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Gender Roles in the Camping Situation

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AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF Carol Alice Carlson for the Master of
Science in Sociology presented May 20, 1977.

Title: Gender Roles in the Camping Situation.

APPROVED BY MEMBERS OF THE THESIS COMMITTEE:


Nona Glazer, Chairperson 0


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The intent of this thesis is to investigate the extent to which people depart from traditional gender roles in a situation of leisure. The lack of normative structure in the camping situation offers a chance for participants to do sex typed tasks differently than in the more structured home situation.

Participant observation was used because of the exploratory nature of the project. Research was conducted the month of July, 1973. Four Oregon campgrounds were visited. Campsite clusters to be observed were chosen randomly. A systematic time schedule was developed in which various clusters were observed at as many different times as possible.

Findings indicate that gender role behavior patterns that are used at home are also used in the camping situation. Women usually perform tasks that are done at home everyday while men usually perform tasks unique to the camping situation.

GENDER ROLES IN THE CAMPING SITUATION

by

CAROL ALICE CARLSON

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

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in
SOCIOLOGY**

**Portland State University
1977**

TO THE OFFICE OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH:

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CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM AND ITS RELATION TO THE LITERATURE IN THE AREAS OF FAMILY AND LEISURE

INTRODUCTION

According to sociologists, gender is an ascribed status for which men and women learn the appropriate social behavior (i.e., roles). People may internalize the ascribed gender role behavior so thoroughly that they generally explain their actions as caused by "human nature" or biogenetic differences between the sexes. It becomes very difficult to change behavior that is typically feminine and masculine when it is perceived by men and women as inherent (Dahlstrom, 1962). Moreover, sex identity is typically stabilized by age three or four with males identifying themselves as boys, and females as girls (Money and Erhardt, 1972). This view of roles is an excellent example of what Louis Wirth referred to when he noted: "If you wish to understand man [sic], find out what he takes for granted" (Gross, 1958, p. 3). In the past, the sociological perspective on the sexes tended to take the socially defined division of labor between the sexes for granted, as one would a law of nature. Although sociologists have gender as a variable in research, until recently most have failed to concern themselves with why this variable is important. These same sociologists use this control variable not so much to study both men and women but as a background which is used to focus in on the activities of the male. In

their studies, sociologists typically examine men's work roles but rarely women's. Women are studied mainly in their roles as wife and mother while work has been conceptualized as what men do for pay in the labor force.

THE PROBLEM

The problem of this thesis is to investigate the extent to which people depart from traditional gender roles in a situation of leisure. We ask if when people "get away from it all" by vacationing, do they also "get away from it all" by gender role reversals or some integration of both gender roles. The lack of normative structure in the camping situation may offer a chance for participants to do sex typed tasks differently than in the more structured and routinized home situation. In the camping situation, men and women are freed from labor force activity, and the woman from the home-based chores.

The major concern of this project is to ascertain what gender roles are visible in the camping situation. The research is guided by the question: Does gender role behavior appear to be a continuation of or a departure from typical gender roles in the nonvacation world? The question is this: Do married couples or those living together in a marriage-like relationship perform traditional gender segregated role behavior, do they reverse the traditional behavior to develop segregated role behavior, do they perform independent role behavior or do they participate in joint role behavior while in a leisure situation? Bott's (1957) three categories of gender role behavior are used in the classification of data. The first category is segregated role relation-

ships which includes activities of the husband and wife that are different and separate but are complementary to each other. The most common division of labor between the sexes or traditional gender role tasks are a specific type of segregated role behavior in which one would find men doing maintenance activity and heavy work and women doing cooking, cleaning, washing and childcare (Blood, 1960; Fogarty, Rapoport and Rapoport, 1971; and Lopata, 1971). The second relationship, independent sex role behavior, refers to activities performed separately by a husband and wife and without reference to the partner. The third, joint role relationships, includes mutual participation by both husband and wife in some "shared" tasks.

Gender role behavior is evident in the following categories of behavior:

1. Living tasks. Living tasks are defined as basic activities that need to be done at the campground. Many of these activities are also done at home. Examples are meal preparation, cooking, washing dishes, straightening up the campsite, making and breaking camp, maintaining equipment.

- a. If gender roles vary from the traditional, in what tasks do they appear (i.e., does the man take on cooking responsibilities and does he also wash the dishes)?
- b. Does the woman do traditional tasks perhaps because camping is a family outing and she must be "homemaker"?
- c. Do women perform traditional women's tasks and do men perform the tasks unique to the camping situation such as setting up the tent, chopping wood, walking for water?

2. Socialization and Childcare. Socialization is defined as learning of gender role behavior through the presentation of adult models. Childcare is defined as supervision and discipline of children by adults.

- a. What kind of adult models of gender role behavior are presented to children?
- b. Is there a pattern of gender role behavior by children similar to adults in living tasks?
- c. Is the supervision of children a task carried out by either men or women or both?
- d. Is discipline prevalent in the camping situation and, in terms of gender role behavior, does the adult male or the female take the major responsibility for it?

In researching the area of gender role behavior in the camping situation, the following kinds of characteristics of campers were examined to determine if these had intervening effects: camper type (pick-up camper, trailer camper, or tent camper in a car campground); age; group composition (couple, couple with child or children, three or more adults with children); and type of campground (highly urban or non-urban). Important questions that were examined in the research: Will gender role behavior vary with the extent to which the camping situation resembles a usual or normal household? Will the least amount of gender role variation from the traditional be found in couples who camp in motor home campers, which are very similar in content and convenience to the home? Will the greatest amount of gender role change be found in couples who camp in tents, which are not as similar to the home as a trailer, and correspondingly less supportive of a traditional division of labor?

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The literature review considers several topics pertinent to the problem of this thesis. A brief history of gender role ideology in the family is given. This is followed by theoretical perspectives on gender roles as well as findings from empirical studies, which serve as the base for determining if camping behavior varies greatly from everyday life. Next, the literature of the sociology of leisure is examined. A major theoretical discrepancy connected with the economics of housekeeping activities is discussed and challenged. A basis for discussing camping task behavior in relation to leisure is formed by the development of a theoretical perspective on housework and its relation to leisure. Then, theories of socialization are reviewed briefly and questions about gender role socialization in the camping situation are raised. Finally, previous research on the camping situation is summarized.

Perspectives on Gender Roles

Past Ideology. Several ideological stances pertaining to gender roles exist. First, the traditional position, based on the Judaic-Christian religion, perceives men and women created by God as essentially different types of beings. The strong man is the weaker woman's lord and master. Because a man has higher status, he has more rights and fulfills more complicated duties than a woman. A woman must be sheltered, gaining respect in her lower status by being virtuous, gentle, pious and fertile. Second, early liberal ideology, based on the doctrine of "natural rights," holds that all individuals are unique

but equal in all social spheres. Legal and political equality for women is emphasized by this ideology even though the woman's place is in the home when she marries and has children. Third, the romantic ideology states men and women are different but they are of equal value in their contributions to society within their respective social spheres. Women grace homes with virtues and in turn society must guard and protect wives and mothers. Women and men should enjoy the privileges of education and marital status equally. However, in contrast to the early liberal ideology which perceives women as having equality in all social spheres, in the romantic ideology, gainful employment, public positions, and the exercise of political rights are envisioned as best left to men. Fourth and last, Marxian ideology, which includes many aims of an earlier version of the liberal view, holds the idea that men and women are equal. However, in order for both sexes to achieve true equality women must share in labor and become economically independent of men (Dahlstrom, 1962).

Present Ideology. The following five perspectives cover a broad span of gender role behavior that exists at present. First, role segregation includes a strong preference for the housewife to stay at home and the husband to participate in the labor force. Within the home, there is further segregation of roles by gender with the wife performing cooking, cleaning and childcare duties while the husband does maintenance and lawn work. The second view, housekeeping as primary for wives perceives housekeeping and mothering as the major responsibility of wives and a job as complementary. A married woman with a child can work but full commitment cannot be given to the job.

The value of a job is perceived as aiding development of the woman's personality and is insurance in case of separation or widowhood.

Third, alternating home and work roles consists of three phases in which there is a period of training and education followed, if possible, by years devoted to raising a family; and these, in turn, being followed by a period during which past training and experience are put to wider social use. Fourth, the continuous career pattern is based on the Marxist idea that work is for personal development and for society. Minimum interruption is allowed for maternity. The career pattern is not broken for any great length of time. Fifth and last, is the multiple patterns ideology. Husbands and wives find themselves in a wide variety of situations relevant to the choice between home and work roles. Patterns of gender role activity developed by husbands and wives are as varied as the situations that are presented to them. Facilitation of an appropriate choice should be supported by society instead of enforced, narrow standard patterns of activity (Fogarty, Rapoport and Rapoport, 1971).

Parsons' Theory of the Nuclear Family. Parsons' theory of the structure and function of the nuclear family and the roles performed by each of its members is widely accepted by the sociological community. Parsons bases his theoretical perspective of the American family on the relation between the family and the economic system. As society becomes more complex and specialized, the family loses its earlier functions. The father is the link between society and family as he fills an occupational role in the labor force. The male is seen as an instrumental leader, the mother is the expressive leader, performing

also as a mediating link between father and children. Her functions are social and emotional. She is supposed to maintain the internal solidarity of the family (Parsons and Bales, 1955).

Parsons' Critics. Perhaps one basic reason Parsons' theoretical stance has come under attack in recent years is his conservative portrait of gender roles. Rossi states:

Sociologists studying the family have borrowed heavily from selective findings in social anthropology and from psychoanalytic theory and have pronounced sex to be a universally necessary basis for role differentiation in the family. By extension, in the large society women are seen as predominantly fulfilling nurturant, expressive functions and men the instrumental, active functions. When this viewpoint is applied to American society, intellectually aggressive women or tender expressive men are seen as deviants showing signs of "role conflict," "role confusion" or neurotic disturbance. They are not seen as a promising indication of a desirable departure from traditional sex role definitions. In a similar way the female sphere, the family, is viewed by social theorists as a passive pawnlike institution, adapting to the requirements of the occupational, political or cultural segments of the social structure, seldom playing an active role either in affecting the nature of other institutions or determining the nature of social change. (Rossi, 1964, pp. 611-612)

Rossi's criticism of Parsons is possibly a reflection of the growing number of changing family role patterns present in society today. For example, in highly industrialized nations, women form a large part of the labor force (Goode, 1963). While Parsons' theory may be an accurate portrayal of the ideal of social roles of the early 1950's, his framework does not encompass present gender roles as women fill more "instrumental" roles connecting the family and society. Furthermore, Levinger (1964) argues that social emotional behavior (expressive behavior) is not a function of woman's role alone in the family but is a mutual matter between a man and woman. Two members

of a pair may differ in initiating overt social emotional interaction but to maintain social emotional interaction, reciprocation is needed. Expressive behavior must be part of both the male and female role in a family if the relation is to extend over any period of time.

The Historical Emergence of Sex Role Status

In order to investigate Parsons' notion of male instrumentality and female expressiveness further, a brief view of the emergence of functions within the family should be taken. Historically and cross-culturally, the almost universal division of labor by gender is related to the woman's ability to bear children. Women have traditionally performed tasks which were located around the home (village, etc.). This is probably related to the high pregnancy rates during childbearing years which limited the ability of women to go on extended hunting forays. Therefore, their tasks became those of child-care, meal preparation and other tasks centered around village life. The special skills learned by each partner complemented each other and the benefits were shared. Each person's skills were insurance to the other (Burgess, 1953). Industrialization created a much larger separation between production and the family as the man had to leave the home to bring back economic rewards while the woman, remaining in the home, was cut off from the productive economic world (Benston, 1971). In other words, industrialization was a strong contributing factor in preserving wide differences in gender norms despite the general spread of democracy and equality in society (Dahlstrom, 1962). However, vast changes in family patterns resulted from industrialization and urbanization, including the emancipation of women (Blood,

1972). Even though women have gained in social status, a chauvanist attitude is still maintained by many people. Within and outside the family, masculine characteristics relevant to instrumental functions are more highly valued than so-called expressive characteristics of feminine behavior. These role expectations have been internalized and have become part of most people's self-concepts (Broverman, et al., 1972).

Circumstances for Less Rigid Gender Roles. The changing roles of the conjugal family members have shown that the family structure is flexible enough to adapt to changing social circumstances (Blood, 1972). Goode (1963) discusses a feature of the conjugal family that allows for flexibility:

The conjugal system . . . specifies the status obligations of each member in much less detail than does an extended family system, in which entrepreneurial, leadership, or production tasks are assigned by family position. Consequently, wider individual variations in family role performance are permitted, to enable members to fit the range of possible demands by the industrial system as well as by other members of the family. (Goode, 1963, p. 15)

The family that lives in an urban, industrial society must be increasingly accepting of an ever widening variety of roles for its members.

Present Gender Roles

The ideal role performances of the male and female involved in the American family has been steadily changing. In 1967 Mead wrote about the ideal type of marital relationship:

The contemporary American style of relations between men and women has certain well-defined characteristics. These include early marriage; marriage as the principal form of relationship between men and women for all adults; parenthood for all

couples immediately following on or even preceding, marriage; a separate domicile for each nuclear family; the exclusion of all adults other than parents (including adult children) from the home; education for girls adapted mainly to woman's homemaking and parental functions; and an ever increasing involvement of men in domestic activities, including infant care and child rearing. At the same time, heavy demands are made on women to engage in subsidiary economic activities outside the home in support of the high standards of consumption of the nuclear family. (Mead, 1967, p. 871)

There are newly emerging patterns of marriage alternatives that a small percent of the present population are engaging in such as communes, gay liberation, and group marriages. These offer alternatives to conventional heterosexual marriage and serial monogamy which characterizes the behavior of a large percentage of the population. The birth rate is the lowest since 1934, and the age at which childbearing is complete has dropped. Hence, childcare will take up a smaller portion of many couples' lives. Cortese states:

. . . the wife today is about equally divided between what she does do and what she does not do . . . homework and childcare are both too much and too little for many housewives. When her children are growing she feels like a drudge. When they're grown she feels like a has-been who has never really been. Her Radcliffe diploma may have been mildewing over the kitchen sink for several years. (Cortese, 1971, p. 477)

Conflicting Factors Within Recent Gender Roles. In the last decade there has been a rise in the proportion of married women who work, leading to a new definition of gender roles. This new definition of roles has been followed by the emergence of new sources of conflict between men and women:

A husband may often be threatened by the fact that he is no longer the family's sole provider. We see more and more the rise of an inter-sex competition. We can less and less speak of "women's work" and "men's work." (Cortese, 1971, p. 477)

Mead (1967) and Cortese (1971) perceive gender roles as being in the process of change with many members of each gender taking part in activities that reflect values and skills traditionally held by the opposite sex. Yet, Broverman (1972) states that male characteristics are still given greater status and are more highly valued by the majority of society than those associated with feminine behavior. Cortese (1971) also states that many males feel threatened by the changes taking place in gender roles. If these latter assertions are correct, to what extent have the majority of families reached the emerging ideal type of family where division of labor is not based primarily on gender. Does the equalitarian family in which men and women share traditional "male" and "female" work exist in today's society to any great extent? Do men lower their status if they participate in such things as household chores or does the status of the job rise because men participate and define it differently?

Present Male and Female Task Behavior. Lopata (1971), who conducted an extensive study in the mid-1960's, reports that change has appeared in husbands' roles with men sharing homemaking tasks. She attributes this to lack of domestic servants, a large number of household objects and a higher standard of maintenance than earlier generations. The work of maintaining a home is divided among the wife, the husband, and various specialized service men (plumbers, T.V. repairmen, etc.). Children do not take much responsibility, except for one or two jobs such as boys mowing the lawn and girls doing the dishes (Lopata, 1971).

The criteria for dividing tasks by gender is varied, according to Lopata (1971). Some jobs are done by men because the tasks are considered "heavy" while the women do "lighter" work. Convenience is another criteria for division of labor. For example, women take childcare responsibilities because men are gone a good portion of the day or men do the marketing because they have the car. Some areas of work are designated neither by strength nor by logic, such as washing clothes or washing dishes which is "women's" work while cutting the grass is "men's" work. However, some of these traditionally gender-linked tasks are now being shared by members of both sexes. Cooking, for example, is done by both men and women though men dominate the outdoor barbeque while women usually cook only on the kitchen stove. Lopata found that 30 to 40 percent of the husbands assisted their wives with cooking, making beds, dusting, laundry and shopping though some of this assistance is only given in emergencies. Childcare is assumed to be the woman's duty according to traditional family norms (Dahlstrom, 1962; and Levinger, 1964). As Goode points out, in certain past extended family systems a number of women could take care of the children, but modern society does not give much relief to a lone woman who is solely responsible for the children (1972). However, Lopata found that only 19 percent of the women in her sample said they had no assistance in childcare. In those families with young children, 66 percent of husbands (39 percent of the total sample) helped with the children. Fourteen percent of the fathers were reported to always help while 10 percent only assisted in emergencies. However, Lopata cautioned that the percentages do not suggest that childcare is becoming

part of the male or father role for most women perceive this assistance as an aid or favor to the wife instead of obligatory behavior (Lopata, 1971).

Bott (1957), examining British families, noted three patterns of husband-wife relationships: independent, segregated and joint. These have been mentioned previously, but will be defined again for the reader's benefit. Independent role relationships are those in which activities are carried out separately by husband and wife without any reference to each other, such as the wife who cooks dinner and serves it at six although her husband will be home at 7:15. The second relationship, segregated, is one in which the activities of husbands and wives are different and separate but are fitted together to complement each other, such as the husband doing the weekly grocery shopping and the wife cooking the meals. The joint role relationship is that in which activities are carried out by the husband and wife together or where the same activity is carried out by either partner at different times (Bott, 1957). In many areas that Lopata examined, at least 30 to 40 percent of the men helped with a task that women usually participated in. Using Bott's framework, many families studied by Lopata fit the joint role definition in their task behavior. With the increasing emphasis on partnership in marriage, joint activities in other areas such as leisure, political activities, etc., may also emerge (Dahlstrom, 1962; and Rapoport and Rapoport, 1969).

Task List. The following task list compiled from data gathered by Blood and Wolfe (1960), by Fogarty, Rapoport and Rapoport (1971)

and by Lopata (1971) shows the usual division of labor among marital partners of common housekeeping chores. Many of these same activities are also done in the camping situation. These findings will be referred to when comparing camping task behavior with home task behavior. The listing of the following tasks as wife's or husband's was based on who does a particular job at least 40 percent of the time.

	<u>Task</u>	<u>Who Usually Does Task</u>
Food Related:	Shop for food	Husband and Wife
	Cook	Wife
	Wash, Dry and Put Dishes Away	Wife
Home Maintenance:	Cleaning - regular	Wife
	Cleaning - heavy	Husband and Wife
	Wash/Ironing	Wife
	Mending	Wife
	Decorating	Husband and Wife
	Repair Work	Husband
	Gardening	Husband and Wife
	Cut Grass	Husband
Shovel Walk	Husband	
Socialization and Childcare:	Childcare	Wife
Financial Affairs:	Budget (Bills)	Husband and Wife
Social Life:	Arrange Social Affairs	Husband and Wife

A Statement on the Sharing of Roles. Leach (1968) finds that more and more people are striving towards a partnership type of relation. However, he suggests that there is still a large gap between sentiment and reality with sentiment more liberal than behavior. Perhaps there is a large gap, but in the opposite direction Leach noted. The material equipment of the modern family has become increasingly more complicated and more numerous while servants are unavailable.

