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seen in a Danish adolescent perspective**

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DEPARTMENT OF GEOSCIENCES AND
NATURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT

UNIVERSITY OF COPENHAGEN



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Preface

Why outdoor recreation and ethnicity is interesting – a personal perspective

Being in the forests, building dens with branches, walking in the streams without caring that the rubber boots were getting wet inside, and sliding down steep slopes are some of my childhood memories from the forest. I cannot remember if we got lost or that we were afraid of being in the forests without adults... My parents have always lived close to forests hereby giving us children lots of opportunities to use the forest for playing, running, and doing other stuff with friends: Friends who I talked German to – and friends who also replied in German.

My parents are born in Germany, are German citizens, and have in their adult life, moved to Denmark. I am born in Denmark – and have lived my entire life in Denmark... Accordingly I am not an ethnic Dane, but a descendant, following the official definition of Statistics Denmark “*a person who is born in Denmark by parents who are born abroad or have foreign citizenship*”. I went to a German kindergarten, a German private school, and through my childhood I only had friends who talked German. Because I became sick and tired of “being German” – I decided to go to a Danish High School. My parents accepted my desire. This is an example of how I negotiated being “part of two cultures” with my parents.

I still experience “being part of two cultures”. Most of the time I feel that I am “most Danish – a bit German”, but this certainly depends on the context and situation: I support the German soccer team at e.g. the World Cup – at the European Championship I also support the Danish team, but not as much as the German team. I talk German with my three daughters, as well as I read German books, often think and dream in German, as well as I count in German. However, when I am in Germany I feel “most Danish”, but when it comes to other traditions, I stick to some German traditions, that makes me feel “half Danish – half German”. This is just the way it is.

The forest and outdoor recreation in general still plays an important role in my life. My husband – who is Danish – and I have introduced our three girls to the wonderful opportunities for play, climbing trees, walking and just being in the forests to relax. Our oldest daughter, who is 6, is just now consciously getting aware of that we actually are talking two languages at home – Danish and German – and that she is able to understand German without thinking of that someone is talking German to her: “*Was that just German, mum?*”

My background certainly has influenced my interest in the field of outdoor recreation and ethnicity. I had my first “scientific” encounter with this field in my master thesis¹. My (personal) interest for ethnic minorities’ outdoor recreation has led me to this thesis.

I have tried to counterbalance this possible bias (Lübcke, 1982), by being aware of my position and interests and challenging my pre-understanding theoretically, as well as methodologically.

¹ The title of the thesis was “Outdoor recreation and meaning of landscape – a qualitative study of five Muslims’ outdoor recreation and images of nature”.

Acknowledgments

Throughout my Ph.D. writing process lasting from May 2007 to April 2015 at the Section of Landscape Architecture and Planning (Department of Geosciences and Natural Resource Management at the University of Copenhagen), I have had the pleasure of meeting many helpful, funny, curious and inspiring people who all in one way or another have had an influence on the outcome of this thesis. Thank you for your curiosity, and willingness to share your experiences!

First and foremost I want to thank my supervisor Frank Søndergaard Jensen for his constructive supervision throughout the whole process of working on this thesis. Your personal care, preference for “Hindbærsmutter”, our valuable discussions and your comments and inputs have made a difference for me. Our meetings have always been something I have looked forward to.

A special thanks to my former supervisor, Jette Hansen Møller, who retired in 2012. I really appreciate our coffee meetings and lunches. Your personal care means a lot to me!

Many thanks to my Ph.D. study group (Peter Bentsen, Glenn Nielsen, Jasper Schipperijn, and Anton Stahl Olafsson) and office colleagues (ph.d. fellows Anton Stahl Olafson, Marianne Rosenbak, Peter Stubkjær Andersen and Julien Grunfelder) for valuable input, advice, critique on draft texts, proposed research designs, survey questions, and the process of conducting a Ph.D. Further, I want to thank Dr. Sarah Haas for introducing me to the “writing wheel”, “speed writing” as well as “setting the clock” and “writers groups”. This has made it pretty clear that my writing is *not* a linear process, but circular. These tools, as well as my writers group (Ninna, Nicole and Birgitte) have changed and enriched my writing process tremendously.

Thanks to the Jakob Simonsen (The Danish Outdoor Council) and Lars Bendix Poulsen (The Danish Nature Agency), for the valuable input in the early stages of this thesis, and in the work of writing the initial project description. The adolescents and adults, who have participated in this study, receive special thanks for providing knowledge about your outdoor recreation story, as well as your experiences with being part of two cultures. Thank you for participating in the interviews and answering the questions in the questionnaire, and hereby providing the empirical background of this study. I think of you whenever I am asked to participate in e.g. telephone surveys about more or less important issues such as my television habits, television advertisements or which preferences I have regarding my pension-company on a scale from one to five.

Lastly, and most important, I want to thank my wonderful husband Bo who can make me laugh at the most unexpected moments doing the most unexpected things, he and our three children Karoline, Ida and Matilde create a loving and caring non-working environment which I appreciate endlessly much.



Sandra Gentin

Frederiksberg, 20. April 2015

Abstract

The thesis has three aims: The first aim is to review the existing knowledge about ethnic minorities' outdoor recreation in Europe. The second aim is to investigate similarities and differences in outdoor recreation patterns between adolescents with ethnic Danish and ethnic minority background in Denmark. The third aim is to investigate whether there is a match or a mismatch between the official statistic definitions of ethnic minority background (based on citizenship and place of birth), and the subjective perception of adolescents with ethnic minority backgrounds own ascription of their ethnicity. The implications from the review as well as the empirical study have been used to propose a theoretical framework for future research on ethnicity and outdoor recreation.

The thesis consists of four papers:

The first paper reviews the European research on ethnicity and outdoor recreation. An emerging field of research on ethnicity and outdoor recreation was identified, compared to the research in North America. However, the European research on ethnicity and outdoor recreation is growing. The European research has shown differences in outdoor recreation pattern (e.g. the motives for outdoor recreation, activities, and preferred outdoor recreation areas) between the minority and majority populations and related these differences to the ethnic minorities' cultural background.

The second paper presents the empirical work of this thesis, which is based on a survey of adolescents' outdoor recreation pattern. The survey was conducted in two school districts: in North West Copenhagen and the municipality of Ringkøbing-Skjern (n=449, aged 14-16 years, 365 adolescents with ethnic Danish background, and 84 adolescents with ethnic minority background). The results of the questionnaire have shown both similarities and differences in outdoor recreation patterns of adolescents with ethnic Danish and ethnic minority background. There are e.g. no differences in the number of days spent on outdoor recreation pr. year. Among both the ethnic Danish and ethnic minority group adolescents, the stated reasons for visiting natural areas were most often social, such as being with family and friends, and health and well-being reasons (exercise and relaxing from stress). However, the ethnic minority adolescents more often stated "to be with family" as an important reason for visiting green spaces compared to their ethnic Danish counterparts. The adolescents use different areas for outdoor recreation: the adolescents with ethnic Danish background use sports grounds for outdoor recreation, while adolescents with ethnic minority backgrounds use urban green spaces for outdoor recreation. For activities reported carried out during some part of the year, "going for a walk", "barbequing", "taking a trip with family" were frequently cited by both groups, but more common among adolescents with ethnic minority background. "Walking the dog" was much more common among adolescents with Danish background, who also more often reported using green areas to "drink beer with friends" and "do sunbathing".

The third paper reflects on the different national approaches towards ethnic minorities' access to natural areas, in four example-countries Germany, Denmark, United Kingdom, and the Netherlands. This was done through comparison of to what extent and in what way policy documents and research approaches take into account ethnic minority groups. The findings indicate that there is a correlation in the current national research approaches of the four countries and the societal and political context of the four countries. In the UK the focus on underrepresented groups seems closely related to the focus on equality for access, while specific focus on access for ethnic minorities is not addressed in the forest and nature legislation and the national forest programs in Denmark, Germany and the Netherlands.

Paper 4 proposes a theoretical framework to understand ethnicity and outdoor recreation in a relational perspective, and is inspired by and uses key concepts of the German sociologist Norbert Elias. The point of departure of this paper is that ethnicity and outdoor recreation must be understood within its specific context, e.g. in the actual green space where outdoor recreation takes place. Further, the general societal developments (e.g. integration policies or outdoor recreation policies) must be taken into account. An investigation of ethnic minorities' outdoor recreation pattern, as proposed in paper 4, takes both "micro" and "macro" levels into account.

This thesis has provided the first systematic investigation of the similarities and differences in outdoor recreation pattern of adolescents with ethnic Danish and ethnic minority backgrounds, and presented this within a European context. However, there is still need for more knowledge about the similarities and differences in outdoor recreation pattern of ethnic Danish and ethnic minorities' outdoor recreation pattern which can be used in policy making, as well as planning and management of green spaces and other natural areas, to provide the best possibilities for outdoor recreation for the various user groups.

Dansk resume

Denne Ph.d. afhandling er baseret på forskning foretaget på Institut for Geovidenskab og Naturforvaltning, Sektion for Landskabsarkitektur og Planlægning ved Københavns Universitet fra maj 2007 til april 2015. Unges friluftsliv og etnicitet i et Europæisk perspektiv udgør hovedfokus i afhandlingen. Afhandlingen har haft tre formål: at beskrive det eksisterende forskningsfelt omkring etnicitet og friluftsliv i Europa, og bruge de perspektiver som afsæt for at undersøge ligheder og forskelle i unge danskeres og unge indvandreres friluftsliv. Derudover har det været undersøgt hvilken sammenhæng der er mellem den objektive definition af ”efterkommer”/ ”indvandrer” (fra Danmarks Statistik), og den mere subjektive ”etnisk selvopfattelse”. Implikationerne fra både forskningsopsamlingen og den empiriske undersøgelse har været afsæt for at udvikle en teoretisk forståelsesramme for at undersøge etnicitet og friluftsliv fremadrettet.

Afhandlingen består af fire artikler:

Den første artikel undersøger og beskriver feltet ”Friluftsliv og etnicitet” i Europa. Forskning om friluftsliv og etnicitet er et forholdsvis lille og nyt forskningsfelt i Europa, sammenlignet med den mængde forskning der er udført i Nordamerikansk sammenhæng. Men den Europæiske forskning vokser og nye undersøgelser kommer stadig til. Europæisk forskning har vist, at der er en sammenhæng mellem etnicitet og friluftslivspraksis, forstået på den måde, at ens kulturelle baggrund påvirker ens friluftspraksis. Således er der forskel på eksempelvis motiver for friluftsliv, aktiviteter, og områder der foretrækkes til friluftsliv, når majoritetsbefolkningens friluftslivsmønster sammenlignes med minoriteters friluftsliv.

Den anden artikel udgør afhandlingens empiriske grundlag: en spørgeskemaundersøgelse om unges friluftsliv i hhv. København NV og Ringkøbing-Skjern kommune (n=449, i alderen 14-16 år, 365 unge med etnisk dansk baggrund og 84 unge med anden etnisk baggrund end dansk). Resultaterne fra afhandlingens spørgeskemaundersøgelse viser både ligheder og forskelle blandt unge danskeres og unge indvandreres friluftsliv. Der er for eksempel lighed mellem antallet af dage de unge bruger på friluftsliv pr. år. Både unge danskere og unge med anden etnisk baggrund end dansk nævner sociale motiver (fx at ”være sammen med familie” og ”være sammen med venner”) eller at slappe af som grunde for at dyrke friluftsliv. Unge med anden etnisk baggrund end dansk nævner dog oftere familiære grunde som motiv for at dyrke friluftsliv. De unge bruger forskellige områder til friluftsliv: etnisk danske unge bruger oftere sportspladser, mens unge med anden etnisk baggrund end dansk bruger hyppigere byens grønne parker til friluftsliv. Aktiviteter som at ”gå en tur”, ”grille” og ”på tur med familie” er aktiviteter som begge grupper unge deltager i, om end disse aktiviteter er mere almindelige blandt unge med anden etnisk baggrund end dansk. ”At gå en tur med hunden”, ”drikke øl med venner” og ”solbade” er derimod aktiviteter, som er mere almindelige blandt unge med etnisk dansk baggrund.

Den tredje artikel reflekterer over forskellige nationale tilgange til etniske minoriteters adgang til naturen, i hhv. Tyskland, Danmark, Storbritannien og Holland. Resultaterne viser at der er stor sammenhæng mellem de nationale forskningstraditioner og de forskellige politikker der specifikt nævner etniske minoriteters adgang til naturen i hhv. Danmark, Tyskland, Storbritannien, og

Holland. Dette skyldes forskellige tilgange til etniske minoriteter politisk: sigter politikerne mod inklusion og lige adgang for alle (og specifikt nævner etniske minoriteter); eller sigter politikerne mod at give mulighed for friluftsliv til alle, uden specifikt at nævne etniske minoriteter, eller andre "særlige brugergrupper".

Artikel fire er en teoretisk ramme til forståelse af friluftsliv og etnicitet i et sociologisk perspektiv, og er inspireret af den tyske sociolog Norbert Elias' begrebsapparat. Udgangspunktet er at sammenhængen mellem etnicitet og friluftsliv skal undersøges og forstås i den konkrete kontekst, hvor den aktuelle friluftspraksis finder sted, ligesom generelle samfundsforhold (fx holdninger til indvandrere politisk, og eksisterende friluftspolitik) også skal inddrages i undersøgelsen.

Denne afhandling har givet den første systematiske indsigt i unge danskeres og unge indvandreres friluftsliv, og præsenteret denne i en Europæisk sammenhæng. Der dog er stadig behov for mere viden der uddyber vores forståelse for ligheder og forskelle i friluftslivs praksis blandt etniske danskere og etniske minoriteter til brug for politikere, planlæggere og forvaltere af natur og grønne områder. Denne viden kan bruges til at skabe de rette rammer for friluftsliv for alle befolkningsgrupper i Danmark, og dermed sikre, at endnu flere brugergrupper ønsker og behov i forhold til friluftsfaciliteter og muligheder for friluftsliv tilgodeses.

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Paper 1

Gentin, S. (2011): [Outdoor recreation and ethnicity in Europe – a review](#). Urban Forestry and Urban Greening, 10, 153-161

Paper 2

Gentin, S., Nielsen, G. & Jensen, F.S. (in review): Outdoor recreation among ethnic minority adolescents in Denmark. Submitted to: Urban Forestry and Urban Greening, March 2015 (in review)

Paper 3

Jay, M., Peters, K., Buijs, A.E., Gentin, S., Kloek, M.E., O'Brien, L. (2012): [Towards access for all? Policy and research on access of ethnic minority groups to natural areas in four European countries](#). Forest Policy and Economics, 19, 4-10

Paper 4

Gentin, S. & Kaspersen L.B. (in review): Relational Process Sociology: A Contribution to Studies in Outdoor Recreation and Ethnicity. Submitted to: Leisure Studies, October 2014 (in review)

The Papers are not included in this version of the thesis due to copyright.

Introduction

Background

Danes' outdoor recreation, their preferences, needs, and recreation habits have been investigated since the mid 1970ies, mostly quantitatively (e.g. Jensen and Koch, 2004), and lately also in a number of smaller qualitative studies (e.g. Fisker, 2009; Gentin, 2006; Oustrup, 2007). From the quantitative studies we know that more than 90 % of adult Danish population visit forests at least once a year, and the Danish forests get app. 70 mill. visits/year, compared to 43 mill. visits at the Danish coastline. Most of the visitors come by car, go for a walk, and enjoy nature. Outdoor recreation in natural areas is an important part of Danes' everyday lives (Jensen, 2014a). 60 % of the Danish adults in Jensen's (2014a) study have visited nature areas (outside cities) "last week", while only 9 % of the respondents can be characterized as "non-visitors". The average visit lasts between 1-2 hours and the most frequent group size is two persons (Jensen and Koch, 2004). These numbers have not changed much since the beginning of the investigations in the mid 1970ies, meaning that Danes' outdoor recreation habits are stable, but still there are some new trends: There is a tendency for shorter visits, further more people visit forests alone (e.g. in 1977 13 % came alone, compared to 25 % in 2008). Further, "action-oriented" activities are more common now than previously (Andkjær, 2005; Fisker, 2009). The tranquility of nature, as well as experiencing nature's peace and quietness are the most important motives for visiting natural areas (Jensen, 1999). The results have to a wide extent been used in planning and management for natural areas in Denmark.

Recreating in natural areas are e.g. reduction of blood pressure and stress levels (Grahn and Stigsdotter, 2003; Ward Thompson et al., 2012) further, physical or visual contact with natural environments can be psychologically and physiologically restorative (Ulrich, 1984). The positive relationship between public health and natural areas (see e.g. Konijnendijk et al., 2013 for a review) as well as Danes' regular use of natural areas for outdoor recreation has put outdoor recreation on the political agenda: In the Danish government's recently launched nature policy, the opportunities for outdoor recreation are mentioned, as well as an obligation to formulate a Danish outdoor recreation policy. The ambition of the outdoor recreation policy is that it should be embedded broadly in the society (Ministry of the Environment, 2014). Further, the Danish Nature Agency² must adjust to the changes in Denmark's demographic composition (e.g. an ageing population), an increasingly multicultural society, and growing demands for more action-oriented outdoor recreation opportunities in the provision of outdoor recreation facilities (Naturstyrelsen, 2002).

Knowledge about Danes' use of natural areas has influenced planning for outdoor recreation on local, regional and national level in Denmark. The Danish Nature Agency has e.g. used Jensen (2003), to identify areas where more outdoor recreation facilities should be provided. Further the knowledge about *why* individuals engage in outdoor recreation can provide managers and planners with valuable baseline information regarding the needs that must be met in designing new and managing existing urban parks and forests, the provision of recreation facilities or to overcome

² The Nature Agency is the institution under the Danish Ministry of the Environment, which in practice implements the Government's environment and nature policy, and manages the national forests and other state owned nature areas.

potential barriers for use etc. This leads to the question: does Danish planning and landscape management actually provide opportunities for all types of user groups, e.g. ethnic minority groups' outdoor recreation, as stated in the National Forest Program (Danish Forest and Nature Agency, 2002)?

Within the next 40 years the amount of immigrants and descendants is expected to continue to raise, see Table 1 (Danmarks Statistik, 2012). Following from this the Danish society will become more multicultural compared to today, and accordingly will face some challenges. One challenge for the Danish government could be issues concerning access to resources and which resources should be provided to whom. In Denmark these questions are often considered in various public policies like labor, housing, education and health. This leaves the question – is access to natural areas considered as a resource and should this access be provided for the whole population?

	2012	2050
Ethnic Danes	5,000,055 (89.6 %)	5,146,237 (83.6 %)
Immigrants, Western Countries	179,224 (3.2 %)	266,378 (4.3 %)
Immigrants, Non-Western Countries	262,314 (4.7 %)	388,512 (6.3 %)
Descendants, Western Countries	19,332 (0.3 %)	91,187 (1.5 %)
Descendants, Non-Western Countries	119,591 (2.1 %)	266,320 (4.3 %)
Total	5,580,516 (100 %)	6,158,634 (100 %)

Table 1: Number of ethnic Danes, immigrants, and descendants in Denmark in 2012 and the projection for 2050. Source: Danmarks Statistik (Danmarks Statistik, 2012).

