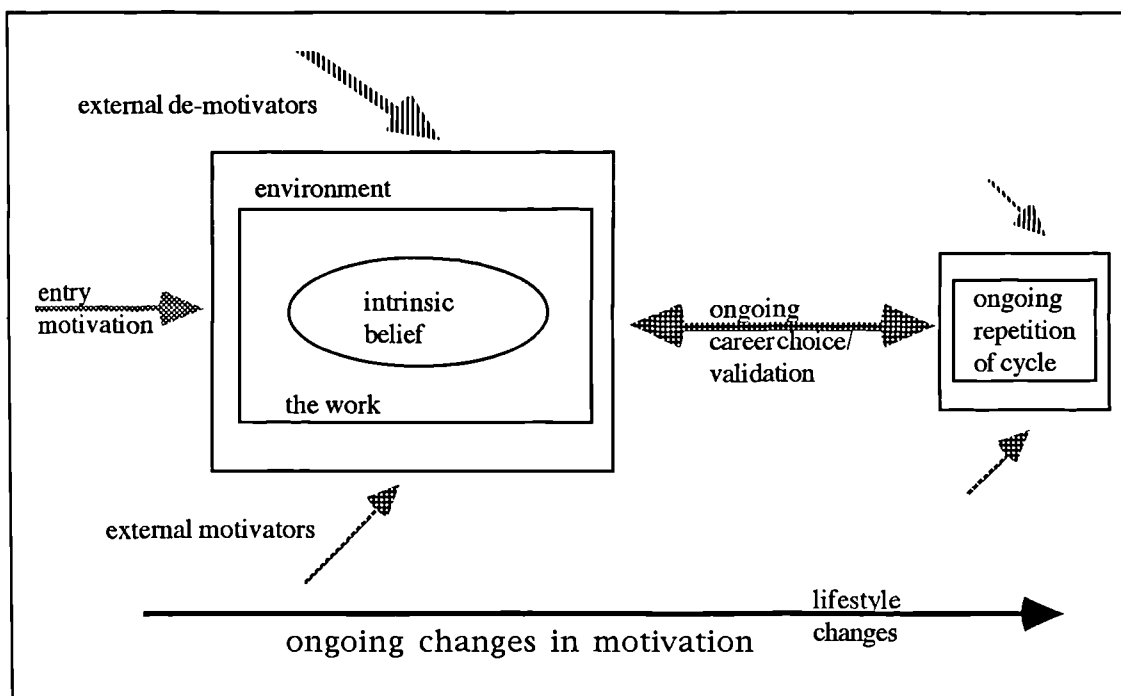
Figure 25. The Multi-Layered Motivation Model

Motivation is clearly seen in the model as an ongoing process subject to modification, mostly by lifestyle changes. This process of ongoing motivational change runs in parallel with ongoing career choice and/or validation. These twin tracks lead to an ongoing repetition of the motivation cycle. These changes reflect the tenuous and often

ambiguous career intentions of outdoor staff (section 9.2.7). Additionally they demonstrate an acceptance that lifestyle changes may bring about a re-evaluation of all the major components within the motivation model. There is a powerful culture of mobility in the outdoor industry. Outdoor staff see the ability to move between jobs and areas as essential for continuing or renewing self motivation. This renewal explains the double direction of the career choice arrow.

The major components of the model show the following.

Staff bring a level of entry motivation with them into the industry. This does not validate the assumed motivation of staff discussed in the literature review (section 3.1.6). Rather it recognises that staff bring with them value judgements and beliefs relating to their work. The study shows that staff who join the industry with a relevant college-based qualification or from a different profession are more likely to treat the industry as a full-time career.

The environment acts as the surrounding influence, both literally and metaphorically, to outdoor staff. As discussed in section 9.2.4 this environment is manifest in a number of both physical and cultural ways. This is shown most notably in the emphasis on an outdoor community of like-minded people sharing a common lifestyle. In addition the natural environment was shown to be of central importance to outdoor staff.

The nature of work in the outdoor industry lies within the influence of these environmental factors. Paramount amongst these is the nature of outdoor staff themselves. The study shows that there is a strong need for outdoor staff to have autonomy, responsibility, challenge and, most importantly, variety within the workplace. In addition, staff who choose to stay in long term employment within the outdoor industry develop a strong affinity with the educational and inter-personal aspects of their work. There is also a strong element of job satisfaction gained from a client groups' successes which, although partly ego-centred, is essentially altruistic.

Intrinsic belief forms the core of the motivational model. This is manifested on two notable levels; personal and organisational. To be effective, the beliefs of the outdoor staff must be, at least, compatible with the organisation they work for. This again reflects the nature of outdoor staff who are shown by the study to typically be highly vocationally motivated with strong opinions about what their own personal beliefs and values represent. Outdoor staff see themselves as extremely dedicated to their work and

operating to professional standards. It is important that these standards and beliefs are not compromised by their employers. The fact that outdoor staff are dedicated and highly vocationally motivated does incline them to altruism. If this is abused by centre management it can lead to conflict with the staff's beliefs thus causing a high turnover rate. The pronounced belief in community and shared values means that outdoor staff will respect centre management who share these values but react against those who do not. In a similar vein outdoor staff will expect centre management to work to the same high professional standards as they see themselves working to.

Acting on the motivation of staff are two external elements; motivators and de-motivators. The study noted that extrinsic motivation of outdoor staff is rarely effective,. Rather it serves to reinforce the importance of intrinsic motivational factors. An increase in external motivators, or hygienes, such as wages and time off may serve to reduce staff turnover in the short term, but it will not increase staff motivation. This can only be done through an improvement in the intrinsic motivating factors already highlighted. The most important of the intrinsic motivators to enhance will usually be that of variety. This will be more effective if it is done with consideration for the culture of mobility and short term career planning of staff. There will always be, however, a transitory nature to outdoor staff who require a high level of challenge in order to remain motivated.

The arrow for external de-motivators is larger. Staff are most strongly de-motivated by external factors such as poor centre administration and inadequate resources which frustrate their work with client groups. The implication of this is that resourcing is a make or break factor for a centre. This includes adequate staff to cover activities; running groups; training and time off; adequate equipment which is in good repair and suitable for its purpose; a well run and dependable transport pool; and adequate well maintained centre resources such as review rooms and in-ground activities. This frustration is compounded for seasonal staff by problems of insecurity and unemployment. An improvement in the factors which lead to frustration and de-motivation does not directly increase motivation but will improve staff morale and, again, will help to reduce staff turnover in the short term.

The motivation model shows, at least in the context of the study population, that motivation acts on a number of levels. At present there is no one single workable theory of motivation. The majority of motivational theories have some degree of validity but this is, in general, only so when applied to specific and appropriate populations. The

level of appropriateness is most often determined by the level of intrinsic job-satisfaction to be found within the work being undertaken.

This job-satisfaction also needs to take into account a variety of factors which can be seen as including psychological, social and cultural elements. The environment box provides a cultural context and elements such as the work itself have large psychological connotations. The model, therefore, debunks the idea that motivational theory can be examined in isolation. It shows clearly that other considerations act upon people in a working environment. It also rejects the notion that motivation is simplistic and can be approached through altering one or more motivational factors such as wages or time off. In this way it challenges the belief that the retention problems of the outdoor industry can be resolved through such external motivators.

Ultimately, outdoor centre managers and owners would do well to consider that "if the labourer gets no more than his employer pays him, he is cheated, he cheats himself" (Thoreau, 1971, p. 357). The motivation of outdoor staff is a complex issue but the key is to consider why they work in the outdoor industry. This study has shown that this is for reasons deeper and more involved than financial return or satisfaction of physical needs.

9.3 RECOMMENDATIONS - REDEVELOPING THE STAFF CAREER PYRAMID

It would appear that improving staff retention is impossible to fulfil if the concept of outdoor staff as being inherently transitory in nature is taken at face value. To overcome this hurdle it is important to move away from the notion of the linear career path. The staff career pyramid first highlighted in figure 1 (p. 20) can be used as an example of this approach. Within this pyramid there is a broad base of seasonal staff who are replaced each year, a smaller group of permanent staff who provide continuity and senior staff who manage the centre. Shortfalls in staff are covered by freelance staff and the top levels of staff are usually static in their positions or recruited from outside. It has been suggested that a major cause of high turnover was a lack of progression up this broad based and slow-moving pyramid. This model pre-supposes a conventional, hierarchical, career structure.with staff ascending the pyramid in a linear series of progressive steps. Movement through the pyramid is either up, out or static. If stagnation, through lack of challenge, development and variety is substituted for lack of progression

as a cause of high turnover the pyramid now becomes symptomatic of the turnover problem rather than a cause.

One possible way of overcoming this stagnation is through centres networking, so that there are opportunities for staff to move between them. To facilitate this there would need to be a greater emphasis on employing contracted staff rather than seasonal staff. This is represented by the large central block of staff in the centre of the redeveloped pyramid shown in figure 26, below.
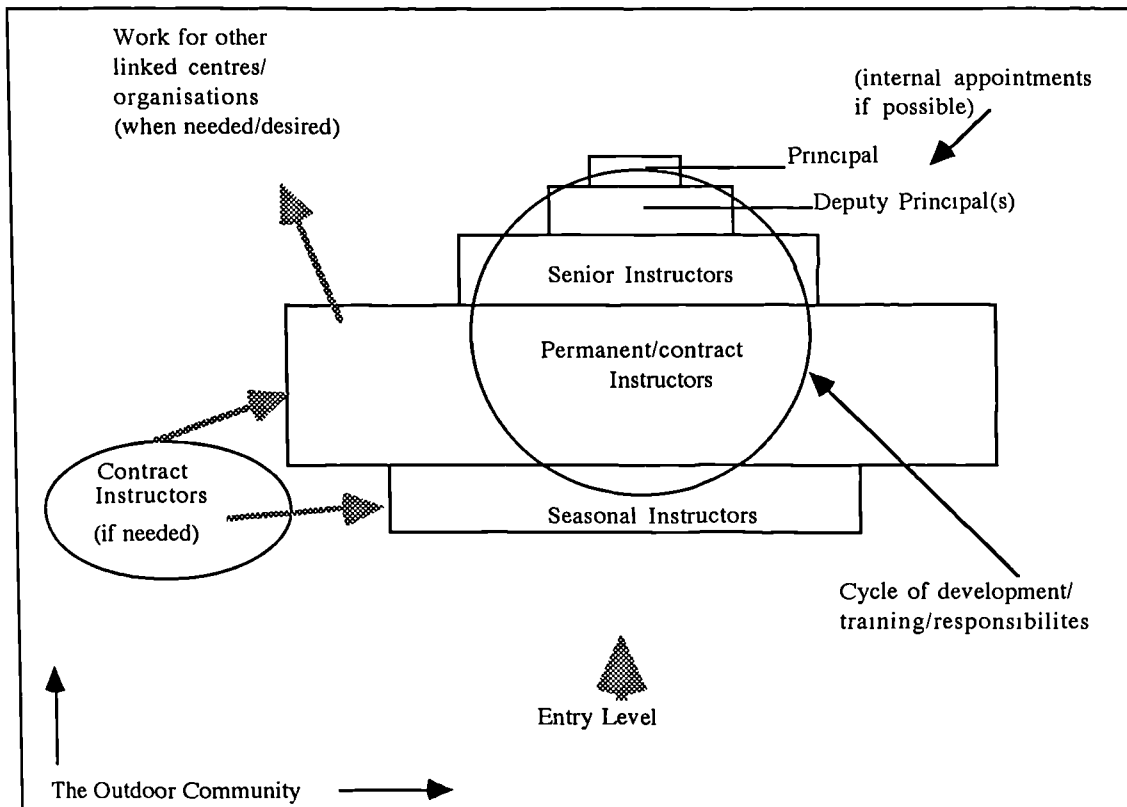
Figure 26. The redeveloped staff pyramid

It is unlikely that an essentially seasonal industry could afford to employ contracted staff throughout the entire year. Thus, the industry needs some mechanism whereby staff are encouraged to contract to one centre, or group of centres, for a fixed term. Furthermore, it is important that this fixed term is expressed in terms of years rather than the duration of a single season. Possible mechanisms include retention payments, training during quiet periods, a greater use of contracted staff on a course by course basis (instead of employing outside freelance staff) and employment in linked centres such as skiing or trekking organisations during the winter months.

Allied to this networking and change in contract emphasis there also needs to be a greater emphasis on mechanisms to avoid stagnation in the workplace. The most critical of these mechanisms, as shown in the redeveloped staff pyramid, is a rotation cycle through responsibilities, training and personal development. Reflecting this, it is important that the nature of the work itself provides a sufficient level of both challenge and variety. It is acknowledged that achieving this in a centre with limited activities can be difficult. While staff should be encouraged to adopt responsibilities for specific areas of interest it is important that these specialties are not allowed to become overriding. An example of this would be a member of staff with a specific interest in a particular activity who takes responsibility for that activity within the centre but is never programmed for anything else. Concerns about staff becoming activity specific, and thereby stagnating, because of their qualifications are a good example of this.

This study has noted a strong commonality amongst outdoor staff but the industry depends heavily on a synthesis of eclectic experiences and skills to facilitate learning for its clients. The emphasis should be on building and maintaining the outdoor community (shown in figure 26) as an all-encompassing environment. In this context it can be strongly argued that the ideal outcome of the redeveloped staff pyramid would be a utilisation rather than a condemnation of the staff population's desire for new experiences, variety and personal development. Actively encouraging staff to remain mobile within an organisation or network of organisations would be one positive step towards enhancing staff motivation. Teschner and Wolter (1988, p. 22) exemplified this approach when they commented that "staff who seem especially keen to learn and grow ... have long term potential".

At the entry level it is apparent that staff who develop a strong affinity with the educational and inter-personal aspects of outdoor education will make better long term instructors than those who are primarily interested in the activities. This is not to suggest that those who have strong outdoor activity backgrounds should be excluded in favour of those with high levels of 'soft' (interpersonal) skills. It does, however, point to a need for a reduced emphasis on 'hard' (technical) skills at entry level. This change in emphasis would be in keeping with current thought about the image of the outdoor industry. Given the constraints of licensing regulations and the need for qualifications, however, it is difficult to see how such a change in emphasis could be bought about with ease.

Throughout the pyramid structure there needs to be an emphasis on equity of employment conditions so that seasonal staff in particular feel valued and respected for

what they can contribute to a centre. It is recognised that different jobs, responsibilities and levels of seniority will attract different conditions of employment, but it is important there is parity across the levels. A good example of this in an outdoor centre is a cook being paid more than an instructor, which leads to the idea that cooks are seen as being more valuable to the organisation.

When looking at recommendations, it is important to consider how short-term financial considerations and management planning may well have longer term implications. A good example of this would be a centre which employs a bare minimum of staff needed for the active season. This situation often leads to staff burnout and absenteeism caused by long demanding hours with little respite. In addition to problems during the season itself staff are less likely to return in subsequent years to such a centre. An extra member of staff or two would alleviate these problems leading to a reduced staff workload, consequent reduced burnout, and both better retention and yearly returns. This would lead to savings on the costs associated with training new staff and employing freelancers to cover shortages, as well as a better motivated and more experienced staff. The outcome would be a higher quality of customer care; in turn leading to a greater return rate.

9.4 REFLECTION ON THE RESEARCH PROCESS

The results of the study show a clear debunking of assumed truths within the outdoor industry. They show that the motivation of outdoor staff is a complex issue. The extensive theory review (Chapter 4), although largely played down in the conclusion to the study, did play an invaluable part in setting the scene for the study.

The complexity of motivation makes it unlikely that quantitative methods such as questionnaires will provide much more than background data. This was found to be the case in this study (Chapter 6). However, this is not to say that the questionnaire was of little value. Rather, it provided a substantial grounding for the qualitative phases which followed. Analysing questionnaire data was found to be extremely time-consuming. A greater knowledge of statistical methods prior to the study might well have helped with this. Of the subsequent phases the focus groups (Chapter 7) used the more traditional techniques and provided the greater bulk of data. Focus groups were found to be a valuable tool, probably much more effective than individual interviews would have been. Theoretical sensitivity (section 5.1.2) was not as important an issue during the focus

groups as it was expected to be. The groups largely run themselves (as focus groups should ideally do) with answers being challenged and explored from within the group.

The use of multiple rep grids (Chapter 8) was a relatively new and untried technique, although not without some precedent. This technique would warrant further investigation and practical examination as a data gathering tool. The 'grouping' of the rep grid results was found to be extremely effective at bringing out issues and, perhaps more importantly, gauging depth of feeling related to these issues. The effectiveness of this technique was slightly compromised by the complexity of using the grids themselves with many respondents finding them very time consuming.

While the research stemmed from an interest of the researcher it developed as strongly driven by the research process. Initially, there was a strong compunction to follow a traditional research procedure of hypothesis/model and discussion. This was observed in the writing up phase of the first draft of the thesis. During the subsequent re-draft of the thesis there was a much greater freedom to report the research process as it happened. Thus, the thesis follows along a more grounded theory model (Strauss and Corbin, 1990) than it had previously. The conclusion that follows from this process is that report writing flows in a much freer style if freed from the confines of a rigid traditional structure. It was found to be important that the thesis was true to the research process for its full meaning to emerge.

It was accepted that there was a potential emancipatory element to the study, It was considered important that this political agenda was kept separate from the academic process. Focus group members were, for example, briefed that the interview sessions were about motivation rather than an opportunity to complain about their employers. On occasions, notably in the general questionnaire comments and the focus groups, issues were raised which were of a sensitive nature. The emphasis in these cases was on 'giving a voice' to the respondents rather than presenting a researchers interpretation. Thus, where issues of a contentious nature arose they were reported, where possible, through the use of direct quotation (cf. section 7.9). It is worthwhile noting that results from the study are already being used by the English Outdoor Council working group on human resource strategy. They have been favourably received by this group as giving a valuable voice to disenfranchised members of staff.

While the study did address the motivation of residential outdoor staff as a collective group it also attempted to examine the different motivations, if any, of men and women.

It was found that the focus groups were the most effective way of doing this. A high degree of trust amongst the groups was, however, found to be important. Because the respondents were used to sharing feelings and experiences while at work, inhibitions in the focus groups were soon broken down. It is doubtful how effective the same technique would be with members of the general public. Despite the success of the focus groups it is still felt that the question of gender imbalance would warrant continued investigation. However, it is considered that treating women as a single study group is unproductive, and, moreover, likely to be largely meaningless. Some conclusions, such as the masculine atmosphere of centres being unwelcome to women, are worthy of consideration but they can be transferred to the industry as a whole only with caution. It would be worth considering the benefits of a woman carrying out this research. In a similar vein there has been no known research of any worth into the extremely low numbers of outdoor staff from ethnic minority groups, this is an area which deserves greater attention.

As expected the outdoor industry as a whole was found to be difficult to study. This was due in large part not only to its diverse nature (section 5.2.1) but to problems compounded by work loads and working seasons (section 5.2.3). Getting a good rate of questionnaire returns and finding time slots for interviews were both found to be difficult. It is possible that an ethnographic style of study would go a long way to overcoming these problems although it would have to address the issue of transferring its results to a wider population. This study did manage to combine a fairly large study population (the questionnaire) with two more detailed research tools (the focus groups and rep grids). Difficulties encountered during the study were largely overcome by the desire to help, not only from respondents but from centre managers as well. An increased level of research into the outdoor industry would have to be careful not to jeopardise this good will.

On a reflective level it was found that there was such strong agreement across the three research phases that minimal interpretation was required. The results are reported as they happened. The semi-structured interviews in the pilot study were found to be essential in framing questions for the questionnaire and it is suggested that this technique is essential in a study of this kind. In effect, and in simplistic terms, the respondents asked their own questions. It is suggested that an outside researcher would have reached the same conclusions but would have taken a great deal longer in preparing the groundwork. Moreover, knowledge of the industry was invaluable during the preparation of the literature review and current issue chapters as well as during the research phases.

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THE MOTIVATION OF STAFF
IN
THE OUTDOOR EDUCATION
INDUSTRY

VOLUME II: APPENDICES

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APPENDIX 1; SUMMARY OF THE ADVENTURE ACTIVITIES LICENSING REGULATIONS

The regulations apply to the following activities;

- Caving
- Climbing
- Trekking
- Watersports

The regulations apply, where the clients are under eighteen, to;

- Any person who provides facilities in return for payment; or
- Is a local authority providing facilities to the pupils of an educational establishment

The following, however, do not come under the remit of the regulations;

- Voluntary associations
- Educational establishments providing for their own pupils
- Individuals who have parental responsibility
- Persons acting under the authority of a licence holder

Providers need to show that they have carried out the following;

- A suitable risk assessment
- The measures taken in consequence of the assessment
- Have appointed a competent advisor
- Have met the following operational conditions
    - The appointment of sufficient competent and qualified instructors
    - Safety information to instructors and participants
    - Provision of safe equipment
    - Maintenance of that equipment
    - Provision of first aid and emergency procedures

The time scale enforced by the regulations was simple;

16th April 1996 -	Regulations in force
1st August 1996 -	Action started against unsafe providers
October 1997 -	All providers must have been inspected and licensed
October 1997 on -	No new providers can operate without a license in cases where the act applies.
Ongoing -	Implementation of a parallel voluntary scheme

APPENDIX 2; SUMMARY OF THE NATIONAL CURRICULUM KEY STAGE CONTENTS FOR PHYSICAL EDUCATION

The physical education programmes of study are;

KS 1 (ages 5 to 7 years); games; gymnastic activities; dance with swimming as an option.