Consequently tasks at home have to be done by more than one person in order for them to be satisfactorily completed. (There is, of course, the possibility that both partners may simply neglect to do these tasks.) The increase in the sheer number of home tasks means labor from people other than the housewife is necessary. However, when men and women perform tasks that traditionally have been task behavior appropriate to the opposite sex, they may not be aware that they are changing gender roles. Instead, they conclude that men are doing women's work a little more often than they used to, though in reality the task has now become the province of both men and women. As Cortese (1971) mentions, the labor force is now in the process of losing "male" and "female" connotations for jobs. If this is happening, it is not because women are beginning to fill high status jobs but because men have entered low status women's jobs such as school teaching and social work. When men enter these low status jobs, the jobs rise in income and status. As more men become involved in home-making tasks, the status of that job may also change. However, at present, more women are in the labor market than ever before, and few of them are filling career positions. In other words, more women are now participating in what they perceive as the man's world of work. Gender roles are becoming more equalitarian with reference to behavior. However, many people still define work in the home and in the labor force in terms of traditional gender roles.

Additional Comments. Two additional comments should be made about gender role tasks. First, one should realize that there is a

life or career cycle for housewives. The more obligations the woman has at a certain time in her housewife career, the more tasks are added to her role as housewife. The following is a summary of the factors which affect the number of tasks a woman has.

1. The number and ages of the children.
2. Their special needs.
3. The kinds of duties undertaken by the housewife in relation to these children, because of societal, circle or self-imposed demands.
4. The kinds of duties undertaken by the housewife in relation to other members of the household.
5. The size of the home which must be maintained.
6. The number of items which must be maintained and the activities required to keep them in a desired condition.
7. The number of persons helping in their performance of the duties and the type of assistance each provides. Such assisting circle segments may include employees, relatives, friends and neighbors, and members of the household involved in a regular or emergency division of labor.
8. The number and variety of "labor-saving" devices or "conveniences" designed to decrease the effort or the time required to perform any of the tasks.
9. The location of the household and of each task in relation to the assisting segment of the circle and to the useful objects, plus the versatility of these services as a source of shifting duties and activities. (Lopata, 1966, pp. 9 and 10)

These factors may be important for the number and kind of tasks women perform when camping. The second comment regards the changing roles of the family. It appears that role relations in present families can be placed on a continuum with the strict gender division of labor at one end. The middle is composed of the types of families Lopata's study investigated in which men assist in women's work to some degree. As one gets near the opposite end of the continuum there is a variety of alternatives. These alternatives are emerging but there are demands within these roles that not all can handle. Strain, for example, is

experienced by many who do not follow traditional gender role norms (Komarovsky, 1973). An alternative followed by some women is having both a career and a family. Hill and Aldous define the criteria for alternative gender roles basing it on less specific marital and parental norms and suggest only some couples can handle these new autonomous roles.

In addition, to establish a marital organization when the couple have a number of options from which to choose requires a level of interpersonal skills in working out arrangements that many couples do not possess. For this reason, the couples most responsive to the widening of marital and parental role performance alternatives are in the professional, managerial group, the group most affected by raising levels of living and education, and the trend toward person-centered rather than object-centered jobs. (Hill and Aldous, 1969, p. 936)

Some people, especially youth, have attempted to change the form of the family. Although many gender role norms in communes are strictly traditional, some members are working out alternative life styles which include a new division of labor between women and men (Skolnick and Skolnick, 1971).

Household Chores Perceived as Work

According to the economic definition of work which is based on both use and exchange value, most women are seen as having constant leisure time. In reality, women experience very little free time or leisure. Use value and exchange value are features of a commodity. In Capitalist society, commodity production, or the production of exchange values has reached its apex. However, there still are several groups who's labor time is dealt with as possessing simple use value. One of these groups is composed of housewives. Housewives produce,

but not for the market. Traditionally, women's household labor receives lower status than men's labor force work. The primary reason is that men's labor is viewed as possessing both use and exchange value, while household labor has only use value. This invidious distinction between these two types of work is carried so far that some would argue housewives do not "work" because they do not receive a paycheck every two weeks. Benston argues that women will never become liberated until housework has exchange value as well as use value.

Equal access to jobs outside the home, while one of the pre-conditions for women's liberation, will not in itself be sufficient to give equality for women; as long as work in the home remains a matter of private production and is the responsibility of women, they will simply carry a double work-load. (Benston, 1971, p. 165)

The estimated economic contributions of a homemaker are rarely mentioned in terms of dollars and cents because there are no simple means for calculating this; and there is such a wide variety of opinions concerning the importance of the housewife's economic contribution. As Benston mentioned, economists rarely think of housework in terms of economics because it has no exchange value in our system. An early article "The Economic Contributions of Homemakers" by Margaret G. Reid deals with the replacement value of a housewife, estimating the value of a housewife by figuring how much it would cost to hire persons with skills the housewife uses. Putting this type of work on a commodity level, in 1929, it was estimated that \$3,000 covered the total cost of services performed by housewives. In 1946, \$9,062 was the figure given. This figure was arrived at by totaling the salaries of a full-time governess, a full-time cook, a full-time maid, a full-time gardener,

and two part-time workers. Several years ago the Chase Manhattan Bank conducted a survey of Wall Street employees and their families. They concluded that maintaining a household requires as many or more skills than jobs outside the home. After roughly estimating how many hours a week a housewife would take the role of cook, nursemaid, housekeeper, etc., they assigned an hourly pay rate similar to that of an employed cook, nurse, etc. They concluded a housewife works at these various jobs 99.6 hours a week and was worth \$257.53 a week. Hence a housewife's labor would have the exchange value of \$14,421.68 a year (Chase Manhattan Bank, 1972).

Pyun (1971) has a more complicated but perhaps a more accurate technique for calculating the economic worth of a housewife. He bases his estimations on the prospective earning capacity of the individual in the job market and then statistically adjusts this "To the most probable market value of the replacement costs at going wage rates paid for the usual household occupations" (Pyun, 1971, p. 257). He criticizes the methods used in courts to estimate the replacement cost of a deceased housewife, a technique similar to that used by Reid and the Chase Manhattan Bank, which treats all women as if they perform similar services or are in the same place in their career or role pattern as equal in their contribution to the family.

To summarize, housework can be perceived as economic labor. In this society, the housewife is perceived as operating within a use value orientation. However, the work she does can also be conceived as economic labor and thus has exchange value. The work of house servants

is a commodity but the same work performed by a housewife is not. However, when she dies this work becomes a commodity thereby exposing the fallacy that the work housewives perform does not possess economic value. Also, from what has been reported in the literature, more and more people define housework as a duty or work that has to be done. A great deal of production is done in the home and household tasks performed are indeed a form of "work."

Definitions of Work and Leisure

Putting gender roles aside for the present let us delve into the other area of this thesis, leisure. The merging of gender roles and camping can be better understood after reviewing the literature on leisure.

Leisure came into its own as an area of study in the early sixties with the lessening of the Protestant Ethic and the growth of mass production. Work lost the connotation of an intrinsic reward, a goal in itself. Mills points out:

. . .--the gospel of work--has been replaced in the society of employed by a leisure ethic, and this replacement has involved a sharp, almost absolute split between work and leisure. Now work itself is judged in terms of leisure values. The sphere of leisure provides the standards by which work is judged; it lends to work such meanings as work has. (Mills, 1956, p. 236)

Individual meaning and value were lost for the majority of people through alienating work. These aspects of identity are now being relocated in leisure. People work so they can buy leisure in our consumption oriented society.

As concerns of leisure grew, definitions became more elaborate and each definition of leisure added a direct and connecting link with

the definition of work. The term "leisure" became more complex and the idea that it was simply a time when one was not engaged in economic labor gave way to new definitions. Along with the idea that leisure was free time one had earned, it was also considered that if one has not worked she/he has not earned leisure. One was not morally or psychologically prepared for leisure if one had been idle (Anderson, 1961).

What Is Leisure? The ancient Greeks perceived "leisure" as pre-occupation with the values of high culture; the cultivation of the self. This approach has been associated with the aristocracy or the leisure class. The more commonly used definition today, however, which emerging with industrialization, defines leisure as time not devoted to paid occupations. However, this free time is specified such that it is occupied with recreative and restorative activities (Smigel, 1963). Parker makes clear what leisure time is:

. . . time free from various commitments and obligations, and that "free" time is best regarded as a dimension of leisure. "Spare" time is a slightly different idea, implying that, like a spare tire, it is not normally in use but could be put to use. "Uncommitted" time suggests lack of obligations, of either a work or non-work character. "Discretionary" or "choosing" time is perhaps the essence of leisure, because it means that we can use at our own discretion and according to our own choice. (Parker, 1971, p. 27)

Taking the above idea one step further, Presuelou conceives of leisure as the time when new social roles emerge (1971). Lundberg comes close to this same idea but is pessimistic about the actual use made of leisure, he tends to think that most fall back into conventional role behavior (Lundberg, 1934).

Kaplan, one of the more noted leisure specialists, developed an "ideal type" for the field. He claims this approach allows for both subjective perception and objective analysis. The basic elements are:

- a. An antithesis to "work" as an economic function.
- b. A pleasant expectation and recollection.
- c. A minimum of involuntary social-role obligations.
- d. A psychological perception of freedom.
- e. A close relation to values of the culture.
- f. The inclusion of an entire range from unimportance and insignificance to weightiness and importance.
- g. Often, but, not necessarily, an activity characterized by the element of play. (Kaplan, 1960, p. 22)

None of the elements by itself is leisure; all together they form "leisure." Dumazedier defines four dimensions of leisure. The first is freedom from obligations, the second is disinterestness, or to phrase this differently, leisure is not motivated by economic gain. The third dimension is that of a diversion and the fourth deals with personality. To summarize, Dumazedier stresses that leisure makes it possible for the individual to leave behind the routines and stereotypes forced upon him by basic social institutions such as the family (1968). The idea of minimum everyday role obligations is present in both leisure definitions although Kaplan's framework is more structured than Dumazedier's.

Definitions of Work. The definition of leisure is interrelated with that of work. This is the area where the problem lies for women. When analyzing the literature it is found the homemakers are in theoretical limbo because their usual activities do not fit into the strict economic definitions of work. Yet women do not have constant leisure either.

The economists' definition of work is the one most commonly employed by leisure theorists. This definition is based on the use value-exchange value system (Gross, 1958)--i.e., work is economic labor. Several specialists on leisure define work as an activity that provides one with a livelihood; or in other words, work is an activity for some productive purpose (Anderson, 1961; and Craven, 1958). Anderson (1961) stresses the point that work is an activity for which one sells his time; it has become a commodity. In a contract society such as ours, work acquires exchange value. Soule explains the dichotomy as follows: Time sold is work and time not sold is one's own time or free time, no matter what one does (Anderson, 1961).

To some scholars of leisure the definition of work has become somewhat broader than the standard definition that leisure is freedom from a paid occupation (Brightbill, 1961). Lundberg's definition of leisure is: "The time we are free from the more obvious and formal duties which a paid job or other obligatory occupation imposes upon us" (Lundberg, 1934, p. 2). Wallace states: "Whether the definition deals with leisure activity or with leisure time, the distinctive leisure attributes are that it be non economic, not important for biological maintenance or subsistence of the human organism, and voluntary or free" (Wallace, 1973, p. 3). Here the term "obligatory" that Lundberg uses would be defined as time spent in maintaining the human organism. Eating and sleeping would not be defined as leisure time. Would cooking fit into this category? It is not clear as far as this

author is concerned. Where is the line drawn? Can washing dirty dishes fit into Wallace's category? Although Wallace's definition is more flexible than some and includes more than just economic labor, the problem with it is that the phrase "biological maintenance" is vague. This loose definition allows a great latitude in judging what is labor and free time, a decision which is left to the subjective caprice of the reader.

Kaplan (1960) and Parker (1971) both define work as more than just economic labor. Parker argues that production in itself is work even if the item produced has no exchange value (1971). However, both Parker and Kaplan revert back to the economic—noneconomic dichotomy, with its sexist overtones. Kaplan does this by elaborating only on work examples with use-exchange value. Parker develops a time scheme and within this framework defines work as economic labor. One reason for returning to the traditional definition may be that these very broad definitions are not clearly explicated by the authors.

What Do the Definitions of Work and Leisure Mean in Terms of Housework? The definition of work may have had a complicated emergence from the historical perspective leading back to the Protestant Ethic. The fundamental conception of the Protestant Ethic is that work is valued in and of itself. People work to declare to others they are God's chosen ones. With the industrial revolution men left the home to work for wages and women remained to do work within the home. Underpinning each of these social positions is the traditional cultural view that men are strong and dominant while women are weak and passive.

With the leisure ethic replacing the work ethic and the idea of consumption underlying so many leisure activities, one acquires the right to leisure by working for money outside the home. In the usual family situation, therefore, the male has earned leisure time and the female has not. Bennett Berger states: "The meanings of work and leisure are inextricably related both to each other and to the cultural norms which defines their moral place in a social order" (1962, p. 26). The cultural norms involving family roles are slowly evolving from the traditional division of labor and from the view that housework is not really work to a sharing of labor in the home that is viewed as obligations or work.

The Problem Involving Leisure and Work for Women. A staggering assumption found in the literature on leisure is revealed in the way in which housewives are considered or rather are not considered. After the basic economic—noneconomic definition is given, some authors spend several paragraphs explaining the plight of the housewife (Kaplan, 1960; Anderson, 1961; and Parker, 1971). She is the prime example of the noneconomic aspect of the original work/nonwork dichotomy; however, she does not fit into this nonwork area either, for she has little free time. As we shall see, what these same authors fail to perceive is their definition contributes to the very plight about which they speak. Now the question becomes, how has this condition originated?

Veblen's theories address this question. Veblen writes of the bourgeois woman as being an object of leisure. She does not perform economic or housework related labor. The woman is the epitome of

demonstrating abstinence from productive employment. Furthermore, the woman reaches the height of the leisure class by not only avoiding work but she displays her husband's social worth (pecuniary success) by the conspicuous waste of goods (Veblen, 1899). During the industrial revolution, a consumer class emerged. With many more women in the home, and many more men in the labor force, the middle class tried to imitate the example set by the leisure class. These middle class women bought labor saving devices, or mechanical servants, to cut down work. Consumption was and still is a sign of social worth and also a display of leisure. The higher the man's income, the greater amount of leisure the woman can have for she can purchase more labor saving devices. Theoretically, the work-leisure dichotomy based on economic labor was functional for most of the population because housewives were envisioned as having leisure all the time.

The "why" question is clearly related to the operational definition. Most leisure authors agree that many housewives have not been able to attain the goal of leisure that was thought to emerge with the abundance of labor saving devices. In order to deal with the phenomenon of leisure among housewives the theoretical dichotomy between economic and noneconomic time must be appended. The sub-classification of work and leisure of housewives is perceived in terms of attitudes about the experience of both. This sub-classification is added because of the failure of the primary definitions to encompass the whole of the phenomena of work and leisure. As Parker (1971) mentioned when referring to obligations, the meaning of the situation is defined by the

individual. The woman's nonwork obligations, housework, and leisure time may become so intertwined that many housewives may define themselves as having very little if any free time.

Obligations in the Home Perceived as Work. In general, some sociologists have recognized that obligations within the home are becoming a problem in trying to adequately conceptualize the difference between work and leisure. These obligations are not viewed by participants as ends in themselves; and hence, are not "leisure." Even Anderson, who defines leisure using a strict economic—noneconomic dichotomy, hints at the economic potential of nonwork obligations: "Much of the work done during free time is performed at home. It may at times be a type of recreation and again it may be an economy effort to save the cost of hiring work done" (Anderson, 1961, p. 104). Meyersohn defines the obligations that are preempting nonwork time as an "extended sense of duty." These obligations are performed for the community, the neighbors or the children on the mistaken premise that it is expected (Meyersohn, 1959). Willmott (1971) concluded that many men feel pressure from nonwork obligations in the home, with a little over a third of this male sample feeling "pressed" at home while just over a half feel "pressed" at work. Household tasks are seen as necessary jobs by all of Willmott's respondents, whether they say they feel "pressed" or not. A senior man in the company stated: "'I've got a list of things that need doing. I ought to relay the concrete. I ought to put up more shelves. The whole place needs repainting.'" A junior staff member said: "'When you've had rain and sun and the garden wants doing, then you feel pressed'" (p. 583). De Grazia (1962),

who has incorporated the aspect of time within the definitions of work and leisure claims:

The time involved in activities off the plant premises but work-related nonetheless--activities like the journey to work, do-it-yourself chores, housework, geographical work mobility, overtime, and moonlighting--this time is not less than it was at the turn of the twentieth century. Such being the case, the American is actually working as hard as ever, and in his drive for shorter hours he is, if anything, trying to keep his head above water to find time for shopping, repairs, family, receding rivers, snows, and forests, etc. . . . We would maintain, therefore, that what has deceived those students into thinking the American has taken part of these productivity gains in free time instead of cash, has been the seeming decline of the work week. The hours in the standard or official work week may constitute an important part of the American's work but not his work in toto. (de Grazia, 1962, pp. 143-144)

Generally, nonwork obligations take on similar characteristics to that of economic labor. Using Benston's terms, both have use value and both can be considered work (1971).

Role of Housewife--Mother, Maid and Maintenance Woman

To become more specific about the work which has been ignored, a brief examination of the role of housewife is necessary. According to Stoll, there are 35 million married American women who are not in the labor force (1972). In other words, 60 percent of the married women in this country are not in the labor force. For women between the ages of 20-24 and 35-44 the proportion drops to 50 percent (Handbook of Labor Statistics, 1972). Motherhood has become a full-time job for most women. Rossi suspects that women have developed "duties" for and with their children, duties that have needlessly made motherhood into a full-time job (1964). Whether this type of work is neces-

sary need not be argued. The point is that in order to meet the new norms of motherhood, some women must work full time.

Motherhood is not the only reason women are not in the labor force. The higher standard of living demands a greater degree of upkeep and a greater number of household items. Because of the expense of hiring persons to perform household tasks and because of new materials which are easier to use, maintenance work becomes part of a housewife's skills (Dahlstrom, 1962).

Exhaustion in the Role of Housewife. Hubback found in a 1957 study that 35 percent of college graduate and 29 percent of noncollege graduate housewives claimed that their overtiredness was primarily caused by overwork (too many claims on their time) and lack of leisure (1957). Similar responses have been documented in recent years also (Lopata, 1971). In Hubback's study, 32 percent and 29 percent, respectively, stated overtiredness was due to lack of domestic help and 25 percent and 30 percent stated pregnancy, nursing and looking after young children was the cause. Hubback discussed overtiredness with women, finding that most felt this to be a crucial point in relation to housework tasks. However, a research organization planning to publish a summary of the study eliminated these data. The reasons: "it was presumably, too subjective, too human, and too feminine in fact" (Hubback, 1957, p. 70). This is certainly a reflection of the idea that housewifery is not a paid position and therefore really is not work, especially because of the many conveniences available.

Reasons Women Work. Turning to women who work outside the home for pay, 40 percent of all married women in 1971 were in the labor

force (Handbook of Labor Statistics, 1972). Some housewives leave the home in search of something more interesting to do with their time than just housework. A very important reason for working women is to add to the family income either to maintain a high standard of living or to simply keep the family out of poverty. Most married women, however, in searching for a challenging alternative to housework or for an economically rewarding job, usually find neither. Career oriented, high paying jobs are usually held by single women rather than their married sisters, who tend to fill low status, low paying jobs (Havens, 1971). In achieving either of the two goals, a challenging job or economic gain, many housewives find themselves with a job which is neither a challenge nor a source of much money.