Ethnicity and outdoor recreation

Despite the fact that many European countries are becoming more ethnically and culturally diverse (Eurostat, 2009), relatively few studies in Europe have investigated the relationship between outdoor recreation patterns and ethnicity in Europe. Topics such as the recreational behavior of ethnic minorities and their use of and access to the natural environment (e.g. Comber et al., 2008; Peters et al., 2010), differences in perception of natural areas (e.g. Buijs et al., 2009; Rishbeth and Powell, 2013), social interaction and social cohesion through outdoor recreation (Seeland et al., 2009) and management implications for the provision of natural environments for a multicultural society have been investigated in the European research (Jay et al., 2012; Rishbeth, 2001). Socio-economic factors and ethnic/cultural factors were often used to explain differences in recreational behaviour of ethnic minorities compared to the majority population of the specific country.

Only few studies have investigated the relationship of ethnicity and outdoor recreation in Denmark. A smaller qualitative study has shown that there are differences in the motives for participating in outdoor recreation between ethnic Danes and Muslims. In this study Gentin (2006) found that urban green spaces function as a place for social gatherings among the participating Muslims, as well as outdoor recreation activities included picnics, and only took place when the weather was warm, and the sun was shining. On the contrary the participating ethnic Danes preferred the tranquility of nature, forests and the “lonely nature experience” – independently of the season and weather. A survey among 11,238 Danes showed that persons with a non-Western ethnic background had lower levels of visiting green space than individuals with an ethnic Danish background (Schipperijn et al., 2010). Further, a quantitative study by Jensen (2010) has shown that relatively more citizens with

ethnic minority backgrounds disgust or fear different wildlife species, and this fear has prevented visits in natural areas. The study by Jensen (2010) indicates that ethnic minorities with non-Western backgrounds in general lack familiarity with the Danish nature.

Compared to Europe, research in outdoor recreation and ethnicity has a relatively long tradition in North America and can be traced back to studies from the early 1960s by the Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission (ORRRC) (Mueller and Gurin, 1962). Research in North America expanded after the publication of Washburne (1978), who proposed a marginality-ethnicity hypothesis, which accounted for differences in recreation participation between minorities and the mainstream White population. Much of this initial research on race, ethnicity and outdoor recreation developed around Washburne's (1978) hypothesis (e.g. Stamps and Stamps, 1985). At the end of the 1980s, researchers began to question the validity of the marginality-ethnicity hypothesis in a complex society (e.g. Hutchison, 1988). Instead they began to examine the intersection of race, ethnicity, gender, age and social class in relation to outdoor recreation (Shinew et al., 2006), and how perceived discrimination might be an important factor influencing outdoor recreation patterns and participation (e.g. Floyd and Gramann, 1995). In the 1990s and 2000s, the number of minorities being studied increased and so did the range of topics investigated. Some scholars have tried to account for the role of assimilation/adaptation in the recreation patterns of minorities; others have studied ethnically-specific environmental attitudes and preferences, and post-immigration leisure patterns (Floyd et al., 2008; Stodolska and Walker, 2007). The results point towards outdoor recreation patterns and landscape preferences being dependent on cultural background (Walker et al., 2001).

The situation in North America differs markedly from that of Europe in several ways: the percentage of ethnic minorities in Europe is much lower than in North America; and in Europe, ethnic minorities have primarily a Turkish background, while the largest minority in the US is people with Hispanic background. Hence, it is necessary to obtain an insight into ethnic minorities' outdoor recreation needs and preferences in a European context in order to identify research gaps, and discusses implications for future research.

The need for knowledge about "Ethnic minorities' outdoor recreation pattern" in a planning and management perspective

North American and European research on ethnicity and outdoor recreation has shown that there are differences in outdoor recreation patterns between ethnic minorities and the majority population. Planners and managers seek to meet potential users' needs when designing green spaces and other areas for outdoor recreation. However, lack of knowledge about the outdoor recreation needs and preferences of different user groups can lead landscape managers to rely on their own preferences when planning for outdoor recreation (Jensen, 1993). Therefore, planners and managers must understand the different needs of the different user groups (Owens, 1993), as limited understanding of needs and preferences associated with recreation can lead to policies, design and management of public spaces based on guesswork and "the squeaky wheel gets the grease"-principle (e.g. Rishbeth and Finney, 2006).

As mentioned, in Denmark, abundant research on *adults'* outdoor recreation practices is readily available (e.g. Jensen and Koch, 2004; Jensen, 2014b, 2012), and recreation in natural areas is an important part of Danes' everyday lives (Holm, 2000; Jensen, 2014a; Kaae and Møller Madsen, 2003). The results have been used for policy-making, planning for and management of natural areas (especially forest areas) both within and outside cities. Accordingly, the findings of these studies have had an influence on the possibilities of Danes' outdoor recreation. Although Danes' outdoor recreation is a well investigated topic in general, the outdoor recreation practices of Danish adolescents and ethnic minorities have not been the target groups of this research. The activities and places that adolescents prefer for outdoor recreation in Denmark therefore remain unexplored. This can be problematic in terms of ensuring equal access to natural areas, as well as in meeting the needs of diverse user groups for outdoor recreation sites and facilities. Further, there is a need for knowledge on the similarities and differences between ethnic Danes and ethnic minorities' outdoor recreation pattern. This thesis focuses especially on *adolescents'*³ use of natural areas for outdoor recreation. Adolescents are chosen for three reasons: 1) Adolescents are the future users of natural areas, 2) Adolescents are only covered to some extent in the existing Danish quantitative investigations as the respondents are typically between 15-78 years, and 3) Adolescents with ethnic minority background are influenced by both their parents' cultural background and the Danish culture.

Knowledge about the varying use and needs for outdoor recreation, among different user groups (e.g. children, adolescents, adults, ethnic minorities, disabled people, etc.) is an important input for landscape planners and managers (Gobster, 2002). Furthermore, urban green spaces – in so far as there is equal access to everyone – are recognized as places where ethnic minorities have the opportunity to interact with the majority population in a non-hierarchical way. These encounters, as well as the identification with the surrounding environment, are critical factors in promoting social inclusion (Uzzell et al., 2002). Hence, it is necessary to obtain an insight into ethnic minorities' outdoor recreation needs and preferences in a Danish context for planning and management.

Further, this knowledge could provide input to planning and management of natural areas in order to provide outdoor recreation opportunities for the whole population – following the demographic trends, including special user groups – which in this context are ethnic minorities. There is therefore a need to understand the outdoor recreation pattern of ethnic minorities to overcome potential barriers for use, and hereby facilitating and encouraging participation. As stated by Driver (1993, p. 5) such knowledge has great value for planners and managers: *“If public land managers are to be responsive to the changing needs and values of an increasingly multicultural citizenry ... they must work towards a fuller understanding of those needs and values”*.

Summing up research gaps and problems

Based on the above a number of research gaps and problems can be identified. Next they will be summed up, and used as an offset to the research aim and research questions presented in on page 14.

³ The term “adolescents” in this thesis includes *both* adolescents with ethnic Danish and adolescents with ethnic minority backgrounds.

Need for an overview of the current state of knowledge of ethnicity and outdoor recreation in Europe

Research on ethnicity and outdoor recreation in Europe is a relatively new research area. Only few peer-reviewed papers have been published over the past ten years, however the amount is rising. Most of the research has been smaller case studies, of recreationists, particularly their use of urban parks and urban green spaces in different European cities of varying sizes. However, a comprehensive overview of the emerging research is still lacking. Therefore, there is a need for an overview of the current state of knowledge regarding ethnicity and outdoor recreation to gain an understanding of the current knowledge about ethnic minorities' outdoor recreation pattern in Europe, and to identify research gaps as well as future perspectives for research in a European context.

Need for knowledge about adolescents outdoor recreation pattern

The majority of the research on outdoor recreation in Denmark has described the needs and preferences of the adult Danish population (e.g. Jensen and Koch, 2004), and adolescents are only covered to some extent in these investigations as the respondents are between 15-78 years. The places and activities adolescents' value for outdoor recreation remain unexplored. In managing and planning contexts for natural areas the Nature Agency is committed to follow the demographic trends of society – and provide opportunities for outdoor recreation for the whole population (Naturstyrelsen, 2002). Nevertheless, the current knowledge about adolescents' outdoor recreation pattern (including adolescents with ethnic minority backgrounds, see footnote 3) in Denmark is rather limited. There is accordingly a need to understand the outdoor recreation pattern of adolescents in general and further to investigate the similarities and differences in outdoor recreation pattern of adolescents with ethnic Danish, and ethnic minority backgrounds.

Need for knowledge about perception of ethnicity

Research on ethnicity and outdoor recreation in North America has been criticized by North American scholars for the uncritical use of ethnicity categories (Kivel et al., 2009), the same critique is reflected upon in Europe by e.g. Jay et al. (2014) and Kloek et al. (2013). The problem is that these categorizations tend to ignore the in-group heterogeneity, and overestimate differences between groups. According to Barth (1998), ethnicity is a result of social ascriptions by oneself and others. Ethnic identity hereby becomes a dialectical process of what you think your ethnicity is and what others think your ethnicity is, such that one's ethnic affiliation in fact changes situationally (Nagel, 1994). There is a need to understand to which extent there is a match or mismatch between the objective statistical definition of ethnicity (definition according to citizenship and place of birth used by e.g. Statistics Denmark) and the ethnic minorities subjective assessment of their own minority background.

Need for knowledge about ethnic minorities' access to natural areas

Europe is facing a growing ethnic diversity, as a consequence of international migration. This poses questions about access to resources, and what resources should be provided to whom. Natural areas can potentially be considered as places where minority and majority populations meet in a non-hierarchical way. In Denmark ethnic minority groups are considered in e.g. the Danish National Forest Program (Danish Forest and Nature Agency, 2002) in terms of that the Nature Agency should provide outdoor recreation opportunities for the whole population, following the

demographic trends in the society (e.g. raising numbers of immigrants and descendants). Until now little is known about policies on e.g. how access to natural areas actually takes ethnic minority groups into account. In fact, outdoor recreation is a topic that is unequally addressed in legislative and strategic policy documents at a national level across Europe (Mann et al., 2010). This may indicate that also the possibilities for ethnic minorities' outdoor recreation, as well as their access to natural areas are handled differently across Europe. Accordingly, there is a need for knowledge about the different approaches, both in policy and research, on ethnic groups' access to natural areas across Europe, in order to provide future directions for research, policy, planning and management in terms of equal access to natural areas. This could then provide a more reflexive understanding of the interrelations between policy and national contexts and further the interrelation between people and policy.

Need for a theoretical foundation of the understanding the dynamics of ethnicity and outdoor recreation

Kloek et al. (2013), Floyd (1998) and others have emphasized the need for a theoretical foundation of the field of ethnicity and outdoor recreation. Kloek et al. (2013) argue that an appropriate theoretical foundation would strengthen the explaining factors used for understanding differences in the use of e.g. green spaces for outdoor recreation of majority and minority populations. This is in line with the critiques of Floyd (1998) who also recognizes the need for a stronger theoretical foundation within this research field. Most of the research on ethnicity and outdoor recreation is constrained by the use of static concepts, e.g. ethnicity is often treated as a static given. The problem is that the dynamics of ethnicity is not recognized. Kloek (2013) emphasizes the need to incorporate *identity-in-context*, stating that ethnic identification is dynamic, and dependent on the situation. There is therefore a need to develop a theoretical approach that can describe and capture the dynamics of ethnicity and outdoor recreation.

Research aim and research questions

Based on the described research gaps this thesis has three aims: The first aim is to review the existing knowledge about ethnic minorities' outdoor recreation in Europe. The second aim is to investigate similarities and differences in outdoor recreation patterns between adolescents with ethnic Danish and ethnic minority background in Denmark. The third aim is to investigate whether there is a match or a mismatch between the official statistic definitions of ethnic minority background (based on citizenship and place of birth), and the subjective perception of adolescents with ethnic minority backgrounds own ascription of their ethnicity.

This will then be used to inform the development of a theoretical framework to understand the dynamics of ethnicity and outdoor recreation.

In relation to these objectives this thesis investigates the following specific research questions:

1. What is the current knowledge about ethnicity and outdoor recreation in Europe? (Paper 1)
2. What are the similarities and differences in outdoor recreation patterns between adolescents with an ethnic Danish background and adolescents with ethnic minority background? (Paper 2)

3. How can research on ethnicity and outdoor recreation be improved by the use of other definitions of ethnic background? (Paper 2)
4. How is ethnic minorities' access to natural areas conceptualized in four European countries, and how has this influenced research, and planning and management for outdoor recreation? (Paper 3)
5. How can the investigations of ethnic minorities' outdoor recreation pattern be improved through a theoretical framework? (Paper 4)

Outline of thesis

The research aims and research questions require a combination of review, theoretical studies, as well as empirical surveys. Both aim and research questions have helped organizing the thesis.

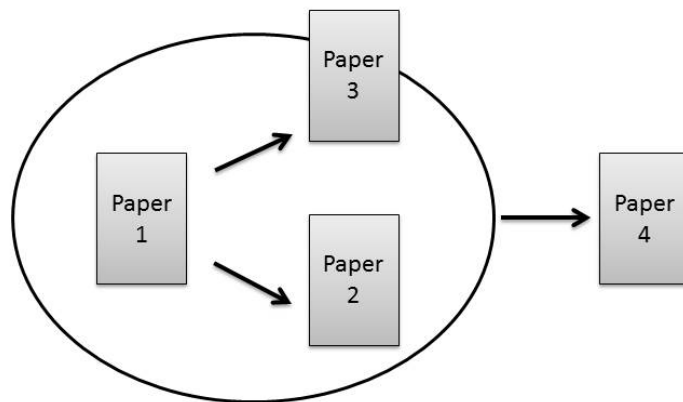


Figure 1: The relationship between the four papers of this thesis

In Figure 1 the relationship between the different papers of the thesis is illustrated. The review in Paper 1 is the background for Paper 2, and partly for Paper 3 and 4. The research gaps found in the analysis of Paper 1, as well as the methodological implications of paper 2 are the point of departure for the theoretical framework described in Paper 4. Paper 3 analyses and describes the European research context on ethnicity and outdoor recreation, the legislation on access to natural areas, as well as the planning and management frame for understanding ethnicity and outdoor recreation.

Theoretical background

In the following I will introduce the theoretical background of this thesis. First two central concepts of this thesis: “Outdoor recreation (friluftsliv)” and “The concept of ethnicity” are introduced and discussed. This is followed by “Relational process sociology” in which a theoretical framework to understand ethnicity and outdoor recreation is developed. The final section of the theoretical background “Outdoor recreation, ethnicity, and natural areas in a relational perspective” elaborates on what to consider when analyzing the outdoor recreation pattern of various ethnic groups in a relational perspective.

Outdoor recreation (friluftsliv)

Outdoor recreation – *friluftsliv* in Danish – is used and defined in various ways, depending on the situation and context. I will here provide some examples of the variety of definitions, and use these as an offset to define outdoor recreation in this thesis. However, I will not go into a discussion of their appropriateness or not, as the aim of this section is to illustrate the variation of how the term has been used.

The probably broadest definition of outdoor recreation is: “*recreation that occurs outdoors in urban and rural environments*” (Jenkins and Pilgram, 2012). Moore and Driver (2005) provide several examples of different definitions of outdoor recreation, and conclude that defining exactly what outdoor recreation is (and not is), becomes an exercise in semantics. Nevertheless, the authors use the following definition: “*Outdoor recreation: recreation experiences that result from recreation activities that occur in and depend on the natural environment*” (Moore and Driver, 2005, p. 11). Here it is emphasized that outdoor recreation is more than an activity, as the activity becomes a means to a desired experience. Another example of a broad definition of outdoor recreation is found in Bell et al. (2009, p. 1): “*Outdoor recreation includes a number of activities that take place in settings that range from private and public gardens, public parks, urban woods, along waterways at the seaside, on and around lakes, in forests, the countryside, mountain areas and wilderness. Activities range from very passive such as sitting, relaxing, or enjoying a view to the very active, such as skiing, mountain biking or horse riding. They include the solitary, such as a person going for a walk by themselves or the gregarious, such as a large family picnic or a group of friends going on a hike*”. Outdoor recreation is here described as activities that people undertake as part of their daily, weekend or holiday routines, as well as the motivations can range from active exercise to keep fit to relaxation. In Sweden the official definition of outdoor recreation (friluftsliv) is: “*stays outdoors in natural or cultural landscapes for wellbeing and nature experience without any demand for competition*” (Emmelin et al., 2010, p. 17). The Swedish definition does not put special emphasis on in which specific natural areas outdoor recreation has to take place, or whether outdoor recreation is in or outside cities. Further this definition does not specifically mention the need for being active – instead it specifies that outdoor recreation is not competitive.

As a part of the ongoing political work and effort in launching the first national outdoor recreation policy the Ministry of the Environment in Denmark currently re-defining the definition of what outdoor recreation is: “*Outdoor recreation is activities and visits outdoors. It can take place in cities, in the countryside, in the air, or on the water. The basis of outdoor recreation is often, that it*

is driven by desire, and takes place in leisure time. Experiencing nature is a fundamental part of outdoor recreation. Outdoor recreation in Denmark is multifarious. Besides taking place in leisure time – outdoor recreation can also be a break in a work-day, in relation to teaching or other pedagogical activities or as part of a therapeutic process. Outdoor recreation can be peaceful, relaxing or physical demanding. It can include play, competition, or transportation. The aim of outdoor recreation can be a nice experience, socializing with others, become capable, smarter or healthier. New forms for outdoor recreation continue to develop” (Miljøministeriet, n.d. forthcoming, translation from Danish). This new definition of outdoor recreation by the Ministry of the Environment is to replace the old definition from 1999 which has acted as a kind of Danish definition of outdoor recreation: *“Outdoor recreation is a series of human activities, chosen by desire and which takes place during leisure time outside home, workplace or sports ground, in the countryside, forests, coastal areas, or urban green spaces”* (Miljø- og Energiministeriet, 1999, p. 453, translation from Danish). The new definition includes also work-time, as well as outdoor teaching and other pedagogical activities and moves away from the common understanding that outdoor recreation only takes place in non-work time, further specific emphasis is put on that experiencing nature is a fundamental part of outdoor recreation.

The majority of the provided examples share a common understanding of that outdoor recreation takes place during “non-work time”, involves personal freedom, and has some intrinsic value. However, the new definition of outdoor recreation provided by the Ministry of the Environment, moves away from this common understanding as also *“outdoor teaching or other pedagogical activities”* as well as *“part of a therapeutic process”* are included in outdoor recreation. This is an example of how broad definitions can be, and shows further that defining outdoor recreation is determined by the context, as well as the ongoing political discussions. Another difference in the mentioned definitions is the broadness of the setting for outdoor recreation: the natural environment. Both Moore & Driver (2005) and Bell et al. (2009) state that outdoor recreation can take place in all types of natural environments, not explicit mentioning “water” or “in the air” as a setting for outdoor recreation, as the Ministry of the Environment (forthcoming) does in the new definition. Although the new definition seems broad, recreation at home in the garden is not mentioned explicit, which on the other hand is included explicit by Bell et al. (2009), and not mentioned (explicit) by Moore and Driver (2005). The lack of a clear and common definition of outdoor recreation may seem problematic. However, the majority of the authors still agree on that recreation – in general refers to *“behaviors that are engaged in voluntarily for their intrinsic rewards during times when one is not committed to meeting basic survival and comfort needs, attaining material possessions, or meeting on-going social obligations”* (Driver et al., 1991, p. 7).

In this thesis the definition of outdoor recreation includes activities chosen by free-will and also includes outdoor sports grounds, as sports grounds often are used by adolescents in leisure time for both sports, as well as places to socialize and relax.