KS 2 (ages 8 to 11); Six Areas of Study over the key stage including games; gymnastic activities and dance in each year of the stage and athletic activities, outdoor & adventurous activities and swimming at some point during the key stage (unless swimming already covered in KS 1)

In KS 2, the only stage where OAA is mandatory, it is laid down as requiring that;

Pupils should be taught;

a) to perform outdoor and adventurous activities, e.g. orienteering exercises, in one or more different environment(s), e.g. playground, school grounds, parks, woodland, seashore.

b) challenges of a physical and problem-solving nature, e.g. negotiating obstacle courses, using suitable equipment, e.g. gymnastic or adventure play apparatus, whilst working individually and with others.

c) the skills necessary for the activities undertaken.

KS 3 (ages 12 to 14); Games plus one other full area and at least two other half areas which must include gymnastic activities & dance. The units are; Gymnastic Activities Dance Athletic Activities Swimming Outdoor & Adventurous Activities.

KS 4 (ages 15-16); Games plus one of; Gymnastic Activities; Dance; Athletic Activities; Swimming; Outdoor & Adventurous Activities.

APPENDIX 3; ORGANISATIONS WITHIN THE OUTDOOR EDUCATION INDUSTRY

The Council for Outdoor Education, Training and Recreation (The Council);

A collective organisation which has representatives from other groups and aims to act as the 'voice' of outdoor education. It carries out actions based on discussions at 'The Forum" - an information and opinion gathering meeting which involves all the major outdoor education organisations. There is a separate council for Scotland and a joint liaison committee to co-ordinate the work of the two councils Although The Council acts as the national representative of the outdoor industry it does not function in an authoritative manner as, for example, the British Medical Council does It has no power of censure, control or mandatory exclusion/inclusion. Because of this it cannot be said to be acting as the professional body of the outdoor industry. The Council is responsible for managing the;

UK Institute for Outdoor Careers and Qualifications (The Institute);

Oversees standards and implementation of S/NVQs throughout the industry, it includes the 'National Panel of External Verifiers' and works through this and a number of regional institutes. It is anticipated to take on a much wider role in supporting all aspects of careers and qualifications in the future. S/NVQs are actually awarded through the City and Guilds organisation.

Members of The Council include representatives from, amongst others;

The Association of Heads of Outdoor Education Centres (AHOEC);

A representative body for managers of outdoor education organisations, it acts as both a lobby group and in an advisory capacity to other bodies. Membership is by inspection of centres, there is a separate organisation for Scotland.

The Outdoor Education Advisors Panel (OEAP);

Operates in the same manner as the AHOEC but for outdoor education advisors attached to educational or local authority organisations. There is a separate organisation for Scotland

<u>British Activity Holidays Association (BAHA);</u>

A commercial trade organisation which grants membership and validation, following inspection and approval, to outdoor centres. There is a separate organisation for Scotland.

<u>Development Training Advisory Group (DTAG);</u>

A representative organisation comprising of the leading national educational charities.

<u>The National Association for Outdoor Education (NAOE);</u>

Open to anyone with an interest in outdoor education. It sees itself as the national open membership organisation in the field and acts primarily as a lobby group and information network. Together with the AHOEC and a private organisation called 'Adventure Education' it produces the 'Journal of Adventure Education and Outdoor Leadership'. Interestingly Grey talks of the NAOEs inception when "expectations of a militant professional association doing battle on behalf of its underpaid and overworked members were not realised" (1988, p35). There is a Scottish branch of the NAOE. (The NAOE will be called the 'Association for Outdoor Learning' from 1999)

<u>Field Studies Council;</u>

A charitable trust open to those with an interest in field studies.

<u>National Council for Voluntary Youth Services;</u>

Open to all voluntary youth organisations.

Working in conjunction with the Council and Institute is;

<u>The Foundation for Outdoor Adventure;</u>

Part funded by 'The Foundation for Sports and the Arts' and founded as a direct consequence of the 'Hunt Report' (1989) the foundation's aim is initiate schemes to implement the primary goal of the report - to provide adventure experiences for all. Finding and providing funds and support for allied research is a major part of its work.

Other notable organisations include-

Association of Mountain Instructors (AMI)

Open to holders of the Mountain Instructors Certificate and Mountain Instructor Award with associate membership open to trainees. The association is perhaps the nearest thing to a professional body in the outdoor industry, it acts as a talking shop, lobby group and maintains standards of qualifications. There is a smaller but similar body for holders of the Mountain Guides Carnet and another for holders of the European Mountain Leader award.

The Activity Centre Accreditation Committee (ACAC);

Chaired by the English Tourist Board this is a voluntary body providing accreditation for any provider of outdoor activities. There are a number of other schemes notably those provided by the Welsh Tourist Board, AHOEC and the British Activity Holidays Association (BAHA). In addition NGBs also have their own centre accreditation schemes.

Adventure Activities Licensing Authority (AALA);

A subsidiary branch of the tourism inspection company called 'Tourism Quality Services Ltd', this organisation acts as the independent licensing authority for the Adventure Activities Licensing Regulations (1996).

Adventure Activities Industry Advisory Committee (AAIAC);

Set up by the Health and Safety Executive, this is a representative body which monitors the work of AALA.

Specialist Industry Training Organisation for Sport, Recreation, Playwork, Outdoor Education, and Development Training, Fitness and Exercise (SPRITO);

A semi-governmental organisation set up to support the leisure industry. The outdoor industry is represented by The Council, The Institute and the NAOE.

There are also a number of regional umbrella organisations such as the 'Southern Council for Outdoor Education', 'The Welsh Outdoor Council (Antur Cymru) and the 'Cumbrian Association of Residential Providers' (CARP) who act in various ways, notably as talking shops and providing accreditation schemes. These regional organisations also send representatives to the Council.

APPENDIX 4; EXAMPLES OF THE INITIATIVES BEING TAKEN TO INCREASE WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN OUTDOOR ACTIVITIES

Amongst the initiatives taken within the outdoor industry to overcome barriers to women's participation and to redress the imbalance of female leaders, has been;

- the Birmingham "Women's leadership courses in outdoor education" run between 1983 and 1985, reported on by Paterson (1989)

- The women's panel of the Mountain Leader Training Board, currently fronted by Libby Peter (N.A.O.E. newsletter no; 22, 1996, p7)

- Women only mountain leader training courses run at Plas-y-Brenin and other centres

- A number of women only courses run through the Outward Bound organisation.

- The formation of a women's sub-committee of the N.A.O.E.

- A British Canoe Union group entitled 'Women in Canoeing' designed to encourage women to participate both recreationally and in the coaching scheme by;
    - recruiting more women onto the scheme
    - facilitating the development of those who wish to attain higher level coaching awards
    - encouraging regional panels to involve women in their decision making processes. (B.C.U., 1997, p69)

APPENDIX 5; MAJOR SOURCES USED

The following are the main data bases used for searches during the literature review;

- British Education Index
- Handbook of Research on Sport Psychology.
- Register of Educational Research in the UK
- ABI/Inform - Management Index
- Psychlit
- ERIC - National & International
- Sports Discuss
- ISI - Social Science Index
- British National Bibliography
- Library of Congress
- Dialog - Management Contents
          - Harvard Business Review
- Leisure, Recreation and Tourism Abstracts
- Predicasts - F & S Index
- The Times index

Keywords used:-

- Motivation
- Staff
- Work
- Development
- Outdoor Education
- Adventure Education
- Outdoor Activities
- Careers

APPENDIX 6; FRONT PAGES USED FOR THE QUESTIONNAIRE (PHASE I) AND INTERVIEWS (PHASE II)

6.1; THE QUESTIONNAIRE

THE MOTIVATION OF STAFF IN OUTDOOR EDUCATION

Dear Sir/Madam,

The motivation of staff working in outdoor education has been a neglected area of study. It has been subject to assumptions and anecdotes but little real investigation This questionnaire, which is part of a major study being undertaken at the University of Strathclyde, hopes to overcome this lack of empirical evidence. It aims to examine:-

• Why people choose to work within outdoor education.

• Why they choose to stay, or to leave outdoor education.

• What might encourage them to stay within outdoor education.

• What are the realities behind many anecdotal issues (e.g. salary)

The results will be both published and presented at conferences. This survey will lead to a greater understanding, throughout the outdoor industry, of how professional and personal issues affect the morale and well being of staff within the industry

The questionnaire is divided into four parts;

• The past.

• The present.

• The future.

• Biographical details.

There may appear to be overlap within the questionnaire, but this is deliberate. Please answer each question individually without regard to how you have answered previous questions. Work through the questionnaire by yourself, answering the questions purely on your own experiences and feelings as a member of staff working in the outdoor industry.

Please complete all four parts of the questionnaire and return it by 30/6/96

NOTE: All information will be treated in the <u>strictest</u> confidence.

THANK YOU.

Peter Barnes

6.2; THE INTERVIEWS

STAFF MOTIVATION - GROUP INTERVIEWS;

Thank you for taking part in this research which is part of a much larger study into the motivation of staff working in the outdoor industry. The purpose of the interviews is both to confirm and develop the results of a nation-wide questionnaire survey which you may have seen at about this time last year. There were almost three hundred replies to this questionnaire making it the largest known study specifically about outdoor instructors in this country.

One of the questions in that survey asked respondents to rank order a number of features of a good and bad day. These interviews are based on the results of that question which are shown in graph form on the next page.

I SHOULD MENTION NOW THAT EVERYTHING YOU SAY WILL BE TOTALLY IN CONFIDENCE - IT WON'T BE REPORTED TO YOUR BOSS!

It would be very useful if you could take a few minutes before the interviews to think about these results, for example; some of the questions posed are -

- What really makes a good group in your opinion?

- What are the features of an efficient well run day?

- What is about a particular activity that you might enjoy?

- What are the key ingredients of a really good day?

- How does a good day differ from a really bad day?

Many thanks, I hope you will enjoy the chance to talk about these issues

Peter Barnes

APPENDIX 7; QUESTIONS USED DURING THE PILOT STUDY

1. what were the initial attractions of the work.

2. have they changed.

3. relate a story which exemplifies the best times you have had whilst working in the outdoors.

4. relate a story which exemplifies the worst times you have had whilst working in the outdoors.

5. where do you see yourself in 5 years time.

6. where do you see yourself in 10 years time.

7. what would make you stay in the outdoors on a long term career basis

8. Comment on the following with regard to your own situation;

the prerequisites for a good, motivated staff are:-

		import	fulfil
a,	Confidence in the administration.	..	.
b,	Opportunities for personal development	..	.
c,	Interested supervision.	..	..
d,	Adequate salary and compensation.	..	..
e,	Pride in the program and the operating agency.	..	..
f,	Opportunities for advancement	..	..
g,	Recognition for endeavours.	.	..
h,	Satisfaction that their job is important.	..	..
i,	A feeling of belonging.	..	..

(score out of ten for personal importance and then score out of ten for fulfilment)

9 general;
a,age ..
b,sex .. m=1/ f=2
c,marital status .. m=1/ s=2
d,live in or out .. i=1/ o=2
e,years in present centre ..
f,years in industry ..
g,number of centres worked in ..
h,status in centre .. manager=1   senior=2   permanent=3   temp(1yr)=4
season=5   trainee=6   volunteer=7

10.   qualifications;
a, Outdoor Education;

K/CSI(1) ..   MIC(2) ..   MIA(3) ..   MLC(4) ..   SPSA(5) ..   BCUI(6) ..
NCA1(7) ..   NCA2(8) ..   RYAI(9) ..   RYASI(10) ..   Others(11)..

b, Academic;

higher degree(1) ..   degree(2) ..   A levels(3) ..   0 levels(4) ..   HNC(5) ..   HND(6) ..

c, Other;

City & Guilds(1) ..   BTEC(2) ..   IPD(3) ..   NVQ(4) ..   Other(5) ..

11. Do you think there are any motivations/points of interest that we have missed?

Questions for second interviews;

1. How did you originally get into the outdoor industry.

2. what were the initial attractions of the work.

3. have they changed.

4. relate a story or give examples which exemplifies or sums up the best times you have had whilst working in the outdoors.

5. on the over side relate a story or give examples which exemplifies or sums up the worst times you have had whilst working in the outdoors.

6. where do you see yourself in 5/10 years time.

7. what are the factors or changes which would make you stay in the outdoors on a long term career basis.

8. are there any issues or factors not already mentioned which may make you leave.

9. How important are the following issues to you (score out of ten)

    a,   The trust of your supervisors.........................
    b,   Pride in the delivered programme...................
    c,   Good resources and facilities.........................
    d,   Opportunities for personal development..........
    e,   Independence...
    f,   A good salary..

    g,   Opportunities for advancement.......................
    h,   Recognition for endeavours............................
    i,   Status within the organisation.........................
    j,   Time off...
    k,   A feeling of belonging....................................
    l,   The chance to follow your own sport..............
    m, Pride in your own work....................................
    n.   Positive feedback (of any form) from your 'clients'..

Which of these are the most important to you.

10. What would be your feelings if, for some reason, you were forced to look for work in mainstream industry/education.

11 What would you most miss about your present job.

12. What would you least miss.

13. Do you think there are any motivations/points of interest that have been missed?

14.. general;
a,age ..
b,sex .. m=1/ f=2
c,marital status .. m=1/ s=2
d,live in or out .. i=1/ o=2
e,years in present centre ..
f,years in industry ..
g,number of centres worked in ..
h,status in centre .. manager=1 senior=2 permanent=3 temp(1yr)=4
                                         season=5 trainee=6 volunteer=7

15 qualifications;
     a, Outdoor Education;

K/CSI(1) ..   MIC(2) ..   MIA(3) ..   MLC(4) ..   SPSA(5) ..   BCUI(6) ..
NCA1(7) ..   NCA2(8) ..   RYAI(9) ..   RYASI(10) .. Others(11)..

     b, Academic;

higher degree(1) ..   degree(2) ..   A levels(3) ..   0 levels(4) ..   HNC(5) ..   HND(6) ..

     c, Other;

City & Guilds(1) ..   BTEC(2) ..   IPD(3) ..   NVQ(4) ..   Other(5) ..

APPENDIX 8; PILOT INTERVIEW RESPONSES

Question one; How did you originally get into the outdoor industry?

Centre A;

> Childhood interest in outdoor pursuits, climbing clubs etc., BEd degree in OEd, move into outdoor work, always considered as career path.

> Combination of curiosity and opportunity, initially a stop-gap whilst exploring career options at a time of job change.

> Right place at right time, opportunity was available but intended to be a temporary measure whilst making decisions about career at time of job change

> Had work in outdoor centre in stores after quitting office work, moved into activity side when chance arose, but probably as stop gap.

> Following BEd degree in OEd decided not to teach, looked for outdoor work.

> Inspired by TP placement on degree, half-heartedly looked for teaching post but took first OEd job that came along.

centre L;

> Interest in outdoor activities, BTEC courses at college, joined centre after doing work experience and summer work.

> Introduced to activities through friends, dissatisfaction with present job, partial drift and finally choice to attend university and re-train.

> Degree in child psychology combined with interest in activities, placement gave initial interest, applied for seasonal jobs in outdoor centres.

> Taught for ten years, left to do a outdoor education course after which looked for work in outdoor centres.

> Applied for work as summer staff after leaving teaching to travel.

> Scouts, friends, outdoor clubs and family; applied for summer work then went to college to get degree in O Ed and PE.

> It was stop gap move between teacher training college and work which become a full time job.

> Scouts, clubs and friends, helping with instruction; went to college and then applied for summer jobs.

Summary; interesting split between choosing OEd as career and 'drifting' into it. Many of the respondents initially saw work as 'stop-gap' work rather than as a proper job, of the rest only a few had always intended to go into OEd as career, of these the influence of scouts, family and clubs was a major factor.

Question two; What were the initial attractions of the work?

Centre A;

Already highly active in outdoor activities, location, belief in worthwhile 'cause', belief in educational medium, enjoyment of environment, buzz from students progress/feedback.

Pleasure in passing on own experiences and reflection of own progression and influence of OEd, belief in 'cause', location.

As trainer working with people, outdoors as bonus, unique power of the environment, location.

Romance of working in the outdoors, hobby as work, combination of working with people and outdoor activities.

Already involved in outdoor activities so natural progression, outdoor environment and lifestyle.

Lifestyle of work in outdoors, chance to work with people, already involved in outdoor activities, location.

Centre L;

Own interest in outdoors, enjoyment in working with children, lack of confinement as opposed to classroom teaching, buzz from students enjoyment.

Pleasure in activities; wishing to provide the chance for those activities for children.

Activity based, satisfaction in giving people opportunities.

Interest in outdoors, felt that the outdoor learning environment had more to offer than the classroom. Enjoy the educational aspects of work which is a combination of teaching and own outdoor interests. Lifestyle statement.

A combination of the activities and working with young people/teaching in an informal environment, working with enthusiastic people.

Straight forward interest in outdoor activities and wanting to work with those activities for a living.

A mixture of wanting to do something that I enjoyed doing and an interest in the educational side but basically enjoying the activities.

The enjoyment factor, watching the kids faces, giving kids new experiences; led by activities.

Summary; A mixed range of reasons but notable common reasons are working with people, belief in a 'cause' or benefits of environment and location. Being active in outdoor activities is a spur for some but only as an initial push in OEd.

Question three; Have the attractions changed?

Centre A;

Move away from pleasure in outdoor activities to taking joy in other peoples achievements and getting a buzz from playing a part in that achievement.

Challenge of moving away from hard skills to working in personal development, although environment/lifestyle is still main attraction.

Interaction with people is now more important, outdoors is major bonus, pleasure in not being tied to routine.

Pleasure in freedom within job and building relationships and friendships amongst staff.

Still initial attractions but now looking for new challenges as there is a feeling of reaching a plateau.

Pleasure in own development although initial attractions are still the same, concern at repetition and plateau.

Centre L;

Developing own skills, moving into different activities and types of outdoor training/skills, more responsibility for groups, being with like-minded people, centre environment.

Attraction hasn't really changed, still about activities and providing opportunities.

Activities have become more distant, other 'experiences' have become more important. Pleasure in the environment around you.

Still like activities but now prefer to do them for self rather than work, now more interested in inter-personal dynamics and development. Lifestyle and location

Now a combination of wanting to be out doing the activities and working with groups/people in that environment and pass on the pleasure of the activities.

The original reasons haven't changed but they have been added to by such things as the challenge of working on higher level courses and staff training.

More interest in the social interaction side, such as overcoming people's problems.

Summary; there is a move away from the pleasure gained in hard skills to the greater pleasure of working with people in worthwhile environment, personal development and challenge are also factors and there is some concern at stagnation.

Question four; relate a story or give examples which exemplifies or sums up the best times you have had whilst working in the outdoors.

Centre A;

        Having a group or individual students who gain some achievement from courses.

        Adventure and excitement when pushing the limits both own and those of group, challenge/stimulation involved in developing corporate courses.

        Group of children on hill day having made all arrangements and planned day, good weather, good interaction with fellow staff, use of imagination in planning, group had good day and responded well.

        Running own courses, being free to do so, good interactions with staff and group.

        Closeness with difficult student who achieved a great deal from course, the feeling of having done a good job and coping with high emotions engendered by course experience.

        When group works well together and gains a positive achievement.

Centre L;

        Bringing out the best side in students when they have a good time during outdoor activities. Enjoyment in being in control and yet being a friend at the same time; informal relationship.

        When a student achieves a task that they previously had thought was impossible, pleased for them and also very satisfying for own part in success

        Students going 'wow' on reaching the top after moaning all the way up a hill. Pleased at own part in providing that chance to escape the 'real world' for a while.

        Moments when you can switch off from being the instructor and just be part of the group and develop a good relationship with them; just you and the group. (something that doesn't happen in teaching but can happen quickly in outdoors)

        Being outdoors when the sun is shining, seeing some form of development, freedom and independence - when allowed to use own initiative

        Working with a special needs group, very low key and easy activities but just right for the level of the group, large sense of achievement for group and a shared success with them, personal satisfaction in facilitating a good session plus a nice day out in a pleasant area in good weather.

        Helping staff to realise their potential over a summer season. Sharing a belief in the industry, feeling that I have contributed to them and the industry.

        Having a fun time with the groups, the reaction that you get back from them, sharing their satisfaction and feeling proud of what you have achieved.

Summary; without exception good times are associated with success of groups and/or individual students, many respondents admitted to feelings of pride, ego and pleasure in being liked. Although most of the respondents were unable to think of a single outstanding example of a good day, those that did all cited days where the skill level of the day was low but pitched at just the right level for the group; suggesting that the activity in itself is secondary to the groups response as the criteria for a good day.

Question five; On the over side relate a story or give examples which exemplifies or sums up the worst times you have had whilst working in the outdoors.

Centre A;

Unmotivated or uninterested groups, staff not pulling weight, division/difficulty of working with other departments in centre.

Difficult groups who don't enjoy or respect the outdoors, lack of back up from stores/admin/resource staff, frustration at centre issues.

