

# 皮埃爾·布爾迪厄的場域、習性 與資本概念於戶外與冒險活動 中的應用

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## 摘 要

本文著重於布爾迪厄的三個概念，這些概念將協助我們在英國與中國社會背景下探索戶外和冒險活動（OAA）的發展，並了解其在教育領域的體育課程中的地位。這需要審查此兩國在社會、教育和文化背景下的差異。由於人們思考和行動的方式受到不同的社會、政治和文化力量的影響（Pike and Beames, 2013），換言之，人們的行為是基於他們的文化和社會的複雜聯繫。因此，有必要採取紀律和系統的方法，以了解事實，獲取可靠的信息，並解釋它，以批判性地探究和思考社會中戶外與冒險活動的發展。此焦點將對人們行為與社會之間關係的社會學理解，做出顯著的理論和實證貢獻。由於戶外與冒險活動存在於人們生活、娛樂和工作的社會環境中，因此本文透過布爾迪厄的理論框架來了解戶外與冒險活動和戶外冒險經驗的社會方面。本文第一部分解釋借鑒布爾迪厄的概念來理解社會中的戶外與冒險活動的原因。第二部分利用具體的理論框架幫助理解戶外和冒險活動與戶外和冒險經驗的發展。第三部分討論了布爾迪厄概念的局限性。最後，第四部分總結布爾迪厄的核心概念有助於理解一般的日常社會行為，特別是在戶外和冒險活動中。

**關鍵詞：**布爾迪厄、戶外和冒險活動、外冒險活動、體育教育

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## **Pierre Bourdieu's Concepts of Field, Habitus and Capital in Outdoor and Adventurous Activities**

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### **Abstract**

This study focuses on three Bourdieu's concepts that will assist in exploring the development of OAA (Outdoor and Adventurous Activities) in the English and Chinese contexts, and understanding its place in the physical education curriculum within the realm of education system. This entails an examination of the differences between these two countries in social, educational and cultural contexts. The way people think and act is influenced by different social, political and cultural forces (Pike and Beames, 2013); in other words, people's behaviour is based on a complex connection with their culture and society. Thus, it is necessary to adopt a disciplined and systematic approach in order to understand the facts, acquire credible information, and interpret it in order to study and think critically about the development of OAA in society. This overarching focus will make a significant theoretical and empirical contribution to the sociological understanding of the relationship between people's behaviour and their society. Since OAA exists in a social context in which people live, play and work, a theoretical framework was organised to make sense of the social aspects of OAA and the OAA experience. The reason for using Bourdieu's concepts to understand OAA in society is explained in the first section. The focus of the second section is

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specifically how this theoretical framework helps to understand the development of OAA and the OAA experience. The limitations of Bourdieu's concepts are discussed in the third section. Finally, the fourth section draws on his core concepts that are helpful for understanding everyday social behaviour in general, especially in outdoor and adventurous activities.

**Keywords:** Bourdieu, OAA, outdoor and adventurous experience, physical education

## Introduction

OAA<sup>1</sup>(Outdoor and Adventurous Activities), which entails educating students through outdoor and adventurous experiences, is generally integrated within the physical education curriculum for England (Martin, 2000; The National Curriculum for England, 1999/2013; Thomas, 2005). The idea of educating students through outdoor and adventurous experiences was introduced to Chinese society by globalisation and colonisation in the mid-1900s (Cheung, 2014); however, it has not been adopted in the same way in China. Higher education institutions in China began to recognise the benefits of learning through OAA and introduced relevant programmes and courses in their curricula in the early 21<sup>st</sup> century (Marrow and Torres, 2000; Mok and Lee, 2001). OAA is currently perceived as an alternative teaching strategy in physical education curricula in Chinese higher education (Yang et al., 2005), but it started late as an educational approach in China and was developed in a different way from Western countries, such as England. While the general implementation of OAA tends to be similar across all regions of the globe, the concept and implementation are specific based on cultural and historical differences.