Outdoor recreation is in this thesis then understood as: “a series of human activities chosen by desire which take place during leisure time in natural areas⁴ and at the sports ground”. Activities which take place at home, in the garden, and at work/school are *not* included in this definition. Accordingly a shift of environment (from e.g. “home” to “green environment”) is central in my definition, as well as leisure time is central. A consequence of the inclusion of “sports grounds” is, that also sports activities are included (see question 11 in the questionnaire, in appendix 2).

Figure 2 illustrates how I operationalized the definition above:

Dit friluftsliv i hverdagen: i byens grønne områder, i skoven nær byen, på sportspladsen...
De næste spørgsmål handler om din brug af byens grønne områder, sportspladser, eller skovene/stranden nær byen sammen med vennerne eller med din familie – altså dit hverdagsfriluftsliv. Et grønt område i byen kan være en park, en sportsplads, en legeplads eller et grønt område/gården ved blokken/lejligheden ell. lign. Dine forældres have må du ikke tælle med her.

Figure 2: Operationalization of the definition of outdoor recreation in the questionnaire⁵.

The concept of ethnicity

The concept of ethnicity is central in this thesis, and has also been discussed and elaborated in various ways in all four papers. In this section I will introduce the official definition of “ethnic Dane”, “immigrant”, and “descendant”. This is followed by a short description of acculturation strategies (at personal and national level). In the last paragraph of this section I will elaborate briefly on the problems raised when categorizing ethnic minorities.

Ethnic Dane, immigrant and descendant

In Denmark ethnic Dane/ immigrant / descendant are the official terms used in policy, management and public debates, as well as in statistical estimations and statements. Who belongs to which of the three groups depends on the citizenship of the parents, as well as the persons country of birth, see Table 2.

	Country of birth	Parents country of birth and citizenship
Ethnic Dane	Denmark	At least one parent is born in Denmark AND has Danish

⁴ Natural areas are in this thesis understood as a broad term, encompassing every publicly accessible green/blue space that can be used for the pursuit of recreational activities, including both urban as well as non-urban areas.

⁵ English translation:

Your outdoor recreation [activities] in your every-day life: in green spaces in the city, in the forest near the city, at the sports ground...

The next questions concern your use of green spaces in the city, sports grounds or forests/beaches near the city together with your friends and family – in other words, your every-day outdoor recreation pattern. A green space in the city can be a park, a sports ground, a playground, or a green area at your apartment block. Your parents’ garden does not count as a green area, and is not included.

		citizenship
Immigrant	Foreign country	Both parents are born abroad or both parents have foreign citizenship.
Descendant	Denmark	Both parents are born abroad or both parents have foreign citizenship.

Table 2: Definition of ethnic groups according to Statistics Denmark (Danmarks Statistik, 2012)

Further one may distinguish between Western countries and non-Western countries (Danmarks Statistik, 2012). This is to divide between countries with a western influence, culture, and accordingly “western mindset” (e.g. Markus and Kitayama, 1991). This distinction can also influence the motives for participating in outdoor recreation, and accordingly the outdoor recreation pattern (Walker et al., 2001). In paper 3⁶ an overview of definitions of ethnic minority groups in Germany, the Netherlands, Great Britain and Denmark is provided. Further paper 3 discusses which influence the various definitions have had on policy and research approaches in these four example-countries.

Acculturation strategies – integration, assimilation, segregation, marginalization

The potential of outdoor recreation for integration of ethnic minorities has not been investigated in this thesis. This is beyond its scope as well as the discussion whether (or not) participation in outdoor recreation can contribute to integrate ethnic minorities into society easily becomes a more political discussion than a scientific question.

In political terms ethnic minorities are often mentioned in relation to integration, assimilation, pluralism and segregation. However, these terms do not only describe national policies towards ethnic minorities – they also describe ethnic minorities’ own strategies towards their own acculturation into society. However, the national policies do not necessarily match the acculturation strategies chosen by the ethnic minorities themselves (Krag, 2007).

Berry (1997) describes acculturation as the cultural changes that result from encounters between minority and majority population, while adaptation is employed to refer to the psychological changes that occur when individuals are experiencing acculturation.

In multicultural societies the individuals belonging to the non-dominant cultural groups⁷ must deal with if and how to acculturate. When individuals from the non-dominant group not wish to maintain their cultural identity, *assimilation* is strived for. In these cases individuals seek interaction as well as participation with other cultures. The opposite to acculturation is *separation*, in which individuals from the non-dominant group value holding on to their original cultural identity, and have no wish to interact with other cultural groups. The middle position defines *integration*: if the individuals from the non-dominant group values to maintain his/her cultural integrity and at the same time interact with other cultural groups, and participate in the larger society. Last,

⁶ See e.g. table 2 on p. 6 in Jay et al. (2012) (paper 3).

⁷ Berry (1997) uses the term “cultural group” when referring to all groups, while “dominant” and “non-dominant group” is employed when there are power differences and is relevant.

marginalization describes cases in which non-dominant groups have little interest or little possibility in maintaining their own cultural background, and at the same time have little interest in interaction with other cultural groups (Berry, 1997).

In politics however, the above terms are applied and defined differently, and depend on what the national states are striving for: a homogeneous or pluralistic society.

Assimilation policies regard the “dominant” culture as natural. In this policy approach the ethnic minority must give up their own culture and identity, which then results in a homogeneous society. Assimilation policies depend on an open society, as well as a majority population which is willing to accept the various minorities’ as equal. Following from this, the population should mix, sociologically and biologically (e.g. marriage across groups etc.). *Integration policies* do not expect ethnic minorities to adapt the dominant cultures’ norms, instead the ethnic minorities should engage in the societal structures, without involvement in the individuals’ private sphere by the state. Accordingly the minorities keep some of their cultural identity, and each cultural group contributes to society with their specific values and culture. In ideal cases a “new” common identity develops, in which each group keeps some of its own identity. *Pluralism policies* describe a more equal or even approach towards ethnic minorities. This approach is based on mutual respect, in which differences are kept, and presupposes special rights to the minorities’ with lesser power. In *Segregation policies* the dominant culture aims to exclude the minority from society, hereby keeping the cultural groups apart (Krag, 2007).

In the discussion of “Multiculturalism and integration – planning and management for ethnic minorities” on page 41 the potential for outdoor recreation in relation to integration is discussed further.

The categorization of ethnic backgrounds

In paper 1 it became evident that the majority of researchers, who have investigated ethnic minorities’ outdoor recreation in Europe often follow the national census or governmental surveying institutions in their conceptualization of ethnicity: country of birth, meaning a person is considered an immigrant if he/she is born by parents who were born abroad. Distinction is made between 1st generation immigrant⁸ or 2nd generation immigrant⁹. Another, more seldom conceptualization is based on the subjective experience of ethnicity by the individual, used for example in the UK¹⁰. In other words, the majority of researchers use an objective categorization of ethnic minority backgrounds, following the individuals’ country of birth. When the way of distinguishing ethnic backgrounds is based on e.g. place of birth several problems are raised. One problem is that this broadly accepted classification neglects intra-ethnic variations (Barth, 1998). The investigated ethnic minorities are treated a priori as homogeneous groups. In other cases, ethnic minority status is assigned according to citizenship status. Using citizenship as the basic category, however, makes it difficult to grasp cultural diversity, as citizenship does not necessarily indicate the degree of acculturation. In this light, it is problematic that both North American and European

⁸ Born outside new country of residence

⁹ Born in new country of residence

¹⁰ See Results and Discussion and conclusions (p.156-160) in Gentin (2011) (paper 1)

researchers have only defined ethnic boundaries from the ‘outside’, using e.g. citizen status as an objective parameter for ethnic minority status. Following from this, the subjective and phenomenological dimensions of ethnicity are neglected. Another problem is that many researchers do not acknowledge that ethnicities are contextually determined, and vary depending on the situation. This problem is further aggravated by the fact that most of the studies are quantitative surveys, in which the respondents answer questions with pre-defined answers, leaving little or no room for the participants to tell their own ethnic outdoor recreation stories or define their own ethnic background. The methodology thereby treats ethnic minorities as homogenous entities and neglects intra-ethnic variations in outdoor recreation participation¹¹.

Theoretically one may distinguish and assign ethnicity in objective terms (connecting identity with nationality, a birthplace, a flag, or a language) or in subjective terms (connecting identity with feelings or prejudices). Further, one may distinguish between the subjective aspects of 1) an individual’s social identity (what others think you are) and 2) the individual’s self-perceived identity (what you think you are) (Krag, 2007). The construction of identity and its relation to ethnicity is influenced on three different, though interdependent, societal levels: 1) at state/nation level – when multicultural policies are implemented (e.g., the Canadian Multiculturalism Act); 2) at the relational level, in which social relations and communities are built; and 3) at the individual level, where identity formation also takes place (Christiansen, 2011). Accordingly, identity formation is influenced by the norms and discourses in society about ethnic minorities and also through the context in which individuals and groups act (Krag, 2007).

The problem, described in paper 1, is that researchers sample individuals who presumably represent different ethnic groups and commonly assume that intra-cultural differences are less important than inter-group differences. “Labels” – e.g. “Hispanic” or “Black” – have come to characterize the investigated groups without any consideration of what these categories mean to the person being so labelled (Stanfield, 1993). In many studies, survey respondents are asked to check off the response that best characterizes their ethnicity or race; the respondents are afterwards aggregated, and a “package” of characteristics are based on these responses (Stanfield, 1993). This can be problematic, as ethnicity is a process of constructing identities and culture (Nagel, 1994), and is a result of social ascriptions by oneself and others (Barth, 1998). Ethnic identity thereby becomes a dialectical process of what you think your ethnicity is and what others think your ethnicity is, and changes situationally (Nagel, 1994). The processes shaping ethnicity and culture, according to Floyd (1998), have some implications for outdoor recreation: The outdoor recreation activities which take place within an ethnic community may therefore also have particular relevance for the creation and maintenance of ethnicity within the ethnic group, but a completely different meaning for another ethnic community. Accordingly, the activities may assist in the construction of collective identities when shared meanings are generated and may serve as a basis for collective mobilization and action (Nagel, 1994).

¹¹ See Gentin and Kaspersen (in review) from p. 8-12 (paper 4). Here an in depth discussion of the problems of defining ethnic backgrounds from the outside is provided.

Assigning ethnic background only according to citizenship is therefore problematic, as it overlooks the fact that ethnicity is shaped both from the outside but also from the inside, as described by Nagel (1994). Further, only few researchers acknowledge the heterogeneity of ethnic groups (Kivel et al., 2009). In view of this deficiency, the thesis investigates if there is a relationship between immigrants' objectively / outside defined ethnic background and their subjectively perceived ethnic self-identity and how this is related to their outdoor recreation practices. This is further described and tested empirically in paper 2¹².

Relational process sociology

In paper 4 (Gentin & Kaspersen, in review) the research on ethnicity and outdoor recreation from a theoretical perspective is assessed. Here it is claimed that the existing research is embedded in what Emirbayer (1997) names substantialism, and hereby overlooks the dynamics and context dependency of both ethnicity and outdoor recreation. In paper 4 the problems of existing research are described, and an alternative is introduced. This theoretical alternative uses key concepts of the German sociologist Norbert Elias as his theoretical contribution can be fruitful to capture the dynamics of the differences in outdoor recreation patterns of the majority population and ethnic minorities in Europe and North America. Below a description of the applied key concepts of Norbert Elias is provided.

The problem of “the individual” and “the environment”

According to Emirbayer (1997) the majority of social scientists have the idea that substances (things, beings or essences) come first and shape the fundamental unit of all inquiry, while the relations between these entities are of subsequent importance. This is also the case within the field of outdoor recreation and ethnicity – as described in paper 4. From a substantialistic point of view, Emirbayer (1997) emphasises that even though these entities/units interact, they stay fixed and unchanged throughout their interaction. The outcome is an egocentric model of society, where the isolated and static “me” or “ego” stands in a series of concentric circles, which are labelled “my family”, “my workplace”, “my town”, and “my country” (illustrated in Figure 3).

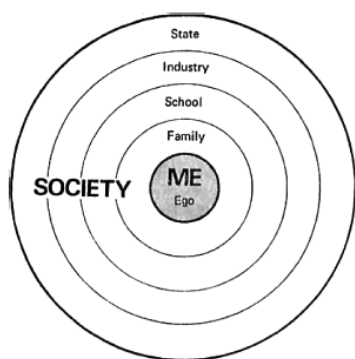


Figure 3: Basic pattern of the egocentric view of society (Elias, 1978, p. 14)

¹² See Results and discussion (p.7-17) in Gentin et al. (in review) (paper 2)

This has led to a distinction of “the individual” and “the environment” (Mennell, 1992). Accordingly objects have no relationship to their surroundings – they are analysed as if they were not interrelated but are instead treated as static, individual components – “variables” or “factors”. At the same time the thoughts about to which extend these static, individual components are related is according to Elias (1978) often only dealt with as an addition, or afterthought to the intrinsically unrelated and isolated objects. The described argument leads to a *“senseless conceptual distinction, like ‘the individual and society’, which make it seem that ‘the individual’ and ‘society’ are two separate things. [...] Yet on another level of awareness one may know perfectly well that societies are composed of individuals, and that individuals can only possess specifically human characteristics such as their abilities to speak, think, and love, and through their relationships with other people – ‘in society’”* (Elias, 1978, p. 113).

Moving towards relational studies of outdoor recreation

Relational sociology rejects the voluntarism and determinism of acceptable modes of perception as described above. Instead relationalism depicts the social in dynamic, continuous and processual terms, which is fundamentally opposed to substantialism (Emirbayer, 1997). This is also emphasized by Dépelteau (2008, p. 59) : *“The labels ‘relationism’, ‘relationalism’, or ‘relational sociology’ are used to identify theories that perceive social structures, if any, as effects of trans-actions between various social actors (actor ↔ actor → social structure, if any)”*.

Within this approach the units involved gain their meaning, significance and identity through the changing role they play within their trans-action. Therefore the process becomes the main part of the analysis, and not the unit. *“Relational theorists reject the notion that one can posit discrete, pre-given units such as the individual or society as ultimate starting points of sociological analysis (as in the self-actional perspective). Individual persons, whether strategic or norm following, are inseparable from the transactional contexts within which they are embedded”* (Emirbayer, 1997, p. 287).

Elias emphasises that *“there is a need for reorientation. The special kind of order associated with processes of social interweaving is more suitably dealt with if one starts from the connections, the relationships, and works out from there to the elements involved in them”* (Elias, 1978, p. 116). Within the relational approach, trans-action can only be understood as a chain of trans-actions: The relationship between A and B is not only a relationship between A and B – seen from A’s perspective; but also a relationship between B and A seen from B’s perspective (Elias, 1978) and further, the action “a” is only action “a” as it is interconnected to action “b” and vice versa (Dépelteau, 2008). People are never alone, but must be viewed in figurations of interdependent people. From a person’s birth and through his/hers adolescence he/she becomes increasingly independent of other people. But through childhood he/she is dependent on other people, learns from the parents and surroundings how to speak and think. These habits are created through a long chain of trans-actions between various social actors. Habits are not “social things” to be internalized, but must instead be seen as a process of socialization, stable, but dependent on trans-actions between the involved actors like parents, children etc. Elias stresses that the individual *“is in constantly movement; he not only goes through a process, he is a process”* (Elias, 1978, p. 120).

Elias therefore introduces another key concept, “figuration”, which further can bypass the constraint of thinking of “society” and “the individual” as two separate objects. According to Elias figurations are “*networks of interdependent human beings, with shifting asymmetrical power balances*” (Mennell, 1992, p. 267), as illustrated in Figure 4. Elias emphasizes that the behavior of many people intermeshes and thereby form an interwoven structure. Behavior can therefore only be explained by looking at the interwoven structure as a whole, and not from the perspective of the single participant. “*People make up webs of interdependence or figurations of many kinds, characterized by power balances of many sorts, such as families, schools, towns, social strata, or states*” (Elias, 1978, p. 15). Figurations can be small groups as well as societies made up from millions of interdependent people, although these figurations are more complex and hence cannot be analysed directly but through an analysis of the chains of interdependence. “*By figuration we mean the changing pattern created by the players as a whole – not only by their intellects but by their whole selves, the totality of their dealings in their relationships with each other. It can be seen that this figuration forms a flexible lattice-work of tensions*” (Elias, 1978, p. 130).

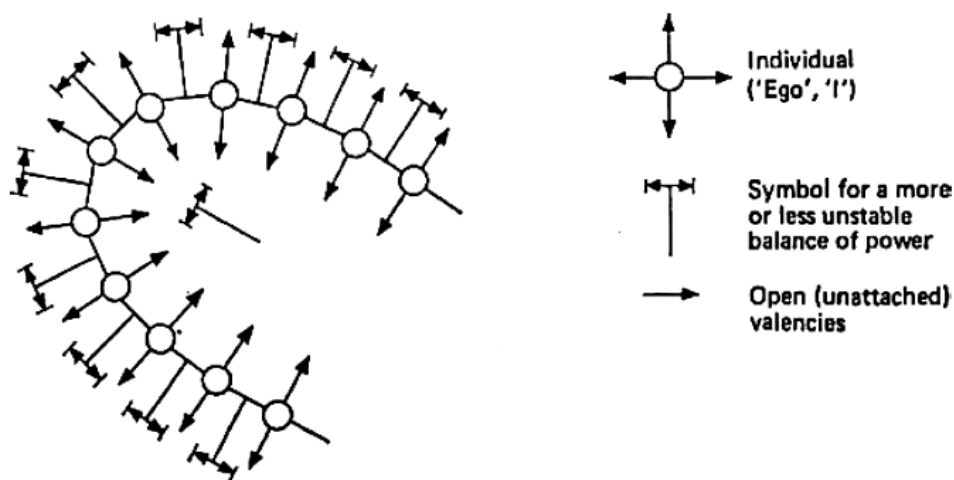


Figure 4: A figuration of interdependent individuals (Elias, 1978, p. 15)

In line with both the individual and figuration “power-ratio” is also a relationship between two or more people: “*At the core of changing figurations – indeed the very hub of the figuration process – is a fluctuating, tensile equilibrium, a balance of power moving to and fro, inclining first to one side and then to the other*” (Elias, 1978, p. 131). Elias stresses that power is a structural characteristic of all human relationships, and not an isolated object in a state of rest which people have or own, and is according to Elias best used with a reminder about the fluctuations in changes of power. Power relations are at least bi-polar – but often also multi-polar (illustrated by the arrows in Figure 4). Therefore power relationships are not extraordinary; but should instead be seen as everyday occurrences. “*...The concept of power, [...] must be understood as a concept of relationship. We can only speak of social functions when referring to interdependencies which constrain people to a*

greater or lesser extent. [...] The difficulty in using the concept of function as a quality of a single social unit is simply that it leaves out the reciprocity, the bi-polarity or multi-polarity of all functions. It is impossible to understand the function A performs for B without talking into account the function B performs for A. That is what is meant when it is said that the concept of function is a concept of relationship” (Elias, 1978, p. 77f).

Outdoor recreation, ethnicity, and natural areas in a relational perspective

In the concluding remarks of paper 4 we have elaborated on what to consider when analysing the outdoor recreation pattern of various ethnic groups in a relational perspective. Further it was explained and discussed how to conduct research on ethnicity and outdoor recreation in a relational perspective. First the concept of ethnicity must be re-thought from a pre-given fixed entity to a process oriented dynamic figuration. A first step of moving away from the perception of ethnic minorities as homogeneous groups was taken in paper 2. In paper 2 we tried to capture the self-perceived ethnicity as well as the social ethnic identity. The aim was to show the heterogeneity of “ethnicity”, as well as to develop a method to investigate the subjective perception of ethnicity by the actors.