Lack of training/support in difficult decisions, lack of time to discuss difficulties with group/sessions, issues become larger because of close involvement with clients.

Overworked due to staff illness and reactive programming meant loss of days off, job becoming too pervasive into own life, a feeling of being mismanaged, an inability to deliver programmes as well as possible due to resource problems.

When changes in programmes and poor information channels cause difficulties with clients, other staff complaining.

Being unable to provide desired courses/experiences because of cost restraints and resources.

Centre L;

First accident (minor) bought home the responsibility of the work.

Bad weather days, trouble with awkward students.

Internal bureaucracy of centres, hypocrisy of centre management, being tied to a rigid timetable and lack of independence/communication.

Frustration at lack of opportunities for summer staff to progress.

When the job becomes repetitive, doing back up rather than working with own group.

Working with a keen/nice group who could achieve a lot but group was too large for available resources and staff, session badly planned by 'management' led to frustration for group and staff involved.

Battles with management, saying the same thing again and again.

People who are ungrateful or don't make an effort, winds me up because they are not achieving and wasting my time when I'm making the effort.

Summary; although some respondents did cite difficult groups as being hard, the overall consensus is that bad days are usually due to feelings of frustration with admin or resource issues. Where groups are cited as being a problem it is usually because they were felt to be underachieving and not appreciating the opportunities available or the work of the instructor.

Question six; Where do you see yourself in 5/10 years time?

Centre A;

Don't think that far in the future but would like to be doing something that gives more energy/time in order to be able to do own things more.

Probably travel to recharge batteries and then back to work in OEd, would be looking for something like exchange trips to provide revitalisation.

Probably still in OEd working with people/groups ideally in a position to see ideas right through from conception/contact to delivery, would depend however on personal circumstances.

Will have moved into mainstream industry in pursuit of better pay, conditions and to ensure validity of qualifications.

Still working with people, probably moving into teaching for pay and conditions and to ensure validity of qualifications, may look to return to OEd at later date.

Still in OEd but may be looking to move into teaching for better security and to validate qualifications.

Centre L;

Still in outdoors, working with children, no interest at present in going into admin/business side. Maybe move into LEA centre work for financial reward.

Still only thinking short term at this stage but certainly still in some form of outdoor work.

Self-employed in outdoor industry running business providing high level activities or working at high level centre which gives freedom to staff.

Progress/promotion within present centre. More work with adults in a training/outdoors environment.

Don't know, too many short term things happening, probably promotion or leave; maybe even personnel work if I get desperate.

Developing O Ed within schools and gaining experience so that when I return to centre work there will be that experience to fall back on if needed. Hopefully do some travelling after school and then get a permanent tutorial job in a centre.

Happy to stay within the industry providing the centre continues to challenge and interest me. I am lucky in that I have managed to reach a senior position with all the perks that entails. It may be that one day I move into a consultancy position for the financial reward.

Move where the opportunities are but staying in the outdoors.

Summary; there is a strong desire to stay within the outdoor industry but there are strong concerns that qualifications such as teaching degrees will become invalid if a return to mainstream work is not made, there is also long term concern over pay and conditions, being in a position to buy a house at some stage in the future is a common issue Although the desire to stay in the industry is plain it is also apparent that most respondents will move where the opportunities, personal or career, are rather than commit themselves on a long term basis.

Question seven; What are the factors or changes which would make you stay in the outdoors on a long term career basis?

Centre A;

Structured and adequate time off in order to be able to do own thing, being able to book blocks of time off.

More money once novelty of work has worn off, career path/promotion, more incentive /thanks for work load, more opportunities to gain all round experience.

Better pay (seen as linked to value/status), more consistent time off, ability to live own life outside of work.

Personal challenge and opportunities, minimise impact on personal life, less of a slave to the programme.

More soft skills training, more praise for work.

More soft skills training, being able to run good 'mission' courses, better atmosphere in centre.

Centre L;

As long as own enjoyment continues, seen as essential for the job.

The work would have to continue to provide a stimulating environment for my own enjoyment and development.

Being outdoors, having the freedom to move around.

Continuing to be able to work with people, either directly in the outdoors or in an outdoor (centre) environment.

Being able to earn a decent wage and retain freedom to develop my own ideas.

Continued interest and enjoyment, providing challenge is being provided which may be met through responsibility

Having the freedom to make decisions, progression and new challenges and at some stage promotion with the decent salary and conditions that comes with it.

Summary; pay is seen as an issue by many but not all, much more important is good time off, both well structured and better amounts, praise for work done, opportunities, freedom and personal development are also important issues.

Question eight; (centre L only) Are there any issues or factors not already mentioned which may make you leave?

> In the end I would leave for reason of finance and security but that isn't an issue at the moment although I can see that it will become one in the future.

> If the work was ever to become routine or there was a feeling of becoming restricted, or not being recognised for what I am doing.

> If something was to come along which offered more, there is a need to keep moving on in order to keep your interest alive although I think this can be done within the outdoor industry.

> Lack of opportunities/promotion.

> Fear of over-regulation taking away the adventure and challenge

> I can see that money could get to be a factor.

Summary; A variety of reasons are cited but the major ones are again; concern at stagnation, routine and finances; over-regulation was also mentioned as a possible cause for future concern.

Question eight; (centre A only) How do you rate the following issues with regard to your own situation;

The first score is for how important the respondent felt the issue was to them and the second is for how well fulfilled the issue is.

		(import	fulfil)
a,	Confidence in the running of your centre	52	37
b,	Interested and approachable supervisors.	47	43
c,	The trust of your supervisors	54	51
d,	Pride in the delivered programme	54	41
e,	Good resources and facilities	57	45
f,	Opportunities for personal development	59	35
g,	Independence	45	54
h,	A good salary	48	30
i,	Opportunities for advancement	50	24
j,	Recognition for endeavours	46	30
k,	Status within the organisation	51	34
l,	Time off	60	36
m,	A feeling of belonging	53	45

The issues were scored out of ten, due to changes in the questions not all questions were put to all staff and so some answers have been averaged. The scores above are totals out of sixty.

Figure 1 highlights the importance given to various issues.

Summary; although some of the scores do differ amongst respondents the totals do give a feel for the general answers. It can easily be seen that time off is the biggest single issue raised with opportunities for personal development a close second. Opportunities for advancement is the least fulfilled score, this score would have been considerably lower if it wasn't for the single senior member of staff interviewed. Other badly fulfilled issues can be seen to be; recognition, about which many respondents feel strongly that praise when given is simply a general 'well done' with no feeling and little knowledge of the work done. A good salary and opportunities for personal development, the feeling here was that hard skills are being addressed because the organisations has no choice but soft skills have been totally neglected. If soft skills development had been addressed separately it would have been the lowest fulfilled score.

Figure 1

The chart shows total scores (out of sixty) for each question, comparing importance and fulfillment.

a/ Confidence in the running of your centre b/ Interested and approachable
supervisors
c/ The trust of your supervisors   d/ Pride in the delivered programme
e/ Good resources   f/ Opportunities for personal
development
g/ Independence   h/ A good salary
i/ Opportunities for advancement   j/ Recognition for endeavours
k/ Status within the organisation   l/ Time off
m/ A feeling of belonging.

Grading of importance of issues together with their fulfilment

The largest gaps between importance and fulfilment were opportunities for advancement (i) and time off (l) respectively. This would suggest these as the main causes of dissatisfaction for this group of staff.

Question Nine; (centre L only)

How important are the following issues to you (score out of ten)

a) The trust of your supervisors	63
b) Pride in the delivered programme	70
c) Good resources and facilities	47
d) Opportunities for development	73
e) Independence	65
f) A good salary	47
g) Opportunities for advancement	53
h) Recognition for endeavours	56
i) Status within the organisation	62
j) Time off	72
k) A feeling of belonging	61
l) The chance to follow your own sport	69
m) Pride in your own work	76
n) Positive feedback from your clients	68

(of any form)

Summary; The scores are totals out of eighty, again some answers have been averaged. The most important issue can be seen to be 'pride in your own work', followed by 'opportunities for development' and 'time off'. Bottom of the scale are 'good resources and facilities' and a 'good salary'. It is worthwhile noting that centre L has good facilities and a culture of low wages compensated by other factors such as training.

Question Ten; (centre L only) What would your feelings be if, for some reason, you were forced to look for work in mainstream education/industry?

All respondents replied along the lines of 'very unhappy'.

Question Eleven; (centre L only) What would you most miss about your present job?

Being outside, the atmosphere in centres, a secure environment - easy way of living with no worries about bills etc.

Fellow staff, enthusiasm of people around me, being outside.

The contact with, and response from, clients/students, being able to use the power of my experience to give others the experiences I have enjoyed.

The relaxed, easy-going atmosphere and the kick you get out of working with groups.

The activities because I feel that the inter-personal bit could be replicated in other jobs but the outdoor environment/lifestyle couldn't.

The working with groups and other people in the outdoor environment.

The location and working with like minded people, being active and feeling good about yourself.

Summary; Notable common features include the relationship with groups and fellow staff as well as the atmosphere in centres and the outdoor environment.

Question Twelve; (centre L only) What would you least miss?

Being tied to the timetable with regard to meals etc., sharing accommodation.

Lack of personal space.

Working all the hours that there are, not being tired all the time, being able to do normal things like shopping on days other than just days off.

Working long periods with no time off.

The lack of personal space and the tedium of some of the repetitive activities.

Summary; The main factors which would be least missed are long periods of work with little time off and the lack of personal space.

APPENDIX 9; RESPONSES FROM SECOND YEAR STUDENTS ON THE BA 'OUTDOOR EDUCATION IN THE COMMUNITY' COURSE AT STRATHCLYDE UNIVERSITY TO THE QUESTION: "Why do you want to work in the outdoors?"

- The way of life
- The possibility of enhancing and enriching the lives of others.
- Constant social interaction.
- Ego-tripping.
- Working outdoors with nature.
- Being in the outdoors.
- Introducing others to experiences you have benefited from.
- Working with people.
- Developing personal hard and soft skills.
- Earning a living in a morally acceptable way.
- Personal satisfaction.
- Taking people from a normal environment into an alien environment.
- Personal control of how a session develops.
- Enjoyment from working in a challenging environment.
- Enjoyment of working in the outdoors.
- Personal enjoyment of seeing someone achieve something they have never done before.

(N=20, answers were not given on a one student-one answer basis but 'brainstormed' collectively)

APPENDIX 10; THE QUESTIONNAIRE USED DURING PHASE 1

THE PAST

1) When you **first** started working (either as a volunteer or in a paid capacity) in outdoor education, how important were the following attractions to you?

(tick one box on the scale 'extremely important' to 'extremely unimportant' for each question)

	extremely important	<---------->	important	<---------->	extremely unimportant
a. working in the <u>outdoors</u>					
b. being able to do your <u>hobby</u> as a job					
c working with <u>people</u>					
d. being part of an alternative <u>educational</u> system					
e. a belief in the power of the outdoors to <u>change people</u>					
f. working with <u>like minded</u> fellow staff					

g, others (please specify)

2) In the time since you started work in outdoor education have these attractions changed in importance?

(tick one box on the scale 'greatly increased' to 'greatly lessened' for each question)

	greatly increased	<---------->	un-changed	<---------->	greatly lessened
a. working in the <u>outdoors</u>					
b. being able to do your <u>hobby</u> as a job					
c working with <u>people</u>					
d being part of an alternative <u>educational</u> system					
e. a belief in the power of the outdoors to <u>change people</u>					
f. working with <u>like minded</u> fellow staff					

g, others (please specify)

3a) Are there now additional reasons for doing the work in which you are currently employed? (tick one box)

Yes [ ]

No [ ] (if no, go to question 4a)

3b) What are these reasons?

a)

....

b)

....

c)

....

4a) Did you start work in the outdoor education industry -

(tick the box that applies to you)

a) directly from school	
b) directly from college after a related degree course	
c) directly from college after an unrelated degree course	
d) directly from a completely different profession	
e) directly from a related non-degree course	
f) directly from an unrelated non-degree course	
g) from unemployment	

h) other (please specify)

....

4b) If you specified starting from a course or from a completely different profession please describe it;

....

5) When you started work in the outdoor education industry was it -

(tick the box that applies to you)

a) as a temporary occupation	
b) with the intention of making the industry a full-time career	
c) with no specific intention in mind at that time	

6a) Have you ever stopped working for a centre/organisation and returned to the same one at a later date? (tick one box)

Yes	
No		(if no, go to question 6c)

6b) What were your reasons for -

a) leaving?

....

....

....

b) returning?

....

....

....

6c) If you have stopped working for a centre/organisation and not returned to it what were your reasons for leaving?

....

....

....

(go to question 7)

THE PRESENT

7) **How important are the following to you in your present work?**
(tick one box on the scale 'extremely important' to 'extremely unimportant' for each question)

	extremely important	<------------>	important	<------------>	extremely unimportant
a) feelings of <u>achievement</u>					
b) <u>recognition</u> from management					
c) <u>recognition</u> from clients					
d) <u>recognition</u> from colleagues					
e) having <u>responsibility</u> for your work					
f) potential for <u>advancement</u>					
g) the <u>technical</u> aspect of outdoor work					
h) centre <u>administration</u> of technical matters					
i) centre <u>administration</u> of personnel matters					
j) <u>praise thanks</u> from clients					
k) having good <u>resources/ materials</u>					
l) being <u>in charge</u> of a group					
m) having client <u>contact</u>					
n) agreeing with the company <u>ethos</u>					
o) <u>privacy</u> (if living in the centre)					
p) having <u>variety</u> at work					
q) personal <u>comfort</u>					
r) being able to <u>get away</u> from work in your free time					
s) being able to make <u>your own decisions</u>					
t) feeling that you make a <u>difference to people</u>					
u) the companionship of <u>like minded</u> people					
v) feeling of belonging to a <u>community</u>					
w) being able to <u>enjoy</u> being in the outdoors					
x) having an <u>adequate</u> level of time off					
y) being able to <u>plan</u> when to have time off					
z) having a <u>high</u> level of salary					
aa) having a <u>decent</u> level of salary					
bb) having <u>time off</u> for personal development					
cc) getting <u>finance</u> for personal development					

8) **Imagine a full day at work from the moment of getting out of bed to the moment of going back to bed; <u>number</u>, in order of importance, the following possible moments or features that might contribute to -**

i) a really <u>good</u> day (number in order of importance 1 being the most important)

a) good weather	
b) an enjoyable positive group	
c) the company of fellow staff	
d) an efficient well run day	
e) doing an activity you enjoy	
f) a quiet evening/night	
g) good meals	

h) other (please specify)	

ii) a really <u>bad</u> day (number in order of importance, 1 being the most important)

a) bad weather	
b) a difficult negative group	
c) hassle with centre issues	
d) a badly run/organised day	
e) doing an activity you dislike	
f) a busy evening/night	
g) bad meals	

h) other (please specify)	

THE FUTURE

9) When/if you leave your present centre is it likely to be to move to -

(tick the box/es that applies to you)

Please specify the profession

a) a completely different profession		
b) a different centre within the same organisation		
c) into instructing hard skills		
d) into freelance work		
e) a vocational [eg. special needs] centre		
f) another multi-activity centre		
g) into a management training organisation		
g) retire		

10a) Do you expect to move within -

(tick the box that applies to you)

a) less than one year	
b) more than one but less than two years	
c) more than two but less than five years	
d) more than five years	
e) more than ten years	
f) not within the foreseeable future	

10b) Why you are thinking in terms of this time scale?

....

....

11) Have you left employment at a previous centre before starting work at your present centre?

(tick one box)

Yes	
No	

12) If you were to decide to leave your present employment, which of these factors would be a factor in making that decision?

(if you answered yes to Q11. base your answers for this question on your past experience)
(tick one box on the scale 'definitely' to 'definitely not' for each question)

	definitely	<---------->	possibly	<---------->	definitely not
a) low feelings of achievement					
b) lack of recognition from management					
c) lack of recognition from clients					
d) lack of recognition from colleagues					
e) not having enough responsibility					
f) lack of potential for advancement					
g) not enough technical outdoor challenge					
h) poor centre technical administration					
i) poor centre personnel administration					
j) lack of praise/thanks from clients					
k) lack of good resources/materials					
l) not being able to run groups					
m) lack of client contact					
n) disagreement with the company ethos					
o) lack of privacy (if living in the centre)					
p) not having variety at work					
q) lack of personal comfort					
r) not being able to get away from work in free time					
s) not being able to make own decisions					
t) feelings of not making a difference to people					
u) little companionship of like minded people					
v) lack of belonging to a community					
w) not being able to enjoy the outdoors					
x) having an inadequate level of time off					
y) not being able to plan when to have time off					
z) not having a high level of salary					
aa) not having a decent level of salary					
bb) not having time off for personal development					
cc) not getting finance for personal development					

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BIOGRAPHICAL DETAILS

13) Which of these best describes your present position?

(tick any boxes that apply to you)

a) voluntary	
b) seasonal paid staff	
c) one year contract	
d) fixed term contract up to 3 years	
e) fixed term contract up to 5 years	
f) permanent contract	
g) trainee instructor	
h) assistant group instructor	
i) group instructor	
j) specialist instructor	
k) course co-ordinator instructor	
l) senior staff	
m) managerial staff	

14) What is your age?

15) How many years have you worked at your present centre?

16) Is your gross pay -

(tick the box that applies to you)

(live in = all food and accommodation provided)
(live out = you are paying for your food and accommodation)

	live in	live out
a) less than £50 a week		
b) between £50 - £100 a week		
c) between £100 - £150 a week		
d) between £150 - £200 a week		
e) between £200 - £250 a week		
f) between £250 - £300 a week		
g) more than £300 a week		

17) Specify what your time off/leave entitlement consists of;

a) Days off per week	
b) Evenings off per week	
c) Holiday days per year	

18) Are you;

male	
female	

19) Are you;

married/living with a partner	
single	

20) Which of the following do you feel best describes the centre you presently work in;

(tick one box)

a) charitable - educational	
b) state sector - educational	
c) commercial - educational	
d) commercial - holiday - educational	
e) commercial - holiday	
f) charitable - holiday	

g) Other (please specify)

....

21) Do you have any other comments to make on any of the issues raised in this questionnaire? (If you are happy for me to get back to you please put your name and address here. It will not be used in any other way)

....

....

....

....

....

THANK YOU.

APPENDIX 11; REPLY LIST OF CENTRES USED IN QUESTIONNAIRE SURVEY

No	Name of Centre	No sent	No replied
01	Abernethy Outdoor Centre	12	4
02	Achnamara Outdoor Centre	7	5
03	Adventure Dolphin	20	10
04	Adventure International Enterprises	30	*
05	Ardclinis Activity Centre	5	-
06	Ardeonig Outdoor Centre	9	9
07	Ardnabannon OPC	6	2
08	Ardroy Outdoor Centre	10	5
09	Arran OEC	4	2
10	Arrochar Outdoor Centre	5	2
11	Benmore Centre for Outdoor Education	8	3
12	Bewerley Park Centre for Outdoor Education	12	3
13	Bigfoot Adventure	5	2
14	Blairvadoch Outdoor Centre	6	2
15	Blue Peris Mountain Centre	5	1
16	Bowles Outdoor Centre	15	9
17	Buckden House	2	-
18	Bushmills Education Centre	4	1
19	Calshot Activities Centre	26	11
20	Carlton Outdoor Centre	3	3
21	Compass Ski & Outdoor Centre	6	4
22	Conway Centre	7	6
23	Coventry City OEC	7	4
24	Crowden Outdoor Centre	6	2
25	Cuffley Camp Outdoor Centre	4	4
26	Dartmoor Expedition Centre	3	1
27	Derbyshire Outdoors	8	3
28	Derwent Hill Centre	7	-
29	East Barnby OEC	8	4
30	Fairplay Outdoor Education Centre	6	1
31	Fairthorne Manor	6	4
32	Faverdale Training & Adventure Ltd	3	1
33	Ford Castle Residential & Field Study Centre	3	2

34	Fordell Firs Outdoor Centre	12	1
35	Garelochhead Outdoor Centre	5	1
36	Ghyll Head OEC	3	3
37	Glencoe Outdoor Education Centre	11	5
38	Gortatole OEC	6	4
39	Greenhill YMCA	15	9
40	Grenville House	6	3
41	High Force Training Centre	4	-
42	Hindleap Warren OEC	10	3
43	Horstead Centre	6	4
44	Hot Rocks	25	-
45	Howtown OEC	12	1
46	Hyde House Adventure Centre	30	3
47	Ingleborough Hall OEC	2	1
48	Kent Mountain Centre	4	1
49	Kilbowie OEC	8	4
50	Kingsway Adventure Centre	15	5
51	Lagganlia Centre	8	-
52	Lanehead OEC	3	3
53	Lindley Training	9	6
54	Llangollen YHA Centre	6	1
55	Loaningdale House	8	4
56	Lochgoilhead Centre	6	-
57	Maengwynedd OEC	6	4
58	Marle Hall Outdoor Centre	6	3
59	Marrick Priory OEC	4	3
60	Marthrown of Mabie Education Centre	2	1
61	Middle Head OPC	6	4
62	Mill on the Brue	7	6
63	Mountain and Water	6	2
64	Mountain Ventures	20	-
65	Newlands Adventure Centre	10	3
66	North York Moors Adventure Centre	4	4
67	Outdoor Adventure	15	4
68	OB Eskdale	6	2
69	OB Loch Eil	15	8
P	OB Ullswater	-	-

70	OB Wales	15	11
71	Pendarren House OEC	5	1
72	PGL Adventure	100	16
73	Plas Gwynant OEC	6	2
74	Preseli Outdoor Centre	3	-
75	Red Ridge Centre	4	-
76	Rhos-y-Gwaliau OEC	4	3
77	Rhosili OEC	4	-
78	River Dart Residential Centre	10	3
79	Scottish Centres	6	2
80	Sealyham Activity Centre	15	7
81	Shropshire OEC	10	2
82	Skern Lodge Outdoor Centre	16	9
83	South Cerny OEC	20	3
84	Stackpole Centre	5	-
85	The Dales Centre Ltd	6	-
86	The Outdoor Trust	8	-
87	The Ranch	15	-
88	The Towers OEC	5	-
89	The Venture Centre	6	-
90	Tirabad Residential Educational Trust	3	2
91	Ty'n Y Berth	6	2
92	Ufton Court Centre	3	-
93	Ursa Major Adventure	4	-
94	West Malvern OEC	6	4
95	Woodlands Centre	5	1
P	YMCA Lakeside	-	-
96	YMCA Weardale House	8	7

P = Used in pilot study not main questionnaire survey.