Since there is no a perfect social theory that completely fits every social science research, researchers must choose the one that is the most appropriate (Beames, 2004). While examining the literature related to different

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<sup>1</sup>The term 'OAA' was introduced as part of the physical education curriculum in 1995 National Curriculum for England. OAA is still included in the latest National Curriculum for England at key stages two (pupils aged 7-11), three (11-14) and four (14-16) of the physical education curriculum.

sociological theories, it became obvious that the core concepts of the French sociologist, Pierre Bourdieu, effectively enabled me to fully understand the relationship between OAA and the social context and assisted to critically examine OAA and OAA participation in people's lives, communities, societies and families. By making an empirical analysis of cultural production in French society, Bourdieu developed a series of concepts to explain how people internalise the norms and patterns of the social world in which they live and how their thoughts and actions are influenced by the practices and structures of that social world (Bourdieu, 1993). Although Bourdieu's social work primarily focuses on sociological issues outside school, his key concepts have been adopted in several educational studies (Backman, 2010; Brown, 2005; Hultkvist and Palme, 2006). The methodology that underpins Bourdieu's empirical analysis of social concepts has been employed within different research areas, including the contexts of sport, university and OAA (Beames and Atencio, 2008; Naidoo, 2004; Telford and Beames, 2015). Bourdieu's perspective and theoretical framework are deemed to be a valuable tool that helps researchers to think critically about how the relationship between OAA and social structures is further reproduced by subsequent generations (Bourdieu, 1977).

Based on the aim of this study, Bourdieu's perspective seems to be a reasonable starting point for a comparative study of education in OAA within physical education curriculum. Since OAA originated in the West, it was inevitable that a western social theory should be used to understand how OAA has been developed in the western world and taking it to China helped me to question what was happening there and understand the similarities and differences between England and China. The application of Bourdieu's

perspective facilitated a deeper consideration of the factors that impact the application of OAA and the development of innovative practice and policy change. Hence, Bourdieu's theory of social practice is adopted in this study to explore the changing cultural interpretations of OAA, their effect on the practice of OAA, and the development of OAA in physical education as an act of social distinction (Bourdieu, 2010) with the aim of developing a collective understanding of the cultural relationship of OAA by exploring it as a field of cultural production and the notion of it within that field.

## **Bourdieu's Social Concept**

In Bourdieu's social concept (1977, 1990), he suggests that objective social structures and human agency exist in a dynamic and interdependent relationship. Individuals are able to act, think and make decisions, due to 'their human capacity to be aware of themselves in relation to other people and institutions of the social world' (Beames and Telford, 2013, p.79), such as educational systems. However, this ability for self-determination is made by the common practices and structures of the social world within specified conditions. In Bourdieu's theory of practice, he attempts to overcome these dualities using a complex interplay of his key concepts, namely field, habitus and capital. Bourdieu (1984, p. 101) explains the interplay between field, habitus and capital by means of the following equation;

$$[(\text{habitus}) (\text{capital}) + \text{field}] = \text{practice}.$$

This is primarily a relational concept in which the parts exist in conjunction with each other. For example, the field of OAA and its value are

produced and maintained by the individuals (participants or facilitators) and institutions (universities or official organisations) within it; the habitus is caused by the absorption of the structures of the OAA field into the individuals' way of thinking or behaving; and different forms of capital (educational resources or knowledge) are designated as being of value within the field of OAA. Hence, it cannot be understood in isolation. Bourdieu's theory of practice is chosen as the theoretical framework because it creates a fluid and dynamic image of human behaviour in the social world. His theory of social practice led me to understand the dynamic relationship that exists between an individual agency and the rules and practices in the field of OAA. This next section contains a general discussion of Bourdieu's theory of practice, with particular reference to the concepts of field, habitus and capital.

### ***1. Field***

Field is the macro concept of Bourdieu's thoughts, and this helps us to understand the circumstances and the place where interactions such as conflicts, discussions or negotiations take place (Accardo, 2006; Golsorkhi and Huault, 2006). Field can be seen as the different social contexts in which agents and institutions are integrated and interact with each other in terms of the specific rules within the field (Walther, 2014). Therefore, the field of OAA can be understood to be a complex space composed of producers (academics and scholars), distributors (OAA facilitators and disseminating bodies), customers (students), and legitimate entities and distributors of goods (universities and curriculum) (Dromundo, 2007). The notion of outdoor learning or activities had existed long before the term, OAA, became a curriculum area in the 1995 National Curriculum for England; in other words,