Following the relational theory from the previous section outdoor recreation, ethnicity and the natural environment must be seen as a figuration either small or large – depending on the situation. Figure 5 illustrates a green space as figuration in which different outdoor recreation practices are taking place.

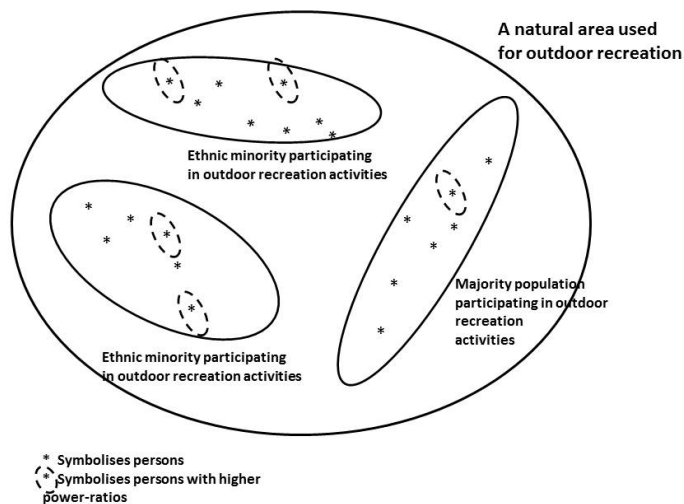


Figure 5. Illustration of natural area as figuration (see text for further explanation) (Gentin and Kaspersen, in review).

A figurational approach is also a processual analysis and it is accordingly necessary to conceive the social life taking place in green spaces and other natural areas as processes and not states. As described in paper 4 it is pertinent to define *three dimensions of analysis* to unfold a process analysis. These three dimensions can serve as auxiliary tools in constructing the processual account: 1) *situating the figuration in relation to other figurations*, 2) *identifying the fluctuating ratios of power*, and 3) *identifying trends in dominant patterns of behavior – structures of habitus*. These three dimensions point to different *aspects* of the figuration, and can be used as concrete criteria for a comparison of different figurational stages. In an analysis the ambition and challenge of processual-relational method is precisely that of producing an analytical synthesis reaching from the “micro” of individuals’ experiences and practices in relation to others, to the “macro” of more general societal developments, and presenting it *within* a coherent historical narrative of development over time in a particular figuration.

Dimension 1: Situating the figuration in relation to other figurations

In the first instance, an analysis entails studying how an ethnic group as a figuration is embedded in shifting constellations of power in relation to other ethnic groups. In our case, we determine the shifting positions of the various ethnic groups within a larger figuration, e.g. all groups participating in outdoor recreation in a specific green space. This includes an understanding of how the macro scale influences the dynamics of a particular figuration. It is important to investigate whether and how commonly accepted meanings and attitudes vary across time: in the case of outdoor recreation and ethnicity, for example, anti-immigrant attitudes and racism can bring about new constraints on both the power-ratios and dominant patterns of behavior within figurations (Elias, 1997). Also the forthcoming Danish outdoor recreation policy by the Ministry of the Environment may influence the figuration on the macro-scale, if it contains issues of e.g. ethnicity and possibilities for outdoor recreation. Both of the following contextual aspects – the relative position of a figuration vis-à-vis similar (competing) figurations, and the impact of the societal trends on smaller-scale figurations – can succinctly be brought together under the question of: How and why the external conditions of existence of the figuration change over time. This is a key question if one wants to understand the stability and strength of the various ethnic groups over time and the relative power balance within and between the groups.

Dimension 2: Identifying the fluctuating ratios of power

The second dimension pivots on the study of the exercise of power within the figuration. In a relational perspective power is not a substance, something which can be possessed, but rather exercised in a relationship. Thus, the task is to identify balances or ratios of power between individuals and groups of individuals. It is important to detect and map the power ratio between different actors in the figuration because those placed in a situation where the power balance is in their favour might consciously or unconsciously impose their “habitus”, ideas, preferences and norms on other actors. In other words, they will dominate, and this includes their perception of what it means to belong to this specific ethnic group. Also, they could shape the opinion about what to do and which activities are to be preferred when visiting green spaces and other natural areas. This also concerns the relationship and power-ratio between figurations such as, for example, the “Hispanics”, the “African-Americans” and “European-Americans”. These three figurations are

linked to each other in a larger figuration, a particular space, e.g. a specific green space (as illustrated in Figure 4). In this larger figuration we often find a subtle set of power relations unfolding. The ultimate goal is to map the entire field of interdependencies between all individuals making up the figuration, nevertheless this is often unattainable in practice, since some of the needed information can be difficult to obtain because these ties and communicative processes might not be visible to the observer coming from outside.

An unintended power game can take place because some groups might occupy and monopolise particular areas in the green space (e.g. the football field, the playground, or the barbeque area), even without knowing that others would like to use them. The group being the weaker part in the relationship might even have internalised this acceptance of e.g. the barbeque “belonging” to the other group. It has become a part of the group habitus.

The pivotal question to be investigated here is how and why balances of power are constitutive of the figuration change over time. Studying outdoor recreation patterns with a special focus on planning issues related to the future participation in outdoor recreation requires knowledge about the power-ratio within and between figurations. If the participation pattern is changing over time with consequences for the power-ratio among the groups, it might change the planning strategy.

Dimension 3: Identifying trends in dominant patterns of behavior – the habitus of the “ethnic group figuration”

The third dimension pays attention to which patterns of behavior – social, cultural, economic, or other – express themselves as tendentially dominant or typical within the figuration at different stages of its development. The goal is to examine the ever-changing collective habitus of the figuration by studying how shared patterns of behavior imprint themselves as various forms of external and self-constraints and possibilities on its individual members. Which patterns of behavior – both social and cultural – did individuals have to conform to in order to succeed within the figuration at different stages, and how and why do the contents of such patterns change over time?

Empirical Background

In this section I will describe the research design of the thesis, the applied methods, as well as the empirical background.

To investigate the research questions presented on page 14 I have chosen a research design which includes theoretical and empirical studies, and applies both qualitative and quantitative methods, see Figure 6. The combination of methods and approaches gives the opportunity for a more nuanced exploration and description of the outdoor recreation pattern of adolescents with ethnic Danish and ethnic minority backgrounds: The literature study described and summarized the current knowledge in the field of ethnicity and outdoor recreation in Europe. The aim of the interviews was to get an understanding of the outdoor recreation pattern and participation of adolescents with ethnic minority backgrounds and, further to understand their perception of their own ethnic background and how this could be related to their everyday life. The qualitative part has informed the survey. The aim of the survey was to find similarities and differences in outdoor recreation pattern of adolescents with ethnic Danish and ethnic minority backgrounds, as well as to investigate the adolescents' self-perceived ethnic identity.

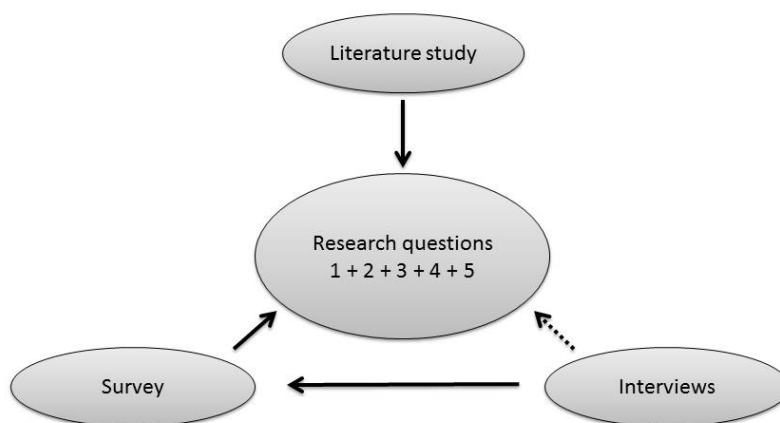


Figure 6. Research design within this thesis

Qualitative study

Following from above, it was pertinent to find adolescents' with ethnic minority backgrounds who participated in outdoor recreation activities. The activities should preferably be outdoor activities in a broad sense, hereby giving a basic familiarity with the Danish nature. Based on these considerations, I choose scouting activities and scouts for the qualitative part of the empirical work as scouts organize a variety of different outdoor recreation activities, and hence providing the members with a broad familiarity with the Danish nature as well as the members have the opportunity to learn outdoor recreation skills.

I contacted four scout organizations¹³ head office. The goal was to end up with information about scouts or scout groups who had enrolled adolescents with ethnic minority background in scout groups. By using snowball sampling, I ended up with three different scout groups who all had experiences with enrolling adolescents with ethnic minority backgrounds into their group. Two of the three groups agreed being part of this study, located in Varde and North Western Copenhagen.

The scouts in North West Copenhagen

The scouts in North West Copenhagen are a local scout group in the neighborhood of where a relatively large proportion of adolescents with ethnic minority background live. The local scout group participated in an “integration project” initiated by a person with a true commitment, living in the same housing area as the adolescents.

The aim of the project was to introduce adolescents with ethnic minority backgrounds to a variety of leisure activities, among others¹⁴ – scouts. The local scout group agreed to participate on the condition that only two boys/girls with ethnic minority background were allowed in each subgroup. Further the newcomers would be introduced to the activities, but they ought to learn by participation, meaning that they did not get any extra or special ‘newcomer’ introduction to the activities. They were treated as all other children and adolescents in the group¹⁵.

The scouts in Varde

In Varde the project “Spejdere i Boulevardbebyggelsen” (Scouts at the Boulevard-area) was an integration project initiated by the integration council in Varde municipality.

One of the local scout groups in Varde had agreed to take the lead and participate in the project by providing materials as well as adult scout leaders who had the responsibility for the activities. Initially the scouting activities took place in the backyard/green areas of a social housing area where the adolescents lived. The target group of this project was children and adolescents living in the area. The total number of participants was between 10-15 children and adolescents. The majority of the “new” scouts were adolescents with immigrant/descendant background. Due to the desire of the children the activities moved to the scout hut situated a few kilometers away from their homes. The youth scout leaders were adolescents from the neighborhood. They had been appointed by the social worker of the social housing area. The goal of the project was that the adolescents should “learn outdoor recreation” at their own speed at the common green areas in the social housing area. In the long term perspective the aim of the project was to integrate this “special” scout group with the other scout group, so that the children from the social housing would be scouts just like some of the other Danish children in Varde¹⁶.

¹³ KFUM – KFUK – DDS – FDF/FPF.

¹⁴ Soccer, social groups for girls only, etc.

¹⁵ While the project was running there was quite some change of the adolescents participating, meaning that they could not get acquainted with all the activities. After some time all the “newcomers” had stopped.

¹⁶ Although the project received a sizable support from the integration council of the municipality, as well as the “movement” of the activities was a desire of the children and adolescents, the distance to the scout hut was a barrier – and, as in Copenhagen, also in Varde the project has stopped.

Interviews – theoretical considerations

Basically, qualitative methods establish the meaning of a phenomenon through the eyes of the participants, and hold accordingly constructivist assumptions (Cresswell, 2003), and claim that acknowledged subjectivity is more valuable than “neutrality” or “objectivity”. Interpretive, qualitative approaches argue that human experience is only meaningful in a context, whereas the de-contextualized information lose their meaningfulness (Greene, 2012). Knowledge is constructed between people, and not derived from the nature of the world as it really is. Knowledge is produced from the daily interactions and practices in and between peoples everyday life. Truth can therefore be seen as the socially and culturally accepted forms of understanding the world, and is a product of the interactions between people (Burr, 2003). A qualitative research design, like e.g. interviews give the opportunity to understand and study phenomena in their natural settings, in an attempt to make sense to the phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005, p. 3). It is through qualitative interviews one can try to understand the participants’ everyday life, to understand their social behavior in context (Bryman, 2012, p. 387). This is in line with the definition of Kvale (1983, p. 174) who describes the purpose of the interview as: *“to gather descriptions of the life-world of the interviewee with respect to interpretation of the described phenomena”*.

Interviews with the adolescents

The interviews provided insights to the field “adolescents’ outdoor recreation” as well as how and to which extent the adolescents with ethnic minority backgrounds negotiated between their parents’ culture and the Danish culture. Further, the interviews informed the survey.

I conducted interviews, with central persons belonging to the two scout groups in Varde and Copenhagen. The interviews provided the opportunity to understand the adolescents’ outdoor recreation pattern and to understand how these adolescents experienced their ethnic background in their everyday life. Following Kvale (1983) the themes of my interviews were the adolescents background, and how they managed being part of two cultures, their outdoor recreation pattern and how they had experienced the scouting project, and their experiences as a scout. The interview guide is attached in appendix 1 (in Danish).

The interviews with the scouts in Copenhagen were conducted with two adolescent girls (14 years old), both with ethnic minority backgrounds, of which one had stopped participating in the scouting activities and the other was at that time still participating, but had strong considerations regarding stopping. To understand the girls’ experiences in the scout group better I also conducted interviews with the two scout leaders of the group as well as the person with ethnic minority background who originally had initiated the “integration project”.

In Varde I conducted a total of four interviews: Two interviews with adolescent girls (15 years old), both with ethnic minority background who both had been assigned as scout leaders in Varde. And further one interview with the adult scout leader (ethnic Danish male, 50 yrs. old) as well as a double interview with the secretary (woman, ethnic Danish) and the head of the integration council (male, ethnic minority background) at the municipality of Varde.

The interviews provided valuable background information about how the adolescents learned outdoor recreation, and which outdoor recreation practices they were familiar with from their parents, as well as the adolescents gave some valuable examples of their experiences being part of two different cultures, and how they experienced their ethnic identity. In this way the interviews were used to form the questionnaire.

Quantitative study

The aim of the quantitative study was to reveal the adolescents' motives for leisure and outdoor recreation as well as to investigate their outdoor recreation pattern in general. The wish was not to explain the background for the different activities, motives and attitudes, but to get an insight in if and how the adolescents participate in leisure activities and outdoor recreation related to their everyday life¹⁷. And further, to reveal if and to which extent their cultural background influences their leisure and outdoor recreation pattern. Themes covered in the survey were: 1) background information, 2) leisure activities, 3) membership of leisure organizations, 4) outdoor recreation pattern and everyday life, and 5) motives. A copy of the questionnaire can be found in Appendix 2 (in Danish).

Surveys – theoretical considerations

The quantitative approach is based on post positivist knowledge claims (Cresswell, 2003, p. 20), and subscribes to a unified view of science meaning that science is neutral and objective. The claim is that quantitative methods minimize the sources of bias, and further the results are closer to the 'truth' – producing objective knowledge (Greene, 2012). Quantitative methods can provide numeric descriptions of some trends, attitudes or opinions about a certain topic by studying a sample of a population, and hence, establishing causes and effects between different variables (Cresswell, 2003; Greene, 2008). Compared to the rich descriptions of contexts and lived experiences in qualitative research, the quantitative approach may seem reductionistic as it reduces social reality into meaningful (and manageable) variables. The relations between the variables are tested, measured and lined to theory. Therefore questionnaires are a good means to get an overall picture of e.g. the outdoor recreation pattern, motives, attitudes and perceptions of the surveyed population (Veal, 2006, p. 233).

Survey in two school districts

The survey was conducted among adolescents in 8-10th grade (aged 14-17 years) in two Danish school districts – one in the metropolitan area of Copenhagen and one in the Ringkøbing-Skjern¹⁸ area of Western Jutland. Pupils from both private and public schools participated in the survey. Contact to the schools was established by mail, followed by a telephone call, in which the aim and details of the study were explained. The exact number of questionnaires per class was distributed to the class or team teacher, along with a pre-paid envelope for returning the completed questionnaires.

¹⁷ The results of the survey are presented in paper 2: Gentin et al. (in review)

¹⁸ None of the schools in Varde Municipality were interested in participating in the survey. Therefore both private and municipality schools in Ringkøbing-Skjern were contacted. Ringkøbing-Skjern is the neighbor municipality of Varde, and was therefore found as a suitable substitute for a West-Danish municipality.

The school district in Copenhagen covered 15 schools, of which four agreed to participate. A total of 99 questionnaires were sent to these four schools. The response rate in Copenhagen was 84.8 %. The school district in Ringkøbing-Skjern covered 14 schools, of which six agreed to participate in the study. A total of 437 questionnaires were sent to these schools, and the response rate was 93.8 %. The survey was conducted from August to October, 2010. The total number of returned questionnaires was 494, of these 45 questionnaires were excluded as they were insufficiently completed. Accordingly, the total number of responses included in the analysis was 449, of which 365 were adolescents with parents born in Denmark, and 84 with parents who had immigrated.

A summary of the empirical work is illustrated in figure 6.

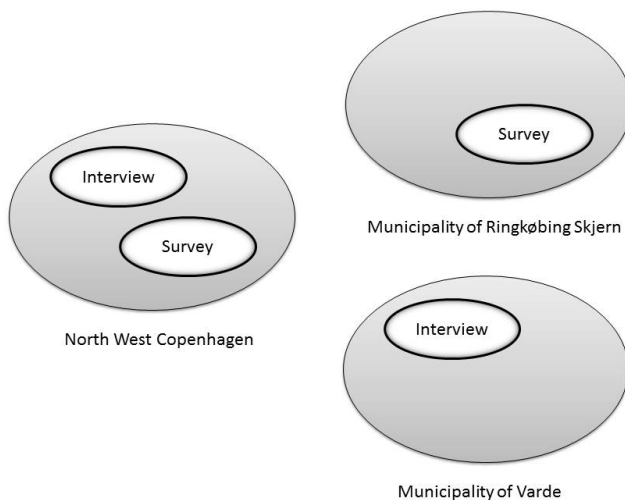


Figure 7. Illustration of the empirical work of this thesis

Paper introduction and overview of results

In the following I will give a short overview of the four papers of this thesis, including their aim, the applied methods, as well as a short description of the results and the different papers' recommendations for future research. All papers are provided in the appendix.

	<i>Outdoor recreation and ethnicity – seen in a Danish adolescent perspective</i>			
	Paper 1	Paper 2	Paper 3	Paper 4
Title	<i>Outdoor recreation and ethnicity in Europe – a review</i>	<i>Outdoor recreation among ethnic minority adolescents in Denmark</i>	<i>Towards access for all? Policy and research on access of ethnic minority groups to natural areas in four European countries</i>	<i>Relational process sociology: A contribution to studies in outdoor recreation and ethnicity</i>
Objective	Give an overview over the existing research on ethnicity and outdoor recreation in Europe, reveal research gaps, and provide perspectives for future research.	Present similarities and differences in outdoor recreation pattern of adolescents with Danish and ethnic minority backgrounds, and to investigate if, and to which extent there is a relationship between the objectively defined label of ethnic minority and ethnic self-identity.	Reflect and highlight national approaches in policy and research on ethnic minorities' access to natural areas in four European example-countries.	Propose a framework for understanding the dynamics of “ethnicity” and “outdoor recreation pattern of ethnic minorities”.
Method	Literature study	Paper questionnaire/ survey	Literature study	Literature study

Table 3: Overview of the four papers in this thesis, their objective and applied method

Paper 1: Outdoor recreation and ethnicity in Europe – a review

Gentini, S. (2011): Outdoor recreation and ethnicity in Europe – a review. *Urban Forestry and Urban Greening*, 10, 153-161.

The aim of the paper was to review the existing literature on ethnicity and outdoor recreation in a European context and to identify research gaps for future European research on ethnicity and outdoor recreation. Further, the European research was put in a broader context by a) discussing the issues emerging from the results and b) identifying the research gaps. The paper is based on a literature study, conducted from January to July 2010, of peer-reviewed papers on the topic “Outdoor recreation and ethnicity in Europe”.