* = figure removed from total, see methodology, section 9.2

APPENDIX 12;   INITIAL PHASE II QUESTIONS

- What are the key ingredients of a really good day?

- How does a good day differ from a really bad day?

- What really gets you motivated?

- What really gets you down?

- What really makes a good group in your opinion?

- What are the features of an efficient well run day?

- What is about centre issues that wind you up?

- What is about a particular activity that you might enjoy?

- What sort of activities do you dislike?

- How does the weather affect your day?

- How do other staff make a difference to you?

- What are the good things about working in a residential centre?

- What about the bad things?

APPENDIX 13; THE BRIEF SENT OUT PRIOR TO THE GROUP INTERVIEWS

STAFF MOTIVATION - GROUP INTERVIEWS;

Thank you for taking part in this research which is part of a much larger study into the motivation of staff working in the outdoor industry. The purpose of the interviews is both to confirm and develop the results of a nation-wide questionnaire survey which you may have seen at about this time last year. There were almost three hundred replies to this questionnaire making it the largest known study specifically about outdoor instructors in this country.

One of the questions in that survey asked respondents to rank order a number of features of a good and bad day. These interviews are based on the results of that question which are shown in graph form on the next page.

I SHOULD MENTION NOW THAT EVERYTHING YOU SAY WILL BE TOTALLY IN CONFIDENCE - IT WON'T BE REPORTED TO YOUR BOSS!

It would be very useful if you could take a few minutes before the interviews to think about these results, for example; some of the questions posed are -

- What really makes a good group in your opinion?

- What are the features of an efficient well run day?

- What is about a particular activity that you might enjoy?

- What are the key ingredients of a really good day?

- How does a good day differ from a really bad day?

Many thanks, I hope you will enjoy the chance to talk about these issues.

Peter Barnes

A good day

an enjoyable positive group

an efficient well run day

doing an activity you enjoy

good weather

company of fellow staff

good meals

quiet evening/night

Mean order of importance (ranked 1 to 7, 7 = most important)

A bad day

a difficult negative group

a badly run/organised day

doing an activity you dislike

bad weather

hassle with centre issues

bad meals

busy evening/night

Mean order of importance (ranked 1 to 7, 7 = most important)

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APPENDIX 14; THE INTERIM RESULTS HANDOUT

<div style="border:1px solid">

THE MOTIVATION OF STAFF
IN
THE OUTDOOR EDUCATION INDUSTRY

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</div>

Interim Results

*"If the labourer gets no more than his employer pays him,
he is cheated, he cheats himself."*
(Thoreau, 1971, p357)

Peter Barnes

University of Strathclyde

Tel; 0141-9503471

E-mail; p.e.barnes@strath.ac.uk

The tables and figures enclosed are the interim results from a study into the motivation of staff working in the charitable and commercial sectors of the outdoor education industry. The study includes some data from the state (LEA) sector for the purpose of comparison.

In summary <u>the purpose of the study</u> is:

- 'To examine the motivation of staff working in the outdoor industry'

<u>The principal aim of the study</u> is:

- 'To investigate the factors which motivate people to work in the outdoor industry'

<u>The second aim of the study</u> is:

- 'To investigate the factors which will motivate staff to remain in the industry on a long term basis'

To facilitate this second aim it is necessary:

- 'To investigate possible changes in motivation, if any, which accompany career progression and/or lifestyle changes'

- 'To investigate major current issues within the outdoor industry such as professionalism, the need for qualifications, career structure and the implications of recent events such as Lyme Bay.'

It is <u>the basic premise of this study</u> that:

- 'The nature of work in the outdoor industry means that retention and turnover issues can not be approached from the conventional stances of work conditions, rewards etc. The starting point, if the issue is to be fully understood, must be an understanding of why staff are attracted to work in the outdoors in the first instance.'

Personal construct analysis is a type of psychological testing and is used here to look for commonalties in the outlooks and attitudes (personal constructs) of outdoor staff.

Results from the questionnaire are still being analysed. The graphs and tables which follow give an idea of the results coming from this phase of the research. No analysis of the results are given here, nor are the results given in any particular order.

Figure 1
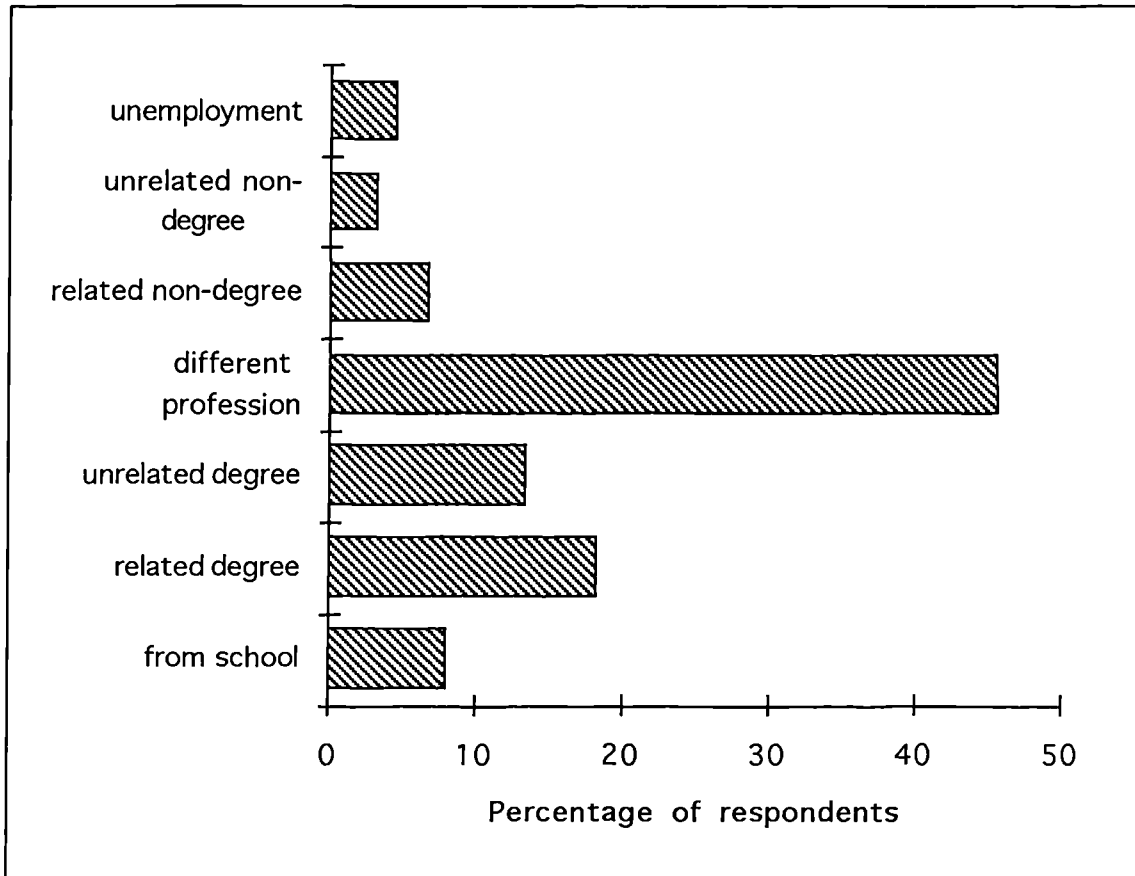
Career stage at/from which people entered the
outdoor industry

Table 1

Career intention	Entry into industry from;
Full time career	related degree/non-degree different profession
Temporary occupation	school unrelated degree
no career intention	unrelated non-degree unemployment

Career intentions as a cross tabulated function of previous occupation

Table 2

GENDER	TEMPORARY	CAREER	NO INTENT
male	15.5	58	26 5
female	29.5	43.2	27.2
overall % of total	19.8	53.5	26.7

Cross tabulation of career intentions with gender

Table 3

	State	Non - State
Men	38 6	29.5
Women	33.4	27.8

Age of men and women in State and Non - State sectors

Figure 2
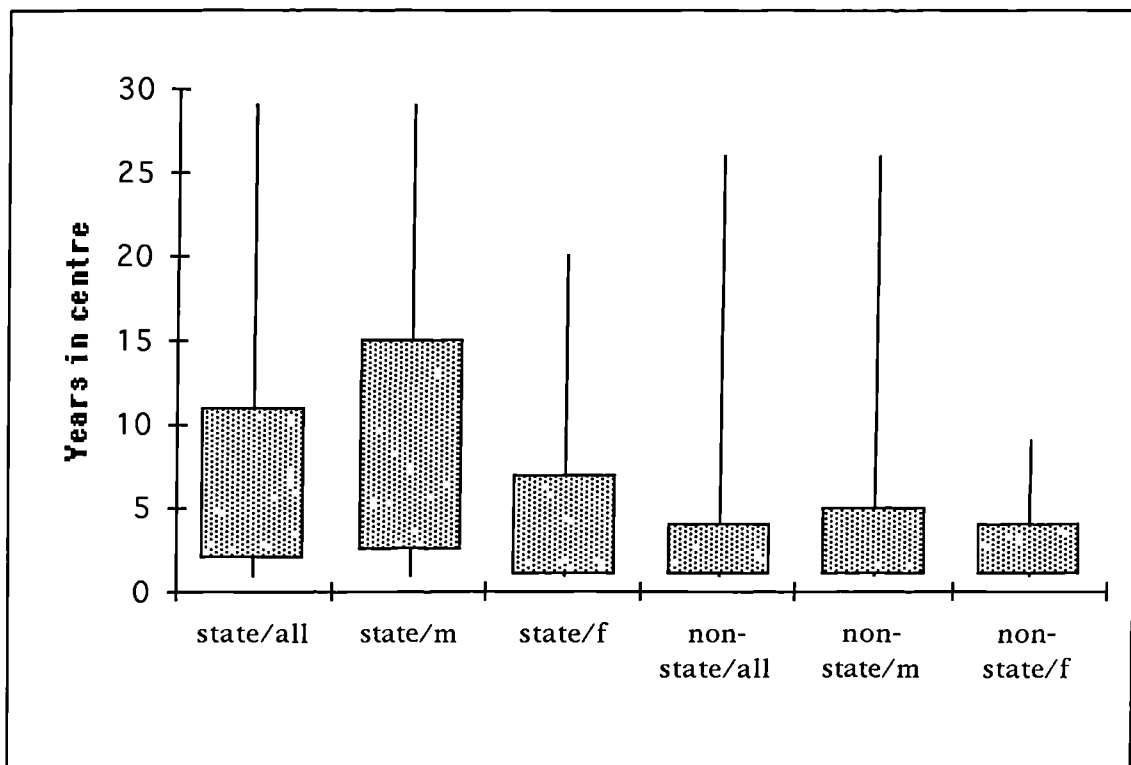
Figure 2 bar chart: Percentage of respondents by years employed

- 21 years or more
- 11 to 20 years
- 6 to 10 years
- 2 to 5 years
- 1 year or less

Percentage of respondents (0, 5, 10, 15, 20, 25, 30, 35)

Years employed in present centre

Figure 3

Quartile distribution box plot of Years in centre by category: state/all, state/m, state/f, non-state/all, non-state/m, non-state/f

Quartile distribution of time worked in centre.

(blocked area = inter-quartile range)

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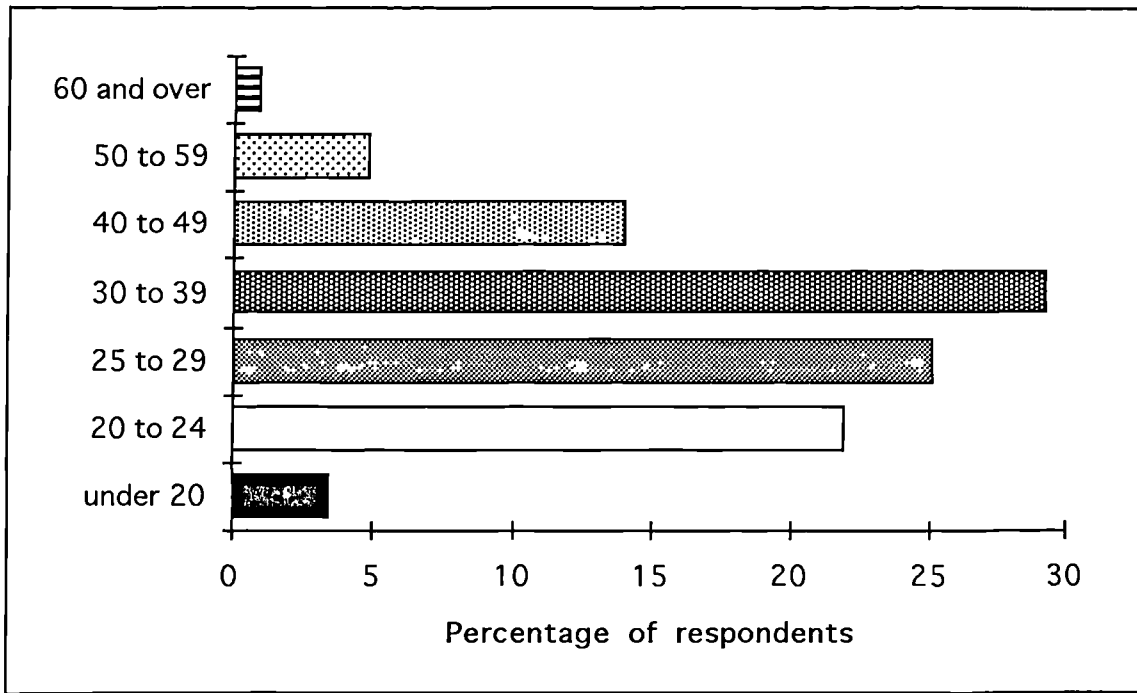
Figure 4

Age of respondents

Figure 5
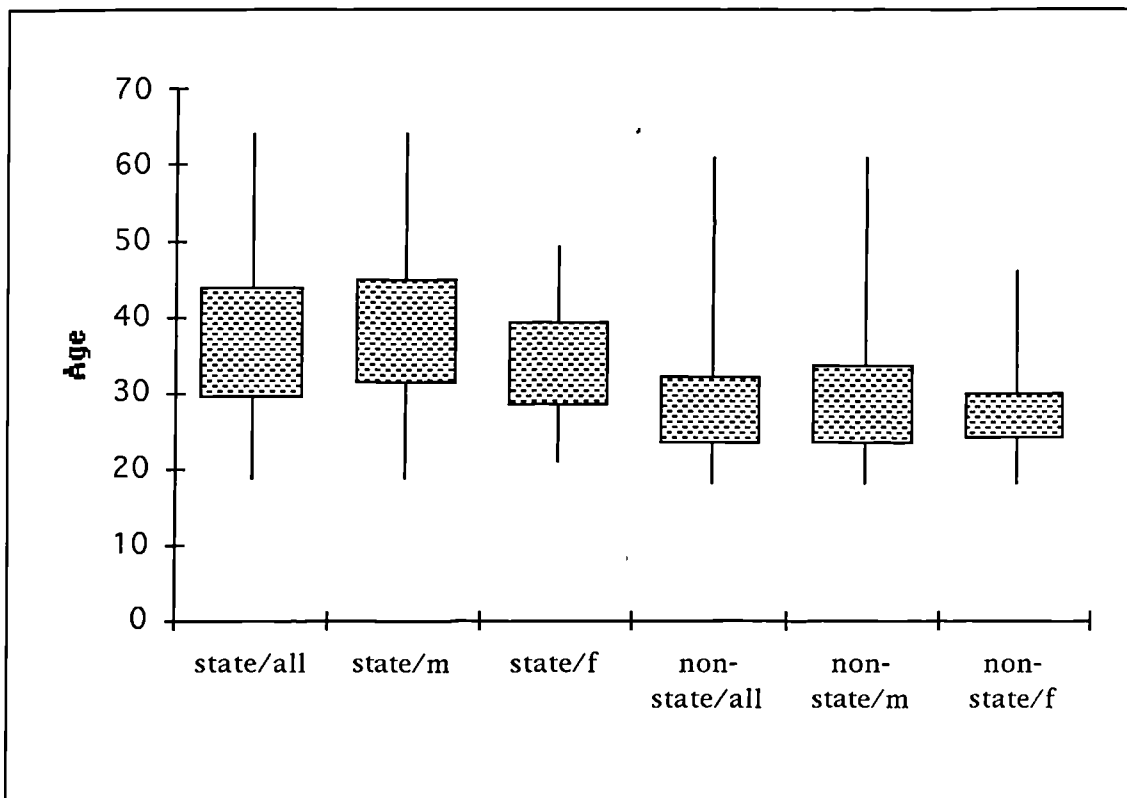
Quartile distribution of age

Figure 6

Percentage of respondents
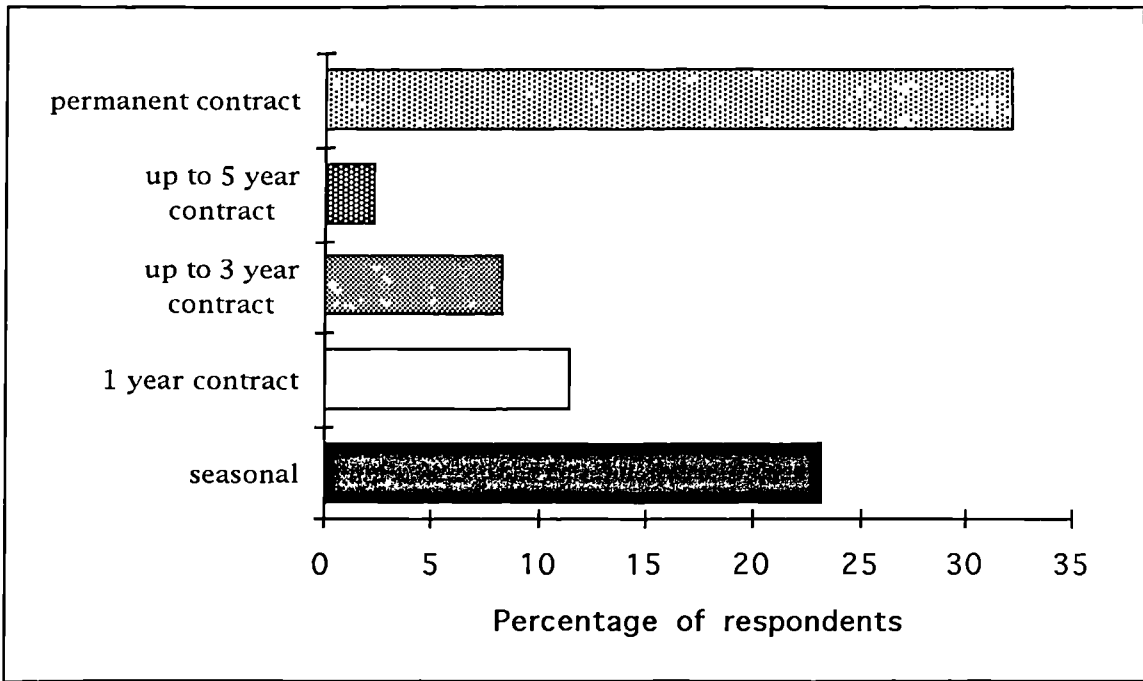
Length of contracts in the industry as a whole