The Dual Career. A major reason which keeps the wife in the home is the husband's unwillingness to share housework (Dahlstrom, 1962). Most researchers find that men take a greater role in household tasks when their wives work than those men who have nonworking wives (Dahlstrom, 1962; Farber, 1964; and Hedges and Barnett, 1972). However, this does not mean that the woman who works has more free time than those women who do not work in the labor force. Although husbands are more willing to share some household tasks when their wives work, working women are responsible for two jobs--that in the labor force and that in the home while men only are responsible for one (Palme, 1972; and Hedges and Barnett, 1972). Wilensky noted: "They [working women] want a shorter workday because emancipation, while it has released them for work, has not to an equal extent released them from home and family" (1963, p. 144). The hours the working woman gives to house-

work is the bare minimum compared to her counterpart, the housewife, who makes housework a full-time job. In one study of the American housewife it was found that in cities where the population is over 100,000 people, nonworking women devote 80.6 hours per week to housework and farm wives devote 60.6 hours per week to housework (Anderson, 1961). Even, if an urban working woman cut her housework time in half, to 40 hours she would still be working 80 hours a week. A more recent study finds that women who work over 30 hours outside the home spend an average of 34 hours a week on housework compared to unemployed women who spend 57 hours (Hedges and Barnett, 1972). Dahlstrom (1962) claims: "We find among men no counterpart to the double burden born [sic] by earning mothers or to the dependent and isolated status of those women who work only at home" (1962, p. 192).

Working Women Caught in Conflict Between the Labor Force and Housework. The working housewife is in a precarious, demanding position. Traditional social norms dictate that she manage as well as possible her role as housewife, while adherents to the feminist position consider participation in the labor force to be a means of female liberation. Work (economic work) is seen as a means of insuring the independence of the contemporary married woman. But to many women the combination of work and housework may become a more intolerable life style than the traditional woman's role itself. Komarovsky sums up the ambiguities and strain that appear when social norms are in transition.

Sometimes culturally defined roles are adhered to in the face of new conditions without a conscious realization of the discrepancies involved. The reciprocal actions dictated by the

roles may be at variance with those demanded by the actual situation. This may result in an imbalance of privileges and obligations or in some frustration of basic interests. (Komarovsky, 1946, p. 184)

Women find themselves responsible for the obligations of both roles but without the dual privileges or rewards.

Women and Leisure

The following comments about women and leisure are a summary of the scant materials that exist in this area. The problem, however, is much greater than the amount of literature would indicate. At the turn of the century in Sweden, Strindberg proposed a "Declaration of Women's Rights." In this he emphasizes that women ought to have the right to spend their leisure time as they wish, just as men do (Dahlstrom, 1962). Perhaps many women today feel that a declaration similar to this is needed. Sociologists, such as George Lundberg, place housewives in the leisure class in spite of the fact that the women interviewed protested to the investigator that they had no leisure at all, even 40 years ago when few married women worked (Lundberg, 1934). This disregard for so-called subjective complaints is flying in the face of facts. Komarovsky states several reasons why housewives in her sample (middle-aged college women) could not transform the little free time they had into satisfying, meaningful activities involving new or different social roles. First, former occupational interests are so specialized that they are difficult to maintain apart from a job. Second, the low status of unpaid hobbies and volunteer work is an obstacle to development of a concentrated interest in these areas.

For example, a woman in Komarovsky's study who was taking a language course quit it when her husband decided he needed a vacation which meant her missing classes. She felt his claim took precedence over hers and in doing so, she put herself back into the everyday role of wife. Third, the free time of the housewife often occurs in small snatches of time such as an hour while the baby naps and before she must drive off to pick up the older children. The scattering of small periods of time through the day makes it hard for her to concentrate on any kind of demanding task (1953).

How Women Perceive Leisure. Kaplan (1960), like Lundberg, also found in interviews with housewives that they felt they had very little leisure. Many defined it as the time "when all the household chores were out of the way and the children were in bed" (1960, p. 44). Basing his definitions on the economic--noneconomic distinction of leisure, Kaplan states the following about working women:

- (a) Leisure will be more clearly defined and perceived by women who are employed outside the home than by other women.
- (b) The home as a center for leisure activity is more desirable among women who are employed.
- (c) A considerable degree of leisure activity by the family, which depends on direct expenditure, is now made possible by the earnings of women.
- (d) Women who work outside the home will be found to emphasize the value of freedom for themselves--a perception that will be carried over into their leisure activities. (Kaplan, 1960, p. 45)

These working women have much less time to develop housekeeping into an art and their attitudes about housework are similar to those of their husbands. They are readier to relax, rest, or play; however they define those terms, than are housewives (Kaplan, 1960).

However, there are those who disagree with Kaplan on behavior, in contrast to attitudes. Dahlstrom (1962) in summarizing studies of housewives and working wives, finds that both organize their housework in the same manner. The biggest toll in terms of activities lost for the working wife is what she defines as enjoyable pursuits. Home-maker mothers seem to be those that are swept up in performing so many "duties" that there is no more time for leisure or it ceases to be desired (Anderson, 1961). De Grazia perceives nonwork obligations as much more immediate to the situation than Kaplan does. Although Kaplan may be correct in stating that working women have better conceptions of work and leisure, de Grazia is probably closer to how they actually spend this nonwork time.

We can say, however, that people seem harried and rushed (especially married working women with children under eighteen, their spouses, and also urban and suburban dwellers generally), that often when asked why they would like more time they say "to catch up with the housework" or "to get the shopping done" or "to get the basement windows to open again" or "to spend some time with my family." Yet these people have been told by learned journals, daily newspapers, and weekly magazines that nowadays everybody has more time. They have had the figures cited to them; still, somehow, they themselves are pressed for time. Their own lack of it doesn't so much make them doubt that others have it (though there is some doubt of what they read in print all right) as feel that somehow--only temporarily, as they suppose--they are stuck. (de Grazia, 1962, p. 47)

To summarize, the labor of housewives can be subsumed under the category of economic labor (Benston, 1972; Chase Manhattan Bank, 1971; and Pyun, 1971). A redefinition of housework can and should be undertaken. Previously, the labor of housewives has been placed under the noneconomic category of the traditional economic--noneconomic view.

By perceiving housewives' labor as production and of economic value this dichotomy can be collapsed into one category--economic productive labor. Earlier in this thesis, it was pointed out that the attitudes of housewives about leisure were subsumed under a sub-classification. However, by viewing housewives' work as having economic value this sub-classification becomes unnecessary. This redefinition also makes it possible to understand the complaints of housewives who claim they have very little free time, and eliminates the deficiency of Lundberg's view of housewives' time which flies in the face of these complaints. Hence, the shortcomings of both the sexist view which sees only men's work as "real" work and the Capitalist view which sees work for profit/exchange as only "real" work are overcome. The labor of women in the home is now placed on an equal economic footing with the labor of women and men outside the home.

ADDITIONAL COMMENTS

The Focus of this Project in Relation to the Theoretical Frame of Reference

The focus of this research is camping, what tasks are done and which gender performs them. Camping is seen as a free time or as a leisure activity and it is assumed that most campers spend their time not doing work. However, the nature of this leisure activity, camping, actually involves a variety of work tasks. Some of these tasks are similar to the ones done at home while others are intrinsic to the camping situation.

Since camping has the element of "getting away from it all," the distribution of tasks by gender are ambiguous compared to the division of labor in the home. Moreover, some evidence suggests a relationship between sharing leisure and sharing tasks. For example, Bott finds that those couples who share the same social and recreation interests also have joint conjugal role relationships. In other words, husband and wife do tasks together (Bott, 1957). Can one assume from this that men and women campers, because they appear to share their leisure by going on vacation together will also perform joint role behavior in many or most of the camping tasks? Will joint gender role behavior predominate over segregated and independent role behavior and in that manner cut the gender role obligations to a minimum for both men and women? In discussing the leisure class, Veblen explains that women who are able to indulge in leisure are displaying their husbands' wealth. In the camping situation does the woman become a means by which the man can consume his leisure or nonwork time with a minimum of role obligations? If a woman does the same work at home and camping, is camping a free time or leisure activity for her? If leisure is to become something beyond one's everyday reality, do women and/or men achieve the theorists' definition in the camping situation?

Just as the division of household tasks by gender is carried out through joint, segregated or independent gender roles at home, it is assumed it will also be done in the camping situation in a variety of ways. Because of the limits of this study, personal definitions and the vocabularies of motives for why tasks were done in particular ways

and personal attitudes towards these tasks (work or nonwork) could not be obtained. However, it is of value to document what happens and, in the sense that household tasks are "work," it is useful to see who performs these activities within a leisure context.

Socialization and Childcare

The majority of camper groups were composed of an adult male and an adult female of about equal ages and one or more children. This sample makes it possible to observe elements of the socialization of children and gender roles. The rationale for looking at gender role socialization in the camping situation is that:

Most of the influences to which children are subject in their daily life are random and therefore without any clearly noticeable effect. However, many of these influences are systematic, for many socializing intermediaries share a common view of how children ought to behave. These intermediaries subject children to influences which are quite uniform, systematic and more or less goal-conscious. (Dahlstrom, 1962, p. 62)

The aim of the socialization process is the instruction of people into roles and positions which are a part of society (Dahlstrom, 1962). What kinds of socialization and childcare behavior is seen in the camping situation? The following questions have been presented earlier in the paper, and will be repeated for the benefit of the reader.

- a. What kind of adult models of gender role behavior are presented to children?
- b. Is there a pattern of gender role behavior by children similar to adults in living tasks?
- c. Is the supervision of children a task done by either men or women or both?

- d. Is discipline prevalent in the camping situation and, in terms of gender role behavior, does the adult male or the female take the major responsibility for it?

Three theories of socialization--social learning, identification, and cognitive developmental employ the concept of models. Children's behavior with reference to the models presented can be observed in the presentation of gender roles in the camping situation. The researcher assumes that in each camping unit the adults are probably significant others for children, since most camping groups are families and/or the group is composed of friends who live for several days in a family-like situation. In other words, each adult in a unit has the potential of being a "model." A vacation is one of the times children may have intensive contact with both parents for an extended period of time. We can observe to what extent adult males make themselves available to children when camping by doing activities with them. Does a pattern of gender segregated activities exist with adult males and boys doing things together and adult females and girls doing things together?

Several authors note that family role expectations are much less rigid, and socialization into gender roles is much more equalitarian now than in the past. This flexibility enables people to adapt to social change with greater ease (Hill and Aldous, 1969; and Rapoport and Rapoport, 1969). Perhaps joint or reversals in traditional gender segregated roles will be observed in socialization and childcare tasks in the camping situation.

Camping Research

The final research to be reviewed is about camping--the characteristics of campers, their motives for engaging in camping, etc. In discussing motivations of easy access (auto) campers Catton (1969) concludes: "Easy access camping appears motivated by desires for freedom from tensions, from responsibility for consequences of one's actions, and from parental duties" (1969, p. 121). Etzkorn (1964), arguing with Catton, concludes that outdoor resources is not the main motivation for easy access camping. He suggests that sociability and rest and relaxation provide the main motivation for camping.

While many campers explain their activities as "getting away from it all" one must conclude otherwise when seeing the "home-like" comforts such as electrical hook-ups and the conveniences which fill motor and trailer homes. Hence, the auto camper exists in a contradictory and ambiguous world (Etzkorn, 1964). Burch discusses three explanations of camping that clarify the conflict between campers' reasons for camping and their behavior that Etzkorn mentioned. The first is the compensatory hypothesis, which says that the individual goes camping to avoid his/her regular routine. The second, the familiarity hypothesis, "assumes that persons have worked out a comfortable routine for social survival and that the rewards of security outweigh any possible rewards bought by the high costs of uncertainty" (Burch, 1969, p. 132). In other words, an urban dweller will camp in a trailer at a large, crowded campground because his/her roles and routines are only slightly altered. The third view, the personal community hypothesis, assumes that leisure style is shaped by interaction with one's

workmates, parents, spouse, and friends. Hence, a man living in suburbia may go backpacking, although he would personally choose to camp in a trailer at a large state park, because his friend at work wanted him to join him for a weekend hike. Burch finds that both the compensatory and familiarity hypothesis are relevant and that the third hypothesis is useful in understanding alternations between the first two.

Within the context of the personal community hypothesis, Burch studies three types of camping styles. These styles are: (1) easy access car camping in which one camps at a place accessible by car; (2) combination easy access and remote where one camps at places he and she can drive to and also places where one must hike, canoe or ride horseback to; and (3) remote, in which one only camps at places where a car cannot be used. Burch (1969) concludes that many women who are easy access campers initiated the activity. "When compared with the other camping styles [such as easy access car camping, combination easy access and remote and remote], many easy access women campers had greater camping experience than their husbands" and the wives lead the family into the car camping activities (Burch, 1969, p. 137). Burch suggests that gender role changes may appear in the campground.

If the family trend in campground use continues, there is little question that further female concessions will be obtained-- either through a broadening of the camp activity spectrum to provide more female activity opportunities or by further invasion of male activities. (Burch, 1965, p. 609)

Little attention is given to women's camping role. Hendee and Campbell (1969) state that camping frees the wife from daily routines. However, Etzkorn's assertions are in contradiction with this.

An important aspect of getting away from it all might be related to one's usual way of housekeeping. But we find that less than one-fourth of the campers live in a tent while in lake-side camp. The majority either live in house trailers, ranging in size from 12' to 25', or in "campers" (cabin-like enclosures that fit on the back of 1/4 ton trucks). It is a minority of campers who make use of the peculiar potential of outdoor life offered by living in a tent. We assume, of course, that living in a house trailer or camper is not as much an indication of changing one's usual mode of living as living in a tent. It is of some interest to note that 48 per cent of those individuals who planned on purchasing additional camping equipment intended to purchase either a trailer or a camper. Other items mentioned were those that would make their stay more "home-like." (Etzkorn, 1964, p. 82)

If people's usual mode of living is not drastically changed, does gender role change occur in routine housekeeping chores?

In studying camping, Burch (1965) deals, more extensively than other researchers, with strongly and weakly differentiated gender roles in a car-trailer situation. He suggests that the women are "practical" while the men were "dramatic." He concludes that gender role activity of most men and women car campers follow traditional gender segregated role behavior. However, he suggests that when both sexes take part in expressive activities, such as water skiing, there is no gender role oriented behavior, just activity on the part of both women and men. Burch's categories of activities may not be specific enough to take change or differences into account. Burch's conclusion that gender role activity of most men and women car campers follows socialization patterns or traditional gender roles can be questioned following Parsons' dichotomy of instrumental-expressive pattern variable. Burch concludes that the woman is practical while the man is dramatic. I think it is reasonable to say practical is the same as

instrumental and dramatic is similar to expressive. It follows, in Parsonian context, camping gender roles are not following traditional gender role patterns. Rossi (1968) draws the same conclusion as Burch using the Parsonian perspective. Rossi suggests that when men spend a small amount of time with their families, such as only evenings, weekends, and vacations, the father-children activities are highly expressive, while women carry the major burden of the instrumental dimension of parenting. Levinger (1964) and Leik (1963) conclude that neither sex is exclusively instrumental or expressive. Both male and female are instrumental, or task specialists, and both are expressive, i.e., within social emotional behavior. These last conclusions lead one to wonder if gender role behavior is as dichotomized as Burch and Rossi lead one to believe in the camping situation.

To clarify what variations in gender role behavior occur in the campground a closer look at behavior within each unit is needed. This closer look may reveal more complex behavior than previous researchers have suggested exists. Perhaps the most important point that should be made is the extent to which males and females become involved in specific tasks and in the socialization process while camping. By observing the extent of activities done by males and females, previous generalizations can be challenged or supported. As the number of campers grow, the homogeneity of the group who participates in this activity may diminish. Several patterns of behavior may emerge with a more heterogeneous group.

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY

EXPLORATORY RESEARCH

The exploratory nature of this project enables the researcher to employ participant observation as the primary method of securing data. The most appropriate reason for engaging in participant observation at this primary stage is to maximize discovery and description in the area of family roles. Behavior is recorded and analyzed, laying the groundwork for more specific tools of measurement that can be implemented in later studies. This facilitates verification of specific hypothesis drawn from this study. By using participant observation, behavior is documented in a fairly thorough and systematic way. By failing to observe behavior and concentrating on values and attitudes one may miss a discrepancy between words and deeds. With this in mind, the specific procedures for gathering the data are now explicated.

Campgrounds

Four campgrounds in Oregon were chosen. Two of these were chosen because they were highly developed and used by a large number of people. The campgrounds were Wallowa Lake State Park and Fort Stevens State Park. These particular campgrounds were picked

after discussions with people familiar with highly developed parks in the state and after studying descriptive literature printed by the Oregon State Highway Division on Oregon parks.

Two less developed campgrounds were sought to determine if camping behavior and related tasks differed in various types of campgrounds. The presence of the researchers in both highly developed and less developed campgrounds was very contingent on my colleague's particular area of study. One of the aims of this research project is to study several different types of campgrounds with the hope of coming to a greater understanding of camping as a specific form of leisure. The initial less developed campgrounds picked for study were Coyote Vigne and Abbott Creek. The researchers looked for campgrounds with auto access but without such niceties as hot and cold running water and flush toilets. The researchers also hoped to find a small limited capacity campground. Many National Forest Service campgrounds fit this general criterion, so those in Oregon were studied before making any decisions. The tentative campground study sites were also chosen with some reference to distance and location of the area studied the previous week.

After we were out in the field both Coyote Vigne and Abbott Creek were rejected as study sites. After leaving Wallowa Lake State Park, a stop was made at the Joseph, Oregon Forest Service Ranger Station to obtain further information about Coyote Vigne and directions to it. Here it was found that Coyote Vigne is rarely used during the week and is used most often as a Sunday picnic spot by local people.

Magone Lake campground north of John Day, was substituted as a study site. Abbott Creek was not close to the Rogue River, which was the major attraction in the area, and only one or two campsites in it were occupied. Woodruff Bridge campground was then investigated, being less than a mile from Abbott Creek. This campground was situated on the banks of the Rogue River and was much more populated. However, there were less than ten sites and they were all occupied. After spotting a sign near the Woodruff Bridge campground that pointed to "Huckleberry Lake Campground" and reading the description given in the State Highway Department's pamphlet, the researchers investigated this area. After an eleven mile gravel road that curved and climbed, we arrived at Huckleberry Lake. The lake had dried up and there were no developed campsites or campers in the area. After examining the State Highway pamphlet again, the researchers drove to Union Creek campground, which is about one mile north of Abbott Creek. This campground had campers and fit the criteria laid out for lesser developed campgrounds.

Dates of the Study

The study took place the month of July, 1973, which is a peak camping month. The dates of study were as follows: Wallowa Lake State Park--July 2-8; Magone Lake--July 9-15; Fort Stevens State Park--July 19-25; and Union Creek--July 26-August 2. The first day of each week was spent in travel, setting up our own camp and familiarizing ourselves with the campground. The next six days were spent doing systematic observations.

Sample

Campsites within the various campgrounds were chosen using the following criteria. Highly developed campgrounds are divided into a number of sections called loops. Three loops were chosen by randomly drawing labeled pieces of paper from a hat. The fourth loop was the one the researchers were camped in. Having made early reservations in both highly developed parks, a park employee had already designated a site for us in both less developed campgrounds. The researchers arrived late in the day and did not have a great variety of sites to choose from for many had been taken already. At Wallowa, the focal loops A, C, and E were drawn from the hat along with loop B, the loop the researchers were camped in. At Fort Stevens loops E, H, and M were randomly picked and loop A comprised the fourth area.

The less developed campgrounds did not contain specific, labeled loops but areas did emerge because of natural and manmade barriers. Magone Lake campground is naturally divided into an upper and lower, or western and eastern sections. The major division is a hill. The eastern section has more campsites than the western. Another natural division is observed within the eastern section of the campground. A road parallel to the lake divides this section in two. We spent observation time close to the lake, and in the area farther from the lake. Only three areas were observed at Magone because of the size and layout of the campground. In these three areas the campers congregated. Union Creek has four areas. The Rogue River divides the campground into two sections and the bridge over the river divides these two sections again.