An emerging field of study on ethnicity and outdoor recreation in Europe was identified: 14 reviewed papers, published between 1988 and 2010, describes the research undertaken in the Netherlands, UK, Germany and Switzerland. A variety of methods have been employed: qualitative interviews, quantitative surveys, GIS, or a mix hereof.

European scholars on ethnicity and outdoor recreation have studied ethnic minorities' leisure activities (Seeland et al., 2009), their outdoor recreation patterns (Jay and Schraml, 2009; Peters et al., 2010; Rishbeth, 2001; Woolley and Amin, 1999, 1995), their relationship to rural areas (Askins, 2009), their access and distance to green space (Comber et al., 2008; Germann-Chiari and Seeland, 2004), ethnic minorities' perception of nature (Buijs et al., 2009; Jay and Schraml, 2009), and influence of fear on park usage (Madge, 1997). Further research has been undertaken regarding the extent to which parks can function as areas for social cohesion (Germann-Chiari and Seeland, 2004; Jay and Schraml, 2009; Peters et al., 2010; Seeland et al., 2009). Finally, Rishbeth (2001) studied the management implications for design of urban parks for a multicultural clientele.

The review of the findings of these 14 papers revealed differences in recreation patterns, access, and images of nature between the mainstream white population and non-Western immigrants. Findings showed also that management can facilitate use of urban areas for outdoor recreation by ethnic minorities.

However, the results are difficult to compare because the researchers have employed different methods and have used differing categories to distinguish ethnic affiliation. Therefore, this study has several implications for future research: 1) European scholars need to become more sensitive towards ethnic affiliation; the in-group heterogeneity of the ethnic minorities has to be taken into account. 2) Future research should examine areas other than urban areas, and we need to take more account of the motives for participating in outdoor recreation. 3) Furthermore, investigation of the influence of acculturation on ethnic minorities' outdoor recreation pattern would provide a more comprehensive picture of ethnic minorities' outdoor recreation pattern.

Paper 2: Outdoor recreation among ethnic minority adolescents in Denmark

Gentin, S., Nielsen, G. & Jensen, F.S. (in review): Outdoor recreation among ethnic minority adolescents in Denmark. Submitted to: *Urban Forestry and Urban Greening*, March 2015 (in review).

Paper 2 presents parts of the empirical work of this thesis, and elaborates on the heterogeneity of ethnic minorities, as well as the outdoor recreation pattern of adolescents with ethnic Danish and ethnic minority backgrounds.

The aim of the paper was twofold: The primary aim was to investigate if, or to which extent, there is a relationship between the objectively defined label of ethnic minority background (having parents who have immigrated) and the more subjective "ethnic self-identity" or "social ethnic identity", the secondary aim was to compare the outdoor recreation practices among adolescents with parents born in Denmark versus ethnic minority adolescents. The specific focus areas are: 1)

the kind of areas used; 2) the frequency of visits to green spaces for outdoor recreation; 3) the types of activities undertaken, and 4) the adolescents' motives for outdoor recreation.

Data was collected through a questionnaire, among adolescents in 8-10th grade (aged 14-17 years) in two Danish school districts – one in the metropolitan area of Copenhagen and one in the Ringkøbing-Skjern area of Western Jutland. Pupils from both private and public schools participated in the survey. The questionnaire survey was answered by 365 adolescents with parents born in Denmark and 84 with parents who had immigrated (n=449). The gender distribution of the two groups did not differ, but the adolescents with immigrant background were on average half a year older ($p < 0.001$) and more of them attended 9th grade ($p = 0.002$). The sample population was aged between 14-17 years.

The paper concludes that adolescents, regardless of ethnic background, participate in outdoor recreation at equal levels. Among both the ethnic Danish and ethnic minority group adolescents, the stated reasons for visiting natural areas were most often social, such as being with family and friends, and health and well-being reasons (exercise and relaxing from stress). However, the ethnic minority adolescents more often stated “to be with family” as an important reason for visiting green spaces compared to their ethnic Danish counterparts. Differences are found in the kind of outdoor spaces that adolescents use for recreation: ethnic Danish adolescents more often used outdoor sporting areas, whereas ethnic minority adolescents more often use urban green spaces. There were also differences in the kind of activities the two groups of adolescents took part in. For activities reported carried out during some part of the year, “going for a walk”, “barbequing”, “taking a trip with family” were frequently cited by both groups, but more common among adolescents with ethnic minority background. “Walking the dog” was much more common among adolescents with Danish background, who also more often reported using green areas to “drink beer with friends” and “do sunbathing”. Only few adolescents never use nature areas for outdoor recreation. Their reasons for not visiting are rather intangible: not feeling like it, lack of time, or perceived boredom outdoors.

Based on the adolescents' assessment of their “self-perceived ethnic identity” the group of adolescents with ethnic minority background was rather heterogeneous (perceiving themselves from being “mainly Danish” to “mainly immigrant”). Nevertheless, there was a strong correlation between objective measures of ethnic background (used by Statistics Denmark) based on adolescents' parents' country of birth and the adolescents' self-perceived ethnic identity. Furthermore, there was a good but not perfect correlation between ethnic self-identity and the adolescents' perception of others' view (social ethnic identity).

The findings of this paper indicate the need for more research on what shapes ethnicity, as well as more profound knowledge on adolescents' outdoor recreation practices in order to meet the needs of this user-group in green space management and policymaking for natural areas.

Paper 3: Towards access for all? Policy and research on access of ethnic minority groups to natural areas in four European countries

Jay, M., Peters, K., Buijs, A.E., Gentin, S., Kloek, M.E., O'Brien, L. (2012): Towards access for all? Policy and research on access of ethnic minority groups to natural areas in four European countries. *Forest Policy and Economics*, 19, 4-10.

The aim of the paper was to reflect on and highlight national approaches both in policy and research on ethnic groups' access to natural areas in Europe. This was done through comparing to what extent and in what way policy documents and research approaches take into account ethnic minority groups in four example countries: The Netherlands, Germany, Great Britain and Denmark.

First, the different national approaches and definition criteria of "ethnic minority groups" were analyzed as these reflect the identification of the various groups targeted by policy and research. Then various forest and nature policy documents were assessed regarding the presence or absence of policy aims concerning access to natural areas for ethnic minority groups. The most relevant legislative and policy documents regarding access to natural areas were assessed, following Mann et al. (2010): The case of Denmark and Germany national forest acts, nature protection acts and natural forest programs were included. For the Netherlands the Dutch forest act, nature protection act and Nature Policy Plan were assessed as the most relevant. The legislation on public access to nature (Countryside and Rights of Way Act applicable in England and Wales, and the Scottish Land Reform Act) and the national forest strategy document was assessed for Great Britain. Equality between all groups and suppression of discrimination against ethnic minority groups are general aims for all public policies in the UK, as the Equality Act binds all statutory organizations, and those substantially funded by statutory funds to take action to ensure and actively promote race equality. Following from this equality of access has become an increasingly important consideration for nature and green space policy in the UK and is specifically addressed in the diversity action plan "Outdoors for all".

The national research tradition of the four countries on ethnicity and outdoor recreation was assessed by analyzing key publications in the areas of recreation and use patterns of ethnic minority groups, preferences for and meanings of various types of natural areas, and implications and provisions for natural area management.

Interesting similarities and differences were revealed. In the UK and the Netherlands research is undertaken by various institutions, while Denmark and Germany research is only undertaken by academic scholars. There were differences in which ethnic minorities were included in the research in the four countries based on: 1) their relative size within the population, 2) their presence and relevance in the political and societal discourses and debates, and 3) their historical importance in the respective countries. The findings of the research undertaken in the four investigated countries can be grouped into three different areas: 1) outdoor recreation pattern, 2) preferences and meanings of nature, and 3) implications and provisions for the management of natural areas.

The findings of this study indicate that there is a correlation in the current national research approaches of the four countries and the societal and political context of the four countries. In the

UK the focus on under-represented groups seems closely related to the focus on equality for access, while specific focus on access for ethnic minorities is not addressed in the forest and nature legislation and the national forest programmes in Denmark, Germany and the Netherlands.

The national research approaches and the different issues regarding immigration and perception of ethnic minorities are also related. In the UK the assignment of ethnic background is based on the rather subjective “felt” ethnicity, which is informed by historical developments on equality between different ethnic groups. This focus on anti-racism and for anti-discrimination may also be related to the longer migration history from the former colonies. In Denmark, Germany and the Netherlands the ethnic categorization is based on country of origin. This may be related to the different policies of immigration, which in Denmark and Germany are embedded in an integration approach, in which focus is put on assimilation of differences within the host society and its institutions.

In summary, this study shows that there exist powerful linkages between national research traditions and national policies. Research can be described as strongly embedded in the national social and political contexts. Each country has its specificities that shape and inform the academic, political and managerial understanding and framing of access issues for ethnic minority groups.

Paper 4: Relational process sociology: A contribution to studies in outdoor recreation and ethnicity

Gentin, S. & Kaspersen L.B. (in review): Relational Process Sociology: A Contribution to Studies in Outdoor Recreation and Ethnicity. Submitted to: *Leisure Studies*, October 2014 (in review).

The point of departure of paper 4 was the discussion and the need for further research regarding a theoretical framework to capture the dynamics of ethnicity and outdoor recreation which was presented in paper 1, as well as the methodological implications of paper 2.

In this paper we have briefly assessed the existing research in ethnicity and outdoor recreation in both North America and Europe. The results of the existing research has influenced planning and management for outdoor recreation for ethnic minorities in both North America and Europe.

In this article we claim, however, that the existing research on ethnicity and outdoor recreation is constrained by being embedded in a social theoretical tradition which the American sociologist Mustafa Emirbayer terms “substantialism” (Emirbayer, 1997). In particular, the conceptualisation of ethnicity and culture in the various studies is seen as problematic. In order to overcome these problems, we argue that research concerning outdoor recreation and ethnicity must step into relational theory, meaning that ethnicity and differences in outdoor recreation patterns should be seen as dynamic and always context-dependent.

The vast majority of researchers within the field of ethnicity and outdoor recreation research conceive the social world as consisting primarily in substances and in static “things” (Emirbayer, 1997). Further, the existing research can be described as variable centered, as the vast majority of the research is based upon quantitative methods (see e.g. Floyd et al., 2008; Henderson et al., 2004) which are most often linked to a variable-centered approach. Also, the conceptualization of

ethnicity and culture is problematic, as researchers sample individuals who presumably represent different ethnic groups and commonly assume that intra-cultural differences are less important than inter-group differences. As Emirbayer (1997) points out, the alternative is a relational perspective that depicts “the social” including various ethnic groups and their outdoor recreation pattern as dynamic, continuous and processual. Following Emirbayer (1997) relational theorists reject the notion that we can posit discrete pre-given units such as individuals, ethnicity, or ethnic groups as the point of departure for a sociological analysis. Individuals, ethnicity or, ethnic groups are inseparable from their relational context. They are always embedded in social relations and, consequently, they are not substances stepping into a relationship but they are elements which are articulated and constituted in social relations.

As corollary of this theoretical and methodological shift we argue, that our concepts “ethnicity”, “green spaces / natural areas” and “outdoor recreation” need to be redefined as relational concepts and processes. As a source of inspiration for a relational theory some of Norbert Elias’ central ideas are presented. Elias (1978) developed the concept of figuration in an attempt to conceive a set of dynamic social processes with no starting or end point. A figuration is a set of interdependent actors in a dynamic relationship. These actors do not exist prior to the processes in which they are *always* involved. In a social relationship these processes define and constitute this “entity”: a person with a particular identity or an ethnic group.

The key elements in Elias’s version of a relational sociology can be summarised as an understanding of social life as the planned and unplanned, intended and unintended outcomes of human purposeful action. Humans are social beings and always embedded in figurations, such as so-called “ethnic groups”, which are interdependent webs and networks which are always moving, changing and developing.

A figurational approach is also a processual analysis and it is accordingly necessary to conceive the social life taking place in green spaces and other natural areas as processes and not states. To unfold a process analysis it is pertinent to define *three dimensions of analysis* which can serve as auxiliary tools in constructing the processual account: 1) *situating the figuration in relation to other figurations*, 2) *identifying the fluctuating ratios of power*, and 3) *identifying trends in dominant patterns of behavior – structures of habitus*. These three dimensions point to different *aspects* of the figuration, and can be used as concrete criteria for a comparison of different figurational stages. In an analysis the ambition and challenge of processual-relational method is precisely that of producing an analytical synthesis reaching from the “micro” of individuals’ experiences and practices in relation to others, to the “macro” of more general societal developments, and presenting it *within* a coherent historical narrative of development over time in a particular figuration.

This may be done through both field observations in the actual green space or natural area where the outdoor recreation activity takes place, and asking questions which may guide the observational study, such as: who attends, who decides, who agrees, who doesn’t, how is this group related to other groups in the area? Further, it is necessary to grasp how external conditions influence the actual figuration (Loyal, 2011). It is important to identify the fluctuating ratios of power, partly to

understand the development of particular figurations and partly to specify the character of a figuration. Lastly, one would identify the dominant patterns of behaviour within the ethnic group figuration. Inspired by Elias we propose asking: what patterns of behavior – both social and cultural – did individuals have to conform to in order to succeed within the figuration at different stages, and how and why do the contents of such patterns change over time?

Through an analysis like the above outlined, in which the researcher measures and investigates differences in outdoor recreation participation, we believe that we can take the research in outdoor recreation and ethnicity to a higher level where we see differences in outdoor recreation participation as dynamic and context-dependent.

Discussion

This thesis has investigated “ethnicity and outdoor recreation” in four different ways: 1) through a literature review (paper 1); 2) empirically in a survey on adolescents’ outdoor recreation in which both adolescents with ethnic Danish and ethnic minority backgrounds participated (paper 2); 3) by assessing legislation on access to natural areas with specific focus on ethnic minorities in four European countries (paper 3), and 4) by proposing a relational theoretical framework, to investigate the dynamics of ethnicity and outdoor recreation in future research (paper 4).

In the following I will discuss some emerging themes of the papers: 1) Multiculturalism and integration – planning and management for ethnic minorities, 2) Ethnic minorities’ outdoor recreation, and 3) The heterogeneity of ethnicity and self-perceived ethnic identity. Finally I will reflect on the limitations of the empirical work.

Multiculturalism and integration – planning and management for ethnic minorities

The raising numbers of immigrants and descendants in Denmark (see table 1, p. 10) contributes to an increasing multicultural society. In the following I will discuss if outdoor recreation may help ethnic minorities’ acculturation into their new home country, as well as the potential for adolescents with ethnic minority background to use outdoor recreation to facilitate their integration into the Danish society.

Integration is a two-way process in which immigrants and the majority population negotiate, adjust and evolve hereby shaping the structure of society. According to Berry (1997, p. 10) *“integration can only be ‘freely’ chosen, and successfully pursued by non-dominant groups when the dominant society is open and inclusive in its orientation towards cultural diversity”*. A study by Yu and Berryman (1996), as well as other studies e.g. Jay and Schraml (2009) and Peters (2010) have investigated the potential of sports, leisure or outdoor recreation to integrate ethnic minorities into the new society. E.g. Yu and Berryman (1996) concluded that the young Chinese immigrants used leisure to facilitate their acculturation into the new society. Social integration can be differentiated into four basic forms: structural, cultural, interactive and identificational integration (Esser, 1999). Structural integration refers to the access people have to common resources and main institutions of society. Besides labour, education and health services, natural areas can also be characterized as such a resource, to which all citizens should have access to. Cultural integration refers to acquisition of both knowledge and competences regarding cultural aspects, such as language or general rules of behaviour, things that enable individuals to navigate in the society. Friendships, partnerships, and other social aspects characterize the interactive integration, as interactive integration is the inclusion of immigrants into the primary networks and relationships of society. Lastly, identificational integration refers to a sense of belonging to the new society in terms of emotional bonds to other groups or places (Esser, 1999).

In Denmark outdoor recreation is “provided for all” – meaning that the Nature Agency¹⁹ provides opportunities for outdoor recreation for all citizens. Hereby the Nature Agency must follow the broader trends in the Danish society, including changes in demographic composition, an increasingly multicultural society, and growing demands for more action-oriented outdoor recreation opportunities (Naturstyrelsen, 2002). In the recent launched nature policy “Naturplan Danmark” by the Ministry of the Environment it is emphasized that “*All groups in society should have the possibility to use nature – and have benefit of it. Also the vulnerable groups*” (Ministry of the Environment, 2014, p. 47, own translation). It is further emphasized that everyone should have easy access to outdoor recreation in Denmark, and that the natural environment should be used to engage in the community, and give the opportunity to increase the quality of life as well as health in general. Accordingly, focus is here put on the *provision of opportunities* by the Nature Agency. It is, however, the responsibility of the various user-groups to make use of these opportunities. The problem with this point of departure is, as mentioned in paper 3 by only providing opportunities the Nature Agency assumes that there is equal access to these opportunities. Access to natural areas is – following from above – part of the structural and cultural integration into society, and requires knowledge in order to make use of this opportunity for outdoor recreation. Therefore “provision of access” or “opportunities for outdoor recreation” can only contribute to integration into society if and when the various user-groups have access to both natural areas as well as knowledge about the general rules. Only then “provision of access” and outdoor recreation in the Danish natural environment can play a role in integration processes.

In providing “access for all”, without recognition of the need for knowledge the Ministry of the Environment does not account for that immigrants, refugees or asylum seekers could have limited experiences with and memories of e.g. natural areas or urban green spaces, but as emphasized by Rishbeth and Finney (2006, p. 285) “*for others (especially the Afghanis) the concept of a park was entirely new*”. Therefore it may seem as insufficient only to provide the opportunity for outdoor recreation and not going into the discussion of to what extent there actually is equality of access, in terms of lack of knowledge regarding the possibilities. 1st generation immigrants, asylum seekers and refugees may further have a special need for connecting to their new home country in terms of recognizing that not *all* aspects of the new environment are unfamiliar, as refugees and asylum seekers by visiting green spaces can be reminded of places and times they had known in the past: “*Participants’ first impressions of the sites visited often elicited feelings of nostalgia, as they were reminded of places and times that they had known in the past. Often these reminders combined with a sense of surprise that not all aspect of British environments were unfamiliar to them*” (Rishbeth and Finney, 2006, p. 287). Further this may help them to integrate into the new society in terms of establishing emotional bonds (identificational integration).

There is at the moment no national focus on the integrative potential of natural areas in Denmark, and further no focus on to which extend natural areas can contribute to the integration into society following the definitions by Esser (1999) (see e.g. p. 35). Paper 3 has shown that there are strong

¹⁹ The Nature Agency is the institution under the Danish Ministry of the Environment, which in practice implements the Governments environment and nature policy, and manages the national forests and other state owned nature areas.

ties between the politics for possibilities for outdoor recreation and the various research approaches, and it is therefore concluded in paper 3 that that research can be described as strongly embedded in the national social and political contexts. Therefore the need for future research, investigating the Danish context of integration and natural areas may be even more urgent, as Jay and Schraml (2014, p. 39) emphasize: *“Each piece of research that enlarges the knowledge base on outdoor recreation patterns of migrants may impact how these issues will be framed in future policy and management”*.