Figure 7

Percentage of respondents
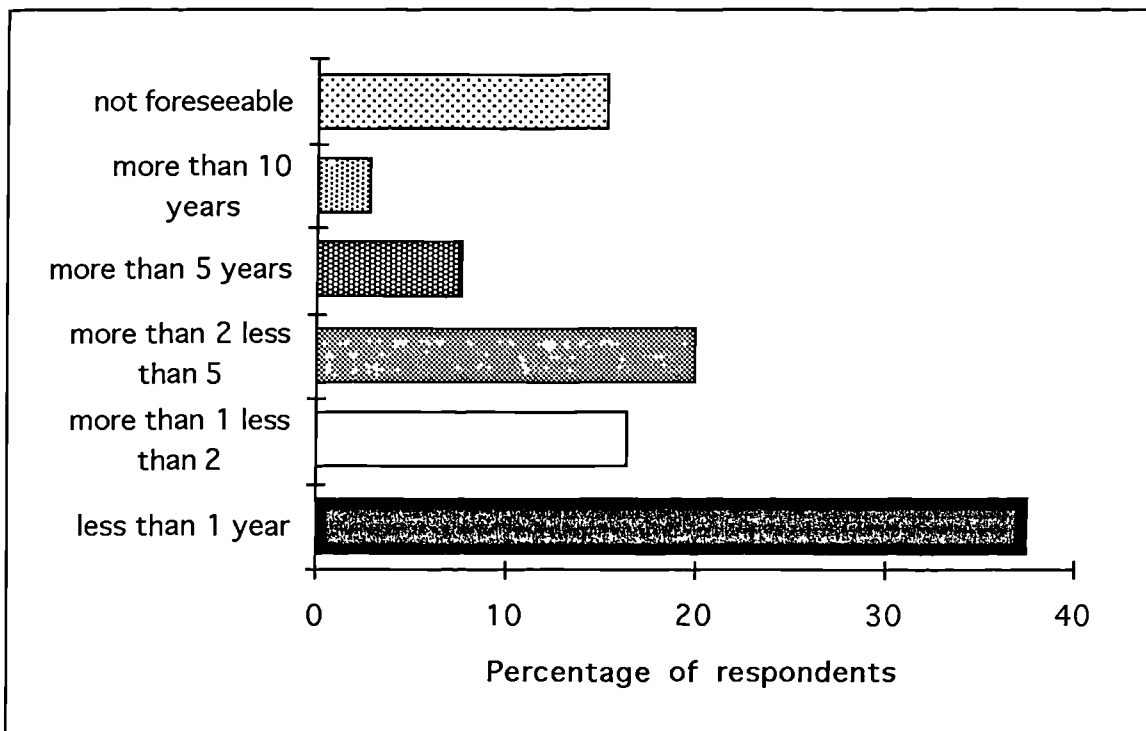
Expected time before leaving present centre

Figure 8
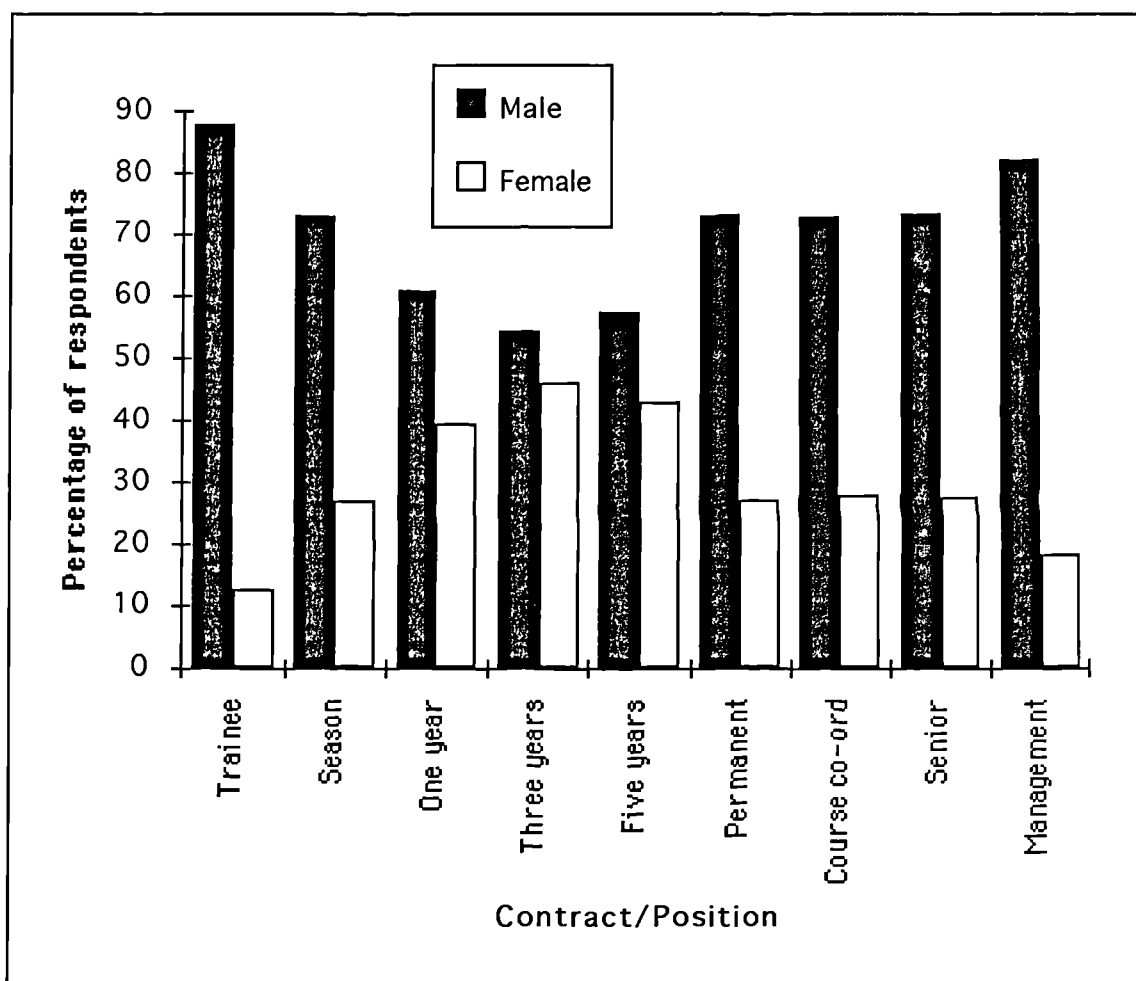
Contracts and seniority as a function of gender

Table 4

Managerial/administration	4
Professional (inc. teaching)	69
Technical	2
Clerical	2
Craft and related trades	23
Personal service	3
Sales/financial sales	8
Military	11
Other	10

Number of respondents who entered outdoor education

from other occupations

Figure 9
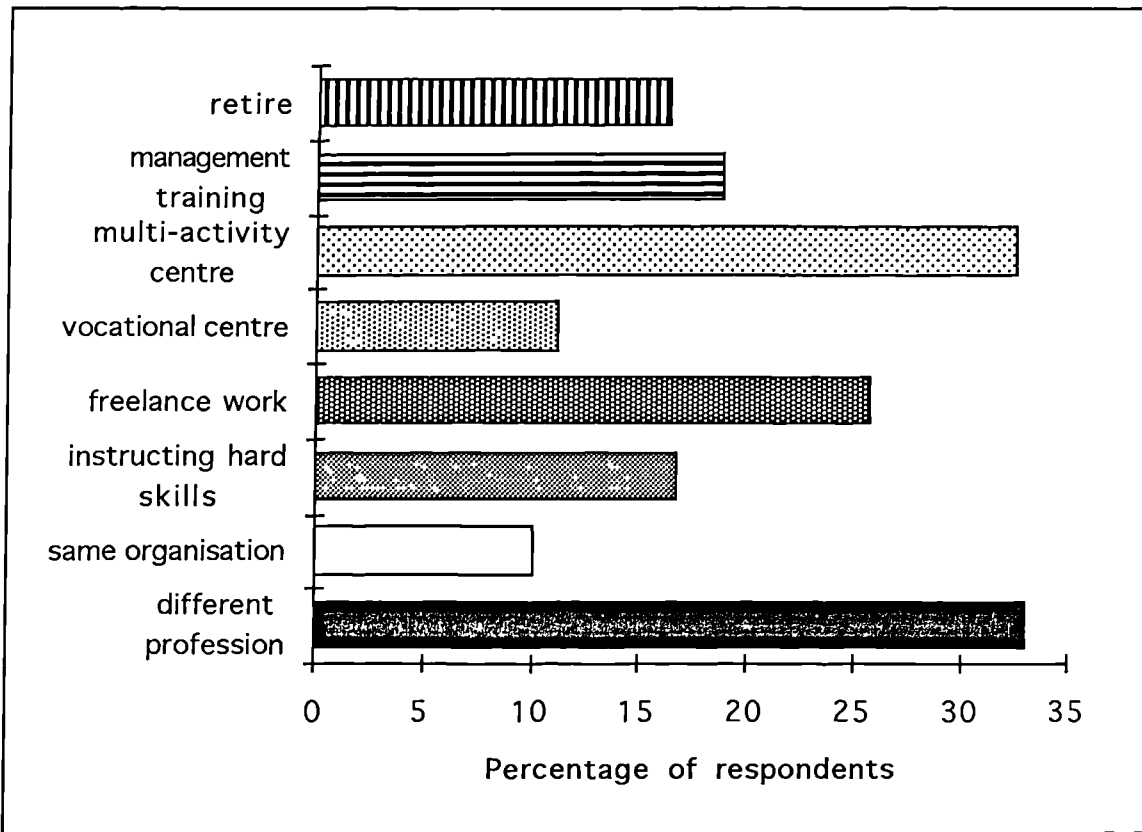
Possible destinations for staff leaving a centre

Figure 10
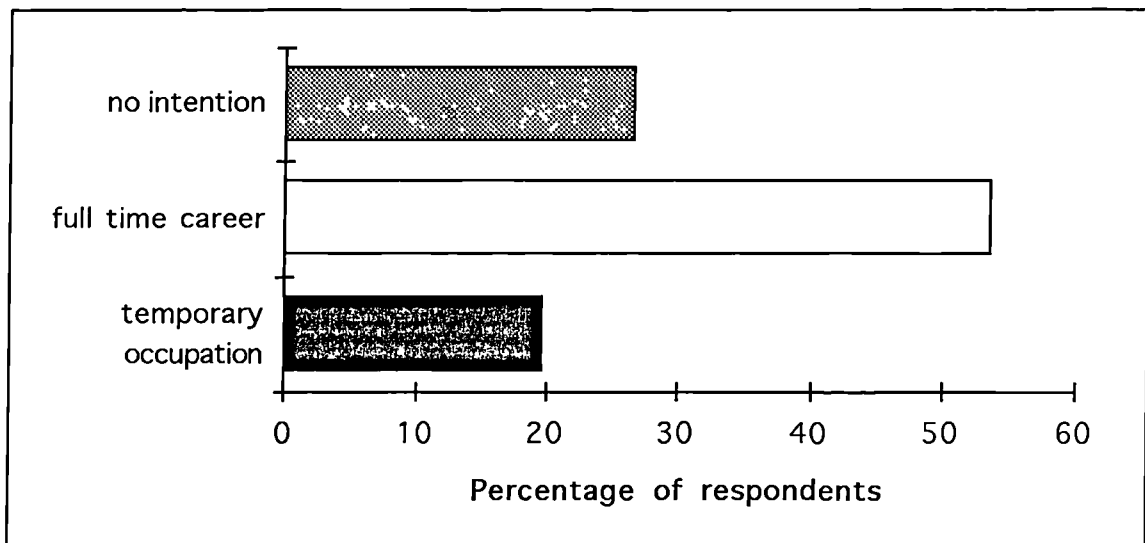
Career intention at the time of entry into the industry

Table 5

feelings of achievement	1.383
feeling that you make a difference to people	1.340
having responsibility for your work	1.309
being able to enjoy being in the outdoors	1 280
having variety at work	1.250
being able to make own decisions	1.250
being able to get away from work in free time	1.200
recognition from clients	1.170
having good resources/materials	1.142
having client contact	1 120
having an adequate level of time off	1.050
having time off for personal development	0.980
privacy (if living in centre)	0.880
potential for advancement	0.823
agreeing with the company ethos	0 800
being able to plan when to have time off	0.740
the companionship of like minded people	0.720
recognition from colleagues	0.702
praise/thanks from clients	0.659
having a decent level of salary	0.630
recognition from management	0.601
being in charge of a group	0.590
getting finance for personal development	0.510
feeling of belonging to a community	0.500
the technical aspect of outdoor work	0.432
centre administration of personnel matters	0.300
personal comfort	0.170
centre administration of technical matters	0.061
having a high level of salary	-0.340

Importance of issues at work

(scale = +2 extremely important to -2 extremely unimportant)

It was found that there was a significant overall difference ($p < 0.05$) in what men and women felt to be important issues for them at work. Women were much more concerned with privacy than men likewise the amount of time off they get was more important to them. More fundamentally the ethos and communal nature of a centre as well as working with like minded people were bigger issue for women than men. Of all the issues, the only one noticeably rated as more important for men than women was the importance of technical challenge.

Table 6

lack of potential for advancement	0.850
having an inadequate level of time off	0.640
low feelings of achievement	0.560
not being able to enjoy the outdoors	0.560
not being able to make own decisions	0.540
lack of recognition from management	0.530
not having a decent level of salary	0.530
not being able to get away from work in free time	0.520
not having time off for personal development	0.500
not having enough responsibility	0.400
disagreement with the company ethos	0.390
not having variety at work	0.390
poor centre personnel administration	0.360
not being able to plan when to have time off	0.250
lack of good resources materials	0.230
feelings of not making a difference to people	0.230
poor centre technical administration	0.180
lack of privacy (if living in centre)	0.180
not enough technical outdoor challenge	0.130
not being able to run groups	0.120
lack of client contact	0.090
not getting finance for personal development	0.090
lack of recognition from colleagues	0.020
little companionship of like minded people	0.000
lack of recognition from clients	-0.120
lack of belonging to a community	-0.200
lack of personal comfort	-0.220
lack of praise/thanks from clients	-0.330
not having a high level of salary	-0.360

Potential reasons for leaving a centre

(scale = +2 definitely to -2 definitely not)

Despite there being no overall significant difference (p > 0.1) between men and women in this question it was apparent that lack of privacy was more of an issue for women when deciding to leave a centre than it was for men. Not enough technical challenge, poor technical administration and lack of resources were found to be issues for men but less so for women.

Table 11

a = 'working in the outdoors   b = 'being able to do your hobby as a job'

c = 'working with people'   d = 'being part of an alternative educational system'

e = 'belief in the power of the outdoors to change people' f = 'working with like minded staff'
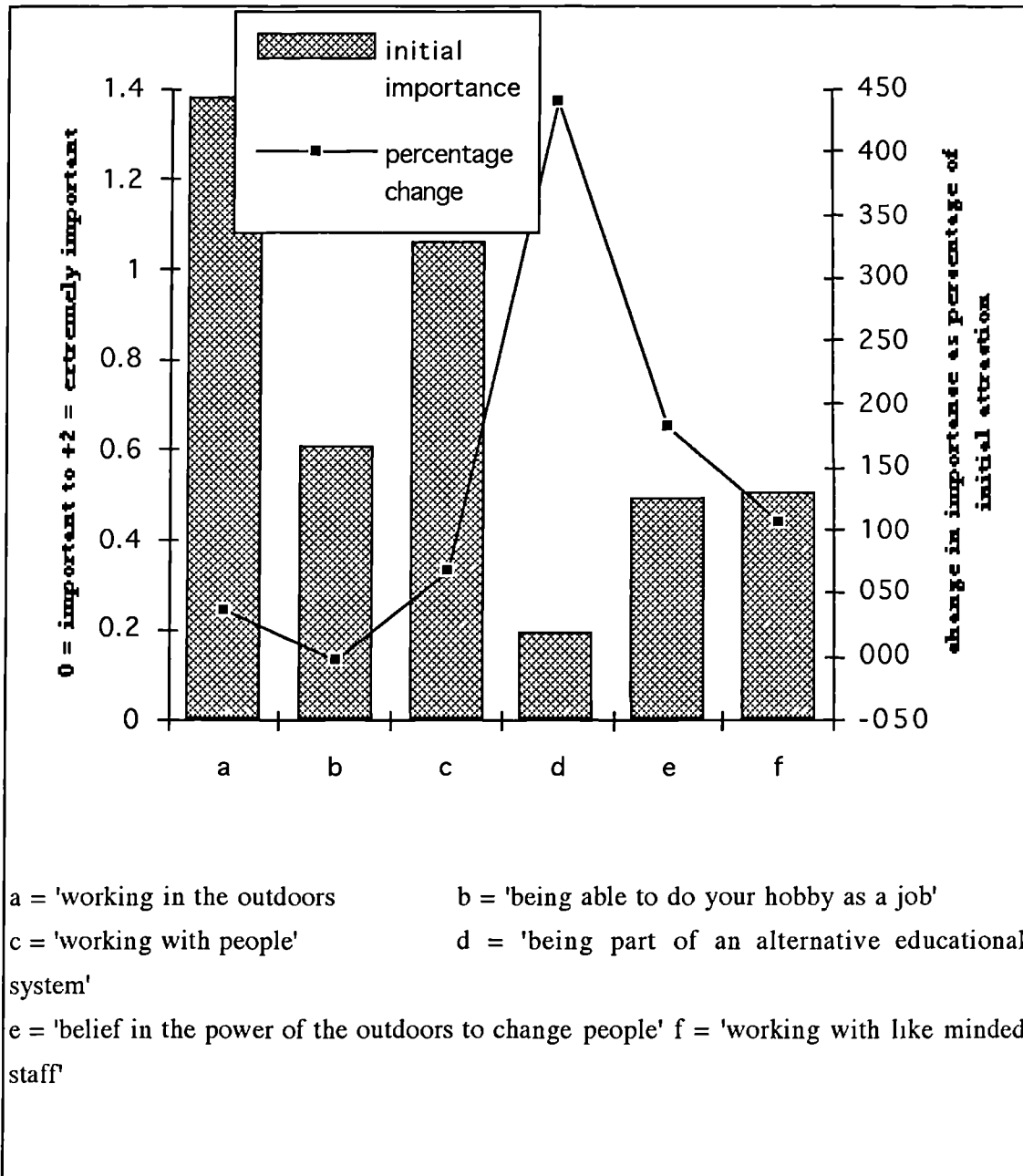
The initial attraction of working in the outdoor industry

together with the change in that attraction

Table 12
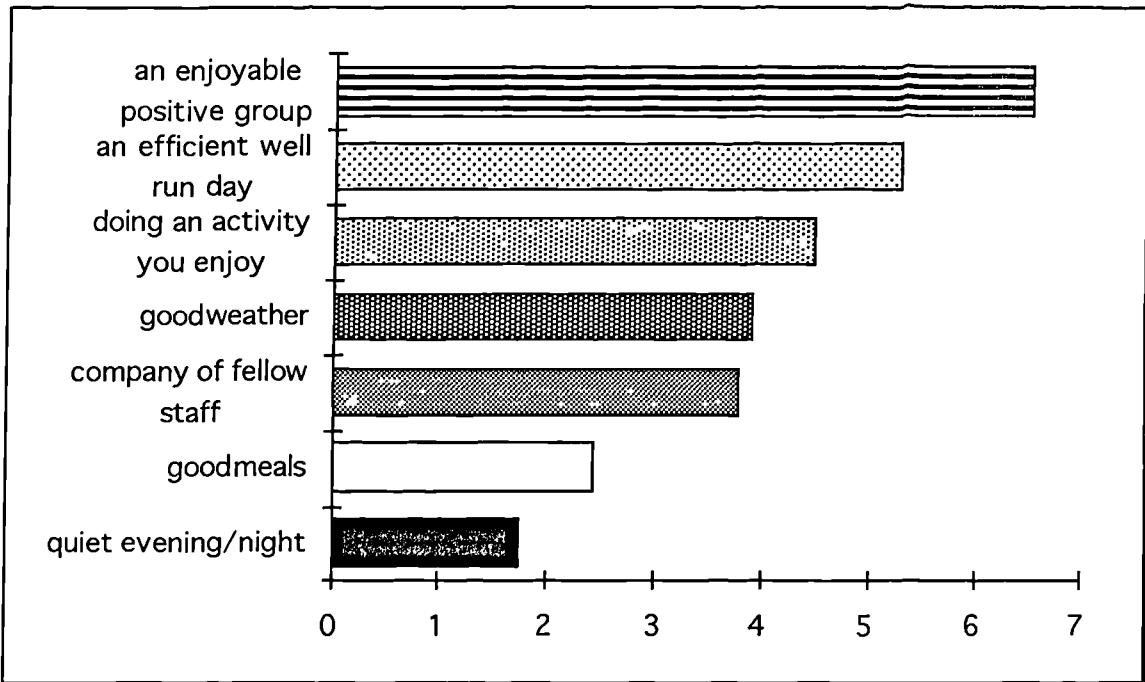
Ranked order of factors which make up a good day

Table 13
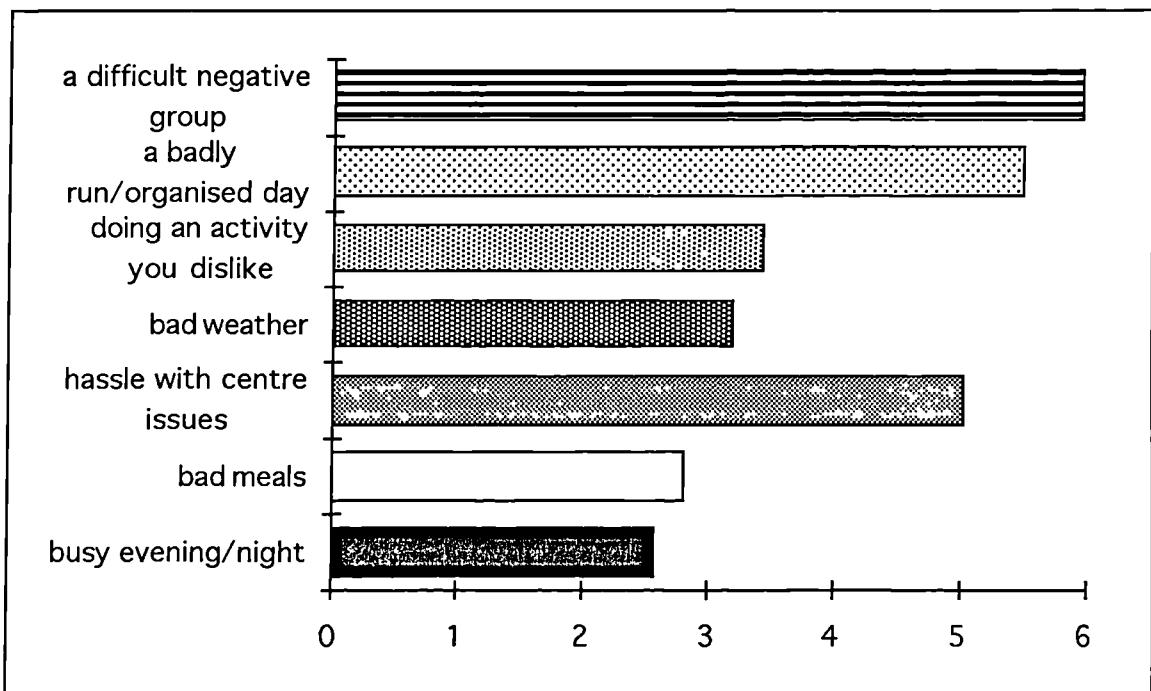
Ranked order of factors which make up a bad day

APPENDIX 15;   THE MODERATOR'S GUIDE

1. Specific objectives of the interviews;

The main issue which needs to be confirmed from the data gathered in the questionnaire regards the career expectations of outdoor staff.