After areas were chosen, a focal site in each area was selected randomly. At the first campground, Wallowa, a focal site was drawn in the researchers' loop, but it was not near the researchers' campsite. After one observation period observing in that manner, the researchers decided to designate their own campsite as a focal site and observe from their site. There were two reasons for this decision. The first was based on the fact that we could obtain not just systematic observations on three or four units; but the unit members could also be observed during other times of the day. In this manner, a more complete description of their behavior could be collected. The second reason for changing the focal site was that the people camping around the researchers would be more likely to perceive the researchers as participants. If conversations arose and these campers were curious as to what we were doing, they were used as informants. There were several instances when we were invited to nearby sites, during our free time, to chat.

One exception to the above procedure for picking focal sites was made at Union Creek campground. The researchers arrived quite late in the afternoon; and although Union Creek has over 90 sites, not all of the sites were developed. In other words, we did not have much choice in picking our campsite. Only two sites were visible from our site but it would have been very hard to observe inter-unit behavior in either of the sites because of natural barriers. Another focal site was randomly picked from the clusters of observable sites in that area. The focal sites at Wallowa were A 27, B 21 (our own), C 28 T and E 30.

At Fort Stevens they were A 18 (our own), E 17, H 5 T, and M 23 T.

At Magone they were 1 E (our own), 4 E, 7 W and 12 W. Because of the openness of the western loop two focal sites were picked to observe within an observation period. At Union Creek the focal sites were 12, 15, 55, and 99.

During the first observation, several other sites were chosen for observation near each focal site; the criteria employed in selection was ease in observation. The researchers usually kept a record of four observable sites (the focal and three others). However, at times some site behavior was not recorded or new sites were not added if one or two chosen sites were empty. This was done because there was activity in one or two sites that demanded the researcher's total attention. Detailed description in a smaller number of sites was concentrated on rather than a series of quick descriptions of a large number of sites.

Time Schedule

A systematic time schedule was developed so that as many hours in the days would be covered, and the various loops would be observed at as many different times as possible. Generally, a day was divided into three two hour periods; one in the morning, one in the afternoon, and one in the evening. Each cluster of sites in a loop was observed for one-half hour, three times a day.

Observation

Two sheets were employed in the process of observing. The first sheet, the Unit Inventory Schedule, was filled out for each camper unit observed. This sheet was used to record various aspects of the unit, such as type of equipment, number of unit members, unobtrusive measures such as bumper stickers, and site characteristics. This sheet was used as a catch-all in compiling a description of a unit that could later fit into a category, such as families that had three or more children who were trailer campers in urban campgrounds. Each unit had one unit inventory.

The second sheet, the Observation Schedule, was used to record behavior in each half hour period for each unit. Time, day, weather, campground, number in group and age of unit members were recorded at the top of the sheet. The rest of the sheet was left blank and a description of behavior was recorded as it emerged. A copy of both schedules are attached in Appendix A.

The systematic observation at unit sites was not the only method of gathering data. A field notebook was kept covering pertinent observations in activity areas, bathrooms, etc. In other words, any information dealing with the project's topic that was acquired outside of the specified observation sites or at another time was recorded in the field notes. Also personal impressions and comments were recorded.

Each week a similar procedure was followed. The first evening in the campground the researchers familiarized themselves with the layout of the campground and its facilities. Loops and sites were chosen

and checked out. At least once during the week, activity areas were observed to see if they were being used and by whom.

Campers' Attitudes Toward Research. Before leaving this section a few comments will be made regarding campers' reactions to the researchers. In each loop, the researchers situated themselves in a place that was most conducive to observation. This does not imply one stood in the middle of a road taking notes. At most places, there was a log, tree, empty picnic table, bridge or curb to sit on or near. The researchers felt the most conspicuous at Fort Stevens for many of the sites were enclosed on three sides by foliage. The researchers had to situate themselves in front of the site at a close proximity. However, at places like Magone, one could sit on a log in a lightly forested area and see and hear three or four sites from a distance.

Most unit members that were observed only once or twice did not make any attempt to contact us. Many members of units that were observed more than three times would ask us what we were doing. A general answer stating that we were students doing a project on camping was usually sufficient. Several people thought we were sketching or writing letters. We let the campers define us as much as possible and did not attempt to try to change their impression of us. An example of this was a woman, who, having been observed for several days, finally approached us. She glanced at our notes and concluded we were doing a psychological study. It was left at that and we went on and chatted with her about her camping experience.

It is interesting to note that several of the campers who were aware that a research study was being conducted inquired about how well

they were doing. One elderly gentleman, after asking about our notebooks, commented "Well, you write me up good." While observing another loop early in the morning, this same man, riding by on his bicycle, shouts as he spies us sitting near some bushes, "Here I am, write me up!" Interestingly enough, every unit in that loop approached us and knew we were doing a study. Knowing we were doing some sort of study, appeared not to effect too many people's behavior drastically. If we started observing in the middle of an activity the activity continued. Sometimes we were not noticed until the end of the observation period when we were leaving. Only on one or two occasions did campers go overboard noticeably or play at a role for our benefit after we were "found out."

With regard to this problem, Goffman's concepts of "on-stage" and "backstage" tie into the camping situation and relate to the notion that participant observers do not encourage variant behavior (Goffman, 1959). Most campers are almost always onstage during their experience because of the nature of their own sites and the density and crowdedness of the campgrounds. Table I demonstrates that 84 percent of the sites observed in this project were visible from at least two sides. The camper's actions were visible to those around him or her. Within the State Parks the camper was assigned a site and the park supervisors filled one section at a time so campers were not scattered. At the primitive campgrounds, people grouped around geographic attractions such as the river or lake and very few units were out of sight or sound of others. Most campers were almost constantly onstage in relationship to other campers. Perhaps the camper's behavior is effected

to a lesser extent than subjects in other areas of sociological research by the observer because of the nature of the situation. The campers were not onstage only for the researcher, but for all other campers in close proximity.

TABLE I
VISIBILITY OF THE SITES OBSERVED

	Wallowa (N=44)	Ft. Stevens (N=42)	Magone (N=24)	Union Creek (N=21)	Total (N=131)
Visible from at least 2 sides	100%	71%	67%	95%	84%
Visible only at one side or view of site is blocked totally		29	33	5	15
Total	100	100	100	100	100

There was only one negative encounter during the entire research and this took place at Fort Stevens. Several statements can be made about why this happened, although none should be taken as a complete explanation for the incident. While observing a fairly closed site at Fort Stevens from an open space directly across the road from the site, a woman in her late twenties or early thirties walked to the restroom; having to pass directly by us. Instead of returning to the site, she stood behind us observing our behavior. She curtly asked how we liked being observed and demanded to know what we were doing. She thought studying campers was a waste of time and said we should be studying something worthwhile like the "child battering syndrome." I

replied that I had seen several instances of abusive child treatment, to which she replied angrily "Not in a campground." She stomped off making a comment about being glad she went to school when they were doing worthwhile, meaningful things.

First of all, it was obvious we were watching her campsite. This took place in a very urban, heterogeneous, crowded campground. I do not know if this particular camper was aware of the fact a woman was stabbed at this park several years ago, but there were good reasons to be cautious of others' behavior in this area compared to a small, homogeneous place such as Magone. Another contingency may be the person's background. From type of equipment, clothing, and education she was probably a member of the middle class, working as a professional or semi-professional or had an education that would enable her to enter these fields. The impression was definitely given that middle class values were the proper tools to perceive the world with, and the people who do not have these values should be the ones who are studied and changed. The type of clothing worn (pantsuit, slacks and sportshirt by husband) indicated that their activities may have been less oriented towards camping and more focused on tourism. This idea holds some weight due to the fact these campers had a California license plate and the unit members and the camper truck were gone several times during the observation periods.

In summary, we experienced what previous researchers and interviewers in the field have experienced--favorable response from campers. Previous researchers have had extremely high return rates on questionnaires compared to other fields of study in sociology. During this

project in only one out of a potential 268 half hour observation periods were ill feelings toward our presence and the study verbalized. Generally, campers went about their business unaware of the presence of researchers, ignoring us, or displaying friendly interest in the researchers' behavior and the study.

CHAPTER III

STUDY SETTING

INTRODUCTION

In order for the reader to understand the research of this thesis, a thorough description of the study setting is given in terms of demographic characteristics, camp facilities, activities and observed information. Fort Stevens and Wallowa have more highly developed facilities than Union Creek and Magone. The terms "urban" referring to Fort Stevens and Wallowa, and "nonurban," referring to Magone and Union Creek are used in the data analysis where appropriate. However, the following description will reveal the uniqueness of each campground.

Physical Description

First, the demographic characteristics of the site are described. Wallowa Lake campground and Fort Stevens campground were roughly the same in area covered and number of camping sites, with Wallowa being slightly more dense than Fort Stevens. In the two smaller parks, Union Creek was slightly more than one-third the density of Magone. When comparing the denser of the urban and nonurban campgrounds, Wallowa was twice as dense in sites as Magone.

This description is not complete without some knowledge of the number of actual sites occupied during the observations and the number

of people camping (see Table II). The highly developed campgrounds had a higher percentage of sites occupied both during the week and on the weekend than the lesser developed campgrounds. Within this category Wallowa had 25 percent more occupied sites than Fort Stevens. Wallowa campground was almost filled to capacity during the week and on the weekend. This may be due to the fact it was the Fourth of July holiday. The Fourth was on a Wednesday and some people camped the weekend before and left on the Fourth while others arrived on that day and left the following Sunday. The campground with the highest density with relation to area and number of sites also had the highest percentage of sites occupied.

TABLE II
OCCUPIED SITES AT CAMPGROUNDS

	Weekday (M-Th)	Weekend (F-S)
Wallowa	92%	91%
Fort Stevens	67	67
Magone	35	54
Union Creek	35	48

The less developed campgrounds' occupied sites rose from 10 to 20 percent on the weekend in contrast to the weekday. However, the average weekend proportion in the less developed areas was only around one-half occupied while the highly developed areas ranged from two-thirds to nine-tenths occupied. While the highly developed areas

remained constant from weekday to weekend, both less developed areas were only a little over one-third full during the week.

To summarize, more people on vacation trips in contrast to weekend trips spend them at the highly developed campgrounds than the less developed areas, thus maintaining a high percentage of occupied sites during the weekday.

The following table shows the average number of people at each campground.

TABLE III
AVERAGE NUMBER OF PEOPLE AT CAMPGROUNDS

	Weekday	Weekend
Wallowa	741	790
Fort Stevens	1,398	1,611
Magone	48	78
Union Creek	97	167

It is interesting to note that although the percentage of occupied sites in the highly developed areas was similar across time, the average number of people increased on the weekends. Large families, extended families and other groups may have used these areas on the weekend. There was a boys' baseball tournament and a rodeo held nearby on the weekend of observation at Wallowa. From dress, conversations, and composition of groups, the researchers assumed participants in these activities were using the campground facilities.

Wallowa had the greatest proportion of people present in relation to area, and Union Creek, at the other end of the continuum, had the smallest. Union Creek had two-thirds less concentration of people as Magone. Magone was less than half as dense in terms of number of people present as Fort Stevens. Wallowa was not quite half the population of Fort Stevens. Although statistically Fort Stevens does not appear as dense as Wallowa, Fort Stevens' geographic layout is not conducive to being uncrowded. Several outlying sections were only used on peak nights such as Saturday and sections close to the central entry were almost always full. There was one main artery extending north and south that carried traffic. If one camped in one of the central areas, as the observers were, one would see half the campground (or approximately 800 people on the weekend and 650 any weekday) parade by on the way to the ocean, lake, nearby towns, telephones, etc. Also, if Fort Stevens was filled to capacity it would approximate the density (in terms of numbers of people), of Wallowa. To conclude, there is much more potential and actual area in the less developed campgrounds than the highly developed campgrounds.

Facilities

Varying facilities and conveniences were offered at the campgrounds. Each of the highly developed campgrounds had a central registration booth run by three to five people. Preregistrations were available at both areas and were a must if one wanted to camp there on the weekend in July or August. A fee of \$2.00 a night for tent campers

and \$3.00 for trailer campers desiring water and an electrical hookup was charged. An additional \$1.00 fee was charged for advanced reservations.

In each loop, usually containing no more than 50 sites, there was either a utility building with hot showers, flush toilets and laundry facilities, or a rest station with flush toilets and sinks. The laundry facilities consisted of several large laundry tubs, hot and cold running water and an ironing board. At the bathrooms were newspaper stands carrying a local and a Portland paper. A wood bin was also a feature of each loop. At Fort Stevens there were four telephone booths clustered near the entrance, while at Wallowa there were several telephone booths dispersed among the loops. Bulletin boards with maps, information and regulations were in several of the loops at Fort Stevens and one was centrally located at Wallowa.

Each highly developed campground had a specific number of sites with electrical hookups and water connections set aside for trailer use. Wallowa had 121 trailer sites and 89 tent sites. Fort Stevens had 224 trailer sites and 399 tent sites. Some loops in both campgrounds were exclusively designed for trailer or tent use. Other loops had facilities for both tents and trailers. Each site had the loop letter and number painted on the entrance to the driveway along with a T for trailer sites. Each site had a paved driveway, a picnic table and a fire pit. There were cold water faucets scattered in the areas used by tent campers, along with small waste disposal areas and garbage cans scattered throughout all loops. Both these campgrounds had dump stations for trailer campers' use.

The less developed campgrounds had pairs of outdoor toilets distributed throughout the areas. Cold water faucets and garbage cans were also scattered through the campgrounds.

Each less developed campground had one bulletin board at the entrance. Information and regulations were posted on these. A fee of \$1.00 a night was charged at Union Creek. Instead of paying the fee directly to an employee, the fee was placed in an envelope and deposited in a box attached to the bulletin board. There was no fee at Magone.

There was no electricity at either campground and no designations existed for tent or trailer sites. Each site at Union Creek had a small post with a number painted on it. The campsites at Magone were not labeled. The sites at both places had dirt or gravel driveways, a picnic table and a fire pit.

The maintenance and control of these campgrounds varied with the level of development of the area. The bathrooms were thoroughly cleaned at least once a day at both Fort Stevens and Wallowa. There was a resident caretaker at both parks. Wood was cut and hauled to the loops several times a week at the highly developed campgrounds. In contrast to this, Forest Service employees cleaned the facilities at the less developed areas twice a week. At Magone, they also did some maintenance work such as repairing and painting picnic tables and replacing fire pits. A fish stocking truck emptied some of its contents into the Rogue River at Union Creek much to the delight of the campers. At Union Creek, a Forest Service fire rig from the district's ranger

station located a few hundred yards away, came to dig out a small ground fire.

Social Control

A state police car cruised Wallowa Lake campground once a day. At Fort Stevens, several state police cars cruised the area. There were one or two policemen on duty all the time. There was also a stop and go light at the main intersection at Fort Stevens. Stop signs were used to control traffic at Wallowa. Very few agents of social control appeared at the nonurban campgrounds. At Magone, the game warden was there once during the week to check fishing licenses of those who were out on the lake. There appeared to be no formal means of control observed at Union Creek.

Activities

There were a variety of activities offered at the highly developed campgrounds. Both campgrounds had an outdoor theatre with a permanent screen. Slide programs were given by a park employee each night. About 150 to 200 people attended these during observations. Both places also had nature trails around the outlying areas of the campgrounds. Wallowa Lake State Park was located at the southern end of Wallowa Lake and Coffenbury Lake was a few hundred yards west of the camping loops at Fort Stevens. This lake was within the state park. Both lakes had roped off swimming areas. Picnic areas were also located near each lake. Campers fished in both lakes. At Wallowa, boats, motors and canoes were rented. At Fort Stevens, most people fished

from a dock or in a boat or rubber raft they have brought. However, near Fort Stevens there were many chartered ocean fishing boats that campers took advantage of. A small grocery store was within a mile or two of each campground.

In addition to the above, there were several restaurants within a short distance of Wallowa. Go-karting, bicycle rentals, and a roller skating rink were also within walking distance of the Wallowa Lake campground. The campground at Wallowa was reasonably close to trails that lead into the Eagle Cap Wilderness area. There were pack horses available for day trips or extended trips into the wilderness area. Also a gondola ride was offered in the summer that takes one to the top of a ridge that overlooks the lake and the Wallowa Mountains. Wallowa Lake State Park was approximately five miles south of Joseph, Oregon, and the highway it is located near was used exclusively to enter and leave the Wallowa Mountain area.

Some of the things unique to Fort Stevens were the ocean beaches, places of historical interest such as the replica of Lewis and Clark's winter fort, Battery Russell and the Peter Iredale. Also, this state park was within a few miles of a number of towns including Astoria. The park was located just west of U.S. Highway 101, which was used heavily by tourists taking the scenic route along the West Coast. Within the park, an organized hike was lead by a park employee once a day to a place of interest. A church service was held on Sunday in the park's open theatre.

Perhaps the two major activities Magone and Union Creek campgrounds had in common were fishing and swimming. At Magone these activities were done in a lake while at Union Creek they were done in the Rogue River. There was a natural swimming area at Magone with a dock. Cars could also unload boats easily here. Fishing was done from the shore, off of fallen logs, or in a rubber raft or small boat. No motors were allowed on the lake. The Rogue River was extremely cold but people did ride rubber rafts down parts of it located in the campground boundaries and there were natural swimming holes some thick-skinned campers took advantage of.

Several hiking trails were at Magone; one of which went around the lake and another that led to an overlook of the remains of the avalanche that originally formed the lake. Magone was about 20 miles north of John Day, Oregon, and Highway 26, which was one of several highways that connects the eastern and western parts of the state.

As has been mentioned before Union Creek Campground was located very close to the Union Creek Visitor Information Center. A Forest Service employee presented a slide show Saturday night in the picnic area, east of the campgrounds. The facilities differ from those of the highly developed campground in that a portable screen was used and campers had to bring their own chairs or sit on the ground. In other words, the highly developed campgrounds had built-in facilities for these programs while at Union Creek improvisations had to be made in order to have a similar presentation. Union Creek campground was located a few hundred yards west of the town of Union Creek. This

town consisted of a restaurant, a gas station, a grocery store-gift shop, and a few tourist cabins. Highway 62 ran through the town and was a secondary highway in the southwestern part of the state. Perhaps the major point of interest on this road was an entrance to Crater Lake which was about 25 miles from Union Creek. This road also connected with other secondary roads that went north to central Oregon and south to the Oregon-California border.

Uses

The above is a description of the manmade and natural features observed within the campgrounds. The researcher also observed social phenomena which were unique to the highly developed campgrounds, less developed campgrounds, or to one campground in particular.

The following table indicates that campers in urban and less urban campgrounds did follow somewhat of a different pattern in terms of mode of camping equipment used.

TABLE IV
CAMPER EQUIPMENT IN URBAN AND NONURBAN CAMPGROUNDS

Number of	Urban (N=101)	Nonurban (N=57)
Tents	34%	52%
Trailers	43	30
Camper Trucks	23	18
Total	100	100

Availability of electrical hookups presumably had some effect on what type of camper (type of camper will refer to major mode of equipment), was found in urban and nonurban campgrounds. In other words, the percentage of tenters grew by 18 in areas that offered no individual electrical conveniences in contrast to areas that did.