Ethnic minorities’ outdoor recreation

The results of paper 2 have among others, shown that there was no significant difference between the two groups of adolescents in the total number of days per year visited outdoor green areas ($p=0.100$). There were, however, differences which areas the adolescents used for outdoor recreation. Adolescents with ethnic minority backgrounds tended to use parks and green areas in the city, apartment block backyard areas and playgrounds more often than adolescents with Danish background, who were more likely to use outdoor sports areas. There were also differences in the kind of activities the two groups of adolescents took part in. For activities reported carried out during some part of the year, “going for a walk”, “barbequing”, “taking a trip with family” were frequently cited by both groups, but more common among adolescents with ethnic minority background. “Walking the dog” was much more common among adolescents with Danish background, who also more often reported using green areas to “drink beer with friends” and “do sunbathing”.

The frequent use of green areas for outdoor recreation in our study corresponds well with the British findings of Woolley and Amin (1999) and Ravenscroft and Markwell (2000), who have shown that ethnic minority adolescents use nature areas on a frequent, almost daily basis. Also 60 % of the Danish adults in Jensen’s (2014a) study have visited nature areas (outside cities) “last week”, while only 9 % of respondents can be characterized as “non-visitors” (no visits within the last 12 months). Jensen (2014c) emphasizes that there are higher proportions of non-visitors among adults with non-Western background.

The frequent use of green areas has also other implications when keeping the discussion about integration and multiculturalism in mind. As we have seen in the results of paper 2, especially parks and green spaces in the cities are areas used by adolescents with ethnic minority backgrounds, and are accordingly areas where intercultural exchange may take place. Further, participating in outdoor recreation in e.g. urban green spaces can contribute to cultural integration following Esser (1999). Cultural integration includes among others acquisition of knowledge concerning cultural aspects e.g. knowledge about general rules of behaviour. By participation in outdoor recreation the adolescents may experience “what is typical Danish and what is not” hereby learning about the norms of being outdoors. This was the case in a Finnish study: *“the immigrant interviewees and the individuals working with immigrants also mentioned some examples of how immigrants had expanded and changed the use of urban nature. They had noticed that heavy and loud use of barbecue sites by big groups, for example, was something not typical of autochthonous Finns, and*

that allotment gardening was particularly popular among immigrants” (Leikkilä et al., 2013, p. 185).

Although the results of this study have shown that the adolescents regardless of ethnic background participate in outdoor recreation equally much it was not possible to show who the co-participants of the adolescents were, when participating in outdoor recreation. Research in Finland by e.g. Leikkilä et al. (2013) has shown that the interviewed immigrants visit parks to maintain existing social relationships and not to create new friendships. This is in line with the results by Peters et al. (2010) who have shown that people do not have many intensive interactions with people they do not know in urban green spaces, as visitors primarily interact with people from their own social group. Also Jay and Schraml (2009) found that interactions between immigrants and the majority population mainly was on “small talk” level, and that interaction and conversation with other forest visitors was avoided, as *“some of the interviewees assumed that other forest visitors were looking for calmness and isolation and would feel disturbed by a conversation”* (Jay and Schraml, 2009, p. 291). Although no interaction between minority and majority adolescents may take place, the natural areas used by the adolescents still have the potential to contribute to the social integration into society, as these areas may build feelings of belonging – and hereby contributing to the identificational integration of these adolescents into the society.

This study does not allow such conclusions, as the aim of the questionnaire was to reveal the outdoor recreation pattern of adolescents in general terms, and not to investigate to which extent outdoor recreation can contribute to integration into society. To fully understand the integrative potential of natural areas in a Danish context there is a need to develop a mixed method study, which also investigate relationships like friends, networks and activities, as well as the political context following the theoretical framework presented in paper 4.

Heterogeneity of ethnicity and self-perceived ethnic identity

Researchers on ethnicity and outdoor recreation in Europe and North America have differentiated between ethnic affiliations in various ways. Some have investigated those groups of immigrants that are the most common or largest group in the country or city investigated, others have used the groups according to census data, and a third way of grouping immigrants is according to length of stay in their host country. As it has been discussed in the previous sections, as well as the papers of the thesis these three methods of distinguishing the participants’ ethnic backgrounds raise several problems.

One problem is that such a categorization of the participants’ ethnic backgrounds is based on broadly accepted classifications and avoid any mention of intra-ethnic variations, and the investigated ethnic minorities are treated a priori as homogeneous groups. Further, labelling by outsiders is one of three factors influencing the development of ethnic consciousness among immigrant adolescents. Other factors affecting or shaping adolescent immigrant identity are self-discovery of their cultural differences compared to the mainstream population and comparison with other members of their own ethnic group (Stodolska and Yi, 2003). The European and North American research in the social constructivist perspective on ethnicity and outdoor recreation is

rather limited, and only few researchers acknowledge the heterogeneity of ethnic groups (see e.g. Gentin, 2011; Jay and Schraml, 2014; Kivel et al., 2009).

Based on this deficiency this thesis has investigated the heterogeneity of the adolescents' ethnic background empirically, in terms of to which extend there was a relationship between the objectively defined label of ethnic minority or majority background (having parents who have immigrated) and the more subjective "ethnic self-identity" or "social ethnic identity"²⁰.

The results of paper 2 have shown that the adolescents were able to assess their self-perceived ethnic identity by open ended questions within the questionnaire. Based on the given answers, three different categories could be identified: "Only or mainly Danish" (22 %) – "Half Danish and half other" (53 %) – "Mainly immigrant" (25 %), showing that the group of the adolescents with ethnic minority background participating in this study is rather heterogeneous. Further, the results presented in paper 2 have shown that there is a strong correlation between the objective measures of the participating adolescents' ethnic background (in terms of whether their parents are immigrants) and the adolescents' perception of their ethnic self-identity and their perception of how others see them (ethnic social identity). In other words, the objective but also rather broad measure of ethnic background in terms of having foreign-born or Danish parents (following the definition of "immigrant", "descendant" or "ethnic Dane" as used by Statistics Denmark) strongly affected the more subjective ethnicity in terms of how the adolescents perceived their own ethnic identity ("ethnic self-identity") on the scale from "mainly Danish" to "mainly immigrant" and their perception of how others viewed them (ethnic social identity).

²⁰ The adolescents' own perception of their ethnic identity, i.e. their "ethnic self-identity", was assessed by an open-ended question asking them how they perceive themselves. As a help, examples of possible answers were provided: "mainly immigrant"; "mainly immigrant-little Danish"; "half-and-half"; "mainly Danish-little immigrant"; "mainly Danish". Their perceived "social ethnic identity" was assessed by asking them how they think others perceive them. Here, too, examples with the same wording as the example given in "ethnic self-identity" were provided.

Fremmedarbejdere

Muhammedanere • Gæstarbejdere
Indvandrere • Tosprogede • Flygtninge • Minoritetsdanskere
Andengenerationsindvandrere
Folk med anden etnisk baggrund end dansk
Nydanskere • Perler • Præmieperkere
Sort middelklasse • Muslimer
Folk af anden etnisk herkomst • Etniske minoriteter
Udlændinge • Kokosnødder • Eller kort sagt ...

... Perkere!

Figure 8: A variety of words describing non-Western immigrants in the Danish society (Illustration from Politiken 18th of December 2014 (Thorsen, 2014)

Following Stodolska and Yi (2003) the outside labelling influences ethnic consciousness among immigrant adolescents. Recently the journalist Lene Thorsen elaborated on how immigrants with non-Western background have been labelled since their arrival in the Danish society as guest workers in the 1950ies in the Danish newspaper Politiken, see Figure 8. According to Thorsen (2014) Muslim immigrants are probably the group of citizens in Denmark that change “label” most often – in a search to find a neutral term describing this minority. However, Pia Jarvad from Dansk Sprognævn (The Danish Language Council) emphasizes that a neutral term first can be found, when society has a neutral relationship to the group labelled. As long as the relationship is problematic, or a subject to taboo, this may influence the ethnic consciousness of the adolescents negatively in perceiving themselves as “other”, “different” and “not welcome”, and influences these adolescents integration into society – this may be part of an explanation of the 25 % of the adolescents perceiving themselves as “mainly immigrant”. Berry (1997, p. 10) emphasises: *“integration can only be ‘freely’ chosen and successfully pursued by non-dominant groups when the dominant society is open and inclusive in its orientation towards cultural diversity. Thus a mutual accommodation is required for integration to be attained, involving the acceptance by both groups of the right of all groups to live as culturally different peoples.”*

The majority of adolescents perceive themselves as “half Danish – half other”, while 22 % of the adolescents perceive themselves as “only or mainly Danish”. This may indicate that the adolescents’ ethnic self-identity is influenced by both their parents’ values and lifestyle, and the Danish society. Tirone and Pedlar (2000) have found that ethnic minority adolescents live between two cultures – the cultures of their parents’ ”old country” and their new home country. The

adolescents' in the study by Tirone and Pedlar (2000) only had succeeded in "taking the best of two worlds" after years of negotiating with their family. Stodolska (2000) also observed changes in lifestyle, however, outdoor recreation participation was still influenced by the values and customs of the ethnic minorities' "old country", this might also be an example of an on-going negotiation by the adolescents.

Perceiving oneself as "half Danish – half other" or "only or mainly Danish" may also be correlated to that these adolescents are capable of "*the cultivation of a multicultural network orientation: an attitude and skill set (i.e. multilingualism and multicultural awareness) that facilitates the crossing of cultural boundaries*" (Spaaij, 2015, pp. 312–13). However, some adolescents may be less able to negotiate with their family or less willing to integrate into the new society (equalling 25 % of the participating adolescents with ethnic minority backgrounds, who perceived themselves as "mainly immigrant" in the survey of this thesis). In the study by Spaaij (2015, p. 313) it is emphasized that "*several participants report how engaging with 'other Africans or Muslims' is 'more comfortable' or 'easier' because 'you have something in common' and 'have experienced the same things'*". These adolescents give their religious or racial identity more space, than their national identity (Spaaij, 2015). However, this conclusion cannot be drawn within this study as such questions were not included in the questionnaire.

Nevertheless, the results discussed above reflect the first attempt to measure the heterogeneity of ethnicity quantitatively – and as the results have shown, it is possible to assess ethnic self-identity quantitatively through open ended questions. It is however, necessary to refine the method as well as to supplement a study like this with further questions on e.g. friendship, networks etc. in order to discuss the issues raised by e.g. Spaaij (2015), as well as qualitative methods may be applied, to get a deeper insight in to the processes of what shapes and influences the ethnic self-identity of the adolescents, following the theoretical discussion of paper 4.

Limitations of the empirical study

Overall this study has revealed valuable knowledge about ethnic minorities' outdoor recreation pattern, as well as it has shown that there is a correlation between the subjective ethnic self-identity and the objective measure of ethnic background (measured in terms of having parents who are immigrated). Further the study has shown that the group of adolescents with ethnic minority background is rather heterogeneous. Nevertheless, this thesis has some clear limitations.

Context dependency of outdoor recreation and ethnicity

The survey contained questions about the adolescents' outdoor recreation pattern, their activities, their favorite outdoor recreation places, their motives for participating in outdoor recreation and questions about how often they participate in outdoor recreation. It was therefore possible to give a first comprehensive picture of the outdoor recreation pattern of adolescents in two school districts.

Nevertheless, the results presented in paper 2 did not give any insights to or implications of 1) what actually shapes the adolescents' ethnic identity, and 2) the context dependency of the adolescents' outdoor recreation pattern. The processes shaping ethnicity and culture, can according to Floyd (1998), have some implications for outdoor recreation. Outdoor recreation activities that take place

within an ethnic community may have particular relevance for the creation and maintenance of ethnicity within this ethnic group, but yet a completely different meaning for another ethnic community (Floyd, 1998). Accordingly, the activities may assist in the construction of collective identities when shared meanings are generated and may serve as a basis for collective mobilization and action (Nagel, 1994). However, the questionnaire did not contain questions about with whom the adolescents participated in the activities, which specific green space or natural area the outdoor recreation took place, the weather conditions or who decided what to do (and what not to do). Based on this, the link to the relational dimension to the dynamics of outdoor recreation is not investigated in this study.

Accordingly it has not been possible to link participation rates to who the adolescents' co-participants are. Therefore it was not possible to investigate if (or to which extend) the adolescents' outdoor recreation participation is related to their friends – e.g. to answer the question “who decides within the figuration, and who not?” and does this change, dependent on the co-participants? Questions which need to be addressed following the theoretical framework presented in paper 4. Further it has not been investigated, if the adolescents with ethnic Danish background recreate with other ethnic Danish adolescents or if they recreate with adolescents with ethnic minority backgrounds whereby intercultural understanding may be facilitated.

Also, conclusions about the contexts in which the adolescents perceive themselves as “most Danish” or “most immigrants” cannot be drawn, as the link to the actual context is lacking. Following Krag (2007) identity formation is influenced by the norms and discourses in society about ethnic minorities (which is illustrated and discussed in the previous section) and also through the context in which individuals and groups act. Accordingly, there might be situations in which the adolescents who perceive themselves as “most Danish” perceive themselves as “most immigrants” and vice versa, dependent on the situation, and the context.

Investigations about the context dependency of both ethnicity and outdoor recreation necessitate the use of qualitative methods following the theoretical contribution in paper 4. E.g. field observations in the actual green space where the outdoor recreation activity takes place, and questions such as: who attends, who decides, who agrees, who not, how is this one group related to other groups in the area may guide the observational study. Further, it is necessary to grasp how external conditions are influencing the actual figuration.

Based on the findings of such a new study, it may be possible to develop a quantitative study which accounts for the context dependency of both ethnicity and outdoor recreation. This could be done through questions concerning outdoor recreation participation and ethnic identity, and relate these to the specific context. The content of such a study is further discussed in the next section.

Self-perceived ethnic identity

The idea of asking (guided) open ended questions is working well. There are however some problems connected to asking these questions in a questionnaire compared to e.g. an interview. Firstly, the issue of context dependency of ethnic background is not revealed in the questionnaire of this thesis (as discussed in the previous section). In paper 4 we argue for the context dependency of

ethnic background. Future investigations of the context dependency of ethnicity and outdoor recreation, should therefore also employ qualitative methods to investigate the deeper reasons for perceiving oneself as “mainly Danish”, “half Danish – half other” or “mainly immigrant”, and further investigate to which extent this self-perception is related to outdoor recreation pattern, and how ethnicity is produced and re-produced within the ethnic community. Hereby following Kivel et al. (2009) who emphasize that groups are constructed in social processes, and both policy and research produce and reproduce group definitions: *‘experience is never simply a reflection of what someone has done, feels or thinks – experience is always constituted through discourses of power and a priori knowledge’* (Kivel et al., 2009, p. 474).

Such knowledge could be revealed by e.g. by asking questions about the adolescents’ last outdoor recreation participation/trip/tour, and then asking questions about 1) where; 2) what did they do, 3) together with whom, 4) the motives for participating, and 5) who decided to go/do the activities etc. These questions should also include topics such as self-perceived ethnic identity. In the following analysis it should be possible to link outdoor recreation participation with networks of friends etc. and the self-perceived ethnic identity.

Cultural alignment – ethnicity and outdoor recreation

The dynamics of ethnicity and outdoor recreation is, as mentioned previously not captured through the questionnaire. It has not been possible to show how outdoor recreation patterns depend on the situation (e.g. who participates, who not, who decides, who not, weather conditions, etc.) other than it has been possible to show differences in outdoor recreation patterns. However, the results of the questionnaire are still valuable, as it has shown that ethnicity is a heterogeneous concept, which can be captured in questionnaires as long as (guided) open ended questions are supplied. Originally the aim was to show that the self-perceived ethnic background ranging from perceiving oneself as “almost Danish” to “almost immigrant” could have shown a cultural alignment, meaning that immigrants who perceived themselves as “almost Danish” in fact had an outdoor recreation pattern which is similar to adolescents with an ethnic Danish background, while the adolescents who perceived themselves as “most immigrant” had a different outdoor recreation pattern, linked to their parents’ values and habits. However, the number of “adolescents with ethnic minority background” included in this survey was too low, and the (possible) cultural alignment could therefore not be investigated.

Conclusion

Based on the described research gaps this thesis had three aims: The first aim was to review the existing knowledge about ethnic minorities' outdoor recreation in Europe. The second aim was to investigate similarities and differences in outdoor recreation patterns between adolescents with ethnic Danish and ethnic minority background in Denmark. The third aim was to investigate whether there was a match or a mismatch between the official statistic definitions of ethnic minority background (based on citizenship and place of birth), and the subjective perception of adolescents with ethnic minority backgrounds own ascription of their ethnicity.

This was used to inform the development of a theoretical framework to understand the dynamics of ethnicity and outdoor recreation.

In relation to these objectives this thesis investigates the following specific research questions:

1. What is the current knowledge about ethnicity and outdoor recreation in Europe? (Paper 1)
2. What are the similarities and differences in outdoor recreation patterns between adolescents with an ethnic Danish background and adolescents with ethnic minority background? (Paper 2)
3. How can research on ethnicity and outdoor recreation be improved by the use of other definitions of ethnic background? (Paper 2)
4. How is ethnic minorities' access to natural areas conceptualized in four European countries, and how has this influenced research, and planning and management for outdoor recreation? (Paper 3)
5. How can the investigations of ethnic minorities' outdoor recreation pattern be improved through a theoretical framework? (Paper 4)

What is the current knowledge about ethnicity and outdoor recreation in Europe?

To reveal the current knowledge about ethnicity and outdoor recreation in Europe, a literature review was conducted from January-July 2010. The literature review is presented in paper 1. The review revealed an emerging field of ethnicity and outdoor recreation in Europe, a total of 14 papers matched the search profile of the literature review. European scholars have focused their work on case studies of ethnic minorities' outdoor recreation in urban parks and urban forests in European cities, with only one of the 14 studies being conducted in a more rural environment. Topics such as leisure activities, outdoor recreation patterns, access and distance to green space, and non-Western immigrants' perception of nature have been investigated. Findings of these studies reveal differences in recreation patterns, access, and images of landscape between the mainstream white population and non-Western immigrants. However, these results are difficult to compare, because the researchers have employed different methods (e.g. qualitative interviews, quantitative surveys, GIS or a mix hereof), further researchers have used differing categories to distinguish ethnic affiliation.

What are the similarities and differences in outdoor recreation patterns between adolescents with an ethnic Danish background, compared to adolescents with ethnic minority background?

In the empirical paper (paper 2) the outdoor recreation pattern of adolescents' with ethnic Danish and ethnic minorities was studied. In this study no significant differences between Danish versus ethnic minority adolescents in the amount of the time/days spent in green areas were found. Nevertheless, adolescents with immigrant background more frequently visited urban green spaces compared to their ethnic Danish counterparts, who were more likely to use outdoor sporting areas. There were also differences in the kind of activities the two groups of adolescents took part in. For activities reported carried out during some part of the year, "going for a walk", "barbequing", "taking a trip with family" were frequently cited by both groups, but more common among adolescents with ethnic minority background. "Walking the dog" was much more common among adolescents with Danish background, who also more often reported using green areas to "drink beer with friends" and "do sunbathing".

The motives for visiting green areas were similar regardless of ethnic background: to be with friends and family and to relax from stress. However, slightly more adolescents with ethnic minority background put more emphasis on family reasons for visiting green areas. Some adolescents never visited green areas. Their motives for not visiting were rather intangible – e.g. not feeling like it, finding them boring, or citing lack of time.

How can research on ethnicity and outdoor recreation be improved by the use of other definitions of ethnic categories?