1) why are there different career patterns for male and female staff?
2) why are there different career patterns for state and non-state sector staff?
3) what influence will the move towards professionalism have for staff?
4) what is the importance and significance, if any, of on-going personal development?
5) is the hypothesis established at the end of chapter 10 that the nature of the work needs to be developed to keep staff happy; but conditions of work need to be improved to retain staff, accurate?
6) is this hypothesis too simplistic and can it be developed?

2. Interview procedure;

i) Welcome/introduction;

Purpose - to examine the motivation of staff in the outdoor industry with the desired outcome of retaining members of staff. Note importance of professional era and the need to retain staff/get value for money for training. Mention PCT.

Guidelines -   Privacy and anonymity (recording)
No talking over each other
Talk clearly - recording.

ii) Warm up questions - <u>START/CHECK RECORDING</u>

- What makes a really good day?
- How does a bad day differ from a good day?
- What is about a particular activity that you might enjoy?
- What sort of activities do you dislike?
- What are the good things about working in a residential centre?
- What is about centre issues that wind you up?
- How do other staff make a difference to you?

iii) 'Issue' questions;

- What are the differences between state (LEA) centres and non-state centres?
- Why do women not stay as long as men in outdoor centres?
- What influence will the move towards professionalism have for staff?
- How do you see your futures?

iv) 'Motivation' questions; (DAY TWO?)

- What really gets you going?
- what is the importance and significance, if any, of on-going personal development?
- What really gets you down?

v) Finish -   confirm/check issues
                any questions

                (STOP RECORDING)

                arrange next date (if applicable)

                <u>PCT</u>

                Thanks.

APPENDIX 16; COURSES UNDERTAKEN BY RESPONDENTS DIRECTLY BEFORE ENTERING THE OUTDOOR INDUSTRY

(figures in brackets are where more than one reply was given for the course, *marked courses are those with a known outdoor education content or part content)

PGCE OEd (4)   *
PGCE teaching (2)
PGCE PE & OEd   *
PGCE Geography & OEd (3)   *
PGCE History & OEd   *
PGCE Chemistry & OEd   *
PGCE History and Geography

BED (Hons) General Education
BED Geog & Env Studies
BED (Hons) Geography & OEd   *
BED Outdoor & Science Education   *
BED (Hons) Outdoor & Environmental Education   *
BED (Hons) Phys Ed (6)   *
BED Outdoor Education (2)   *

Watersports instructor course   *
City & Guilds Recreation & Leisure/outdoor education   *
Multi-activity instructors course   *
HND Leisure Studies (2)
HND Leisure Management
HNC Outdoor Sports Coaching   *
BTEC Outdoor Pursuits   *
BTEC Art & Design
BTEC Leisure Studies (3)
SCOTVEC Phys Ed & Outdoor activities   *
NVQ 3 Outdoor Pursuits   *
Diploma in PE
Diploma in Outdoor Leisure Management   *
Outdoor Ed Diploma (3)   *
Moray House Post-Grad Diploma in OEd (5)   *

BA (Hons) Sports Studies

BA (Hons) English/Educational Studies

BA (Hons) Recreation & Community Studies   *

BA Design & Technology

BA (Hons) Recreation Management

BA (Hons) English & History

BA (Hons) Combined Studies (Leisure & Environmental Studies)

BA Eng Lit (3)

BA (Hons) Sports Studies

BA (Hons) Recreation

BA (Hons) Photography

BA (Hons) PE & OEd   *

BSc (Hons) Geog & Geology

BSc PE/Sports

BSc (Hons) Applied Geography

BSc Computer Science

BSc Zoology (2)

BSc Chemistry

BSc Applied Biology

Degrees in;   Psychology

                Religious Studies

                Economics and Accountancy

                Engineering (2)

                Countryside Recreation

                Physics

                Youth work/teaching

APPENDIX 17; JOBS WHICH RESPONDENTS LEFT TO ENTER THE OUTDOOR INDUSTRY

(numbers in brackets where more than one respondent)

Teaching (44)
HM Forces (11)
Architectural (2)
Postman
Bank Clerk (2)
Dentist
Plumber
Electrician
Counsellor in NHS
Transport & distribution industry
Agriculture
Investment sales
Environmental Engineering (2)
Environmental resource management
Surveying
Personnel Training (3)
Marketing/sales (4)
Domestic in Outdoor centre
Lifeguard
Youth Work (3)
Countryside management
Camping equipment salesman
Bar work (2)
Stock Broker (2)
Baker
Hotel management (2)
Nurse
Graphic designer
Electrical Industry
Training officer (Industry)
Trainer - Girl Guides Assoc
Shipbuilding (2)
Horticultural (3)
Leisure management
Construction industry (6)
Computing industry (4)
Accountancy (3)
Motor mechanic (3)
Factory work (2)
Storekeeper in outdoor centre
Lab technician
Manufacturing industry
Management training (2)
Clerical
Met office
Engineering (7)
Print worker

APPENDIX 18; ADDITIONAL REASONS FOR DOING WORK IN WHICH CURRENTLY EMPLOYED

Human resources training
improving outdoor activities
liveable salary
living in an area of the country which I enjoy
career development
lack of alternative choices
hard to move into a new career at the same level
best use of qualifications
as more people live in an unnatural environment it is of great importance to
        introduce them to natural things
permanent employment
ability to travel - pursue own hobbies in greater depth
helping to demonstrate by practice a high quality training system
to get away from towns and cities
to give myself more experience with people
to restart again in something new
preferable to other employment i.e. teaching in school
challenge attitudes
engender better relationship between humans and natural world
encourage critical thinking (not always part of current conservative
        education)
I still enjoy it
give opportunities to young people
to enable staff to reach full potential
to provide a link between school/work society
I have made a career of the occupation
I enjoy it
friendship
now in a management position - opportunity to be involved with decisions as
        to where the centre is going
To share my Christian life and beliefs in a positive and active way
fun
challenge
lack of experience/qualifications in other areas
working with people with special needs
less stress than in a classroom
personal development in the environmental field
more ability to show my positive aspects of my character to be enthusiastic
        with children
a possible career
my job has developed over ten years with increased responsibilities and
        rewards
I am in a position of responsibility
A belief that I can make things change
reluctance to go back into mainstream education
that is where my qualifications have led me
making contacts from other countries
experience in teaching
better money
getting more involved with centre community and how I can contribute
setting longer term targets for gaining qualifications and responsibility
it has sufficient variety and challenge to motivate me
responsibility for managing and leading others
a desire to educate people to use their leisure time in ways which will give
        them satisfaction and allow them to appreciate nature and the wild
        environment
a desire to see LEA centres carry on into the future providing outdoor
        experiences for young people who may not otherwise have the
        opportunity

outdoor ed offers opportunities to those with traditional sporting or
        academic handicaps
qualified - professional qualifications
motivated to get more qualifications
conviction in the personal and social development of young people
not sure what other career I could change to
improving career structure
recognition of expertise within the business
living in the best part of the country
increased status within the centre
more management responsibilities and opportunities
location
lifestyle
great deal of autonomy
great deal of variety
autonomy in teaching - freedom to choose daily activities/venues
working with small groups
able to train for more qualifications
working within a team
good alternative to studying during holidays and weekends
considerable commitment to living in the area
being able to live in nice environment and earn a good living
further opportunities to gain qualifications and improve my skills and
        breadth of experience
working in a particular area of the countryside
make it into a career
enjoyment/satisfaction on faces of those participating
helping others
essentially finding any other work not satisfying
little or no experience of anything else - trapped
I get to instruct a wide range of people
I now have a number of qualifications and feel it would be a shame to leave
        and let them lapse
happy
opportunity for professional input
continued training/development of skills
realisation of future career path in teaching - long term plans
I now have an outdoor job with some managerial responsibilities
to gain experience and gain more qualifications
I borrowed money to do a course to qualify in NGBs in outdoor ed and have
        to pay this off - I feel obliged to stay in the industry I spent money
        to train in
more enjoyable than teaching in a school
a re-discovery or renewed enthusiasm for the outdoors
refreshing and honest attitude of my present employers
to expand my repertoire of skills
to learn how to run a small business
to improve my outdoor and communication skills
enjoyment
more enjoyable than alternative options
young people/persons personal achievements
development of the individual
using the outdoors as a medium to tell people about the Lord Jesus Christ
        and the salvation he brings
excellent fun
motivating other people to do things they were never going to do
developing field work to tie in with KS2 and 'A' level
being able to share my enthusiasm for, and belief in, the many benefits
        of outdoor education and training with other people on a
        professional level
professional challenge
taking a more client contact responsibilities
design and delivery of courses to meet client needs
working towards NVQs

able to work seasons, i.e. ski and outdoors
improving my personal and instructional skill
helping to ensure that OE is valued for what it can do for people of all ages
offering opportunities to minority groups
constant personal development
opportunity to develop new ideas
in an educational system that evaluates results largely on scholastic
   achievement we need an outlet of a more positive nature for a
   great many young people
gaining experience and NGBs for work in school
working in a specific location
chance to use a variety of skills
opportunities to work for staff development and training
to share good and bad experiences with others
to pass on knowledge, skills and experience to others
professional development
being able to train new staff who are now in the position I was in a year ago
little work in the area
working with a wide variety of client groups
I am now in a more senior position with the ability to influence changes in
   practice etc much more easily
wanting to give something back to a sport I gained much from
enjoy everything about what I do
opportunity to influence culture in modern business
working with intellectually stimulating people
variety of work context and style
I am a teacher greatly disheartened by school
It enabled me to move out of inner city London to open country
financial reward
job security
can combine summer oe work with winter ski instructing
promotion to deputy head - more influence on what I do and the
   programs I run - more ownership and satisfaction
to over an over computerised/jaded child a different approach to
   doing things/life
my family are now growing up in this area
I like the area
satisfaction from enhancing impact of personal and organisational change
obtain qualifications for future job hopes
further my own experience
opportunity to take up new hobbies
wanting to introduce people to skills enabling them to 'go further'
total inability to work 9-5 in an office environment
have spent a lot of time and money getting qualified
increased commitment to sport of canoeing
working towards a full time career in OE
extra income
spent number of years accumulating awards
a great way of life
it's my living and family
because it is so rewarding
to be able to share my Christian faith with others
to let others experience the sports and introduce them to the sport that
   I participate in
move towards self-employment
varied experience working with different client groups
used as a base to penetrate other markets
commitment to individual sports e.g. kayaking
training and improvement in outdoor sports is now an essential part
   of my own personal development
to do a job I enjoy
have an enjoyable, active and healthy lifestyle
to be away from 9-5 type jobs

teaching and training in personal development and
management development
qualifications for full time teaching in future
now head of centre
my job keeps me in Scotland, amongst brilliant people and scenery
my salary and pension are good
I'm happy in my work
advancement
sense of achievement
promotion
wage
qualification possibilities
supporting my family and lifestyle
earning a living
qualifications
enjoy living in the area
learning more new activities
the centre has doubled in size
I am now a manager
I enjoy it
it's always a challenge
always something more to learn/achieve
it is a means to gain NGB awards
using the NGB awards
potential for myself to influence change in outdoor ed
finally got a reasonably paid job
no major qualifications to go elsewhere
financial
I have a family to support
to gain more experience working with youth
community relations
money
I have developed my skills
financial stability
management
remuneration
quality of life with my family
to specifically work with young people
ever increasing/changing challenges
a continued love of the outdoor life style
a better paid job the more qualifications I get
lack of other potential career moves at present
the lifestyle is important
freedom
gaining qualifications
money
good laugh
experience
there is job security to a point
I love the area and have built up good contacts with personnel in other
agencies relating to my work
to develop my own skills and interests
I can affect change in the curriculum and educational aspects of the job

APPENDIX 19; REASONS GIVEN FOR INTENT TO LEAVE A CENTRE

(numbers in brackets where more than one respondent)

condition of work
concerns with job security (4)
bad management (6)
rude senior instructors
urge for change
to increase knowledge in other mountain areas
time to move on (7)
partner moving (2)
need to progress (5)
family commitments (10)
frustrated at lack of effort to improve standards (2)
will have progressed as far as I can here
need for stability
to gain a variety of experiences (7)
lack of training
important for my own development (11)
to avoid disillusionment
to avoid burn out (3)
to avoid boredom (7)
need for a career (4)
to travel (3)
limited opportunities
contract/season ends (32)
money (16)
age (16)
working hours (4)
centre closing (13)
don't want to get too settled/stagnate (5)
dissatisfaction with centre (3)
lack of promotion (3)
generally treated badly (4)
uncertain future of oe

APPENDIX 20; POSSIBLE OR INTENDED FUTURE JOBS IF/WHEN LEAVING THE OUTDOOR INDUSTRY

(numbers in brackets where more than one respondent)

further/higher education (7)
teaching pe & oe (3)
fitness industry
journalism (2)
sign on and look for work
police force (4)
dog training
special needs school (2)
youth and community officer/ofsted
counselling (2)
teaching (22)
building trade (2)
voluntary sector management
unsure (14)
trainer in industry (2)
network marketing
temp work (2)
management
para-medic
conflict resolution
teacher training
setting up own oe business
landscape gardener
computer consultancy
nursing
RAF
fire brigade
theatre
run a small holding/bunkhouse
driving instructor
owning a restaurant

APPENDIX 21; FOCUS GROUP INTERVIEWS - SIGNIFICANT STATEMENTS

21.1 Centre 1;

Good day   - Group achieves/good group
             - Excitement of new people/catching excitement from group
             - Being in charge/taking and having <u>responsibility</u>
             - Being in the countryside
             - Variety
             - Teaching techniques/passing knowledge and passing over
        responsibility/seeing kids learn

Bad day   - Hassle at the end of a long day
             - Repetitive
             -

Hate repetitive activities with little input from instructor
Love activity which involve whole groups and aid progression
Like being centre of attention/having groups listen to you

Difficulty with other peoples attitude of 'when are you going to get a proper job'

Outdoors not a proper job, more of a lifestyle statement - living your job, can be very intrusive on own life, you can't get away from it, usually short term.
Proper job is own home, decent wages, 9 to 5
LEA work could be thought of as proper job

Outdoors is becoming more professional and should now be thought of as a proper job
No progression is difficulty, no career progression
end goal is running own centre
Reality of the job is that it can be boring tedious work, you realise that when the glamour wears off.

Industry is male/macho dominated/environment (hard skills)
- makes it difficult for women
important to have balance of male and female staff.
Women happy to work short term but not long term contracts
Confidence of women on courses/qualification can be an issue
Top jobs seen as only the role of the 'elite'
Essentially still short term, three or four years not a career, although it is a   'serious'
job
Can be seen as a stepping stone to other things, personal experience, all a   learning
curve

Need for   - reduced hours (personal commitments)
             - more money   "
             - progression
             - return on the expense of qualifications, financial or status

Stayed for longer at centre because of job change and progression, being thought of as individuals, being valued.

Living in can be good when you start but after a while being on top of the job all the time can really get you down. Companionship can be important but personal space is important. By living in you are part of a community

21.2 Centre 2, group 1

Good days   - Sunshine
- Good group; motivated and enthusiastic
- Meaning and purpose; progression
- hobby to job (worthwhile)

Bad day   - hectic - bad organisation/resources - tight time/programme
- bad group - reflects on instructor, same programme for groups

Bad features of the work   - Conveyor belt
- Change in role
- Staff suggestions ignored
- Outdoor bums
- Being stuck on sites

Need for   - challenge/financial/security ownership

21.3 Centre 2, group 2

Good day   - Nice group; enthusiastic
- you've achieved something
- Thanks are a boost
- Challenging
- Sunshine
- Something new
- Getting out
- Powerful learning tool

Bad day   - rush around
- groups running late
- frustrated by getting things done getting annoyed

Bad features of the job   - Little contact with the real world

Need for   - space
- to be different
- More stable

outdoors is   - People ---> middle (spark) <--- sport
- Not job - lifestyle
- Not real world

Good time to be a woman
   - Not attractive to women; macho culture

21.4 Centre 3

Good day;

kids faces smiling   group   thank me   look on their faces
waving looking dead happy   interest in the kids   they come and ask you

see what the group   seen the change   see them working   you can see it
see a change in them

the task that you've given them   something out of that can happen for good

group dynamics can be a great thing for learning experience which is what definitely I'm about

if you learned maybe something   you actually change that

Bad day;

frustrated with the system and the management   rules

you can't be late that's a frustrating day

but management sets time/dictates

have to stick to the set ways and management won't allow you to change anything

it's not the groups, it's the management structure   people telling us what to do

Often you can be more expert in a particular field than management but they are still trying to tell you what to do

clash of interest and motivation

they just want the pay packet at the end of the week

you've been told to run for a set time

if I'm not back at the centre at a certain time I'm gonna get bollocked for it

if you spent maybe an extra fifteen minutes that everything is going to come together but then its just like I've got to get back

Other instructors;

you can learn a lot from them   you can learn what to do

its good learning for you   learning about little stories   its rewarding

Activities;

I personally get enjoyment from using the activities as a medium

I find it easier (canoeing) because you're away from sort of land, safe land. Just to get them away from their teachers, their instructors and just get them on their own

just on their own   sort of taken away from society

an activity where the whole group is involved at the same time

just time wasting activities frustrating they're not enjoying it, you're not enjoying it

I don't like any activity where you are just doing the activity for the activities sake

you're all peeling potatoes you're all joking you're all doing something

I know it well or I feel comfortable with the situation that I can turn my attention to the group, that's nice

Residential;

getting to know them better

you see too much of people and all you want to do is get away from them

It is important to feel that you have common goals and are actually connected (F)

well like I said before like to find other people that are of like mind, who want to achieve what you want to achieve (F)

LEA centres;

been there for twenty years   they are stale, bored and rigid

know exactly what they were doing and be in complete control of the situation just to be able to let the group dynamics appear

where people start of young and fresh

in an LEA centre I get a good teachers salary, this is the time when I have my wife and kids, their set in life, that's it. They chose a career, they've got a career

maybe management gives you a programme and you run with that same programme, week in, week out

instructors have an ownership of what they do   more of an interest
ownership important for me to be able to have that input in my work

(family and kids) that's not something that happens in our world because people are not well paid, so they can move because it doesn't matter

LEA centres you tend to find that those people have a comfortable well aid family life

whereas at a local education centre you can have work 9-5 and still feel you are giving to the industry

causal factor of them becoming stale and settling down

LEA centres education pursuits as the tool for the education a far more interesting job, far more rewarding job doing something useful   the problem comes when people do become stale

so mush to offer the kids and also so much to offer the instructors like myself

you work your way up so that you are working in an educational establishment

I'm sure if I had a family I'd perhaps be in the same situation

(private sector) in my experience they tend to be more ambitious and more interested in travelling and getting new experiences

(private sector) I can't see myself very easily working for a place like that if I had a family, I mean logistically how would I do it.

you have to be dedicated to do what you do - because you give up to a certain degree other things in life, you know it's not a 9-5 job

yeah I think that if you choose to have a family   you've got to sacrifice something

dedicated   selfish

people want to move on, they want the chance to earn a bit more money, have a more stable life   better quality of life

if your involved in setting up a project that is tailor made for each group, it holds your interest

there is a status problem with outdoor education

what are you going to do when you grow up - when are you getting a proper job

the private sector and OB charities and things like that are seen as slightly lower than education authority centres

local authority instructors seem to have this sort of higher status than the other ones

you get to the end of a season you've got no money in your pocket - you're going to have to look for shop work or go on the dole or do something you don't want to do

the industry dictates almost in a way as well this sort of status because in order to work in private industry   you don't need many qualifications

LEA centres - a teaching qualification so the status is planted there already

with all these qualifications and teaching qualifications   seen as a big hurdle

perhaps teacher qualified that seems to have more status

I was lucky, at the centre I was at they gave me qualifications back so when I was there they were giving me something which helped me

how are they going to pay for it if they are working at a centre   only getting two days off

whereas working at an LEA centre you know its going to be safe they are probably going to pay for you doing your qualifications because they need you to do it

the centres have to improve

have a conflict within myself whether that is the case anymore - whether Britain has gone out of that a bit know and we have lost a lot of what we once stood for.