outdoor and adventurous activities had always existed in people's daily lives. In terms of how OAA has been transformed through generations, it has been developed from actions by which people made a living or survived, such as expeditions and camping. The MacDonaldisation of Society<sup>2</sup> brought these skills in to the commercial market place so that the educational nature of OAA was incorporated in the National Curriculum. For example, the origins of outdoor and adventurous activities in England can be traced back to a history of exploration, such as expeditions made to discover distant lands (Allison et al., 2011). People gradually began to realise from these explorations and expeditions that engaging in outdoor and adventurous activities somehow contributed to their interpersonal and intrapersonal development (Allison and Von Wald, 2010). The social activity was transformed and legitimised over time into a more superior and respectable form for the dominant classes (Telford and Beames, 2015). For instance, being aware of the great value of the experience of adversity in contributing to young people's development, Kurt Hahn first developed and established the training institutions regarding OAA such as Gordonstoun School and Outward Bound (Veevers and Allison, 2011). The idea of Gordonstoun School and Outward Bound School was to teach British adolescents and young sailors the crucial survival and physical skills during World War II (Outward Bound International, 2018). Subsequently, Prince Philip, Duke of Edinburgh recognises the value of learning in the outdoors for adolescents and young adults, and established the Duke of Edinburgh's Award Scheme in 1956 (DofE, 2016). The influential and dominant members of society borrow from culturally particular practices

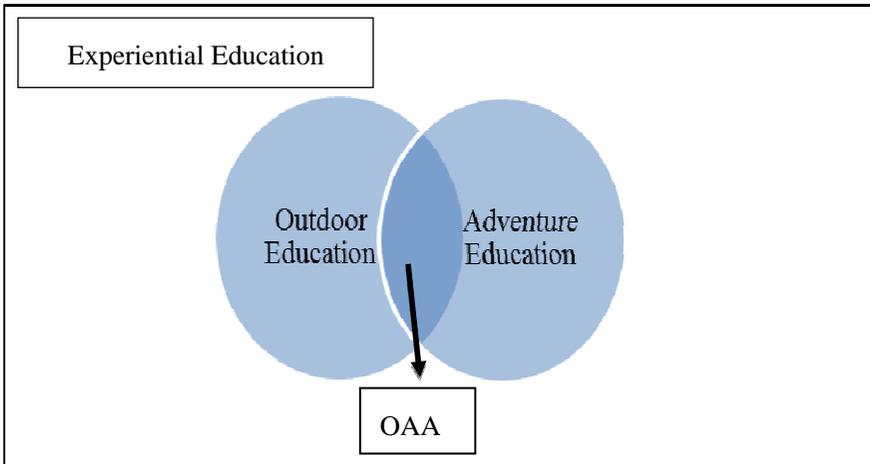
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<sup>2</sup>The term 'the MacDonaldisation of Society' refers to the socially-structured form of fast-food business in common social institutions (Ritzer, 1996).

(living or surviving viabilities) and then develop them into ‘higher’ order social practices within different social purposes and meanings. In general, those dominant people or groups are more effective in imposing their viewpoints to the most justified and reasonable one than others. Dominant and dominated positions are closely related to the field of power, which is split between competing parties and polarised between the holders within economic, political, or symbolic power (Speller, 2011). Dominant and dominated positions are discussed and presented in the section of capital, when Bourdieu claims that this cultural appropriation by the social elites has been a common phenomenon throughout history (Bourdieu, 1978, p. 823).

OAA underwent periods of enlightenment from other subject areas before an identity was created for it in England. As previously mentioned in the literature, since OAA adopts experiential techniques and adventurous concepts, it can be regarded as a branch or emerging field of outdoor education and adventure education that is defined and delivered in school-based dimension. In England, OAA emerged from physical education, outdoor education, adventure education and sport psychology by borrowing the key concepts such as physical development in physical education, the outdoor learning environment in outdoor education, perceived risk as a value in adventure education, or the psychology of leadership (Berry and Hodgson, 2011; Hopkins and Putnam, 1993; Stremba and Bisson, 2009). Based on the cultural appropriation of outdoor education or adventure education, OAA may reasonably be considered as a sub-field of a large social field of experiential education, outdoor education or adventure education (Telford and Beames, 2015). From a pedagogical stance, OAA is subordinate to the larger field of outdoor education and adventure education. OAA, outdoor education,

adventure education and experiential education can be considered to deliver a range of attributes, such as technique, intended activity, challenge and process OAA and the key educational philosophies.