The following are trends in activities which were of some significance in understanding the campground and the people who camped there. Bicycles and lawn games were observed at all campgrounds but Magone. Magone was the only campground where first aid procedures were observed. Wallowa was the only campground where television watching was observed. No napping was observed at Magone and Fort Stevens. At Magone and Union Creek two out-of-state license plates were present besides Oregon plates. There were 11 other states represented at Fort Stevens and only five at Wallowa. The average number of days spent at each campground by the units observed were three days for those at Wallowa and Magone and two days at Fort Stevens and Union Creek.

A GENERAL DISCUSSION OF "A TYPICAL DAY IN A CAMPGROUND"

The following is a composite of "a typical day in the campground" to aid the reader in understanding the setting in which the data were gathered on gender roles, socialization and childcare. A presentation of general patterns and impressions developed over the four weeks of observation will give the reader a flavor of camping. My impressions stem not only from observation notes but also field notes. The reader should not generalize this information to specific campgrounds since the following description is impressionistic.

At the end of this impressionistic description is a table showing all systematically observed behavior relating to site activity. This gives a clear overall view of what was actually observed at the campsites and how often.

Early Morning

It is shortly before seven a.m. A few men are up, lighting campfires. Are these men usually early risers, and now, on vacation they are responding to the work alarm rather than vacation ease? It is now seven. The tenters are gradually waking. Women and men are seen cooking breakfast. By eight or eight thirty the smell of food fills the air and a mumble of voices can be heard among the trailer and motor home campers.

Eating is a main ritual of the day. The breakfast meal is large --bacon, eggs, pancakes, etc. A man says sharply to a woman: "No, I don't want cereal--that's all I ever have when I'm working." A teenage girl complains: "I'm tired of pancakes. That's all we've had for breakfast since we got here." Cooking, eating, and cleaning up--it's not until 9:30 or 10 that the tenters are ready for a hike or swim. Not until 11 or so are the trailer and motor home campers ready for sightseeing, boating or socializing with friends.

Meanwhile, other campers have been busy breaking camp, some since 6 a.m. so that by 11 a.m. they nearly all have left for a new campground or the trip home.

Late Morning and Afternoon

People in the urban campgrounds appear to enjoy the natural surroundings from a lawn chair placed in the shade of their motor homes. Bickering between adults and children over how much an activity costs, such as go-karting, is commonplace. The faint sound of a television can be heard occasionally from a motor home. A man from a small community in eastern Oregon explains to a fellow camper that a vacation to him is going to Portland or a large city. He is at an urban campground not to "get closer to nature," because he can hunt birds and deer from the front porch of his home, but to take advantage of all the extras--the gondola ride, bicycles, go-karts, etc.

At the nonurban campground, people are hiking, swimming and fishing. There is the roar of a motorcycle on the roads around the area.

What are campers doing in the trailer homes? Much of the day is devoted to upkeep. Here, a man is washing his car; there, a woman is washing the trailer windows. The upkeep which seems so much a part of the usual home tasks carries over into the interior of the trailer. A woman proudly shows the researcher her color coordinated linens (sheets, towels, etc.) in her \$18,000 motor home. Another woman claims the inside of the trailer is "hers" and the outside is her "husband's." She likes a small trailer because it is easy to keep clean while her husband prefers a large trailer--he claims it gives him more "status."

When chores are completed, the trailer and motor home campers often are seen at activities which are typically urban. The campers watch television, sit in lawn chairs reading magazines, knitting, etc.

One may even hear several trailer campers state that they do not consider themselves "campers."

Young couples are seen hiking, fishing, boating and swimming at this time of day, while older couples spend time quietly in their sites. Families with young children do things together such as swimming, going to the beach, and riding water bikes while members of families with teenagers go their separate ways. Groups of teenagers spend time at the beach or just milling around the campgrounds. Worried parents of teenage girls are waiting back at the site to reprimand them for "leaving the family." Do families, in general, share activities together because they camp together? Not always. A man is listening to a baseball game on the radio, while a woman is reading and the children are playing nearby. Conflicts are also engaged in. Angry voices can be heard when a man wants to go somewhere in the camper truck while the woman wishes to remain in camp. Another familiar sight is an exhausted woman trying to keep up with her husband as he takes part in all his favorite activities including trail riding, rubber rafting, hiking, roller skating, etc. Families spend much time together (unless they have teenagers in an urban campground) even though individuals in the group may be doing different activities in the same area or they are doing the same activity in protest or compromise.

Large groups, where there is more than one male and female, are seen in their sites visiting. Women are seated around the table. The men are off by themselves, sitting around the fireplace. Large groups seem gender segregated much like a junior high school dance.

Late Afternoon and Evening

The people in the activity areas come back to their campsites around five, and new campers start putting up their equipment. Fires that died in the morning are being rekindled by men, while women start getting dinner ready. The smoke from these evening fires lays in a thick haze over the campground. After dinner, or around seven or eight, the roads become full of campers, taking an evening stroll. Some of these campers have as their destination the evening slide program. By 9:30 p.m. most people are back in their own sites. Campfires burn brightly while campers talk, play cards and table games or roast marshmallows. By 11 the campground is quiet and most campers are on their way to bed if not there already.

SITE ACTIVITY: TASKS AND RECREATION

A more specific overall view of what takes place in a campground is shown in Table V, which is a tabulation of all systematically observed site activities. All of the recorded activities took place within the observed campsites. The previous impressionistic description included what went on inside and outside of one's camping unit. Table V gives a more specific view of what the researcher observed happening within campsites.

The aim of the study is to gather descriptive data on behavior patterns in camping. Therefore, in this table, as in all others, tests of statistical significance were not computed.

Before findings are discussed, the limited frequency of observations for each activity are explained. The number of observations for

most activities was small even though four weeks were spent in the field. The reasons for this are: (1) it was not possible to record all behavior; (2) sometimes sites selected in the sample were vacant and it was not possible to select additional sites, and (3) sometimes, especially in the afternoon, sites were deserted. At times it was impossible to record all observable behavior because complex action was taking place in several sites and, therefore, one or two sites were disregarded. It was preferred to have detailed descriptions of a few sites rather than a series of less detailed descriptions of many sites. The frequency of task activities themselves was also small because people spent one-third of the observed hours napping, relaxing, playing cards and playing lawn games. In some instances, it was obvious that a meal had been cooked or the dishes had been washed. However, the behavior took place prior to the observation period; therefore, the behavior was not recorded.

Table V shows in-site task and recreation behavior of the campers by the frequency of occurrence. Task activities were divided into seven categories: Food related tasks; camp maintenance tasks (care of shelter, clothing, equipment; this excludes routine cleanup of equipment connected with food and fire); fire related tasks; arrival and departure related tasks; transportation (driving and maintaining autos); personal grooming and childcare (discipline). During observations the most frequently seen task was food related (excluding eating) (21%). The group of tasks performed with the second highest frequency (11%) were those of general camp maintenance; very close in proportion

(9%) were fire related tasks. Arrival and departure tasks, transportation and personal grooming were seen with the same frequency (6%); and childcare was seen with the least frequency (4%). Recreation was divided into three categories: totally passive, passive-active (doing some kind of activity while sitting) and active. The most frequently seen activity was passive-active (26%) while passive (9%) and active (2%) were observed considerably less frequently. Because recreation was observed less often than tasks, one must not assume that campers work more than they recreate. One must remember only in-site activity was included in the tabulations. Bicycle riding, walking, swimming, etc. took place outside of the campsites; therefore, the action was not included in these tabulations. Tasks comprised about two-thirds of the behavior observed in campsites while recreation made up about one-third of the site behavior. Tasks were performed much more frequently than recreation in the site.

TABLE V
SITE ACTIVITIES

Site Behavior* of Men and Women	Percentage (N=666)	
FOOD RELATED	21%	(143)
Cooking	6%	
Getting Water	5	
Meal Preparation	3	
Meal Cleanup	3	
Washing Dishes	3	
Pumping and/or Lighting Gas Stove	1	
CAMP MAINTENANCE	11	(71)
General Cleanup of Site	3	
Maintenance of Clothing	3	
Maintenance of Camp Equipment	3	
Maintenance of Recreational Equipment	2	
FIRE	9	(57)
Building and/or Maintaining a Fire	5	
Chopping Wood	3	
ARRIVAL AND DEPARTURE	6	(38)
Unpacking and/or Packing Equipment	4	
Setting Up and/or Taking Down Shelter	2	
TRANSPORTATION	6	(39)
Driving Car	4	
Maintenance of Car	2	
PERSONAL GROOMING	6	(43)
Appearance	6	
CHILDCARE	4	(29)
Discipline	4	
PASSIVE/ACTIVE RECREATION	26	(174)
Sitting and Talking	12	
Reading	5	
Eating	5	
Listening to the Radio	3	
Table and Card Games	2	
TOTALLY PASSIVE RECREATION	9	(60)
Sitting	8	
Napping	1	
ACTIVE RECREATION	2	(12)
Lawn Games	2	
TOTAL	100	

* See Appendix B for definitions of activities.

CHAPTER IV

GENDER ROLE DATA

INTRODUCTION

This chapter contains the data on frequency of several types of gender role behavior observed with regard to the performance of certain campsite activities. Overall results are discussed. The information collected at the campground is then compared to findings in sociological literature and conclusions about role behavior in campgrounds are drawn. Data are then broken down by camper type, campground, group size and age. If these findings vary from the general findings, the patterns will be discussed.

The following tables include only tabulations for adults, all children are excluded. The adults were only taken from camper groups in which there was at least one adult male and one adult female. The total number of adult men observed was 138 while the total number of adult women observed was 141. This difference of three should not effect the results shown in the tables. The results for the children is not included because a total of 131 boys were observed while only 104 girls were recorded.

Bott's (1957) three categories of gender roles, (1) segregated, (2) independent, and (3) joint, are used in interpreting the tables.

However, a caution about the use of the terms "segregated" and "independent" must be made. These categories are redefined for the reader's benefit. Segregated role behavior covers activities of the husband and wife that are different and separate but complementary to one another. Independent gender role behavior refers to activities done separately by a husband and wife without reference to the partner. In observational research it is difficult to delineate between segregated and independent role behavior within certain task performances. The assumption is made that food related tasks and arrival and/or departure tasks are not done in total independence of other members of the unit, but as a segregated or complementary process. The man or the woman cooks breakfast for both or puts up the tent for both and the unit member who did not perform that activity may perform another in the same area, such as washing dishes, in the food area, or packing up the cooking equipment, in the arrival/departure area. Also, it was very common for the other member to perform an activity in a different area, such as driving a car. However, the rest of the areas; camp maintenance, fire and transportation activities were not able to be labeled easily. Both segregated and independent role behavior took place. However, an exact statement cannot be made on how many observations were of segregated behavior and how many were of independent behavior because of the research methods used. The majority of activities involving the maintenance of camp equipment was probably segregated, such as other members of a unit depending on one person to repair the tent. However, maintenance of recreational equipment could be done by an individual in

total independence of the unit members. These areas; camp maintenance, fire and transportation have categories that are fairly ambiguous. When discussing these results, it is assumed segregated and/or independent role behavior was taking place.

OVERALL RESULTS

The frequency with which each task connected with food, camp maintenance, fire, arrival and departure work and transportation was done by (1) female(s), (2) male(s), (3) male(s) and female(s) together is shown in Table VI.

Food related tasks were highly segregated (93%) with women performing the task in a segregated manner most frequently (66%). Joint role behavior occurred fairly infrequently (7%) in this area. Camp maintenance activities also had a high frequency of gender segregated or independent role behavior. However, it was evenly distributed between the sexes with women performing these types of tasks 47 percent of the time and men taking part in them 50 percent of the time. Three percent of the camp maintenance tasks were done jointly. Fire related tasks involved total gender segregation or independent role behavior (100%), with men performing these tasks 77 percent of the time as compared to 23 percent by women. In contrast to the previous two areas, arrival and departure tasks had a much higher frequency of joint role behavior (60%). Fourteen percent of these tasks were performed in a segregated manner by women and 26 percent were done by men. Transportation activities were totally gender segregated or independent with

TABLE VI

GENDER SEGREGATED/INDEPENDENT AND JOINT ROLES BY CAMPING ACTIVITIES

Site Behavior	Role Relationship		
	Segregated/ Independent		
	Women (N=135)	Men (N=142)	Joint (N=32)
FOOD	66% (85)	27% (35)	7% (9)
Washing Dishes	90	10	
Meal Cleanup	81	10	10
Cooking	62	19	19
Meal Preparation	57	38	5
Getting Water	56	44	
Pumping and/or Lighting Stove	44	56	
CAMP MAINTENANCE	47 (29)	50 (31)	3 (2)
Maintenance of Clothing	88	12	
General Cleanup of Site	67	33	
Maintenance of Camp Equipment	16	79	5
Maintenance of Recreational Equipment		89	11
FIRE	23 (10)	77 (34)	
Building and/or Maintaining a Fire	32	68	
Chopping Wood	6	94	
ARRIVAL AND DEPARTURE TASKS	14 (5)	26 (9)	60 (21)
Unpacking and/or Packing Equipment	18	18	64
Setting Up and/or Taking Down	8	38	54
TRANSPORTATION	15 (6)	85 (33)	
Driving a Car	22	78	
Maintaining a Car		100	
TOTAL	44	46	10

regard to role performance. The majority of observations involved men (85%) while women did these activities rarely (15%). Overall results indicate that 90 percent of the tasks were segregated or independent. Men (46%) and women (44%) were observed performing tasks equally in an independent/segregated manner. Men performed tasks only slightly more (46%) than women (44%). Only 10 percent of the tasks were performed jointly. The frequency of task involvement by men and women was very similar. Women were involved 54 percent of the time tasks were observed while men were involved 56 percent of the time.

In order to better understand what went on within these five major areas, a description of each task follows.

Food Related Tasks

Washing Dishes. Dishwashing is considered without much doubt a "woman's" task. Also they usually performed the task alone in campsites. This was one of the few activities that women did while the rest of the unit members were elsewhere. In 90 percent of the observations, the task was done by women and the other 10 percent it was performed by men. Only segregated gender roles were seen in the dishwashing task.

Meal Cleanup. Most meal cleanup tasks were done by women. Only one man was ever observed scraping plates, soaking silverware and relocating equipment and food in one central place in the unit. One of the women in the unit walked up to the table where the man was busily cleaning up. He said to her, "You wash dishes, I'm just picking up." It appeared that the comment was made so she would not

and should not assume he would follow through with the cleanup process, as all women did who were observed. Meal cleanup was a highly gender segregated task. About 80 percent of the tasks observed were done by women while only 10 percent were carried out by men. Only 10 percent of the observed incidents were of joint role behavior. Women were involved in this task 90 percent of the time while few men were involved (20%).

Cooking. The general conclusion that is made from the data is that women cook more often than men. Men were only seen cooking breakfast and several of these men cooked it over a campfire. Most women went about the cooking task in a manner that is similar to that done in the everyday home situation. One woman (a member of the only unit where a stove was not observed) commented to the woman in the next site about her very modern stove. The neighbor replied, "I believe in no fuss when I go camping." Many of the men who cooked took advantage of the camping environment and became innovative rather than manipulating the environment so it could be made more homelike. More men cooked over campfires than women. Cooking involved both segregated and joint role performance. Sixty-two percent of the observed incidents of cooking were carried out by women while 19 percent were done by men. In other words, 80 percent of the cooking tasks were segregated, with women performing three-fourths of the tasks. Nineteen percent of the cooking tasks were done jointly by men and women. Women were involved in 81 percent of the observations while men were involved in 28 percent.

Meal Preparation. The general pattern found was that a woman or women performed the meal preparation activities 57 percent of the time. A smaller proportion of men (38%) performed this task in a segregated manner. In some of the latter situations a man would get the equipment and/or food out, and cook without the assistance of a woman. Overall, the majority (95%) of the meal preparation tasks observed were segregated while only a small minority (5%) were joint. In general, women were more likely to do these tasks than men. However, men were more frequently involved in this area than other food related tasks.

Getting Water. Fifty-six percent of the observations involved women while 44 percent involved men. Getting water was almost always related to meal preparation, cooking or washing dishes. Because of this, these activities were generally done by women. Women usually got the water themselves or asked for assistance. In several cases, where the man was the first one up in the morning, he got water for coffee. Getting water was also totally gender segregated, perhaps because it only takes one person to do the job. However, the frequency of times women performed this task is lower than most other food activities, while the frequency for men is higher. Carrying water some distance is unique to the camping situation for all campers. Here, as in cooking over a fire, men got involved more frequently. This seemed to indicate a trend in which men performed tasks which were unique to the camping situation while women appeared to carry out tasks which were closely approximated by those carried out in the everyday home situation.

Pumping and/or Lighting Gas Stove. The frequency of the activity was very similar for men (56%) and women (44%). In the early morning men usually lit the stove. Women or men would light it at other times or a man assisted when a woman asked for help or appeared to need it. This task was segregated because of the nature of the activity--only one person could do it at a time. Because of the few cases observed, not much more can be stated except the fact that both adult men and women performed this task.

Camp Maintenance

Maintenance of Clothing. This task was done most frequently by women. The specific activity usually seen performed by both women and men was hanging up towels and swim suits. In several instances women were seen washing clothes. One woman was scrubbing clothes on a scrub board outside a trailer at Magone. As I walked by the site she explained to me that they were staying two weeks and each member of the unit brought enough clothes for four days, so she did laundry every four days. She said she liked camping at Magone so much that she did not mind doing the laundry. According to Table VI, maintenance of clothing is a gender segregated role behavior where women performed the task 88 percent of the time while men were observed doing this activity only 12 percent of the time.

General Cleanup of Site. Generally, this was a woman's job. Sixty-seven percent of the people who participated in this activity were women while 33 percent were men. Most of the activities connected with this task were straightening things up such as picking up magazines, pillows, scraps of paper, toys, etc. Men were involved in

tasks that could be considered "heavy" work such as moving coolers. All observations were of segregated or independent gender role behavior.

Maintenance of Camp Equipment. More men than women performed this task. Men were involved in activities such as fixing a broken trailer door, washing motor homes, checking electrical hookups, etc. Women were involved in activities such as sewing up tent seams or repairing torn curtains in the trailer. The majority of observations were gender segregated with men performing 79 percent of the time and women 16 percent. Five percent of the observations were of joint gender roles.

Maintenance of Recreational Equipment. This task also was performed by more men than women. The numbers of occurrences observed was very small so the only thing that can be stated about it is that men appeared to perform this task most often. Eighty-nine percent of the tasks were male gender segregated or independent role behavior. It cannot be determined how many of these observations would be considered gender segregated or independent role behavior. However, both types of behavior were present. Only one incident can be labeled as a joint gender role and this is the only incident involving a woman (11%).

Fire Related Tasks

Building and/or Maintaining a Fire. Generally, men maintained fires. Sixty-eight percent of the observations involved men, while only 37 percent of the observations involved women. None of the

observations were of joint gender role behavior. Here again, as in camp maintenance tasks, one did not know if building and/or maintaining a fire was independent of or complementary to other unit members.

Chopping Wood. The vast majority of people who were observed chopping wood were men. The wood was functional to those who used it to cook with. However, the necessity of it for heat is debatable. The only place it was cold and wet for any length of time was at Fort Stevens and the number of observations there did not differ greatly from Wallowa and Magone. Most campers may have felt they needed the extra heat at night. However, wood chopping in many cases could be considered something to do in contrast to something that needed to be done such as cooking. Bott's labeling process for this activity becomes somewhat complicated. There is one incidence of a woman doing the task alone. This is a segregated gender role for these campers were observable from the researcher's site and they used the wood for cooking fires. The other unit members depended on the woman's wood chopping in connection with food preparation. The rest of the observations, 94 percent, were done by males. However, all of the observations cannot be labeled as segregated gender roles. The men who performed the task because they had nothing else to do would be considered to have independent gender role behavior. A statement of how many observations of segregated gender role and independent gender role behavior took place cannot be determined because constant observation of the units was not carried out. Also the campers' reasons why they chopped wood and what they used it for was not collected. However,

both role behaviors were performed. Because very few campers cooked over fires and because it was usually quite warm it could be estimated at least half if not more of the observations could be considered independent gender role behavior. Wood chopping was performed almost always by men, to the same degree that washing dishes was performed by women.