To answer this research question the adolescents' "ethnic background" was investigated empirically in paper 2. Accordingly, the research question was operationalized in the questionnaire, in three different questions about: 1) the adolescents' parents country of birth²¹, 2) open ended (guided) questions about the adolescents own perception of their ethnic background (ethnic self-identity)²², and 3) open ended (guided) questions about how they thought others perceive them (their perceived "social ethnic identity")²³. Hereby it was possible to investigate the heterogeneity of the adolescents' ethnic background empirically, and further, investigate if, or to which extent, there is a relationship between the objectively defined label of ethnic minority or majority background (having parents who have/ have not immigrated) and the more subjective "ethnic self-identity" or "social ethnic identity".

The results of this study have shown that there is a strong correlation between the objective (statistical) measures of the participating adolescents' ethnic background (in terms of whether their

²¹ The official statistical Danish definitions of "immigrant and descendant" were used. Ethnic background was therefore measured as a dichotomous variable of having either 1) only Danish born parents or 2) having only parents born outside Denmark and having immigrated to Denmark.

²² The adolescents' own perception of their ethnic identity, i.e. their "ethnic self-identity", was assessed by an open-ended question asking them how they perceive themselves. As a help, examples of possible answers were provided: "mainly immigrant"; "mainly immigrant-little Danish"; "half-and-half"; "mainly Danish-little immigrant"; "mainly Danish".

²³ Their perceived "social ethnic identity" was assessed by asking them how they think others perceive them. Here, too, examples with the same wording as the example given in "ethnic self-identity" were provided.

parents are immigrants) and the adolescents' perception of their ethnic self-identity and their perception of how others see them (ethnic social identity). In other words, the objective but also rather broad measure of ethnic background in terms of having foreign-born or Danish parents strongly affected the more subjective ethnicity in terms of how the adolescents perceived their own ethnic identity on the scale from "mainly Danish" to "mainly immigrant" and their perception of how others viewed them.

Research on ethnicity and outdoor recreation is expected to be more insightful by the use of subjective definitions of ethnic background, e.g. the "self-perceived ethnic identity" as well as "social ethnic identity". However, the method for measuring the subjective dimensions of ethnicity must be refined and further developed²⁴.

How is ethnic minorities' access to natural areas conceptualized in four European countries, and how has this influenced research, and planning and management for outdoor recreation?

Paper 3 reflects on and highlights national approaches both in policy and research on ethnic groups' access to natural areas in for example countries: Netherlands, Germany, Great Britain and Denmark.

The findings of this study indicate that there is a correlation in the current national research approaches on access to natural areas for ethnic minorities of the four countries and the societal and political context. In the UK the focus on under-represented groups seems closely related to the focus on equality for access in the legislation, while specific focus on access for ethnic minorities is not addressed in the forest and nature legislation and the national forest programmes in Denmark, Germany and the Netherlands. In Denmark, Germany and the Netherlands research mainly focuses on describing and explaining differences in recreation pattern among minority and majority population. In the UK legal frameworks actively promote access for all, including ethnic minority groups. Equality and anti-discrimination are binding goals for the British forest and nature management and policies. On the contrary in Denmark, Germany, and the Netherlands outdoor recreation is provided for all, and issues of access to natural areas for ethnic minority groups is not specifically addressed.

In summary, powerful linkages between national research traditions and national policies exist. Research can be described as strongly embedded in the national social and political contexts. Each country has its specificities that shape and inform the academic, political and managerial understanding and framing of access issues for ethnic minority groups.

How can the investigations of ethnic minorities' outdoor recreation pattern be improved through a theoretical framework?

²⁴ The sample size of adolescents with ethnic minority backgrounds in this study was too small to further investigate the relationship between the adolescents' outdoor recreation patterns and the subjective dimension of ethnic identity ("self-perceived ethnic identity" & "social ethnic identity").

The theoretical contribution of paper 4 provides a theoretical framework for improvement of the existing research on ethnicity and outdoor recreation. By applying key concepts of the German sociologist Norbert Elias a process analysis is developed and presented.

An Elias-inspired analysis will start by conceptualising the ethnic group as a figuration²⁵ which, again, is a part of a larger figuration, which in this context are all groups and individuals using the outdoor recreation area in question.

To unfold a process analysis it is pertinent to define *three dimensions of analysis* which can serve as auxiliary tools in constructing the processual account: 1) *situating the figuration in relation to other figurations*, 2) *identifying the fluctuating ratios of power*, and 3) *identifying trends in dominant patterns of behavior – structures of habitus*. These three dimensions point to different *aspects* of the figuration, and can be used as concrete criteria for a comparison of different figurational stages. Hereby an analytical synthesis reaching from the “micro” of individuals’ experiences and practices in relation to others, to the “macro” of more general societal developments is produced and presented *within* a coherent historical narrative of development over time in a particular figuration.

This may be done through both field observations in the actual green space where the outdoor recreation activity takes place, and asking questions which may guide the observational study, such as: who attends, who decides, who agrees, who doesn’t, how is this group related to other groups in the area? Further, it is necessary to grasp how external conditions are influencing the actual figuration. Lastly, one would identify the dominant patterns of behaviour within the ethnic group figuration. Inspired by Elias we propose asking: what patterns of behavior – both social and cultural – did individuals have to follow to in order to succeed within the figuration at different stages, and how and why do the contents of such patterns change over time?

Through an analysis like the above outlined, in which the researcher measures and investigates differences in outdoor recreation participation, the research in outdoor recreation and ethnicity can be improved as differences in outdoor recreation participation are seen as dynamic and context-dependent.

²⁵ Elias (1978) developed the concept of figuration in an attempt to conceive a set of dynamic social processes with no starting or end point. A figuration is a set of interdependent actors in a dynamic relationship. These actors do not exist prior to the processes in which they are *always* involved. In a social relationship these processes define and constitute this “entity”: a person with a particular identity or an ethnic group.

Future perspectives

This thesis has revealed a relatively small, but fast growing research field of ethnicity and outdoor recreation in Europe, as well as a theoretical framework to understand the dynamics of ethnicity and outdoor recreation was developed.

The results of the empirical work have revealed similarities and differences in the outdoor recreation pattern of adolescents' with ethnic Danish and ethnic minority backgrounds. Further, the results of the questionnaire have shown that self-perceived ethnic identity of the adolescents with ethnic minority backgrounds is rather heterogeneous. Also an almost perfect correlation between the objective measure of ethnic background (based on the adolescents' parents' place of birth) and the adolescents self-perceived ethnic identity was found. Based on the work in this thesis there are some perspectives for future research.

The review of the existing European research in paper 1 has shown that the majority of the investigations of ethnic minorities' outdoor recreation have focused mainly on urban parks and urban forests. Future research should therefore examine the outdoor recreation patterns of ethnic minorities in non-urbanised areas, as well as including other areas in cities (e.g., plazas) that acquire outdoor recreation functions, especially in Southern European countries. In order to make meaningful comparisons of ethnic minorities' outdoor recreation pattern and participation across Europe, there is a need for assigning "ethnic minority status" following the same criteria, as well as the investigated areas should provide similar possibilities and facilities for outdoor recreation participation. Cross-national comparisons of ethnic minorities' outdoor recreation pattern would deepen the understanding of cultural aspects of recreation pattern, but also enable scientists to test theoretical frameworks in various contexts, and further, to compare similarities and differences among ethnic minorities and majority populations across countries.

Based on the findings of the empirical work, it can be concluded that adolescents use green areas frequently. However this study was a case study, conducted in two areas: one in the Copenhagen metropolitan area and one in Western Jutland. Although the results have shown some interesting similarities and differences in adolescents outdoor recreation pattern, and has provided some valuable insights into the outdoor recreation of adolescents there is a need for further research in order to provide planners and managers with profound knowledge about adolescents outdoor recreation, in order to meet the needs of this user-group in planning and management contexts in Denmark. This knowledge can further ensure adolescents' continuous use of green areas for outdoor recreation, and prevent the development of (solely) indoor habits, if appropriate green areas in the neighbourhood are provided. Following from this, a national representative study of adolescents' outdoor recreation pattern would be valuable. To further develop the method of measuring ethnicity based on subjective criteria, the questions about self-perceived ethnicity as well as social ethnic identity should be included. With a greater number of respondents (need of oversampling of ethnic minority adolescents) it could then be possible to investigate the cultural alignment of the adolescents with ethnic minority backgrounds in depths.

Jointly to such a national survey a number of case areas should be included in order to apply the process analysis presented in paper 4, as the results of this thesis indicate that there is a continuing need to focus on the context dependency of ethnic identity and outdoor recreation. This theoretical understanding would allow for a more profound insight into the similarities and differences in outdoor recreation practices of ethnic minorities and the majority population, as well as provide an understanding of how outdoor recreation practices may be produced and reproduced within ethnic communities and to which extent this is influenced by societal discourses. By studying ethnicity and outdoor recreation in a figurational perspective following the framework presented in paper 4, one could get a more profound understanding of the dynamics of ethnicity and outdoor recreation, hereby taking the research on ethnicity and outdoor recreation in Denmark to a higher level.

Natural environments are used on a regular basis by many Danes and nature can be restorative, help to reduce stress levels and generally enhance well-being. The results of paper 2 have shown that some adolescents' never use natural areas for outdoor recreation. The reasons stated for not visiting are rather intangible, however, the results of this thesis are based on a relative small sample in two Danish school districts. From other studies we know, that some reasons for non-use are quite obvious, e.g. lack of resources (time and/or money), no provision of (suitable) natural environments, long travel distances or no interest in the natural environment. Other reasons are less apparent – e.g. discrimination, or the perception of unsafe natural environments. Often these factors are mutually reinforcing and interrelated (Byrne, 2012). Non-users are constrained in different ways by a variety of circumstances as well as constraints are not experienced with equal intensity by everyone. Certain groups may therefore remain effectively excluded even though suitable natural environments are provided. Although this thesis has revealed some reasons of adolescents for “not visiting” outdoor recreation areas, the question of why some people do not use nature areas and urban green spaces, and their constraints regarding use of natural environments remains (almost) unexplored in a Danish context. Knowledge about non-users and their constraints for recreation in the natural environment is an important tool for management and policy on local and national level, in order overcome constraints, to raise participation rates, promoting equal access to natural areas and enhancing quality of recreation opportunities. However, non-frequent users (or non-participants) have not yet been specifically studied in Denmark, as research so far has focused on the user, and hence characterized under-represented groups and non-users from the ‘user perspective’. Accordingly, there is a need to explore the reasons for non-use, from the “non-user perspective” both qualitatively and quantitatively.

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Appendix 1: Interviewguides (in Danish)

Interviewguide, Aktiv indvandrer

Dig selv

For at jeg kan lære dig lidt at kende, vil jeg gerne starte med at bede dig om, at du beskriver dig selv.

Kan du fortælle mig lidt om hvem du er?

- Alder, uddannelse, skole, venner.
- Søskende?
- Kulturel baggrund?

Kan du fortælle mig lidt om hvordan din hverdag er, hvad laver du for eksempel når du ikke er på arbejde eller i skole?

Hvad fortæller dine forældre om deres hjemland?

- Sprog taler I sammen?

Fortæl om en tur du havde derned?

- Godt/skidt?
- Hvor ofte?

Socialisering af friluftsliv:

Jeg vil gerne snakke lidt om hvad du laver sammen med din familie, i det hele taget og også uden for, altså hvad du laver når du (eller du og din familie) er ude.

Kan du fortælle mig hvad I laver som familie når I er sammen?

Kan du fortælle mig om en gang du var ude en søndag eller en anden dag sammen med dine venner eller med din familie?

- Årstid
- Hvor ofte – hvor længe (har I altid gjort det) – forandring – fortæl!
- Hvor tager du hen? Er der nogen steder du ikke kan lide, hvorfor? Er der nogen steder du kan lide særlig godt?

De oplevelser du har haft ude, enten sammen med din familie eller dine venner eller hos spejderne, betyder de noget for dig i hverdagen? Fortæl hvordan du tænker tilbage på det, eller hvordan du bruger dem.

Hvilke erfaringer som spejder har du bragt med hjem? Er der noget du har lært/erkendt gennem spejderriet, som har ændret dine holdninger, og som du prøver at overbevise din familie og venner om er godt (eller burde gøre)?

Identitets konstruktion:

Jeg vil gerne snakke med dig om, hvordan du oplever det at have to kulturer – altså at du både er lidt dansk og lidt tyrkisk.

Kan du fortælle mig lidt om én dag (en situation eller begivenhed eller andet), hvor du har tænkt over det? Hvad var det der gjorde at du tænkte over det?

- Hvornår er du/føler du dig mest det ene eller det andet?
- Tænker over det?

Kan du fortælle om en gang hvor det havde betydning for din hverdag/fritid?

Sker det nogen gange at dine forældre ikke er enige i det du gerne vil, og det de mener de er godt for dig?

- Kan du fortælle om én gang hvor det skete?
- Hvordan havde du det med det?

Interview guide – har været aktiv

Dig selv

For at jeg kan lære dig lidt at kende, vil jeg gerne starte med at bede dig om, at du beskriver dig selv.

Kan du fortælle mig lidt om hvem du er?

- Alder, uddannelse, skole, venner.
- Søgkender?
- Kulturel baggrund?

Hvad fortæller dine forældre om deres hjemland?

- Sprog taler I sammen?

Fortæl om en tur du havde derned?

- Godt/skidt?
- Hvor ofte?

*Kan du fortælle mig **hvad I laver sammen som familie, når I besøger din familie i dine forældres hjemland?***

*Kan du fortælle mig om en gang du var **ude** da du besøgte din familie i dine forældres hjemland*

- Årstid
- Hvor ofte – hvor længe (har I altid gjort det) – forandring – fortæl!
- Hvor tager du hen? Er der nogen steder du ikke kan lide, hvorfor? Er der nogen steder du kan lide særlig godt?

*Kan du fortælle mig om en gang du var **inde** da du besøgte din familie i dine forældres hjemland?*

- Årstid
- Hvor ofte – hvor længe (har I altid gjort det) – forandring – fortæl!
- Hvor er I når I samles?

*Er der nogen **forskel** fra hvordan i er sammen, når I er ude eller inde?*

Kan du fortælle mig lidt om hvordan din hverdag er, hvad laver du for eksempel når du ikke i skole?

Socialisering af friluftsliv:

Jeg vil gerne snakke lidt om hvad du laver sammen med din familie, i det hele taget og også uden for, altså hvad du laver når du (eller du og din familie) er ude.

*Kan du fortælle mig **hvad I laver som familie når I er sammen?***

*Kan du fortælle mig om en gang du var **ude** en søndag eller en anden dag sammen med din familie?*

- Årstid
- Hvor ofte – hvor længe (har I altid gjort det) – forandring – fortæl!
- Hvor tager du hen? Er der nogen steder du ikke kan lide, hvorfor? Er der nogen steder du kan lide særlig godt?

*Kan du fortælle mig om en gang du var **inde** sammen med din familie?*

- Årstid
- Hvor ofte – hvor længe (har I altid gjort det) – forandring – fortæl!
- Hvor er I når I samles?

*Er der nogen **forskel** fra hvordan i er sammen, når I er ude eller inde?*

Spejderliv

Jeg vil gerne snakke med dig om at være spejder. Og de oplevelser du har haft dér.

*Kan du fortælle mig om **hvordan det var at være spejder?***

- Godt/ skidt?
- **Hvor længe?**/ Mange gange?
- **Hvor** henne?
- Hvorfor gik du til spejder?
- Hvad synes dine forældre om det?

Hvorfor stoppede du?

*Kan du fortælle mig **hvordan det har forandret sig?** Er din spejder oplevelser anderledes fra dengang du startede til du stoppede?*

*Kan du fortælle lidt om en **tur** du har været på (fx sommerlejr, weekendtur ell. andet).*

- Hvorfor ikke med?

Kan du fortælle om engang din baggrund har haft indflydelse på de ting du lavede hos spejderne?

- Hvordan oplevede du det?
- Hensyn** til dig? Udseende (hudfarve, tøj...) – praksisser (spise kød, bede, mangle penge ell. andet) – kulturel ballast (etik, moral, forbud ell. påbud)?

Hvilke erfaringer som spejder har du bragt med hjem? Er der noget du har lært/erkendt gennem "spejderriet", som har ændret dine holdninger, og som du prøver at overbevise din familie og venner om er godt (eller burde gøre)?

Identitets konstruktion:

Jeg vil gerne snakke med dig om, hvordan du oplever det at have to kulturer – altså at du både er lidt dansk og lidt tyrkisk.

Kan du fortælle mig om én dag (en situation eller begivenhed eller andet), hvor du har tænkt over det?

- Hvad var det der gjorde at du tænkte over det?
- Hvornår er du/føler du dig mest det ene eller det andet?
- Tænker over det?

Kan du fortælle om en gang hvor det havde betydning for din hverdag/fritid?

Sker det nogen gange at dine forældre ikke er enige i det du gerne vil, og det de mener de er godt for dig?

- Kan du fortælle om én gang hvor det skete?
- Hvordan havde du det med det?

IW guide Spejderleder (Kbh. NV)

Fortæl om din egen baggrund

- Alder
- Uddannelse

Socialisering af friluftsliv

- Kan du fortælle mig lidt om hvordan du dyrkede friluftsliv som barn? Hvordan som ung? Hvordan som voksen?
- Steder du kan lide?
- Steder du ikke kan lide?

Dit spejderarbejde

- Hvor længe, hvornår start, hvorfor start?
- Hvor længe Mosegruppen?
- Godt/skidt?
- Andet frivilligt arbejde?

- Hvad får du ud af det?

- De oplevelser du har haft ude, enten sammen med din familie eller dine venner eller hos spejderne, **betyder de noget for dig i hverdagen?** Fortæl hvordan du tænker tilbage på det, eller hvordan du bruger dem.

- Hvilke erfaringer **som spejder har du bragt med hjem?** Er der noget du har lært/erkendt gennem spejderiet, som har ændret dine holdninger, og som du prøver at overbevise din familie og venner om er godt (eller burde gøre)?

Aldersrogade, integrationsprojekt

- Fortæl om hvordan du **oplevede projektet** (Start/ slut)
- Hvordan **oplevede du pigerne?**
- **Særlig indsats** over for pigerne? (har I gjort noget særligt?)

- Hvordan **modtog de andre unger pigerne**?

- Hvad gik **godt**
- **Udfordringerne** ved sådan et projekt
- Hvilke udfordringer har I med at **fastholde de unge**? Hvad vurderer du I kan gøre for at fastholde dem?

- Hvilke **barrierer** oplever I, i forhold til de **unges deltagelse**? Har jeres **opfattelse forandret** sig i løbet af projektets varighed?
- Hvordan vurderer du **barriererne kan undgås eller omgås**? Og skal de det i det hele taget?

- Hvad skal der til efter din mening for at integrere unge med anden etnisk dansk baggrund i foreningslivet? Er det et mål i sig selv? Hvorfor integrere unge i foreningslivet?

Mosegruppen, Integrationsindsats, Generelt

- Integrationsindsats i Mosegruppen
- Noget særligt inden Aldersrogade projektet?
- Noget særligt efter Aldersrogade projektet?
- Fremtidige projekter?

Interviewguide – Spejderleder, Varde.

Fortæl om din egen baggrund

- Alder
- Uddannelse
- Hverdag

Socialisering af friluftsliv

- Kan du fortælle mig lidt om hvordan du dyrkede friluftsliv som barn? Hvordan som ung? Hvordan som voksen?
- Steder du kan lide?
- Steder du ikke kan lide?

Dit spejderarbejde

- Hvor længe, hvornår start, hvorfor start?
- Hvor længe i Varde?
- Godt/skidt?
- Andet frivilligt arbejde?

- Hvad får du ud af det?