**Figure 1 – Intersection of OAA with Key Educational Philosophies**

From a philosophical stance, it shares a social space with outdoor education and adventure education such as an outdoor and adventurous learning environment. This place is constructed and shaped by the OAA-related facilitators, groups or institutions situated within this space (Bourdieu, 1989). The identity associated with learning through OAA has currently been officially re-inscribed in the English physical education field, and the cultural meanings attached to OAA have significantly evolved into a field. OAA an organised approach of combining the educational philosophies of outdoor education and adventure education contributes to physical education in English context. According to the Physical Education Curriculum in England (National Curriculum for England, 1995, 2013), English students

have been required to engage in outdoor and adventurous activities or challenges both individually and within a team from key stage 2 to 4 since 1995<sup>3</sup>. In China, the CME integrated 'outdoor adventure education' into the university physical education syllabus in the Chinese Ordinary University Physical Education Curriculum Teaching Guidelines in 2002 (Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China, 2009). OAA as an educational project is a relative newcomer to the Chinese educational field and the emphasis is on higher education. People in the English culture have long been familiar with this social space of an outdoor and adventurous learning environment, but OAA may occupy a much more vibrant social space for people in the Chinese culture since they perceive it is a novel and special field.

Bourdieu (1989) points out that a field refers to a structured and social context that contains particular rules and practices that lead to certain ways of acting and thinking. Rules in a field are not formalised, but rather tacit in nature (Wacquant, 2011), and they are shaped and formed by members (agents) of the field (Bourdieu, 1983a). For example, each academic discipline in higher education such as OAA, music, history and mathematics, can be seen as a sub-field of the educational field. Each sub-field has its own customs and accepted ways of thinking and being that enable people to demonstrate logical, appropriate and relevant practices and strategies (Beames and Telford, 2013). There is no universal rule that applies to all sub-fields. In terms of OAA, there is the diverse continuum of ways in which facilitators approach the delivery of outdoor and adventurous activities, and some OAA-related models and

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<sup>3</sup>The term 'Outdoor and Adventurous Activities' was introduced as part of the curriculum in 1995 at key stage two (pupils aged 7-11), key stage three (11-14) and key stage four (14-16) of the Physical Education National Curriculum (The National Curriculum for England, 1995, 1999, 2004).

paradigms simultaneously exist to help facilitators to effectively deliver OAA. For example, when the activities are related to personal growth, the facilitators in the field of OAA may commonly and intuitively be drawn to considerations associated with the Adventure Experience Paradigm. This model highlights many key points for OAA facilitators in their planning and structuring of the experience (Bunyan, 2011). Bourdieu (1977) asserts that fields are autonomous because of their unique rules but the autonomy is only relative because fields are embedded in a social space. The field of OAA may be influenced by objective structures such as national ethics, politics, economics or religion. Bourdieu's social concept of field that helps to understand the field of OAA as a formative process have been revisited here.

The concept of OAA has been extensively recognised around the world, and OAA-related practice has been undertaken at different level of education. In the school context, OAA as an educational approach already exists in English students' school life since it was introduced into the National Curriculum for OAA in 1995. At the academic level, governing bodies of England, such as The Institute for Outdoor Learning, regularly publish lists of establishments and resources where OAA-related practitioners and facilitators can engage in outdoor and adventurous activities at various levels (IOL, 1998). In addition, the National Governing Body is committed to helping English citizens and communities to develop sporting habits for life by investing in organisations and projects (Sport England, 2016). This enables more English people and students to play sport and gives them the opportunity to engage in their chosen activities. A network of official associations and organisations not only provides guidance for recognising and improving the quality of OAA learning, but also ensures the development and progression of OAA in

England (The Institute for Outdoor Learning, 2016). This structured, social context enables English students to anticipate future tendencies and opportunities in the field of OAA (Walter, 2014). This field, where resources are generated and circulate, is composed of a series of superior and inferior relationships (Bourdieu, 1975). The relationship of these English official organisations enables the establishment of a network that provides various levels of assistance to develop OAA, such as funding, facilities and planning, research and careers. When considering the field of OAA in China, there is no official body or academic institutions that support its development and progression; in contrast, English students seem to possess more OAA-related resources and relevant educational background.