Arrival and/or Departure Tasks

Unpacking and/or Packing Equipment. Men and women usually did this task jointly (64%). A specific pattern of behavior was seen among almost all of these joint groups. Men usually unloaded cars or trucks and handed the equipment to the women. Women usually carried the equipment into their sites. The packing of camping gear was similar in that men spent most of their time reorganizing and packing the cars or trucks. Women packed clothes and cooking equipment while the men were responsible for recreational equipment such as fishing poles, etc. Thirty-six percent of the observations dealt with segregated role behavior. Half of these, or 18 percent, involved women and the other half involved men. Some of these gender segregated performances were similar to the joint performances such as men packing the car while women were not visible; however, there were several exceptions. One man packed, carried, and arranged all the equipment in the car while the woman watched and gave minimal assistance. Another situation involved a woman and a teenage boy doing all the prepacking, toting of equipment and packing the car while the man

in the unit occupied himself with rearranging several gas tanks in the back of the U Haul trailer the entire half hour.

Setting Up and/or Taking Down Shelter. Many (54%) of the observations were of joint gender role behavior. The pattern most often observed was men and women working together to set up or take down tents or tent trailers. The man usually gave directions or read them off the instruction sheet and told the woman what she should do. In the case of trailers, the man would park the trailer with guidance from the woman. Forty-six percent of the observations were of segregated gender roles. Of these observations only one woman (8%) took a tent down by herself. Usually men, in segregated roles, put up or took down the tent alone.

Transportation

Driving a Car. Although about the same number of men and women were seen in cars, over three times as many men (78%) were observed driving cars as women (20%). Also, when women were observed driving there was only other women and/or children and never men passengers in the cars. Driving was done by both genders but when both a woman and a man were in a car, the activity appeared to become masculine.

Maintenance of Car. Car maintenance was always done by men. No women or girls were observed doing this task. This was the only task that was performed by one sex. Car maintenance was a totally male segregated role behavior.

CAMPER TASKS AND HOME TASKS

Although limited by the observational methods used in this study, a statement about who usually does a task at home and who usually does the same task in the camping situation can be made. This question is asked in order to find out if tasks, along with recreation, are a means of "getting away from it all." Because gender roles are taken for granted in our present society, the author believed there would probably be little variation between at-home and in-camp behavior. However, when taking into consideration the limitations of this new physical environment, different role behavior might appear.

Table VII shows the comparison of camper division of labor by gender with sociological findings. The frequency in which men and women participate alone or together in camping activities, both similar to the home situation and unique to the camping situation is compared to sociological research which states the tasks men and women usually do in the home situation (Blood, 1960; Fogarty, Rapoport and Rapoport, 1971; and Lopata, 1971).

Tasks performed at home had results very similar to the results for the same tasks in the camping situation. These overlapping tasks tended to be highly segregated (see Table VII) with one gender participating much more frequently than the other. Cooking had the highest proportion of joint behavior (19%). However, women still performed the task by themselves over 60 percent of the time. General cleanup was also usually done by women (67%). Two activities, maintenance of clothing (88%) and dishwashing (90%) were almost always performed by

TABLE VII

DIVISION OF LABOR IN CAMPS AND IN HOUSEHOLDS

Activities	Camp Sites			Household	
	Segregated/ Independent			Usually Done By	
	Women (N=135)	Men (N=142)	Joint (N=32)	Women	Men
ACTIVITIES COMMON IN BOTH					
HOME AND CAMPGROUND	56% (98)	38% (67)	6% (10)		
Meal Preparation	57	38	5		
Cooking	62	19	19	**+	
Meal Cleanup	80	10	10		
Washing Dishes	90	10		= +	
General Cleanup	67	33		**+	
Maintenance of Clothing	88	12		**	
Maintenance of Recrea- tional Equipment		89	11		**+
Driving	22	78			
Maintenance of Car		100			**+
ACTIVITIES COMMON IN					
CAMPGROUND ONLY	28 (37)	56 (75)	16 (22)		
Getting Water	56	44			
Pumping and/or Light- ing Stove	44	56			
Chopping Wood	6	94			
Building and/or Main- taining Fire	32	68			
Unpacking and/or Pack- ing Equipment	18	18	64		
Setting Up and/or Tak- ing Down Shelter	8	38	54		
Maintenance of Camp Equipment	16	79	5		**+
TOTAL	44	46	10		

Sources: + Blood, 1960; * Fogarty, Rapoport and Rapoport, 1971; and = Lopata. The three symbols in the above table indicate the task was done at least 40 percent of the time by men or women in the three studies.

women. The literature dealing with home tasks indicated men do repair work. In the camping situation three task areas; maintenance of camp equipment, maintenance of recreation equipment and maintenance of cars, deal with repair work. In all three of these areas the task was usually carried out by men. The percentages varied from 79 percent (maintaining camp equipment) to 100 percent (maintaining cars). Car maintenance was the only activity that was totally segregated and performed only by men. All other activities performed in both home and camp situations were also highly segregated favoring one gender over the other. Looking at the overall results, tasks that were common to both the camping situation and the home situation were most frequently performed by women (56%) while 38 percent were performed by men and only 6 percent were carried out jointly.

Moving to the next category, activities common in the campground only, three patterns emerged. Two activities, getting water and pumping and/or lighting the gas stove, reflect the general conclusion that men and women did these tasks separately but at about the same frequency. Getting water was done by both women and men with frequencies of 56 percent and 44 percent respectively. Pumping and/or lighting the gas stove was done by women 44 percent of the time and men 56 percent of the time. At first glance these activities may reflect the general results; however, when examined as food related tasks the results can be interpreted differently. Food related tasks (see Table VI) are highly segregated with reference to gender roles, with the women performing the activities most frequently. Getting water and

lighting the stove are food related activities that are unique to the camp situation. The data indicate men took a much larger responsibility in performing these tasks than any other food related activities.

Highly segregated roles were associated with activities such as chopping wood, building and/or maintaining a fire and maintenance of camp equipment. These activities were usually performed by men. Men chopped wood 94 percent of the time, maintained or built the fire 68 percent of the time and maintained camp equipment 79 percent of the time. These results reflect the idea that certain activities unique to the campground become men's labor.

The last two activities, unpacking and/or packing equipment and setting up and/or taking down shelters, were performed jointly in the majority of cases. The first activity was done jointly 64 percent of the time and the latter activity was performed jointly 54 percent of the time. These were the only activities in which joint gender role behavior predominated. There was a large amount of work to do in both activities and this could certainly explain why joint behavior was observed so frequently. However, there was also a great deal of work to do in food related activities and very little joint role behavior was observed. These findings suggest that when people are placed in activities that have no established gender role patterns, joint role behavior emerges.

The sub-total in Table VII indicates that the activities that are unique to camping were performed in more than half the observations in a segregated/independent manner and were performed by men (56%).

Women were only observed doing these types of tasks 28 percent of the time. Also, the overall results do indicate that activities unique to camping have a somewhat higher frequency of joint role behavior (16%) than those common to home and camping situations (6%).

The data indicate that men and women usually carry out the same activities in the camping situation that they do at home. While the overall proportion of men (56%) and women (54%) performing tasks in the camping situation was similar a statement can be made about the type of tasks each did. As was concluded in Chapter I, these tasks can be considered work. The results indicate men and women both worked when camping. However, while women performed tasks that were very similar to what they did at home such as cooking, washing dishes, mending clothes, and straightening up the living area; men tended to perform tasks that were somewhat different than those done at home. Repair work in the camping situation deals with the trailer or recreational equipment. A man may tinker with his fishing rod, not because it needs to be fixed but because he feels he has nothing better to do. On the other hand, dishes had to be washed, irrespective of whether one wanted to or not. Men also performed fire related tasks and helped with food related activities which were unique to the situation. Complex activities, such as packing/unpacking equipment and setting up/taking down a shelter, that are not done at home and where no gender role label has been attached were performed jointly. One conclusion that can be made is that men's work while camping is usually related to the "new" or "different" activities that the camping situation presents while women's camping activities tend to follow the at home

routine. Gender roles remain segregated or independent, except in some situations unique to camping where role behavior is ambiguous. Joint behavior appears in these situations.

CAMPER CHARACTERISTICS

Before the questions raised in the beginning of this thesis can be answered and conclusions drawn the above data will be examined more closely with regard to the following characteristics; campground, camper type, group size and age. Findings that vary from the general results (see Table VI) will be presented and discussed. For the reader's interest, Appendix C contains all tables comparing camper characteristics and general categories that show no great variation from the overall results. Certain comparisons were not presented in the tabulations in this chapter or the appendix because of the small number of observations in those areas.

Campgrounds

In comparing urban and nonurban campgrounds, this researcher felt that campers in nonurban campgrounds might demonstrate non-traditional gender role behavior. This thought was based on the fact that the nonurban campgrounds had a physical environment which was very primitive. Secondly, this thinking was founded on the assumption that campers who go to nonurban campgrounds want to get away from the homelike conveniences of state park campgrounds. In other words, it was assumed that the physical environment would force people to change their behavior and/or they chose that setting because they wanted to change their behavior.

When campground type was compared to food related tasks, camp maintenance activities, fire related activities, arrival and/or departure tasks and transportation there were no significant differences in the observations. This study found similar frequencies of segregated/independent and joint gender role behavior between nonurban and urban campers.

Camper Type

In comparing trailer, camper truck and tent campers it was thought that trailer and camper truck campers would demonstrate gender role behavior similar to that which is described in the sociological literature while tenters would perform less traditional roles. The foundation of this idea draws support from the fact that trailers and camper trucks are physically similar to the home while tent camping is least like the home environment. Again it was felt that the smaller number of familiar physical cues would trigger nontraditional role behavior. Also, people who camp in trailers do so because they want the environment as homelike as possible; while the tenter may purposely want to change his/her surroundings and their living and working situation.

Before discussing the findings a problem with camper truck campers should be discussed. The observations of camper truck campers were left out of all tables because the number of times the activity was observed was much smaller than the other camper types. No conclusions can be drawn about camper truck campers. The following discussion compares trailer and tent campers only.

Food Related Activities. In food related tasks a fairly consistent pattern distinguished trailer campers and tenters. Although the division of food related activities by gender was similar for both types of campers, there was a slight trend toward less women and more men participating within the framework of gender segregated role behavior for tent campers than for trailer campers (see Table VIII).

TABLE VIII

GENDER SEGREGATED/INDEPENDENT AND JOINT ROLE BEHAVIOR
FOR FOOD RELATED TASKS BY CAMPER TYPE

Role Behavior		Camper Type	
		Trailer (N=54)	Tent (N=51)
Segregated/Independent	Women	74%	63%
	Men	19	29
Joint		7	8
Total		100	100

In other words, more men who tented took charge of food related tasks than those in trailers. It appeared that men may become more involved in food preparations when those tasks were done in a new environment with different or less elaborate types of equipment than those found at home. Tenters were observed cooking twice as often over an open fire than trailer campers. In three-fourths of these tenting observations men were involved. These findings confirm the theory that men trailer campers do fewer food related tasks than men tent campers because a trailer is more like a house than a tent and it has more of the conveniences of home. People took on homelike gender

roles because their situation was more homelike or these people chose to camp in a trailer so they would not have to change their gender role patterns. Gender role behavior of trailer campers with regards to food related tasks resembles home behavior (refer to Table VII) more closely than that of tent campers. In sum, many women participate in the food related activities in the camping and home situations; however, there does appear to be a trend for more men and less women to perform these tasks if they camp in a tent.

Fire Related Activities. Here again, as in the food related activities, there is a tendency for a higher percentage of women tent campers and a slightly lower percentage of men tent campers to participate in fire related tasks than their counterparts in trailers (see Table IX).

TABLE IX

GENDER SEGREGATED/INDEPENDENT AND JOINT ROLE BEHAVIOR
FOR FIRE RELATED TASKS BY CAMPER TYPE

Role Behavior		Camper Type	
		Trailer (N=18)	Tent (N=23)
Segregated/Independent	Women	17%	30%
	Men	83	70
Joint			
Total		100	100

Generally fire related tasks were carried out by men (refer to Table VI). While the data on tenters certainly do not deny this pattern, they do indicate a slight tendency for more women to take part in

these "male" activities. The reason behind this may be that fire was more functional to tenters for cooking and/or heat than trailer campers. The labor was not created to fill free time as it often seemed to be with trailer campers. The work was necessary and it was done by whomever was in the situation at the particular time. The reader must remember Table IX shows a slight indication some tenters performed role reversals while doing fire related activities. The assumption that this holds true in all comparable situations should not be made.

Arrival and/or Departure Activities. Trailer and tent campers did display some difference in segregated/independent and joint role behavior with regard to arrival and/or departure tasks (see Table X).

TABLE X

GENDER SEGREGATED/INDEPENDENT AND JOINT ROLE BEHAVIOR
FOR ARRIVAL AND/OR DEPARTURE TASKS BY CAMPER TYPE

Role Behavior		Camper Type	
		Trailer (N=8)	Tent (N=23)
Segregated/Independent	Women	12%	17%
	Men	50	22
Joint		38	61
Total		100	100

There appeared to be a tendency for men in trailers to do these activities more frequently while similar activities were performed by both men and women tenters more frequently. One must be careful in interpreting these results because there were so few trailer observations.

However, if Table X does reflect a pattern one reason why may be as follows. A trailer camper may perform the unpacking process by setting up a lawn chair outside. However, tenters must remove kitchen, sleeping and any other type of equipment they have brought and set it up before they are unpacked. The complexity and the unfamiliarity of the activities forces the sharing of work between women and men. Also, trailer camping calls for one person, usually a man, to park or "set the trailer up"; while setting up a tent usually involves several people. However, in several situations two people were involved in parking the trailer; one to drive and the other to give directions. One woman went as far as to carry a level. The trailer was not parked "properly" until the trailer was on "level" ground.

When camper type is compared to camp maintenance activities and transportation activities there are no great differences in the observations. This study finds similar frequencies of segregated/independent and joint gender role behavior between trailer and tent campers in camp maintenance and transportation activities.

Group Composition

In this category three types of groups were observed: (1) Couples--male and female camping alone; (2) Family-like groups--one adult male and female accompanied by children, and (3) Large groups--more than one adult male and female with or without children. The couple category was not included in the following tables because there was a very small number of observations.

In comparing family-like groups and large groups, it was thought the researcher might find family-like groups demonstrating more variations from traditional gender roles while the large groups would demonstrate a high frequency of gender segregated roles. This thinking was based on the idea that with the presence of more than one member of a certain gender, traditional roles would be performed as a confirmation to other members of his or her gender. Also, in a family-like group, the male and female may work together to perform tasks so they have more time to spend with their children.

Food Related Activities. When comparing group composition and food related activities, little variation in gender role behavior was seen between the two groups (refer to Appendix C, Table XXV). However, when meal preparation and cooking activities are looked at a difference in gender role behavior was apparent (see Table XI).

TABLE XI

GENDER SEGREGATED/INDEPENDENT AND JOINT ROLE BEHAVIOR
FOR MEAL PREPARATION AND COOKING TASKS
BY GROUP COMPOSITION

Role Behavior	Group Composition	
	Family-like (N=28)	Large (N=18)
Segregated/Independent	Women	46%
	Men	11
Joint	18	11
Total	100	100

In these activities men in family-like groups were involved more frequently through both segregated and joint role behavior than men in

large groups. Descriptions of several situations are used as examples of the pattern that was observed in extended families. Usually one woman appeared to be in charge of both meal preparation and cooking while one or more women assisted. This woman usually waited on everyone else and then ate. An example of the change from joint role behavior to highly segregated behavior was seen within one unit. A middle-aged man and woman did the dishes together every night during the week when there were four adults present. On the weekend a large group of friends from the neighboring town came for dinner. This woman now was in charge of the cleanup. She did the dishes with the assistance of several other women while her husband talked with the men. During the preparation of this meal a young man was sitting near the fire and he occasionally stirred the stew that was simmering. Someone asked him how his stew was coming and he was quick to state, "This isn't my stew." Perhaps he did not want to be identified with "women's work." There was also the chance he did not want any blame from the group if the stew turned out poorly. Another example of what happened in large groups with regard to meal preparation and cooking activities was observed at Fort Stevens. One group had filled four campsites and they had gathered at Fort Stevens from several different parts of the country. The man and woman in the site where most of the activity took place were discussing the preparation of breakfast. First, the man asked the woman to cook two breakfasts because part of the group wanted to eat immediately while the rest did not. The woman refused that suggestion. Then the man volunteered to cook one

of the meals. She then stated that there were not enough dishes to go around twice so she would have to wash dishes before she started to cook and again after she was done. The man did not offer any more suggestions. He did not offer to wash the dishes from the first meal. This avoidance of that activity may indicate that dishwashing was perceived by this man as "women's" work or work he did not want to do.

These particular tasks were much more evenly divided between the sexes in the family situation (see Table XI). Lopata (1971) found that more help is needed and received when the woman has more tasks and more roles (mother, wife, etc.). This reflects the pattern in camping also for meal preparation and cooking. A woman with children may be perceived by her husband as having many tasks to do (which she does) and also that he is the only one to help her. She may actually receive more help than the woman in an extended group where everyone thinks someone else is capable of assisting but no one actually does to any extent. The woman in charge of food tasks for a large group may do more work than a woman in a family-like group because of the number of people involved.

Arrival and/or Departure Activities. In comparing group composition and arrival and/or departure activities family-like groups reflected the overall results shown in Table VI (see Table XII). Some of the observations were of men or women (less frequently) performing these tasks in a segregated manner. However, the majority of the time joint gender roles were observed in performing these activities. People in large groups tended to perform arrival/departure tasks in a segregated manner while those in family-like groups usually performed the

same tasks jointly. Also, the data suggest that women from large groups were involved more frequently than men in these activities. These tasks in addition to the food related tasks suggest that women in large groups do more work than women in family-like groups.

TABLE XII

GENDER SEGREGATED/INDEPENDENT AND JOINT ROLE BEHAVIOR
FOR ARRIVAL AND/OR DEPARTURE ACTIVITIES
BY GROUP COMPOSITION

Role Behavior		Group Composition	
		Family-like (N=24)	Large (N=8)
Segregated/Independent	Women	4%	50%
	Men	25	25
Joint		71	25
Total		100	100

Transportation. Table XIII demonstrates that all camper groups performed highly male gender segregated roles in doing transportation activities. However, all incidents of women driving were in family-like groups. No women in any type of group were seen repairing a car. Again, as in certain previous activities, gender segregated role behavior is less one-sided within family groups than large groups. However, the family situation may force on a woman the role so many play at home; that of chauffeur to children. In an extended family situation where socializing with adults is of primary importance, children may not be the main focus of attention.

TABLE XIII

GENDER SEGREGATED/INDEPENDENT AND JOINT ROLE BEHAVIOR
FOR TRANSPORTATION ACTIVITIES
BY GROUP COMPOSITION

Role Behavior	Group Composition	
	Family-like (N=22)	Large (N=11)
Segregated/Independent	Women	27%
	Men	73
Joint		100%
Total	100	100

When group composition was compared to camp maintenance and fire related activities there was no great difference in the observations. This study found similar frequencies of segregated/independent and joint gender role behavior between family-like groups and large groups in camp maintenance and fire related activities.