- De oplevelser du har haft ude, enten sammen med din familie eller dine venner eller hos spejderne, **betyder de noget for dig i hverdagen?** Fortæl hvordan du tænker tilbage på det, eller hvordan du bruger dem.

- Hvilke **erfaringer som spejder har du bragt med hjem?** Er der noget du har lært/erkendt gennem spejderiet, som har ændret dine holdninger, og som du prøver at overbevise din familie og venner om er godt (eller burde gøre)?

Integrationsprojekt

- Fortæl om hvordan du **oplevede projektet** (Start/ slut)
- Hvordan oplever du **børnene?**

- Hvad gik **godt**?
- **Udfordringerne** ved sådan et projekt?
- Hvilke udfordringer har I med at **fastholde** de unge? Hvad vurderer du I kan gøre for at fastholde dem?

- Hvilke barrierer oplever I, i forhold til de unges deltagelse? Har jeres opfattelse forandret sig i løbet af projektets varighed?
- Hvordan vurderer du barriererne kan undgås og omgås?

- Hvad skal der til efter din mening for at integrere unge med anden etnisk baggrund i foreningslivet?

Varde Integrationsindsats, Generelt

- Integrationsindsats i Vardegruppe inden Isbjergparken projektet?
- Noget særligt inden Isbjergparken projektet?
- Fremtidige projekter?

Interviewguide, Integrationsudvalg Varde Kommune.

Fortæl om din egen baggrund

- Alder
- Uddannelse
- Hverdag

Integrationsprojekt

- Fortæl om hvordan du **oplevede projektet** (Start/ slut)
- Hvordan oplever du **børnene**?
- Hvordan oplever du **forældrene**?

- Hvad gik **godt**?
- **Udfordringerne** ved sådan et projekt?
- Hvilke udfordringer har I med at **fastholde** de unge? Hvad vurderer du I kan gøre for at fastholde dem?

- Hvilke barrierer oplever I, i forhold til de unges deltagelse? Har jeres opfattelse forandret sig i løbet af projektets varighed?
- Hvordan vurderer du barriererne kan undgås og/eller omgås?

- Hvad skal der til efter din mening for at integrere unge med anden etnisk baggrund i foreningslivet?

Varde Integrationsindsats, Generelt

- Integrationsindsats i Varde for at integrere unge med anden etnisk baggrund end dansk i foreningslivet inden Isbjergparken projektet?
- Noget særligt efter Isbjergparken projektet?
- Fremtidige projekter?

Appendix 2: Questionnaire (In Danish)



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Hej,

Du skal nu til at udfylde et spørgeskema om dine fritidsaktiviteter og dit friluftsliv. Jeg er glad for du har lyst til at være med.

Når du udfylder spørgeskemaet skal du svare dét der umiddelbart falder dig ind. Din besvarelse er helt anonymt – dvs. ingen kan bagefter se at det er *dig* der har svaret på spørgeskemaet.

Du skal udfylde spørgeskemaet *alene*, uden hjælp fra sidemanden. Hvis du har brug for hjælp, skal du spørge din lærer.

Du skal sætte krydserne på sådan: hvis du kommer til at sætte et kryds forkert sætter du et nyt kryds, og streger det forkerte kryds over sådan:

Med venlig hilsen

Sandra Gentin
Ph.d. stipendiat

Nationalt center for
forskning, uddannelse
og rådgivning i skov
og skovprodukter,
landskabsarkitektur og
landskabsforvaltning,
byplanlægning og
bydesign



1. Er du:..... Dreng..... Pige
2. Hvor gammel er du?: ____ år
3. Hvilken klasse går du i? 8. klasse..... 9. klasse 10. klasse

Dine fritidsaktiviteter

De næste spørgsmål handler om dine fritidsaktiviteter. Med fritidsaktiviteter mener jeg de ting du laver når du ikke er i skole eller laver lektier. Men, fx når du går til fodbold, er på arbejde eller er sammen med dine venner. Jeg vil bede dig om, at du tænker tilbage på den sidste uge (de sidste 7 dage).

4. Hvor mange gange har du...

(Skriv antal gange. Du skal også skrive '0' (nul), hvis du ikke har lavet aktiviteten, og husk at svare på alle muligheder (a-l))

- ... besøgt familie (fx onkel/tante, fætre/kusiner, bedsteforældre, osv.)? ____ gange (a)
- ... været sammen med venner enten hjemme hos dig eller hjemme hos dem? .. ____ gange (b)
- ... brugt størstedelen af aftenen ude sammen med venner? ____ gange (c)
- ... gået til kampsport (fx karate, boksning, kickboksning, osv.)? ____ gange (d)
- ... gået til idræt i forening (*ikke* kampsport)?
 (fx fodbold, gymnastik, håndbold, dans, osv.)? ____ gange (e)
- ... gået i fitness center (fx styrketræning, aerobic, osv.)? ____ gange (f)
- ... trænet på egen hånd (fx løb, svømmehal, osv.)? ____ gange (g)
- ... været i ungdomsklub? ____ gange (h)
- ... været på arbejde? ____ gange (i)
- ... været sammen med mine forældre og/eller søskende hele aftenen? ____ gange (j)
- ... været i klub kun for piger? (Aktivitet: _____)..... ____ gange; (k)
 (Skriv aktivitet)
- ... evt. andet?: (Aktivitet: _____)..... ____ gange (l)
 (Skriv aktivitet)

Medlemskab af foreninger

De næste spørgsmål handler om du er – eller har været – medlem af forskellige foreninger eller klubber i din fritid. Fritid er den tid du bruger på forskellige aktiviteter, når du ikke er i skole eller laver lektier.

5. Er du, eller har du været medlem af foreninger eller klubber efter du fyldte 12 år? (Sæt kun ét kryds)

- Ja, jeg er medlem af en eller flere foreninger nu (fortsæt med spørgsmål 6)
 Nej, men jeg har tidligere været medlem (fortsæt med spørgsmål 6)
 Nej, og jeg har heller aldrig været medlem (gå videre til side 4, og svar på spørgsmål 8)

6. Hvilke foreninger er du eller har du været medlem af?

(Sæt ét kryds i hver række, og HUSK du kun skal tælle foreninger med, som du har været medlem af fra du var 12 år gammel)

	Er medlem <i>nu</i>	Har tidligere været medlem	Har aldrig været medlem
Ungdomsklub (a)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Pigeklub (b)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Idrætsforening (c)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Skriv hvilke(n) (fodbold, håndbold, kampsport, gymnastik...) med STORE bogstaver: _____			
Forening, der laver aktiviteter i naturen (d)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Skriv hvilke(n) (spejder, kajak, klatre, jagt, fiskeri, rollespil...) med STORE bogstaver: _____			
Miljøbeskyttelsesorganisation (fx Natur og Ungdom, Greenpeace) (e)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Anden klub eller forening (f)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Skriv med STORE bogstaver, hvilke(n): _____			

7. Hvad er grunden til, at du er aktiv i foreninger eller klubber i din fritid?

(Du skal sætte ét kryds i hver række.)

Jeg deltager i fritidsaktiviteter, fordi...

	<i>Helt enig</i>	<i>Delvis enig</i>	<i>Hverken eller</i>	<i>Delvis uenig</i>	<i>Helt uenig</i>
... jeg vil gerne have det sjovt.....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
... jeg vil forstå hvordan "ting" virker.....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
... jeg vil gerne have at folk tror jeg er god til det	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
... jeg ville få "bøvl" derhjemme hvis jeg ikke deltager.....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
... jeg holder af det	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
... mine aktiviteter er vigtige for mig	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
... jeg får det dårligt med mig selv, hvis jeg ikke deltager.....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
... det forventes af mig at jeg deltager.....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
... jeg kan lide det.....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
... jeg ved at deltage udvikler færdigheder, der kan være nyttige for mig senere i livet.....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
... jeg vil imponere mine venner	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
... det er en regel hjemmefra.....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
... aktiviteten giver mig en følelse af frihed	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
... jeg gennem aktiviteterne udvikler mig til den person jeg gerne vil være.....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
... jeg vil have at folk holder af mig	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
... så andre ikke bliver sure på mig	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
... jeg har lyst til at deltage	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
... jeg vil gøre mig fortjent til belønning (præmier, medaljer eller pokaler)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
... mine forældre forventer af mig, at jeg deltager	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Gå nu videre til side 5, og svar på spørgsmål 9

8. Hvis du aldrig har været medlem af en forening eller klub: Hvorfor ikke? (Du må gerne sætte flere krydser)

- Mine forældre har ikke råd til at betale kontingent (a)
- Jeg synes det er kedeligt (b)
- Jeg har ikke fundet nogen klub/forening for mine interesser (c)
- Mine venner er heller ikke med i en forening/klub (d)
- Jeg vidste ikke der fandtes foreninger/klubber (e)
- Jeg vil gerne, men må ikke for mine forældre (f)
- Jeg vil gerne, men mine forældre er bange for, at der ikke bliver taget hensyn til min religion og traditioner (g)
- Jeg er bange for, at der ikke bliver taget hensyn til min religion, tro og tradition (h)
- Jeg må ikke deltage i aktiviteter, hvor drenge og piger er blandet (i)
- Jeg har ikke lyst (j)
- Det ved jeg ikke og jeg har aldrig tænkt over det (k)
- Andet: _____ (l)

(Skriv hvad)

↓

Hvis du har sat flere end ét kryds, hvilken årsag er så allervigtigst? _____ (Skriv bogstav her)
(a-l)

Dit friluftsliv i hverdagen: i byens grønne områder, i skoven nær byen, på sportspladsen...

De næste spørgsmål handler om din brug af byens grønne områder, sportspladser, eller skovene/stranden nær byen sammen med vennerne eller med din familie – altså dit hverdagsfriluftsliv. Et grønt område i byen kan være en park, en sportsplads, en legeplads eller et grønt område/gården ved blokken/lejligheden ell. lign. Dine forældres have må du ikke tælle med her.

9. Hvilke områder bruger du til friluftsliv i hverdagen? (Sæt gerne flere krydser)

- Park, grønt område i byen, skriv hvilke: _____ (a)
- Legeplads (b)
- Grønt område/gården ved blokken/lejligheden (c)
- Sportsplads/fodboldbane (d)
- Skov i nærheden af byen (e)
- Strand i nærheden af byen (f)
- Andet, skriv hvad her: _____ (g)

↓

Hvis du har sat flere end ét kryds, hvilket område besøger du så allermost? _____ (Skriv bogstav her) (a-g)

OBS! Grønne områder er: Parker, grønt område i byen, legepladser, grønt område ved blokken/lejligheden, sportspladser, skoven/stranden i nærheden af byen.

10. Hvor ofte har du været ude i grønne områder i løbet af de sidste 12 måneder?

(Du skal sætte ét kryds for hver årstid – forår – sommer – efterår og vinter)

Jeg kommer i grønne områder...

	Forår (mar-maj)	Sommer (jun-aug)	Efterår (sept-nov)	Vinter (dec-feb)
a) Hver dag	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b) 4 – 6 dage om ugen	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c) 2 – 3 dage om ugen	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d) 1 dag om ugen	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e) 1 dag hver anden uge	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f) 1 dag om måneden	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
g) 1-2 dage i løbet af årstiden	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
h) Slet ingen besøg	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Hvis du har sat 4 krydser i række h, gå til side 8, og svar på spørgsmål 14.

I spørgsmål 10 svarede du på hvor meget du har været i grønne områder.

11. De næste spørgsmål handler om, hvad du har lavet i de grønne områder. Jeg vil bede dig om at tænke på den tid på året, hvor det er sæson for de forskellige aktiviteter.

(Du skal svare på alle aktiviteter – du må gerne sætte flere krydser i hver række)

	Forår (mar-maj)	Sommer (jun-aug)	Efterår (sept-nov)	Vinter (dec-feb)	Aldrig
Gik en tur	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Løb eller jogging	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Cyklede	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Luftede hund	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Solbadede	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Læste	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Slappede af eller sov	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Grillede/ lavede mad	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Idræts- og legeaktiviteter	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tur med venner	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tur med familien	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Drak øl med vennerne	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Røg	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Var sammen med min kæreste	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Andre aktiviteter i grønne områder; beskriv kort aktivitet og årstid:

12. Nedenfor er der nævnt 6 forskellige årsager til at besøge grønne områder. Hvor vigtig er hver af de 6 grunde når du tager ud i grønne områder?

(Du skal sætte ét kryds i hver række)

	Særdeles vigtig	Vigtig	Hverken/ eller	Ikke vigtig	Absolut ikke vigtig
(a) "At opleve naturen/grønne områder" (fx nyde naturen, være i tæt kontakt med naturen, opleve naturens farver, former og lys)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(b) "At være sammen med vennerne" (fx at gøre noget sammen, at have det sjovt sammen, at nyde hinandens selskab og godt kammeratskab)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(c) "At være sammen med familien" (fx for at tilbringe noget tid sammen, gøre noget sammen i familien)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(d) "At motionere" (fx forbedre sin fysiske form/kondition, udvikle sine færdigheder mm.)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(e) "At stresse af" (fx komme væk fra byens larm og jag, at få positive oplevelser af ensomhed, frigøre sig fra at være "hængt op" mm.)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(f) "At deltage i udfordrende aktiviteter" (fx at vise andre jeg kan, at få styrket selvtilliden, at få et "kick")	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

13. Hvilken af de 6 årsager (a-f) var den vigtigste for dig?

Årsag _____ var mest vigtig
(a-f)

Gå nu videre til side 9, og svar på spørgsmål 15

14. Jeg tager aldrig ud i grønne områder, fordi... (Du må gerne sætte flere krydser)

- ... jeg har ikke tid (a)
- ... jeg har ikke lyst (b)
- ... jeg synes det er utrygt at være ude (c)
- ... jeg er bange for at blive overfaldet (d)
- ... jeg synes det er kedeligt at være ude (e)
- ... der er for få mennesker i det grønne område (f)
- ... der er for mange mennesker i det grønne område (g)
- ... der er ingen grønne områder i nærheden af hvor jeg bor (h)
- ... der er et grønt område i nærheden af hvor jeg bor, men området tiltaler mig ikke (i)

Skriv her, hvilket område du tænker på: _____

- ... det grønne område i nærheden har et dårligt ry (j)

Skriv her, hvilket område du tænker på: _____

- ... jeg må ikke for mine forældre (k)
- ... mine venner gør det heller ikke (l)
- ... mine forældre gør det heller ikke (m)
- ... naturen er kedelig (n)
- ... det er for stille/ensomt udenfor (o)
- ... det grønne område er for mørkt (p)
- ... naturen er ulækker/klam (jeg får beskidte sko, der er for mange dyr og kryb mm.) (q)
- ... andet, skriv hvad: _____ (r)

↓

Hvis du har sat flere end ét kryds, hvilken årsag er så allervigtigst? _____ (Skriv bogstav her)

(a-r)

Din baggrund

De næste spørgsmål handler lidt om dig selv og dine forældre

15. Hvor er du født?

Danmark

Andet land: _____ (Skriv med STORE bogstaver)

(Skriv land her)

16. Er du adopteret?

Nej

Ja, fra: _____ (Skriv med STORE bogstaver)

(Skriv land her)

17. Hvad er dit statsborgerskab? (Dit statsborgerskab er bestemt af, hvilket land dit pas kommer fra).

Dansk

Andet, skriv hvilket: _____ (Skriv med STORE bogstaver)

(Skriv statsborgerskab her)

18. Hvor er dine forældre født?

Mor: Danmark

Andet: _____ (Skriv hvor med STORE bogstaver)

(Skriv land her)

Far: Danmark

Andet: _____ (Skriv hvor med STORE bogstaver)

(Skriv land her)

19. Er din mor dansk statsborger? Ja Nej Ved ikke

20. Er din far dansk statsborger? Ja Nej Ved ikke

Hvad tror du på?

De næste spørgsmål handler lidt om din religion og din tro

21. Hvilken religion tilhører du? (Sæt kun ét kryds)

- Ingen Kristen..... Muslim
 Hinduist..... Buddhist Ved ikke

22. Er du eller har du tidligere været medlem af en kirkeklub, søndagsskole, trossamfund eller lignende? (Sæt kun ét kryds)

- Ja, jeg er medlem nu: _____ (Skriv her hvad/hvilken, med STORE bogstaver)
 Nej, men jeg har tidligere været medlem: _____ (Skriv her hvad/hvilken, med STORE bogstaver)
 Nej, aldrig

23. Hvor enig eller uenig er du i følgende udsagn? "Min religion har en betydning for, hvordan jeg lever mit liv i hverdagen?" (Sæt kun ét kryds)

- Helt enig
 Delvis enig
 Lidt enig
 Hverken eller
 Lidt uenig
 Delvis uenig
 Helt uenig

24. Hvilket af de følgende udsagn er du mest enig i? (Sæt kun ét kryds)

- Jeg tror på at der findes en Gud
 Jeg er lidt i tvivl, men føler jeg tror på Gud
 Jeg tror ikke på nogen Gud, men jeg tror på en højere magt
 Jeg tror ikke på nogen Gud
 Ved ikke

Hvis begge dine forældre er født uden for Danmark...

... skal du svare på spørgsmål 25-32. Spørgsmålene handler lidt mere specifikt om din baggrund og din kultur.

Hvis begge dine forældre er født i Danmark er du færdig med spørgeskemaet og skal have tak for hjælpen! Hvis du har kommentarer må du meget gerne skrive dem på sidste side/bagsiden.

25. Hvad er dit modersmål*?: _____ (skriv med STORE bogstaver)
(Sprog)

* med modersmål mener jeg det sprog du lærte først

26. Hvilket sprog snakker I for det meste derhjemme? _____
(Sprog)

27. Hvordan opfatter du dig selv?

(Fx mest dansk, lidt dansk og lidt indvandrere, mest indvandrere, halv dansk og halv indvandrere, en blanding af begge dele, eller andet?) Skriv hvordan du opfatter dig her:

28. Hvordan tror du andre opfatter dig?

(Fx mest dansk, lidt dansk og lidt indvandrere, mest indvandrere, halv dansk og halv indvandrere, en blanding af begge dele, eller andet?) Skriv hvordan du tror andre opfatter dig her:

29. Hvordan lever I derhjemme? (Sæt kun ét kryds)

- Kun efter mine forældres hjemlands traditioner
- Mest efter mine forældres hjemlands traditioner, og lidt dansk
- Ca. halvt efter mine forældres traditioner og ca. halvt efter danske traditioner
- Mest efter danske traditioner, og lidt efter mine forældres hjemlands traditioner
- Kun efter danske traditioner
- Andet (skriv hvordan her): _____

30. Hvordan vil du gerne have, at I lever derhjemme? (Sæt kun ét kryds)

- Kun efter mine forældres hjemlands traditioner
- Mest efter mine forældres hjemlands traditioner, og lidt dansk
- Ca. halvt efter mine forældres traditioner og ca. halvt efter danske traditioner
- Mest efter danske traditioner, og lidt efter mine forældres hjemlands traditioner
- Kun efter danske traditioner
- Andet (skriv hvordan her): _____

31. Snakker du dansk med dine venner som du er sammen med i fritiden? (Sæt kun ét kryds)

- Ja, altid
- Ja, næsten altid
- Både ja og nej
- Nej, næsten aldrig
- Nej, aldrig

32. Hvor kommer de fleste af dine venner fra? (Sæt kun ét kryds)

- Danmark
- Mine forældres hjemland(e)
- Andre lande

Hvis du har andre kommentarer må du meget gerne skrive dem her:

Mange tak for hjælpen!

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