Bourdieu (1989) emphasises that, although each field is independent and has competition rules, there are some cross-references among different fields. According to Bourdieu's research, a similar relationship of structured contexts exists between the power of the fields and the field of elite higher education in France (Bourdieu, 1989). The traditional idea of education in China is that the education system may provide more opportunities for disadvantaged groups to improve their social status (Fu, 2011; Lee, 2000). There is a phenomenon that students who study in good educational institutes may have high authority and domination when they move from one field to another. This can partially explain China's exam-orientated education. High test scores are regarded as being very important in both Chinese educational institutes and students' home background (Beames and Brown, 2005; Gao, 2008). Chinese students who achieve high test scores are praised, accorded status in the community, acquire more attention, and are perceived to be of value. From Bourdieu's perspective, the way Chinese students think and act will be influenced by this cultural

value being absorbed into their habitus. When Chinese students enter the new cultural field of OAA, this 'exam-orientated or high test score' aspect of their habitus may manifest itself by them being instinctively be drawn to the particular feelings and behaviour associated with their performance when they participate in OAA, even if OAA does not place much value on their achievement and results. It is easy to understand how human beings are constrained by the social rules when considering the above ideas in conjunction with the way Bourdieu describes a field as follows:

*...a field may be defined as a network, or a configuration, of objective relations between positions. These positions are objectively defined, in their existence and in the determinations they impose upon their occupants, agents or institutions, by the present and potential situation (situs) in the structure of the distribution of species of power (or capital) whose possession commands access to the specific profits that are at stake in the field, as well as by their objective relation to other positions (domination, subordination, homology, etc). (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, p. 97)*

Human behaviour and values are directly related to the relationship between individuals' socio-cultural background and lifestyles, such as culture, social structures and the power in the field (Bourdieu, 1984). Individuals' social, cultural and economic history can be regarded as an expression of their habitus. Therefore, the concept of habitus is explored in greater depth below.

## ***II. Habitus***

The field of OAA is comprised of particular rules and practices that produce specific ways of thinking and being. OAA facilitators unconsciously adopt the specific patterns and norms that surround them. They internalise the norms of OAA in which they learn to behave in different ways. For example, when a OAA facilitator is delivering OAA in a school or university, conducting a series of activities, using different teaching resources, adopting a variety of pedagogy or talking with colleagues, the notions of what is necessary, normal, appropriate or inappropriate become ingrained, instinctive patterns of thought and behaviour (Beames and Telford, 2013). This can be understood by drawing on Bourdieu's concept of habitus, which is one of most influential of Bourdieu's concepts. Bourdieu (1990) uses the term 'habitus' to explain the dispositions that influence individuals to think and behave, and the everyday activities that cement their relationship with society. Bourdieu describes habitus as follows:

*...system of acquired dispositions functioning on the practical level as categories of perception and assessment or as classificatory principles as well as being the organising principles of action. (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 12-13)*

Habitus refers to the physical embodiment of cultural capital, the deep-rooted habits, dispositions and skills we possess based on our life experience, particularly formative experience in early years (Bourdieu, 1990). Cultural capital refers to the construction of the knowledge and skills individuals possess (Dromundo, 2007). An individual's habitus is durable,

evolving (Walther, 2013). It is constantly adjusted and changed within the current context and reinforced through further experience (Mayrhofer et al., 2007). Hence, habitus encompasses how individuals act and behave in a way that reflects of social structures and the process of socialisation (Bourdieu, 1998). Individuals acquire their habitus from primary (family) and secondary (education) means of socialisation (Bonnewitz, 2009). Primary socialisation is acquired from family or in childhood and secondary socialisation occurs during education at school or university, as well as other life experiences. An individual's habitus is constantly being modified and reinforced by family, education, and life experiences, giving it a dynamic quality (Bourdieu, 1990; Walther, 2014). Put simply, the formation of habitus is a continuous restrictive internal structure.

Patterns of behaviour are formed and influenced by objective social structures, which are difficult to explain by clear provisions or laws (Beames and Telford, 2013). Webb et al. (2002) describe habitus as 'the values and dispositions gained from our cultural history that generally stay with us across contexts' (p. 36). Individuals' dispositions, which include habits, tastes, bodily posture, feelings, thoughts and values, stem from and reflect their habitus. That is to say, whether physical education teachers are delivering OAA, engaging in outdoor sports, travelling with family, or talking with colleagues, their instinctive actions and notions with regard to what is right will be expressed and displayed in more or less the same manner. Individuals' perception of what is appropriate turns into instinctive patterns of how they think and behave. Value is inherent in the choices people make and people have to make choices in their everyday lives (Allison et al., 2011). For example, education comes complete with choices, ranging from which

university to attend, whether to opt for a public college or a vocational school, what subjects to specialise in and which, if any, professional certifications to pursue. Hence, the ‘ensemble of schemata of perception, thinking, evaluating, speaking and acting that structures all expressive, verbal, and practical manifestations and utterances of a person’ can be understood from his/her habitus (Krais, 1993, p.169). In a word, it is a system of dispositions that ‘produces practices in accordance with the schemes engendered by history’ (Bourdieu, 1984, p.82).