Age

In comparing the seniors, middle aged and young adults with camp activities, it was thought the researcher might find very traditional gender segregated role behavior performed by senior citizens. It was also felt the same traditional behavior would be found with middle aged adults; however, more variations would appear. It was hoped that less traditional segregated behavior would be found with young adults. These assumptions were based on the idea that young people were questioning gender role behavior, especially young women.

Age was divided into the following categories when recorded:
Senior 65 years and over; middle-aged 30-64 year olds; young adults

20-29 years old; teenagers 13-19 years old; children 7-12 years old; and very young children, babies to six years old. When looking at adults, middle-aged men and women had the highest percentages of participation in each task in contrast to the seniors and young adults. The obvious reason is that the definition of middle-age or 30-64 years covers the largest year span of any other age group. It follows that the total number of observed middle-aged men and women was much larger than the total number of young adults or elderly people. Table XIV contains all activities and compares them to the frequency of participation for each adult age group.

TABLE XIV

AGE CATEGORIES BY CAMP ACTIVITIES

Age Categories	Activities				
	Food (N=141)	Camp Maintenance (N=66)	Fire Related (N=44)	Arrival/ Departure (N=58)	Trans- portation (N=39)
MEN	32% (45)	52% (34)	77% (34)	52% (30)	85% (33)
Seniors	4	11	11	3	59
Middle-aged	21	27	43	34	26
Young Adult	6	14	33	14	
WOMEN	68 (96)	48 (32)	23 (10)	48 (28)	15 (6)
Seniors	7	14	2	2	3
Middle-aged	44	24	7	29	10
Young Adult	17	11	14	17	3
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100

Table XIV does not show gender segregated/independent and joint role behavior. It does show the frequency with which age categories of each sex participated in camp activities. There was no major varia-

variation from the general results in participation by women and men so the role behavior was not presented. Middle-aged men and women were observed most frequently. The percentages for this group do not vary greatly from overall results. In one or two instances it appears percentages for seniors and young adults were different than overall results. However, the number of observations were so small comments need not be made.

CONCLUSIONS

Several questions were asked in the beginning of this paper. They will be restated and a summation of the results will be given in answer to these questions.

a. If gender roles vary from the traditional, in what tasks do they appear (i.e., does the man take on cooking responsibilities and does he also wash the dishes)?

According to Table VII certain gender role behavior patterns that were used at home are also employed in the camping situation with reference to certain activities. Basing the answer on data collected on at-home role performance and camping role performance, there is no change in gender role behavior. However, it was not possible to collect data on how the campers divided their tasks at home, so the answer is somewhat vague. On the basis of the information gathered in this study it appears men and women do the same types of tasks that are included in the camping and home situation in the same manner. Many tasks that can be done at home and in the camping

situation tend to be highly gender segregated and usually performed by only men or women.

Variations in gender role patterns appeared in tasks that were not done at home and were done in a situation that was the least home-like with regard to physical and social environment. These new tasks were usually carried out jointly. Arrival and departure tasks were fairly complicated and this may be one reason people worked on them together. However, the idea that these tasks were unfamiliar may call for new patterns of role behavior and therefore create a variation from at-home behavior. Also, the data suggest that men become more involved in "women's" work when they camped in a tent than if they camped in a trailer. Here again the situation was less familiar than one's everyday situation and this may have effected how people behaved. However, people may choose to camp with the smallest number of conveniences because they want to put themselves in new roles or tenters behave in a less traditional manner at home also. In other words, their camping behavior may be different than the majority of campers but their at-home behavior may vary, also. Extended families tended toward a highly gender segregated role behavior between men and women, with women performing tasks at a somewhat higher frequency than men.

b. Does the woman do traditional tasks perhaps because camping is a family outing and she must be a "homemaker"? The general conclusions presented in Table VII point to an answer of "yes" because women do all the tasks they usually do at home in the camping situation. Several findings point to the fact that in large groups this role for women involves even more work than family-like groups. In these

situations the woman is "on stage" and perhaps is called upon to demonstrate her capacity to fill her role.

c. Do women perform traditional women's tasks and do men perform the tasks unique to the camping situation such as setting up the tent, chopping wood, walking for water? According to Table VI women performed 44 percent of the total tasks, men performed 46 percent and 10 percent of the activities were carried out jointly. Men and women both worked when camping at similar frequencies. However, women usually performed tasks that are done at home everyday such as washing dishes, meal cleanup, cooking, maintenance of clothing, and the general cleanup of the campsite. On the other hand, men usually or in some cases always performed tasks that were more unique to the camping situation and would not be done at home everyday. Some of these tasks included building a fire, chopping wood, and maintenance of recreational and camp equipment. Although men do home repairs, the type of things they would be repairing when camping were different. Driving and maintaining a car were the only tasks men do in both situations as consistently as women did food related tasks. Both men and women were involved in several tasks that are unique to camping such as getting water, lighting a gas stove, unpacking and packing equipment and setting up or taking down a shelter. However, overall women did more tasks that are similar to what they do at home than men.

Women did the same kind of work at home and camping. There are obligations that need to be met and no new social roles were developed to handle these obligations for most of the women campers. Then, according to leisure theorists, most women campers do not experience

leisure. Camping may give most women less structured situations where they can choose when to cook, etc. Men, of course, also have obligations and work they must carry out when camping; however, this work was different than what they usually perform. Generally, new social roles for men were not developed but the work men do was "new" and different from their everyday activities at home. Men, along with women, did not have leisure as theorists would define it, but had more time to choose when to do their tasks than they would at home. The general results (see Table VI), which show men and women participating in tasks to the same extent, does not support the idea that women work on vacations because they have not economically earned the right to leisure and men do no work because they have earned it.

However, the above statements lead to an idea that needs further investigation. Women had enough work to do to keep them fairly busy most of the day. However, men almost appeared to create various forms of work such as wood chopping, fire building, tinkering with the car, camp and recreational equipment. This idea of creating work could also apply to women in cleaning up the campsite, maintaining of appearance, and in length of meal preparation and clean up. Because the camping situation is different with regard to environment than the home it could offer a stimulating change or alternative to average gender role behavior. However, it appeared that people did not attempt to change these patterns, perhaps because the present roles are so functional. The car camping population I observed appeared far removed from the innovative and creative leisure of Presuelou (1971) or

Kaplan (1960). When free time was available and few commitments needed to be met, people tended to create tasks. These tasks are performed in a more home-like or traditional manner as the equipment becomes more home-like. Perhaps people do not have or want the tools to develop new social roles and when free time merges into boredom, people revert to work.

CHAPTER V

SOCIALIZATION AND CHILDCARE DATA

INTRODUCTION

This chapter will consider the three adult gender role patterns; segregated, independent and joint, and their frequency in relation to socialization of children in the camping situation. Adult supervision of children in task, play and disciplinary activities were the areas most frequently observed. The general results will be discussed and specific areas involving campground, camper type, group size and age will be looked at if patterns varying from general conclusions are found.

These particular data are being looked at not simply for gender role behavior but to see if males or females demonstrate expressive behavior. In the previous chapter it was shown that both sexes performed instrumental functions while camping. This finding upholds Levinger's (1964) and Leik's (1963) theory that males and females are instrumental. The information in this chapter will uncover who performs expressive tasks.

At the outset of the study it was felt that women would supervise children with tasks and be the disciplinarian while men would supervise play activities. Again it was believed that women would be performing

the same kind of tasks they do at home while men would be performing tasks different from their at-home everyday world.

Since the number of boys and girls observed was not equal, observations of children cannot be included in all tables. Having more boys than girls present in the camping situation may in itself reflect contemporary socialization patterns (see Table XV).

TABLE XV
NUMBER OF BOYS AND GIRLS IN THE CAMPING SITUATION

Sex	Age		Very Young Children (birth-6)	Total
	Teenage (13-19)	Children (7-12)		
Boys	28	56	47	131
Girls	48	35	21	104
Total	76	91	68	235

The above table shows how many teenagers (13-19 years old), children (7-12 years old) and very young children (baby to six years old) of both sexes were observed camping. Almost twice as many teenage girls were observed as teenage boys in family or family type situations. This may reflect the fact that boys may hold summer jobs more frequently than girls; and therefore, they cannot go with the family. This finding may also reflect the idea that boys have more freedom in deciding if they want to stay home or go with the family, while girls are expected to go along or usually want to go along. These figures may also reflect the norm that boys behave in an independent manner

earlier than girls. Also several groups of teenage boys camping alone were observed. However, no comparable groups of teenage girls were seen. The number of children of each sex was quite different than that of teenagers. Totally, there were more children (91) than teenagers (76) and there were quite a few more boys (56) than girls (35). Very young children reflect the same comparison. There were over twice as many boys (47) as girls (21) in this category. It appeared that family-like groups that camp with children from ages 1-12 usually had boys. Perhaps reasons for camping are: (1) boys should be exposed to the outdoors; or (2) it was easier for a family to travel or vacation via camping because they had boys and the parents felt boys could handle the experience better. Also of the seven babies observed (7 months to 15 months) only one was a girl. From my observations, there definitely seemed to be a pattern regarding the presence of boys and girls camping. The reasons why there were less teenage boys and more 1-12 year old boys than girls should be investigated further.

OVERALL RESULTS

Table XVI summarizes the results of three categories adults were involved in with children. The percentages represent the frequency of behavior of men and women using Bott's (1957) three gender role categories; independent, segregated, and joint. As was the case in the previous chapter, segregated and independent could not be separated and is handled as one category in the following table.

TABLE XVI

ADULT GENDER ROLE BEHAVIOR FOR SOCIALIZATION
AND CHILDCARE ACTIVITIES

Role Behavior Segregated/Independent	Supervise Task Activities (N=30)	Supervise Play Activities (N=43)	Discipline (N=29)	Total (N=102)
WOMEN TOTAL	63% (19)	53% (23)	62% (18)	59% (60)
Women with Girls	17	11	14	14
Women with Boys	33	37	34	35
Women with Both	13	5	14	10
MEN TOTAL	30 (9)	28 (12)	34 (10)	30 (31)
Men with Girls		9	14	8
Men with Boys	30	12	17	18
Men with Both		7	3	4
JOINT MEN AND WOMEN WITH BOTH	7 (2)	19 (8)	4 (.1)	11 (11)
TOTAL	100	100	100	100

First, supervising children in task related activities will be discussed. This area covers the six major areas dealt with in the previous chapter; food related tasks, camp maintenance tasks, fire related tasks, arrival and departure tasks and transportation. The behavior was recorded if an adult asked or told a child to do a task or to assist the adult with a task. The behavior was also recorded if a child was doing a task and it was obvious the adult was supervising by constant observation or comment. Women supervised girls 17 percent of the time, boys 33 percent of the time, and both boys and girls 13 percent of the time. Women supervised children in 63 percent of the work tasks. Men only supervised boys in these tasks and the

frequency was 30 percent. Only 7 percent of the time both men and women supervised children. In other words, 93 percent of the activities were performed in a gender segregated/independent manner; 63 percent involving women and 30 percent involving men. Only 7 percent of the activities were performed jointly. As Lopata (1971) stated, childcare is considered women's work and in this category of activity it also appeared childcare in camping was women's work. Women were involved in 70 percent of the supervision while men were involved in only 37 percent of the activities.

Most activities boys and girls participated in when being supervised followed the general pattern of behavior men and women participated in (see Table VI). Women did not usually supervise boys in behavior men usually carried out and men did not supervise girls in behavior women usually performed. In other words, women supervised girls in women's work and men supervised boys in men's work, and men and/or women supervised boys and/or girls in work they both usually took part in frequently. A typical situation was a woman asking the girl to wipe the dishes while the man asked the boy to get water to put in the radiator of the car. General gender role patterns of behavior were being reinforced.

Supervising play of children was defined as an adult(s) playing with children, children asking adult permission to play a certain game or to play in a certain place or adults telling the child or children what and where they could play. Another definition of this task was the situation where the child or children were playing in the site and

the adult was obviously paying attention to them by constant observation or comment. The reader is reminded that all observation of socialization and childcare activities took place within the campsite just as the gender role task behavior did.

Women supervised girls 11 percent of the time, boys 37 percent and boys and girls together 5 percent of the time. Women were involved supervising boys and girls 53 percent of the time. Men supervised boys 12 percent of the time, girls 9 percent and together 7 percent of the time. Men supervised boys and girls 28 percent of the time. Men and women supervised children jointly 19 percent of the time. Supervision of play was somewhat less gender segregated/independent (82%) with regard to role behavior than supervision of work (93%), while joint gender role behavior was somewhat more frequent (19%) for play supervision. Women alone performed the activity 53 percent of the time, while men performed it 28 percent of the time. Again, women were involved in the activity much more frequently than men. Here again women performed the same kinds of tasks that they do at home in the camping situation. It was thought that men might spend more time with their children than women because a vacation gives men more free time but that did not seem to happen. However, a fair proportion of the play observations (47%) involved men. Men did spend time with their children in the camping situation; however, women were still seen more frequently supervising children's play (73%).

Discipline was considered punishment (usually verbal) for something a child or children did. Discipline was also defined as an adult(s) telling a child or children not to do something.

Women were observed disciplining girls 14 percent of the time, boys 34 percent of the time and boys and girls together 14 percent of the time. Women disciplined boys and girls 48 percent of the time. Men disciplined boys 14 percent of the time, girls 14 percent of the time and boys and girls together 8 percent of the time. Men and women jointly disciplined children only in 3 percent of the observations. Discipline is a highly segregated role behavior (97%) that women (62%) performed almost twice as often as men (34%). Only 3 percent of the observations were of joint gender role behavior. Again discipline, along with the other tasks, was carried out by women more than men and was a major part of childcare. Here again is a situation, according to sociological literature, where men do not become as involved as women at home. The camping situation offered the opportunity for men to take part in discipline because of time and physical proximity. However, more cases of women (66%) than men (38%) were observed.

A statement on instruction and its omission in this study should be made. Many people assume that the reason families go camping is to teach their children about the outdoors. This particular study found very few situations in which instruction took place. Perhaps camping has very little to do with an adult teaching a child a skill. Parents may feel learning while camping may mainly come from the experience itself or the exposure to this different environment.

Campground, Camper Type, Group
Composition and Age

The socialization and childcare activity data were compared with campground, camper type, group composition and age to see if any gender role variations emerged. As stated in Chapter IV, non-traditional roles may emerge in nonurban campgrounds and with tent campers because of the physical environment and the values and attitudes of the campers who put themselves in those situations. Large groups might show higher gender segregated behavior and the tasks would almost always be performed by women. It was also thought that more joint behavior would be demonstrated by young adults.

After examining each of the four categories with discipline, supervision of task and supervision of play activities only one table indicated a variation in role behavior from the overall results in Table XVI.

Campground. According to Table XVII the supervision of children in recreation by campground type was done by a very high frequency of women in nonurban campgrounds.

TABLE XVII

GENDER SEGREGATED/INDEPENDENT AND JOINT ROLE BEHAVIOR FOR SUPERVISING CHILDREN IN RECREATION BY CAMPGROUND TYPE

Role Behavior		Campground Type	
		Urban (N=24)	Nonurban (N=19)
Segregated/Independent	Women	38%	74%
	Men	33	21
Joint		29	5
Total		100	100

Initially this researcher had hoped to find nontraditional behavior displayed in nonurban campgrounds, not an extreme of traditional behavior. This may be explained by the fact that local rural people camped at the nonurban campgrounds and these people probably had highly segregated roles and women tending the children was one of these roles.

All other tables are similar to the general findings on Table XVI or the observations were so infrequent the findings are meaningless. These tables are found in Appendix C.

CONCLUSIONS

The questions asked about socialization and childcare in Chapter I will be answered from the data gathered.

a. What kind of adult models of gender role behavior are presented to children?

The answer to this question is found in Chapter IV. Children in the camping situation perceived women as usually performing food related tasks while men usually performed fire related tasks. Camp maintenance tasks were done by men and women at an equal rate.

Arrival and/or departure tasks should usually be perceived as a task done by both men and women jointly. Transportation tasks were taken care of by men. The behavior of men and women were models for the children present in the camping situation, and there were definite patterns that most campers fit into. The models adults present with regard to the division of labor in the camping situation were similar to the models adults present in home situations.

b. Is there a pattern of gender role behavior by children similar to adults in living tasks?

First of all, tabulations were not presented because of the unequal number of boys and girls. Also, there were very few cases of children helping or doing tasks. Adults were the major task performers. Children, as a group of campers, had the most free time. One girl told me she did not have to work very hard when their family went camping. Her responsibility was to keep the tent that she and her brother slept in clean and help with meals. Her brother's job was to keep a good supply of wood on hand. When children were asked to assist with or do a task, they usually performed in an area that reflected adult gender role patterns.

Several specific instances reflect the division of labor between women and men. Several situations arose where boys discussed their ideas on washing dishes with the researcher. One boy said that he and his family went to a motel sometime when they traveled and they did not have to wash dishes then. In response to the question did he wash dishes he stated: "My sister washes dishes--she's old enough, I'm not. But I don't like to do it and neither does she." A situation was observed where a woman told a boy to wash dishes, and then she left the campsite on a bicycle. After she left the site, the boy got on a bicycle and rode away. His teenage sister was doing the dishes. In another situation a woman in a unit with two boys and a girl says: "I need somebody in here to dry dishes, Linda!" The man then says, "Get in there (meaning get into the camper truck), Linda." Meanwhile the man was explaining something about the camper truck

engine to one of the boys. In all three situations girls did the dishes. These present a type of continuum or progression; the first being that the boy may do the dishes but he is not old enough at present. He also knows it is not a pleasant job and he realizes his sister does not like it either. The second situation shows the mother asking the boy to do the dishes but he avoids it. The mother may not perceive dishwashing as strictly women's work but by the children's behavior they certainly do. The last situation shows a strict division of labor by gender and the idea reinforced by the adults.

Another situation dealing with chopping wood shows a brother and sister performing a "man's" task jointly, with some degree of frustration on the boy's part. A teenage boy was swinging an axe wildly and chopping wood. His sister walked by and he asked if she would like to try chopping wood. She wanted to try, to his surprise, and he then appeared somewhat unwilling about giving her the axe. She took the axe and split a log in one swing. Her brother then warned her that the head of the axe was not on tight so she should be more careful. Instead of reinforcing her for doing a good job, she was told to be more careful. However, in reality she had been more careful than her brother when he chopped wood.

C. Is the supervision of children a task done by either men or women or both?

Both men and women supervised children in work and play, although women did it more frequently than men. Although the results were not as one-sided as the researcher expected them to be with women always performing them, several situations emphasized that childcare

may interfere with women's leisure. One woman mentioned to me in the restroom at Wallowa that she had brought her seven week old baby boy with and that the baby was having a great time but she was not. She commented, "All I do is change and wash diapers." She said she will not go camping with the baby again until it was a little older. She felt a baby that young was just too much work for her. Another situation was observed on the beach at Wallowa. Everytime the woman went into deep water, her little boy started crying and screaming. The man in the group told the woman not to go swimming because it was such a hassle for him on shore to calm the little boy down. When the researcher left the beach the little boy and man were sitting in a truck away from the water. Apparently this woman did not give up her free time to task behavior, somewhat to the dismay of the man.

On the basis of this study, this researcher disagrees with Parsons and Rossi that women do not totally dominate the expressive function in the family in childcare activities. Leik's (1963) and Levinger's (1964) statements that males and females perform expressive and instrumental functions is reflected in this research. Women were involved more than men; however, the frequency of men in all child related activities was at least 30 percent. Men and women did campground tasks at about the same frequency. However, if children were present the women had a greater chance of doing more work than the man in the group. To summarize, men and women are instrumental and expressive; although women probably performed expressive functions more frequently than men when camping.

d. Is discipline prevalent in the camping situation and, in terms of gender role behavior, does the adult male or the female take the major responsibility?