It shouldn't be structured like that so you think oh well I hate this job

You should get up in the morning saying excellent go and do this activity

Gender;

probably you men were thinking marriage

pushed out of it by men and macho image

bizarre to act feminine   seen as some kind of freak if you act masculine - so I think we are onto a bit of a loser here

(Hargreaves) should have been there for her kids - that sort of thing

most of it is unfair

you know behind the hands the whole time - she'll never do that you know

the men can be some of them this macho kind of

there is a severe lack of positive female role models in OEd - especially in Britain

peoples attitudes definitely are changing for the better for women

in the past - if you want to be in our industry you have to be in the image of the man

in the activities how it's stereotypical, blokes should be good, girls should be not so good

the perception of people who come on the course

they see their woman instructor - they think we've been short changed we got a woman

that's partly why it's taken so long for us to be able to break out because of the perception of clients as well

you're just a women   you can't fix a mountain bike if it goes down

I think the male recipients are very surprised when you get your hands dirty

----

Professionalism;

I wouldn't necessarily think it would affect the actual work ... perhaps more recognition which is deserved for the industry

slightly better wages ... sort of proper career then

you're going to have to chase paper a lot more

personally I would like to see it as a profession but not necessarily paper chasing

After college;

go abroad, travel mostly

I'm not too sure

not at the moment [knowing where to go]

I don't want to be teaching the same session every day for the rest of my life or for the next five years ... I just don't know whether I could do that. You know really keep the motivation going ... without getting stale

get to know people a lot more

broaden my experience in different areas ... corporate development training ... the management side ... I don't know

in five years time travelling and working in different centres

it will take me a while to get the expertise I want and I need. I need to get enough experience

Motivation;

I just love the interaction ... getting out there ... getting to know people ... my motivation for going places and experiencing different things ... I love being out there with groups

every day can be different ... new venues ... new activities ... new people

satisfaction

I know that its helped me and its' helped people that I know and I like being outdoors

working with different people all the time ... the interaction between people ... the chance to work outside ... a chance to travel

if they give you more variety and a little bit of a hand in good decision making

challenging myself I think

you get a group of kids playing games and I'm just like a big kid then and I love it. That's a real buzz as well

even if I'm doing something, like becoming a lawyer or something, still for me there wouldn't be any satisfaction in that at all

yes it does get boring and it does get wet and cold and miserable, but there's a lot more that you get out of it

they also spend time listening to what you've got to say ... thinking about different ideas within the group

just standing there belaying for somebody .. to earn some money .. it gets a bit dull

it's boring, it doesn't give you any responsibility to think about what you're doing

personal development is definitely important

to be able to grow as a person, yes, I mean you do learn obviously that's what we're in the field of learning from experience but you learn from other people, you meet interesting people

getting stuck in a rut and just losing motivation

there's a chance for you to go and do this course, we'll send you away to do that to develop you or just by getting a variety of groups and stuff like that ... maybe even a chance to go and work abroad for a while then come back to a job ... stuff like that

more important than a decent salary ... if a chance to travel came my way cos you're not expecting very much to be honest anyway

even if I'm poor I'm still going to be happy

if and when I have kids ... I want them to have a completely secure base ... and that costs money, and it costs more than what an instructor gets ... that would definitely be a factor in what jobs I'd choose

on £40 a week it might be a bit of a strain when you're forty

once you get older ... is settling down ... comfortable live [but] you don't need to have all these money values

I don't really mind where it is and where I end up working as long as I'm around nice people and I'm being fulfilled

if the job starts getting stale and it's not giving you fulfilment any more ... I'd probably go and try and work in another centre

relationships ... cause problems if they want to work in a different country ... or ... if you fall for someone in a mainstream job ... do you follow your career or do you follow your heart

LEA centres ... they suit the person who is doing this job and settled down

it is location as well, I can't abide cities, I don't want to live in one

seeing different things, experiencing different things makes them much more alive than somebody who wants to settle down

Professionalism;

I would hate to see it institutionalised like going the same way as teaching where I think they've lost the plot a bit

it does raise the question about making the industry a profession doesn't it if you have staff that chop and change

it would be nice to be credited that you are an educator and therefore wherever you go you are seen as a person who is qualified, like a teacher status if you like rather than just somebody who just teaches canoeing

I'm doing it for myself basically when it comes down to it. if I wasn't enjoying myself I couldn't educate anybody else

its not just altruistic ... it gives you a glow, it makes you feel powerful in fact ... OK there are different ways of looking at it, that you've got some control over people, that's why a lot of people go into that sort of thing. I'm not saying that's what motivates me but there is an element of that isn't there ... you can't just want to help people because at the end of the day if you're not satisfied then you can't help

I don't necessarily think I help people ... I just enjoy it ... if you put me in a room and I'm on my own I would be absolutely bored stiff .. I have to be out there doing stuff with people

If you are working in a centre where you have autonomy and you have a say in the decisions and you've got freedom of creativity, that's very rare though from what I've seen because of the bureaucracy and the procedures and things ... but if I could find a centre like that then , yes, if I could see progression from the centre and the work that they were doing and also self progression for me, self development, then there's no reason why I wouldn't stay there ... if I was happy with the type of people that were working there and the area it was in

I like the idea of organisations like outward Bound, they've got different places, they're all roughly linked, I think that's a good idea because you can work within your profession or within a company going to different places. I know it doesn't quite work like that at the moment but it could possibly work that you could be a professional within a company and move to different places, see different things, working on the same ideas ... you would be developing a career. I think that would be beneficial to yourself and to the centres because you get new blood and new ideas

21.5 Centre 4

Good day:

the sun on your back ... see the hills ... with snow

achievement ... satisfaction ... challenge

you get a buzz

you've got to make it go wow

back to nature

exciting

to give you a wow which makes it worthwhile

a breakthrough with a child

seeing their faces light up when they realise something

share it with someone

its not as good if you don't share it

when everything gels and everybody seems together ... [teachers] ..never seen the children react like that before

give a new experience to a child ... a new level of experience ... all you can see is the whites of their teeth and their smile that says I enjoyed it, I want to do it again

a sense of wonder ... more aware

appreciate the outdoor environment

it might get a bit tedious at the top of a crag but I'd rather be stood at the top of a crag than a lot of places ... a lot of personal satisfaction

they're stale but you're not because you have this lifestyle

seeing the children, getting things out of the day, seeing the effect on the children

that can be a selfish thing. In my case it isn't necessarily that you are thinking of the children's benefit but you get a kick thinking that you've changed something

you feel chuffed because you've got the kids to do something that the class teachers haven't got them to do

so yes, you get a buzz out of knowing that you've achieved something that maybe somebody else hasn't been able to achieve

we've chosen to do it through the outdoors because we love the outdoors and we know what the outdoors has to offer us and therefore we know what it has to offer the children as well

the buzz that they get .. which they have never experienced before ... is something completely different ... and say wow ... and that makes you feel chuffed

<u>bad day;</u>

when things go wrong

your organisation doesn't work and you know that it is down to your organisation, not down to the people

sometimes your kids just don't respond and they get lethargic .. you get frustrated

probably more down to your planning

you shouldn't have bad days because the weather's bad

a lot of the enthusiasm that you generate .. you sometimes have to sort of force that in yourself, it isn't something that comes naturally ... if I get fed up the kids are going to be even worse

the good days you have make them better - ups and downs

I think the worst day you can have possibly have is when you yourself aren't on form. you can say bad kids or whatever but at the end of the day you can always say I tried my best ... you're not A1 instructors every day. I think some days you don't create the enthusiasm or whatever

a lot of the bad days really come from the groups you are working with. If you've been working with this group for a week and you're not getting any motivation from them and no co-operation, at the end of the third night you star to think what can I do with this lot

high points of despair or points of excitement

you need the staff to provide the opportunity

annoyed [by elements outside of personal control]

<u>Other instructors;</u>

if you have a centre full of staff that enjoy working with each other, complement each other , them its going to help things an awful lot

it can happen that new staff will revitalise the older ones

<u>Activities;</u>

one of the worst things is ... doing the same activities day in and day out

the only reason they don't do that [change activities] is because it is a lot easier to pay someone whose just SPSA qualified and someone else who is ML qualified rather than get people who are qualified across the board or try to encourage you to go for a qualification across the board so that you can then do different activities throughout the week

stuck in the same position for three of four sessions

you're thinking how can I make this interesting

just to make it interesting for yourself cos if you're interested you are going to be able to motivate the kids better

you end up doing the same mountain or the same crag

the implications of that ... are that you could want to turn to a different centre

you're always going to get the same venue ... so it's not going to be much for your advancement

Its important to the instructors for an advancement to put something different in the log book. Its also important you don't want to be going up the same crag every day no matter how beautiful something is. It's a lot nicer to go and vary things a bit

instructors do the job because they like the job and they like to be where they are so in many ways it's a kind of a means to an end because you want to put stuff in the log book so its great to take kids out climbing and that's part of it and there's another part of it , the outdoor, education, that facilitates one individual to get outside, do what they'd like to do and earn some money from it as well

I think a lot of instructors feel privileged to be in a job that they are in - a job that they enjoy

gill scrambling - it's great fun, a great laugh, everybody having a laugh ... kids are occupied all the time .... laughing ... yeah I've enjoyed that, the kids have as well ... because I've got a buzz out of it as much as the children ... with gill scrambling there is so much, every individual will have an achievement, every individual will have one moment, it's just so full of fun, they'll go wow .... you're also competing with the elements, things under control, the danger keeps you on edge .... little bit more danger to it ... and you're involved ... actually doing the activity ... they want to get involved and you can say and do daft things and they'll follow you - its like the Pied Piper

you are like an entertainer really

but the best feeling is when ... the whole team becomes its own character so you don't need to lead anymore

you've got them in control

you realise it isn't a glamorous job

the adoration of kids - I don't say I don't like it you can't help that

I can help to give them something which they maybe or I never had the chance to do

in some respects it's because of that - cos you don't get involved and they come back and they haven't found it [orienteering]

with my methods and encouragement they have overcome that fear

Moving on;

and as soon as they stop enjoying it they know they can get employment somewhere else in another centre

its natural that people are going to move from a different centre, because you've climbed most of the classic climbs in the area so you might want to [go somewhere else]

it depends on the status of the person involved, if they're married and settled they'll not move

you have to go outside the centre to gain that other experience unless you're going on to the next one ... going to different areas in the world where you can actually up your skills and development

you have to kind of push yourself

Centres;

management ... going to treat us like human beings rather than like figures ... it comes out where you live, the state of your own accommodation, that will to some extent definitely affect the way you view your life there ... all those external things do affect you

Status;

you're the instructor, you're qualified, you know what you're doing

there is an admiration that you're doing something because you're doing it for the joy of it rather than for the money - half admiration, half condescending .... at the same time they think well you're not going anywhere because you're not earning any money

respect .... there's definitely a lot of respect

if you're with people and you say I'm an outdoor instructor, the number of people who would shirk. If you said you're a merchant banker everyone would talk to you

People see it as a dosy job. Although you've got all this responsibility - you want to play. Its like when you talk to people at home and say I'm going outside - playing around on mountains, they think you're still a kid

21.6 Centre 5

Good day;

when you have actually done something .... actually gone and done some sort of activity that's been related to personal development and you've actually set specific goals

You've actually seen your group make steps forward

when you've done something at the right level and you know its pushed people and it hasn't been boring and you can actually put some enthusiasm in it.

thinking about what you are doing and the way you present things and the climate in which you present things and most of the time it is a positive effect on people

At the end of the day you have probably done the hard work at the beginning of the course to achieve that end goal .... you know you have put a lot of hard work in and the outcome of it has a lot to do or part to do with yourself and how you have put things across to the group.

a day where everything runs smoothly and you just get in the van early in the morning and just drive off and have a good day ...and nothing got in the way of that

you've been with your group all day and haven't had outside problems to deal with

at the end of the day a lot of decisions are yours and you can go off and have a good activity and come back and not have to worry about somebody else, other problems

<u>Bad day;</u>

I feel that sometimes if a group is not working well .... I feel like I have failed as an instructor

if you feel like you're not getting support from other members of staff or from the system .... I felt that I was really out on my own and I had a whole of people to look after and nobody was giving me any support and I'd a hundred and one things to do, paperwork or keys to get and you are just running around

I don't like it when I work so long that I'm on auto pilot ... just become a zombie, I think gosh I hate it. You know you've got to do it. Excessively long

<u>Activities;</u>

I like caving because its an experience which is quite new to my group members - a lot of people are more open to it.

(dislike of kayaking) because it's such a basic level and you're not actually teaching any skills, ten years ago I was teaching skills and now what seems to be the thing to do is just to entertain them .... I would like to progress and teach them more skills ... but it doesn't work like that, you know there isn't the time to do that. I've also been teaching basic kayaking for fifteen year sand I'm bored with it.

Caving is an experience even if they only do it once, its something completely different whereas kayaking is just a bit of fun for them and I don't feel I can use it constructively.

The activity makes no difference what so ever

single pitch sessions (p5) levels of staff experience

I find the group can let go a bit more sometimes in the ghyll because it is a silly activity. Your leading away from normal constraints ... again it's a bit different and a bit unknown which I like

<u>burnout;</u>

when you talk somebody up something step by step and you go on an emotional journey with them, it's quite hard in terms of level of input you put in .... you're really quite phased at the end of it

It's a hard life, it's hard work and I don't think I've got the energy to do it anymore ... although I like working with a group I find that it's really hard work and it totally drains me

The courses that I do now I enjoy more because I'm doing less of them so I can put more effort into them

that's why I really left because I was exhausted and that was the amount of groups I was working

<u>community;</u>

when I was at a centre and everybody lived in and the whole world revolved around the centre and the people and the staff and what was happening ... there was a really good sort of community spirit there. I think that's changed a lot because people live out but it was what I liked about it.

like the sense of community you were talking about in the centre, but you find that in a wider community that is still the same that you still have people to go and do things with on your days off ... you still get that community feeling although it's a bit more dispersed than that you've got in the centre ... all about living in this sort of lifestyle.

the community side of it is a big thing for me - when it's there

centre life/admin;

the big downside is when you've got to spend your day running around dealing with bureaucracy and forms and keys which is the downside of living in an institution or working in a big institution

its like the whole thing is turned on its head and on longer perhaps the overriding difficulty or hurdle is the centre logistics, that is the thing you have to fight through to make your course work but the centre logistics are turned around so that they actually provide you with a good foundation or platform from which to operate and you can go from there

they sell the courses they want to sell not the courses we deliver ... which is very frustrating

we have minimal resources and they are very tight and if you do want to change then you have a real struggle ... frustrating

it's not about the group, it's about the centre and how the centre works

for me it basically boils down to the way the centres are run not by the tutorial staff but the way centres are run by the hierarchy ... all the bits we don't like about our job has a lot to do with the organisation of the centre

I think its degrees of freedom that I am allowed to exercise in getting through my job and the scope of my job and how much I influence what goes on

I get really embarrassed when I get into a review and its a real mess and it's not my fault its because someone hasn't cleaned it up and I always feel it reflects on me because I'm sort of the front person they see, sometimes I go home at the end of the day and I think I don't really want to work here

I just feel really embarrassed about the conditions of the place and the mini buses and the centre. And other times its good and I feel really professional when I'm dealing with good equipment, its all clean and its all there and its all in the correct order

I'm thinking we're failing them we are giving them second class stuff, we're not treating them as a person that's worth it

The classic thing is there - I've worked where when the stuff has been downgraded from the corporate environment where people are paying money and then it goes into the other side of the business - hand me down

other staff;

whether it be a marketing department or an admin department ... support staff, non-tutorial staff - have better hours, better conditions

its good to work alongside other staff ... but you can have problems working with some staff

its difficult you've got change over in staff, you know there is always new people who don't know the system

<u>LEA centres;</u>

its going to be too repetitive

they walk up the same hill go down the same caves and you are switching off, doing things like a robot

in a way they are (peak of residential centres) because the staff get a lot of opportunities in terms of personal development, qualifications and tickets and there are some very highly skilled staff there

maybe the people who are successful at LEA centres have got it all sorted out - they might have family, just want a settled life with a bit more time off

<u>motivation;</u>

basically to keep yourself in the industry, to keep yourself motivated you need to be doing different things .... you get to the stage where you've been to all the locations and sites you can think of ... and you're just repeating what you are doing and you don't feel that you're gaining anything from it. For whatever reason then it's time to move on. That's the only thing that is going to motivate you is new places, new centre, slightly different way of working

the first couple of years you're testing the waters, finding out if this is what you want to do, if you have an aptitude for it and after a couple of years you're going to make decisions

then it got very business focused and I'm not too much into that and it diverted my attention away from my main theme of helping folk find their real potential and that was I think the time to leave and I did

I believe that I'm doing something that adds value to people in the longer term .. if you want to get down to nuts and bolts and talk about hours and wages and levels of responsibility then I'm into that but at the end of the day I feel that what I'm doing is of value and people will have to work very hard to knock me off that track

<u>gender;</u>

I was always one of the lads

you do have to give up a certain amount of femininity

you are expected to be able to deliver what is seen as physically hard work although its not necessarily that physical

(the interviewer) asked me if I was physically capable of performing the job - to which my response was if you look in my logbook you will find your answer

its probably typical of the industry (sexism)

females as well (in general) have more recreational interests in these pursuits rather than a qualification oriented interest

It's from a group perspective - client perspective - male clients basically, if you can get their trust straight away and prove to them that you can do what you are asking them to do

they settle down - have children - or they get fed up with the hassles

<u>misc;</u>

one thing that puts me off is the amount of hours .. I have a passion for doing things in the outdoors which is completely separate from work ... my work very much cuts into them

I hate routine

I guess a lot of it is about lifestyles basically apart from anything else

the way that I've organised my life, where I choose to live my life and some of the things that are around it which are very important to me which are outside of my work ... there is an awful lot of freedom in the way that I work as opposed to having a nine to five ... its the whole package of not only where you work but what you do and the rest of how you live your life ... as a trained teacher I chose to opt out of teaching and do something else with those skills as opposed to working in that particular environment

<u>Careers/work;</u>

I think that people who have gone out and got qualifications .... are committing themselves to the industry

people coming into centres now with qualifications are now committed to spend - are committing themselves to a bit more of a career and are going to be in a centre for five years or whatever. Which means that if you have got more stable staff then it is a lot easier, you're not constantly training people all the time

I don't think professional is about tickets at all although it may be part of it

to be a professional you have to have all these tickets, that's going to affect your career because as you've already said that you don't see yourself chasing after hard skills qualifications

we should be paid relative to the responsibility we have because we do have a big responsibility

we do it because we enjoy it but I think the way the business is going is because its becoming more professional as people call it and qualifications are needed. Its implications are going to be a lot more serious if things go wrong

you don't see people being actively encouraged to develop reviewing techniques, to develop their understanding of that side of a professional career

it's a hard skills environment

I like working informally, I like being able to control what I do... I like working with the staff that are genuine, that aren't materialistic, that have agreed to a certain lifestyle and like giving people opportunities that they normally wouldn't get, I like being outside and doing things that I enjoy

I work hard ... I'm relatively autonomous in what I do ... I think that's one of the key things and its not an uphill battle to what I want to do in the area and place that I work, I have a lot of support, lots of encouragement, if you see an opportunity and want to do something or develop it ... opportunities will be found to enable you to chase that project.

There is a lot of self-development opportunities as well ... that's important

I'm attaching a lot of value in terms of quality of things which are around the job

in five years time or four years time I may feel that's it's the next move or the next change whatever that may be

the culture in our industry is about self development of people you work with and your self in terms of training ... that's good that you're able to learn and you are developing and part of that development is moving to different centres. I think its very much a culture of mobility of different challenges and different learning environments.

down to the age of the staff ... the places I work in demand a different type of staff member. slightly different background and so on and that runs alongside with marriage, kids, mortgage, different lifestyle. whereas I think people like you are a little bit freer to move away - different set of circumstances

our centre policy is that our staff are all replaceable ... and doesn't matter

in a couple of years time when all their staff have minimum qualifications and there aren't people around .. with the professionalisation of the industry they are going to have to treat staff with a lot more respect

it would be nice to get more for the responsibilities you have, you don't get paid enough for it ... but it's not the biggest issue, you accept it. If you are going into the industry you accept that that's what you're going to get.

the nature of the society we live in is that you always want something a bit better or a bit nicer ... but it is not the big issue. I've got my basic needs and I don't struggle to meet them ... and there other issues besides pay ... but I'm still young, free and single and I haven't got a mortgage yet.