According to previous research (Clark, 1971), camping is a situation in which adults supervise and discipline children less often than they do at home. Twenty-nine cases of discipline were observed during the month in the field. It appeared that disciplinary action was taken frequently within certain units or it was not done at all in many others. No physical discipline was observed. However, harsh and loud voices were used by several adults. One must remember this was a situation where campers were "on stage" to many of their neighbors so the child or children were not only being reprimanded but reprimanded in front of strangers. In some situations it appeared the discipline was performed for no reason. An example of irrational discipline was a woman screaming at the children and almost jumping up and down in rage because the children had lost their patience concerning some situation that had arisen. On the other end of the continuum was the woman who told a little boy in a calm voice not to run with a stick in his hands and explained the dangers. A wide variety of disciplinary techniques were seen. Although both men and women did this task, women did it more frequently.

CHAPTER VI

FUTURE RESEARCH

RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter will cover several areas. First, a discussion of weak points in the present study will be dealt with. Then several areas, not directly connected with the major concerns of this study, that came to my attention while doing this research will be reviewed. These may be fruitful areas for future research. The last section of this chapter will deal with the findings of this pilot study, and suggestions on how to go about setting up a continuation of this study.

Present Study

Because this was a pilot study and remained at a very general level there were a number of factors that were excluded. These factors should be included if further investigation of this area is made. No statements on values and attitudes of the people studied were recorded because campers' opinions on how they perceived tasks and the division of labor by gender in camping was not obtained. Also, because the contact was not made, the researcher was unable to carry through with the research in a number of campers' homes. If this at-home contact is not made, a truly accurate account of what happens at home and in the camping situation for each camping unit cannot be made. Generally, after reviewing literature on the division of labor in the home and

reviewing these data it appears campers probably do the same things the same way in both situations. This method of comparison may be enough for a pilot study but future research should extend into the campers' homes.

The technical aspect of the methods could have also been improved. The researcher out in the field needs a full day or even two in the large, highly developed campgrounds to get acclimated. These first days should be spent doing map drawings, unit sketches, and exploration of activity areas. When these activities were incorporated between observation periods, it was a very long, hard day for the researchers. The ideal way to conduct this type of research is to camp in a trailer that would be converted into an office. Table and file areas can be used, and observing the surrounding sites from a trailer attracts much less attention than having the researcher sit out in the open with a note pad or tape recorder. Also, data can be collected faster and more accurately when a small tape recorder is used instead of writing down behavior as it happens. With a tape recorder, the researcher's eyes never have to leave the site(s) of observation. The tapes should be transcribed as soon as possible. However, I found it very difficult to type observations when in the field because of inconvenient quarters and lack of time. The transcribing of tapes could be done accurately immediately following the field work.

New Areas for Future Research

Class. Several previous researchers have documented campers as belonging to the middle class (Oregon State Highway Division Area

Activity Preference Survey, 1969; Hendee, et al., 1968; and Burch and Wenger, 1967). Occupation was not systematically recorded in this study; however, I think the camping population is changing. As camping becomes more popular, the more heterogeneous the camping population becomes. The income of most campers is probably that of middle class based on observations of amount and type of equipment. However, some campers' occupations could be considered working class, such as a janitor. Certain observed behavior should be tested and then used as indicators of campers' values and attitudes. One indicator I became aware of was language, such as grammar and usage. Another was behavior towards children, such as language and tone of voice in talking to and disciplining children. Harshness and commands of total obedience in everyday situations were seen in contrast to other campers who explained, in a normal tone of voice, to the child why he or she should not do certain things. If this idea is investigated further, a number of variables including language and behavior toward children could be used as indicators of class when using participant observation.

Several situations reflected the idea that some middle-aged and elderly male campers have trouble adjusting to a more relaxed day than their everyday work day. A man on the beach at Wallowa was telling the woman and boy he was with to hurry. Finally the woman reminded him they had nowhere to go and no schedule to meet. An elderly man, who was retired but still working parttime, stated that he and his wife always go home as soon as they have done everything there is to do at the campground, even if it is a day or two earlier than they planned to leave. A middle-aged male commented to his fellow campers, "As you

get older, work seems a lot more fun and fun seems a lot more work."

As I was walking along the shore of Magone Lake, I asked a middle-aged fisherman if he had caught anything. He responded, "No, I fish to waste time, there are so few fish in this lake it's not worth fishing."

The idea that activities while camping were to fill time and were not as meaningful as one's behavior in his or her everyday world is a notion that should be further investigated. People's attitudes toward activities will add another dimension to the division of labor by gender.

Another interrelated area that could be looked at is backpacking. The present data suggest that a difference in gender role division of labor exists between trailer and tent campers. Does an even larger difference in gender role behavior exist between auto campers and primitive campers such as those who backpack, canoe or ride horses. Primitive camping is usually done with much less equipment and conveniences than any type of auto camping. Does the situation pull gender roles farther away from at-home patterns? Do people choose this type of camping because gender roles are different or do they choose this type of camping because gender roles are different from the average pattern and these people do not follow the average pattern even at home?

Future Research

This pilot study found that different patterns of behavior exist in different task areas and these patterns reflect the same division of labor used at home for comparable tasks. If this research

is to be furthered, the key elements that make the camping experience different from everyday life need to be isolated. The data suggest tenters perform tasks differently than trailer campers with regard to the division of labor. The methods of data collection need to be expanded in order to find what Knopp suggests leisure researchers should be looking for.

We are often critical of the individual who takes to the woods with all of the paraphernalia associated with civilization. Perhaps we have not devoted sufficient effort to isolate the elements which make this a different experience. It may be the informal social relationships or the mere proximity to a natural environment. People will seek new experiences while still maintaining a reluctance to give up things that are familiar to them. (Knopp, 1972, p. 136)

The following are questions, generated from this research that now need to be answered:

a. Do men enjoy camping because the activities they participate in are new and unique to the situation or do they become frustrated or even bored and invent work because the camping situation is so different than an average man's everyday life?

b. Do women find tasks they usually perform both in their everyday lives and while camping a help or a hinderance in their enjoyment of the camping situation? The additional area that needs to be investigated is the camper's vocabulary of motives for camping as a leisure activity. This meaning of work and leisure for campers should be investigated. Meaning is defined here as a communication system that participants use to define and direct action (Lofland, 1971). Also, more variables such as past camping experience and occupation should be included. The present study has found that people

tend to develop patterns of behavior when camping that reflect patterns at home. Researchers should direct their studies towards these questions: do men and women perceive their camping behavior as distinct from their home activities? Secondly, do these campers truly enjoy their camping activities and if so, why?

The above questions can be answered by employing several techniques of data collection. The next step is to perform intensive interviews on campers in the field and again in their homes. After the results of the interviews have been analyzed and combined with the results of this study, hypotheses can be formed. A questionnaire can be developed to test these hypotheses. With the use of a questionnaire a larger, more representative sample can be acquired than those employed in participant observation or intensive interviews. This questionnaire can also be sent to the campers when they are at home so questions about at-home gender role behavior will not be biased. More elaborate statistical techniques can be applied to this future data if a questionnaire is used, as compared to simple cross tabulation employed in this pilot study.

In conclusion, it appears that most men and women do not "get away from it all" in gender role behavior and division of labor in camping. This study concludes that there is a large discrepancy between the theorists' and the auto campers' definitions of leisure (Presuelou, 1971; Kaplan, 1960; and Parker, 1971). These theorists fail to account for the campers' definitions of work and leisure because they fail to comprehend the economic status of so-called

womens' work. Those in the field of leisure theory and research need to concentrate on the economic activities of both men and women in order to provide information that can aid in the understanding of how and why men and women use their free time as they do.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

SCHEDULES

The following two items are examples of the unit inventory schedule. One unit inventory sheet was filled out for each group of campers observed. New or correct information was added to it at each observation if necessary. An observation schedule was filled out on each group for each observation.

Campground _____ Unit Inventory Schedule Tt Tr Ct

Unit Number _____

Number and Dates of ob. _____

Length of Stay _____

I. Characteristics of Unit:

A. Type of equipment

1. Car
2. Shelter
3. Camping equip.
4. City equip. (games, lawn chairs)
5. Additions to site made by the unit

B. # and breakdown of members in unit: note appearance, language, etc.

	Males	Females
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C. History of unit: note unobtrusive measures

II. Characteristics of site

A. Physical layout; note reference points, i.e., restroom, water, activity areas, etc.

B. Physical Barriers

1. Natural

2. Man made

OBSERVATION SCHEDULE

Tt	Wk-d	6-8	16-18	Unit #	_____
Tr		8-10	18-20	Total times of obser.	_____
Ct	Wk-e	10-12	20-22	Weather	_____
		12-14	22-24	Campground	_____
		14-16		Date and time	_____

Age and sex breakdown by Unit

Very Young	Young	Teeners	Young Adult	Middle Age	Elderly
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Males

Females

APPENDIX B

DEFINITIONS OF TASKS AND ACTIVITIES

The following definitions clarify the coding of observations.

1. Meal preparation included taking cooking equipment and food out of storage. Also setting the table was part of this definition. Anything related to the preparation of food such as peeling potatoes was coded under this heading. This definition did not include the cooking of food which is a separate category. Cold food preparation such as mixing tang and making sandwiches would also be coded under meal preparation.
2. Cooking was defined as preparing hot food over the stove or fire. Roasting marshmallows was included.
3. Meal clean up was putting food and equipment away and throwing garbage away directly after a meal. Scrapping plates was also included.
4. Washing dishes included washing and drying the dishes.
5. Getting water was defined as the act of drawing water in a pan, pot or thermos. This usually entailed leaving one's campsite for a centrally located water supply.
6. Pumping and/or lighting gas stove--self-explanatory.
7. Chopping wood--self-explanatory.
8. Building and/or maintaining a fire--self-explanatory.
9. Unpacking and/or packing equipment was defined as doing such when arriving and/or leaving the campsite.
10. Setting up and/or taking down shelter included the putting up and/or taking down of a tent. Unhitching, hitching, parking, hooking up and disengaging water and electricity for a trailer were also coded under this category.
11. General clean up of site referred to any time other than arrival or departure when one picked up or straightened out magazines, pillows, toys, or other items in the site. Throwing garbage away other than around meal time was included here.

12. Maintenance of clothing referred to ironing, mending, washing, and hanging up clothes or towels on a clothes line.
13. Maintenance of camp equipment meant taking care of equipment that was considered functional to the camper's style of living. Examples would be emptying a cooler, repairing part of a trailer or tent or other piece of equipment. Putting up curtains in a trailer, and locking trailer doors were also included in the definition.
14. Maintenance of recreational equipment was considered checking and/or repairing equipment that was used for recreation such as rubber rafts, fishing rods, bicycles, motors for boats, etc.
15. Driving and/or riding in a car--self-explanatory.
16. Maintenance of car was defined as checking, repairing or cleaning a car, truck or other major means of transportation.
17. Maintenance of personal appearance included walking to and/or from restroom with towels and soap (indicating a shower) or shaving kit; washing face, shaving, brushing teeth, combing hair, setting hair or wearing curlers, filing nails, applying make-up and squeezing facial pimples.
18. Childcare--discipline referred to adults verbally and/or physically reprimanding a child for his or her actions. Discipline also referred to interaction by an adult before the child acted, such as telling or warning a child not to do something.
19. Totally passive recreation included activities that involved no action such as sitting or napping.
20. Passive--active recreation referred to a camper participating in some kind of activity while seated such as reading, card games, etc.
21. Active recreation included all nonmaintenance activities that required the participant to stand, walk, run, etc.

APPENDIX C

ADDITIONAL TABLES

Gender Role

The following is a listing of tables comparing campground, camper type, and group size with the general categories observed in relation to gender role behavior. The following tables show no large variation with the overall results (see Table VI). The tables are presented for further clarification of the author's statements and for the reader's interest.

Campgrounds

TABLE XVIII

GENDER SEGREGATED/INDEPENDENT AND JOINT ROLE BEHAVIOR FOR
FOOD RELATED TASKS BY CAMPGROUND TYPES

Role Behavior		Campground Types	
		Urban (N=71)	Nonurban (N=58)
Segregated/Independent	Women	68%	64%
	Men	25	29
Joint		7	7
Total		100	100

TABLE XIX

GENDER SEGREGATED/INDEPENDENT AND JOINT ROLE BEHAVIOR FOR CAMP
MAINTENANCE TASKS BY CAMPGROUND TYPES

Role Behavior		Campground Types	
		Urban (N=42)	Nonurban (N=20)
Segregated/Independent	Women	43%	55%
	Men	55	40
Joint		2	5
Total		100	100

TABLE XX

GENDER SEGREGATED/INDEPENDENT AND JOINT ROLE BEHAVIOR FOR FIRE
RELATED TASKS BY CAMPGROUND TYPES

Role Behavior		Campground Types	
		Urban (N=25)	Nonurban (N=19)
Segregated/Independent	Women	20%	26%
	Men	80	74
Joint			
Total		100	100

TABLE XXI

GENDER SEGREGATED/INDEPENDENT AND JOINT ROLE BEHAVIOR FOR
ARRIVAL AND/OR DEPARTURE TASKS BY CAMPGROUND TYPES

Role Behavior		Campground Type	
		Urban (N=21)	Nonurban (N=14)
Segregated/Independent	Women	14%	14%
	Men	29	21
Joint		57	65
Total		100	100

TABLE XXII

GENDER SEGREGATED/INDEPENDENT AND JOINT ROLE BEHAVIOR FOR
TRANSPORTATION TASKS BY CAMPGROUND TYPES

Role Behavior		Campground Types	
		Urban (N=27)	Nonurban (N=12)
Segregated/Independent	Women	15%	17%
	Men	85	83
Joint			
Total		100	100

Camper Type

TABLE XXIII

GENDER SEGREGATED/INDEPENDENT AND JOINT ROLE BEHAVIOR FOR
TRANSPORTATION TASKS BY CAMPER TYPE

Role Behavior		Camper Type	
		Trailer (N=21)	Tent (N=14)
Segregated/Independent	Women	19%	14%
	Men	81	86
Joint			
Total		100	100

TABLE XXIV

GENDER SEGREGATED/INDEPENDENT AND JOINT ROLE BEHAVIOR FOR
CAMP MAINTENANCE TASKS BY CAMPER TYPE

Role Behavior		Camper Type	
		Trailer (N=38)	Tent (N=18)
Segregated/Independent	Women	45%	44%
	Men	50	56
Joint		5	
Total		100	100

Group Composition

TABLE XXV

GENDER SEGREGATED/INDEPENDENT AND JOINT ROLE BEHAVIOR FOR
FOOD RELATED TASKS BY GROUP COMPOSITION

Role Behavior		Group Composition	
		Family-like (N=61)	Large (N=50)
Segregated/Independent	Women	66%	74%
	Men	26	20
Joint		8	6
Total		100	100

TABLE XXVI

GENDER SEGREGATED/INDEPENDENT AND JOINT ROLE BEHAVIOR FOR
CAMP MAINTENANCE TASKS BY GROUP COMPOSITION

Role Behavior		Group Composition	
		Family-like (N=23)	Large (N=25)
Segregated/Independent	Women	52%	52%
	Men	44	44
Joint		4	4
Total		100	100

TABLE XXVII

GENDER SEGREGATED/INDEPENDENT AND JOINT ROLE BEHAVIOR FOR
FIRE RELATED TASKS BY GROUP COMPOSITION

Role Behavior		Group Composition	
		Family-like (N=18)	Large (N=18)
Segregated/Independent	Women	28%	28%
	Men	72	72
Joint			
Total		100	100

Socialization and Children

The following is a listing of tables comparing campground, camper type, group size and age with socialization and childcare activities according to gender role behavior. The following tables show no large variation with the overall results (see Table XVI). The tables are presented for further clarification of my statements and for the reader's interest.

Campgrounds

TABLE XXVIII

GENDER SEGREGATED/INDEPENDENT AND JOINT ROLE BEHAVIOR FOR
SUPERVISING CHILDREN IN TASKS BY CAMPGROUND TYPE

Role Behavior		Campground Type	
		Urban (N=15)	Nonurban (N=15)
Segregated/Independent	Women	67%	60%
	Men	20	40
Joint		13	
Total		100	100

TABLE XXIX

GENDER SEGREGATED/INDEPENDENT AND JOINT ROLE BEHAVIOR FOR
DISCIPLINE BY CAMPGROUND TYPE

Role Behavior		Campground Type	
		Urban (N=14)	Nonurban (N=15)
Segregated/Independent	Women	64%	60%
	Men	36	33
Joint			7
Total		100	100

Camper Type

TABLE XXX

GENDER SEGREGATED/INDEPENDENT AND JOINT ROLE BEHAVIOR FOR
SUPERVISING CHILDREN IN TASKS BY CAMPER TYPE

Role Behavior		Camper Type		
		Trailer (N=9)	Camper Truck (N=10)	Tent (N=11)
Segregated/Independent	Women	56%	70%	64%
	Men	44	10	36
Joint			20	
Total		100	100	100

TABLE XXXI

GENDER SEGREGATED/INDEPENDENT AND JOINT ROLE BEHAVIOR FOR
SUPERVISING CHILDREN IN RECREATION BY CAMPER TYPE

Role Behavior		Camper Type		
		Trailer (N=8)	Camper Truck (N=15)	Tent (N=20)
Segregated/Independent	Women	13%	60%	65%
	Men	63	20	20
Joint		24	20	15
Total		100	100	100

TABLE XXXII

GENDER SEGREGATED/INDEPENDENT AND JOINT ROLE BEHAVIOR FOR
DISCIPLINE BY CAMPER TYPE

Role Behavior		Camper Type		
		Trailer (N=8)	Camper Truck (N=5)	Tent (N=16)
Segregated/Independent	Women	62%	60%	63%
	Men	38	40	31
Joint				6
Total		100	100	100

Group Composition

TABLE XXXIII

GENDER SEGREGATED/INDEPENDENT AND JOINT ROLE BEHAVIOR FOR
SUPERVISING CHILDREN IN TASKS BY GROUP COMPOSITION

Role Behavior		Group Composition	
		Family-like (N=20)	Large (N=10)
Segregated/Independent	Women	60%	70%
	Men	35	20
Joint		5	10
Total		100	100

TABLE XXXIV

GENDER SEGREGATED/INDEPENDENT AND JOINT ROLE BEHAVIOR FOR
SUPERVISING CHILDREN IN RECREATION BY GROUP COMPOSITION

Role Behavior		Group Composition	
		Family-like (N=20)	Large (N=23)
Segregated/Independent	Women	55%	52%
	Men	25	30
Joint		20	18
Total		100	100

TABLE XXXV

GENDER SEGREGATED/INDEPENDENT AND JOINT ROLE BEHAVIOR FOR
DISCIPLINE BY GROUP COMPOSITION

Role Behavior		Group Composition	
		Family-like (N=17)	Large (N=12)
Segregated/Independent	Women	65%	58%
	Men	29	42
Joint		6	
Total		100	100

Age

TABLE XXXVI

AGE CATEGORIES FOR SOCIALIZATION AND CHILDREN TASKS

Age Categories	Tasks		
	Supervising Tasks (N=35)	Supervising Recreation (N=52)	Discipline (N=31)
MEN	31% (11)	40% (21)	39% (12)
Elderly		8	3
Middle-Aged	17	25	26
Young Adult	14	8	10
WOMEN	69% (24)	60% (31)	61% (19)
Elderly	9	13	6
Middle-Aged	40	19	35
Young Adult	20	27	19
TOTAL	100	100	100