APPENDIX 22 REP GRID TABLE

Construct (+)		TEACH	CENT	SELF	FACT	LAWY	OUTD	DOCT	DUST	IDEA	POLI	Contrast (−)
helps other people [cf]1	1	6		3			4	5	2	3	5	out for themselves
	2		1	1	2		2	1	1	1	1	
	3		5	1	1		1		1			
	4			2	4	1			3	1	1	
	5	1	1	2		6				2		
tries to develop and sees the best in people [cf]	1	1					1			1		looks for the worst in people
	2		1	1					1			
	3				1			1				
	4										1	
	5					1						
helps people to understand/enjoy the outdoors [cf]	1		1				1			1		enjoy it themselves
	2											
	3	1						1			1	
	4					1						
	5			1								
help people to learn about the outdoors [cf]	1	1	1	1			1			1		help people get through life
	2											
	3											
	4											
	5				1	1		1	1		1	
individual people interest [cf]	1											society/group interest
	2			2							1	
	3	2	2	1	2	1	2	1		2	1	
	4	1			1	2	1	3	1	1	1	
	5		1						2			
person oriented [cf]	1	1	1	3						3		task/result oriented
	2	1	1									
	3		1									
	4				1	1	1	1	1		1	
	5	1			2	2	2	2	2		2	
people oriented [cf]	1	1		1								money oriented
	2	1		1								
	3		1			2	2	1		2	2	
	4				1			1	1			
	5		1		1				1			

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Construct (+)	#	TEACH	CENT	SELF	FACT	LAWY	OUTD	DOCT	DUST	IDEA	POLI	Contrast (-)
people priority [cf]	1	1		1			1			1	1	balances system and people
	2											
	3											
	4				1			1	1			
	5		1			1						
people person [cf]	1	4		3		2	2	3		5	5	job/business person
	2	2	1	3		1	2	3	1			
	3		1		1	2	2			1	1	
	4		1		2	1			1			
	5		3		3				4			
concern with the development of the individual [cf]	1	1					1					maintains standards and system/ policy
	2			1					1	1		
	3							1				
	4				1							
	5		1									
helps strangers [r]	1			1			1	1	1	1	1	helps staff
	2	1										
	3											
	4											
	5		1		1	1						
gives people a memorable experience [pc]	1		1	1		1	1			1		gives people a useful experience
	2				1							
	3							1	1			
	4											
	5											
enhances peoples mental and physical well being [pc]	1	3	2	3			2			3	1	does not enhance peoples well being
	2						1	3			1	
	3		1			3			1			
	4				1				2			
	5				2							
informal with clients [r]	1	1		1		1	1	1	1	1	1	formal with clients
	2											
	3											
	4											
	5		1									
learns from others [r]	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1	1	doesn't learn from others
	2											
	3											
	4											
	5								1			

Construct (+)		TEACH	CENT	SELF	FACT	LAWY	OUTD	DOCT	DUST	IDEA	POLI	Contrast (-)
considers self, others and environment in action [r]	1	1	1	1			1	1		1		doesn't consider self, others and environment in action
	2											
	3											
	4				1	1			1		1	
	5											
educating others [e]	1	1								1		giving opportunities in the outdoors
	2											
	3		1	1			1	1	1		1	
	4				1	1						
	5											
educates [e]	1	3		3			3			2		doesn't educate
	2		1					1			1	
	3		1					1		1		
	4					1						
	5		1		3	2		1	3		2	
interpersonal skills [ae]	1										1	crowd control
	2			1	1	1		1	1	1		
	3											
	4	1	1				1					
	5											
provides opportunities [ae]	1	1		1		1	1			2	1	restricts opportunities
	2	1		1			1					
	3		2					2				
	4				1	1		1	1			
	5				1				1			
educator [e]	1	1		1	1	1	1	1	1		1	business
	2									1		
	3											
	4										2	
	5		1									
educator of skills/knowledge [e]	1	2					2			2	2	educator of law
	2		1	1				1				
	3		1	1					1			
	4				1			1	1			
	5				1	2						
directly affects learning of client [e]	1	3										indirectly affects learning of client
	2					1	2	2		2	1	
	3					1	1	1		1	1	
	4			1	1	1			2		1	
	5		3	2	2				1			

Construct (+)		TEACH	CENT	SELF	FACT	LAWY	OUTD	DOCT	DUST	IDEA	POLI	Contrast (-)
controls people [ae]	1	2	2	1			1					2	does not control people
	2											
	3				1	1		1		1		
	4			1	1	1	1	1	2	1		
	5											
operating the system right/wrong [ae]	1	1	1			1	1	1	1		1	options and possibilities
	2											
	3											
	4				1					1		
	5			1								
authority figure/ enforces [ae]	1	1			1	5		2	1	6	6	facilitator/ encourages
	2		2		6	2		3	4		1	
	3		3	3			1	1	1	2		
	4	1	2	4			6	1	1	5		
	5	5										
restricted by law [ae]	1	1	1		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	not restricted by law
	2			1								
	3											
	4											
	5											
business career oriented [cf]	1		1	1	1	1		1		1	1	job satisfaction
	2		1	1	1	1		1			1	
	3	2					2		2			
	4											
	5											
has a career structure [cf]	1	4	1	1		3		3	1	3	3	has little career structure
	2				1	1		1	1	1	1	
	3		2	2	1				1	1		
	4		1	1	2		4		2			
	5											
ambitious [cf]	1	2	3	3	1	5	1	3		4	1	not ambitious
	2	1	2	2			3	2		1	1	
	3	2			2		1				3	
	4				2							
	5								5			
makes lots of money [cf]	1	1	1	1	1	5		2	1	1	1	makes little money
	2		3		3			2	1	4	4	
	3	3						1	2			
	4	1		4	1		5		1			
	5		1									

Construct (+)	#	TEACH	CENT	SELF	FACT	LAWY	OUTD	DOCT	DUST	IDEA	POLI	Contrast (-)
paid overtime [cf]	1				1	1			1		1	unpaid overtime
	2									1		
	3											
	4		1	1				1				
	5	1					1					
wanting to learn & earn lots of money [sd]	1	1	1	1		1		1		1	1	going through the motion
	2						1					
	3											
	4								1			
	5				1							
rare self appraisal [sd]	1	1			1	1			1		1	continual self appraisal
	2	1	1				1	1				
	3											
	4			1								
	5											
not reached full potential [sd]	1	1		1	1				1			self-actualisation
	2											
	3					1	1	1		1		
	4		1									
	5											
experiencing life to the full [sd]	1		1	1		1	1	1		1		limited prospects
	2											
	3	1									1	
	4								1			
	5				1							
motivated intrinsically [sd]	1	1	1	1			1	1		1	1	extrinsically motivated
	2											
	3					1			1			
	4											
	5				1							
view things holistically [jc]	1	1	1	1		1	1	1		1		views things as bits not whole
	2											
	3											
	4								1			
	5				1						1	
symbiotic relationship with environment [r]	1	1	1	1			1	1		1	1	distant relationship with environment
	2											
	3								1			
	4											
	5				1	1						

Construct (+)		TEACH	CENT	SELF	FACT	LAWY	OUTD	DOCT	DUST	IDEA	POLI	Contrast (-)
sees value in outdoor education [e]	1		1	1			1	1		1	1	sees no value in o ed
	2											
	3					1						
	4	1							1			
	5				1							
needs contact with outdoors [r]	1		1	1			1			1	1	doesn't need contact with outdoors
	2								1			
	3	1										
	4				1	1		1				
	5			1								
improves community through product [jc]	1				1							improves community through self
	2											
	3		1					1				
	4			1			1					
	5	1				1	1				1	
provides a product [jc]	1				1							provides a service
	2			1						1		
	3											
	4	1	1			1		1	1		1	
	5			1			1					
providing a service [pc]	1		1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1	caring for others
	2	1										
	3											
	4											
	5											
attempts to mend/improve things [jc]	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1		doesn't attempt to mend/improve things
	2										1	
	3											
	4								1			
	5											
individual [jc]	1			1		1	1			1		team member
	2	1	1					1				
	3				1							
	4								1			
	5											
company man [fa]	1	1		1	1	1		1	1		1	own boss
	2											
	3		1									
	4						1					
	5									1		

Construct (+)		TEACH	CENT	SELF	FACT	LAWY	OUTD	DOCT	DUST	IDEA	POLI	Contrast (-)
deals with bureaucracy [jc]	1	1	1	1		1		1			1	avoids bureaucracy
	2											
	3											
	4						1		1	1		
	5				1							
has a great deal of responsibility [fa]	1	1	1	2		2	1	2		2	1	has little responsibility
	2										1	
	3	1	1				1		2			
	4											
	5				2							
sticks to rules [fa]	1	1		1	1	2		2	1		2	making own rules
	2	2	1				1			1		
	3		2	1			1			1		
	4						1					
	5			1	2	1		1	2	1	1	
directed by others [fa]	1			1	1		1		1			leads direction/ controls discussions
	2											
	3	1								1	1	
	4											
	5		1			1		1				
flexible/ able to use new opportunities [fa]	1		1	1		1	1	2		1		rigid system
	2		1	1		1	1		1	1		
	3											
	4	1			1				1			
	5	1			1							
has a good sense of achievement most days [sd]	1											has no sense of achievement most days
	2	1	1	1		1	1	1	1	1		
	3											
	4										2	
	5				1							
variety/ stimulating work - challenge [jc]	1		2	7		4	4	2		10	1	repetitive work/ unstimulating - dead end
	2	5	3	2		1	3	4			3	
	3	5	5			3	3	3	4		3	
	4				2	1			6		3	
	5			1	8	1		1				
In a rut [sd]	1				1				1			motivated
	2											
	3	1	1			1		1			1	
	4			1			1					
	5									1		

Construct (+)		TEACH	CENT	SELF	FACT	LAWY	OUTD	DOCT	DUST	IDEA	POLI	Contrast (-)
has a life outside work [jc]	1			1	2		1		2	2	1	lives and breaths work
	2											
	3	1	1			1		1			1	
	4	1	1	1		1	1	1				
	5											
stressed [jc]	1		1			1						chilled out
	2	1			1							
	3							1	1			
	4			1						1		
	5						1					
erratic hours [jc]	1			1							1	9 - 5 job
	2		1				1			1		
	3							1				
	4								1			
	5	1			1	1	1					
free/ freedom of operation [fa]	1	1	1	5			4			4	1	not free
	2	1	1			1		4	1	1	2	
	3	1	1			3			1		2	
	4	4			2	1	1	1	3			
	5		2		3							
high degree of potential satisfaction from work [sd]	1											lower potential of satisfaction from work
	2				1			1		1	1	
	3											
	4	1		1		1	1					
	5		1									
routine labour intensive [jc]	1				1		1		1	1	1	routine mental intensive
	2											
	3		1									
	4	1										
	5			1		1		1				
application of educational skills [e]	1	1		1						2		application of manual skills
	2	1	2	1	1	2	2	2			2	
	3				1							
	4								2			
	5											
free to change job [fa]	1	1		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	not free to change job
	2											
	3											
	4											
	5		1									

Construct (+)		TEACH	CENT	SELF	FACT	LAWY	OUTD	DOCT	DUST	IDEA	POLI	Contrast (-)
free to work in several locations [fa]	1	2		2			1		1	2	1	not free to work in several locations
	2						1		1		1	
	3											
	4							1				
	5		2		2	2		1				
begins with the end in mind [jc]	1	1		1		1	1		1	1		does not know end product before starting
	2		1					1				
	3											
	4											
	5				1						1	
enjoys work in unpredictable setting [jc]	1	1		1			1	1		1	1	enjoys timetable structure
	2		1									
	3								1			
	4											
	5				1	1						
focused - skilled [jc]	1	2		1	1	2	1	2		1	1	focus - manual
	2		1							1	1	
	3			1			1					
	4		1									
	5								2			
professionally skilled [s]	1	1				1		1		1		non professional
	2		1				1	1	2			
	3											
	4			1							1	
	5				1				1			
educated/ skilled [s]	1	2	2	1		2	1	3		2	2	uneducated/ unskilled
	2	1	1	2		1	1			1	1	
	3						1		3			
	4											
	5				3							
average public respectability [s]	1	1			1				1		1	highly respected person
	2			1								
	3											
	4		1			1	1	1		1		
	5											
seen as just a job [s]	1				1	1	1	1	1	1		seen as a profession
	2											
	3											
	4			1								
	5	1	1								1	

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Construct (+)		TEACH	CENT	SELF	FACT	LAWY	OUTD	DOCT	DUST	IDEA	POLI	Contrast (-)
non conventional [s]	1			1			1			1		conventional
	2											
	3											
	4										1	
	5	1	1		1	1		1	1			
working/lower class [s]	1			1	3		1		3	1	1	upper class
	2		1				1			2	2	
	3	2	2	2			1					
	4	1										
	5											
pillar of society [s]	1	1		1		1		1			1	number in society
	2											
	3					3		3				
	4		1		1		1		1	1		
	5											
part of management/ employer [s]	1		2	1		1		1				not management/ employee
	2	1				1		1				
	3									1	1	
	4										1	
	5	1		1			1		1			
management [r]	1		2		2	1	2		2	1	1	imparts knowledge/ engages in activity
	2	1		1		1					1	
	3				1			1	1			
	4				1				1			
	5	1		1				1				
is own boss [fa]	1		1					1		1		has a boss
	2	1		1	1	1	1					
	3											
	4											
	5											
in the wider community [r]	1			1		1	1	1	1	1	1	in a confined community
	2	1										
	3											
	4		1		1							
	5											
male dominated profession [jc]	1	1	2	1	1	2	2		2	1	2	female dominated
	2			1	1					1		
	3											
	4	1						1				
	5	1						1				

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APPENDIX 23; OVERALL COMMENTS TAKEN FROM THE QUESTIONNAIRE RETURNS

(numbers are questionnaire identification codes)

291 I believe I work in a very good job which would be hard to better. To prevent stagnation I would like to see greater support given to mix with other centres and staff and to share ideas.

283 On the whole outdoor activity instructors are underpaid, under valued and on the whole not treated very well.

274 Work during off-season times makes a difference to willingness to continue - I have no desire to be labourer/gardener/painter-decorator etc.

271 Professional outdoor staff should receive professional wages.

268 One does not have the feeling that the centre will be kept open due to cut backs in cash.

249 It is good to see a study being done on this subject at last

236 One of the biggest factors for me for considering leaving is the lack of security in the job and lack of permanency. Always unemployed for four months of the year is not very motivating.

234 It is important to have training opportunities.

227 Please use findings to advance 'outsider' awareness of centres nation-wide.

222 The centre I work for is ill prepared to contract flexible working practices and seems unable to use its own talented staff to lead itself forward into the next century. It teaches clients skills to work effectively as teams of specialists but believes that tutors have had no previous life experiences or skills. It's such a waste.

207 A feeling of belonging to a centre comes with involvement of making important and trivial decisions together.

203 My main reasons for staying in OE are the love of the outdoors and enjoying introducing others to it and the skills involved, I would however have left entirely due to the lack of jobs available in which I would feel I could settle down and support myself and family. Lack of development at any centre as I get older and the corresponding living wage as I develop and gain qualifications would force me to change centres up to a point where I would eventually have to leave outdoor education to earn enough to support my family.

188 Outside commitments can affect motivation of staff within a team and therefore affect working relationships. Gender make up of team can also affect motivation. What is important to you in your present work might not be necessarily what is being practised or provided.

187 Paper qualifications are now more important than experience. Cost of gaining these qualifications can be high for freelance instructors as they will lose a weeks wage on top of the cost of the course etc.

183 I currently work at the most supportive, happiest centre I have had the privilege of working at. It makes all the difference. Going around with a smile on your face is something to be envied, having work you enjoy to this extent is rare.

178 I feel that company management relies too much on my charitable attitude and hard work! This does not reflect in wages.

165 Some of my motivation at work derives from a knowledge that the organisation I work for does try to maintain and improve its standing with regard to safety/legality and professionalism, partly through current external pressure and mainly from perceived need to improve from new and current senior staff.

164 I found the status and image surrounding centre work difficult to get used to. Coming from education instructors are not viewed as teachers or educators by other centre staff and the long training is not recognised. I believe many non-teacher trained instructors give the industry a bad name their lack of understanding of how to teach.

160 Motivation coupled with high ability is the key to quality in outdoor education - the former is becoming difficult to achieve with people of high ability and experience. highly motivated personnel of low ability are not a route to quality of performance.

148 Many people see job as a gap career whilst trying to discover what they really want to do.

147 For me the fundamental motivation towards work in this field remains, but the scope for career development and the financial rewards/recognition for effort put into work are insufficient to be realistic or sustainable. Clients cannot believe we are paid and rewarded so poorly. Hence my aim is to move to more of a freelance style of work, in which rewards are more proportional to the effort invested, also to diversify.

143 Important issues in work - getting adequate preparation and development time.

122 I feel that on the whole staff are used as canon fodder for a season and therefore the high drop out rate is understandable, people need to feel valued.

113 In my view the ability to pursue outdoor pursuits on a personal basis is the major motivating factor, therefore time off/working hours are very important and almost always unsatisfactory.

111 I feel that it's high time centres stopped exploiting their staff with regards to hours/pay - its very easy for a first year instructor to be put off working in outdoor ed when he or she works 15+ hours a day 6 days a week for approx £50 - 60.

108 Its very difficult to have a life outside the centre - little time of, remote location, living on site, no money to escape; also centres do little to make you want to stay on long term - poor food, accommodation, pay, short term contracts.

106 After three and a half seasons I am seriously looking at the possibility of changing career, lots of factors come into this; pay, time off, job-security, centre politics etc.

86 Good to see some work being done concerning a very valid area of employment. Conditions of service vary greatly throughout the profession. I feel the questionnaire may not reflect/pick up the change in moral of staff who have lost confidence in management, education system, funding sources and the legal pressures; the future can sometimes look very bleak.

69 One of the main issues for me is the changing nature of outdoor courses - less adventure, more predictable - worrying about what may go wrong - an accident would become a major news item - licensing system - courses are shorter because of lack of money and pressures of national curriculum - pressure on centres to become self financing - I feel pessimistic about the future rather than optimistic as I used to be.

59 I work in a Christian Outdoor Centre and so motivation is grounded in my response to my faith as well as doing my job as well as I am able. Through living and working here, we (the staff) aim not only to ensure the guests are well looked after, have A good time and learn a lot, but also have an opportunity to hear the Christian Gospel and question their/our beliefs.

21 disappointed at the reactionary/conservative values embraced by the profession. Where is the challenge to the status quo, the development of critical thought to enable enjoyment and protection of the countryside. The 'outdoor classroom' remains a

resource, workers in the field do not have the methodologies, imagination or desire to treat this place for its beauty and its capability to inspire thought towards issues of truth and wisdom. Until we do this outdoor education will remain what it currently is; which is the teaching of a collection of skills.

12 Great emphasis should be made re the Jamison Act, some inexperienced managers appear to feel that by implementing these regulations even prior to the start date they will be impressing their line managers. in fact they are putting outrageous pressure upon staff and in turn customer care is neglected, e.g.; staff only instructing the activities for which they are qualified, therefore having to repeat activities 3/4 times per week = de-motivated staff.

11 The feeling of being exploited in outdoor ed is high, same groups, same activities week in week out, little training, bad management, few rights.

7 Would love to stay in outdoor education but 'teaching' posts are very hard to come by. Need several 'bits of paper' and need to constantly keep reviewing qualifications as renewing them.

1 One of the reasons why I am unsure of the long term prospects here are the hours. There are also no woman instructors who also have kids - the hours are too unsociable. The male instructors who have kids also have wives who look after them. I cannot see how I can have a family and do this job. Also the lack of career prospects and promotion is a negative factor.

APPENDIX 24; THE COROLLARIES OF PERSONAL CONSTRUCT THEORY (Dalton and Dunnett, 1992)

1. The Construction Corollary

"A person anticipates events by construing their replications."

2. The Individuality Corollary

"Persons differ from each other in their construction of events."

3. The Organisation Corollary

"Each person characteristically evolves, for his/her convenience in anticipating events, a construction system embracing ordinal relationships between constructs."

4. The Dichotomy Corollary

"A person's construction system is composed of a finite number of dichotomous constructs."

5. The Choice Corollary

"A person chooses for him/herself that alternative in a dichotomised construct through which he/she anticipates the greater possibility for extension and definition of his/her system."

6. The Range Corollary

"A construct is convenient for the anticipation for the finite range of events only."

7. The Experience Corollary

"A person's construction system varies as he/she successively construes the replications of events."

8. The Modulation Corollary

"The variation in a person's construction system is limited by the permeability of the constructs within whose range of convenience the variants lie."

9. The Fragmentation Corollary

" A person may successively employ a variety of construction subsystems which are inferentially incompatible with each other."

10. The Commonality Corollary

"To the extent that one person employs a construction of experience which is similar to that employed by another, his/her psychological processes are similar to those of the other person."

11. The Sociality Corollary

"To the extent that one person construes the construction processes of another, he/she may play a role in a social process involving the other person."