Bourdieu (1989) states that the certain values and beliefs will become thought of as instinctive knowledge and ‘common sense’ (p. 19). People’s common sense mainly comes from the values they have assimilated by living in their specific social context (Beames and Telford, 2013). For example, when OAA facilitators deal with perceived risk in the learning and teaching of OAA, they may doubtless need to consider the Comfort Zone Model or the Adventure Paradigm Theory, which are invaluable in the particularity and generality of the field of OAA. The traditional Chinese education does not include the idea of adventure or risk-taking in teaching because ‘risk-involved’ activities are not traditionally encouraged by Chinese society and education (Cheung, 2014). Many Chinese students have been socialised into a habitus that includes how they learn, think, and interact with risk, which means that they will only participate in OAA if the activities are consistent with their perception and cognition of risk. The concept of OAA with its short history and slow development in Chinese education is completely unfamiliar and uncommon to many Chinese people. In terms of the perception of OAA in Chinese education, most Chinese peoples’ primary impression of OAA is that it involves dangerous or risky activities that may cause physical injury

(Cheung, 2014; Lin, 2007). These objective structures and genesis of mental structures display themselves as social 'rules' to determine what kind of thoughts are supposed, what behaviour is expected and what is valued. Thus, it can be understood that habitus is a way of explaining people's specific dispositions and it is influenced by the social context.

According to Bourdieu (1990), 'habitus is essentially the way in which the culture of a particular social group is embodied (internalised) in the individual' (p.63). When people grow up in the same or similar social environment, they will develop a similar instinctive pattern of thought and behaviour (Beames and Telford, 2013). In other words, groups of people will be socialised into a group habitus that contains their values, attitudes and behaviour in the same or similar social environment, which means that habitus can be composed of both individual and collective cultural beliefs. Bourdieu (1989) uses the term 'doxa' to describe foundational, collective cultural beliefs. Doxa produces a sense that things are the way they ought to be (Jenkin, 2002, p.156). Some of the English respondents in this research may come from a very similar cultural and socio-economic background; at the same time, they have learned and acquired knowledge under the England's educational system. They have all been exposed to a similar upbringing and various kinds of habitus, such as family culture, school, educational system and society. They may also share many similar experiences, such as participating in OAA at school or on a camping holiday with the family. According to the National Curriculum of England (2013), OAA can be understood as a sub-field of the larger educational field of physical education within an inherent cultural economy. When entering the field of physical education in the childhood and schooling, the teaching generates a habitus or perception of learning through

outdoor and adventurous activities in physical education and this becomes recognised as valuable within this specific context. For those pupils who become university physical education students, the habitus of learning is refined and reinforced through outdoor and adventurous activities in ways that closely fit the profile demanded within the field (Backman, 2010). Hence, they may become orientated toward existing teaching practices and maintain continuity rather than change (Brown, 2005). These objective backgrounds lead individuals' habitus to be similar and this may influence their thoughts and behaviour.

Habitus is vulnerable to examination and challenge in everyday social life (Beames and Telford, 2013). Although Bourdieu (1977) argues that people are influenced by their formative experiences in early life, he still believes that they possess a degree of agency by which to challenge or reject the dominant doxa and step beyond the norm. Individuals are heavily affected by socio-cultural structures, but these objective structures are shaped by human beings. From an agency perspective, individuals are fully autonomous in making choices and possess an array of alternatives (Hays, 1994). All individuals subjectively have the capacity to direct their own actions and thoughts without being excessively influenced by external forces (May and Powell, 2008). Put simply, people possess the ability to make their own decisions by viewing a situation with fresh eyes and then deciding what they want to do. The new idea will gradually make its way into an individual's habitus by means of the constant adjustment of the current context, which is what Bourdieu calls practice (1977). The Chinese physical education students in this research will receive a research-based practice of OAA. They will learn through this research-based practice of OAA that involves exposure to all

structures of the OAA learning environment for a month at a time. Since habitus can be seen as a product of the cultural history of an individual or group, which, in turn, produces more history (Bourdieu, 1990). Bourdieu's concept of habitus can help to understand thoughts and behaviour of two groups of participants in relation to the fields of OAA at a theoretical level.

So far, it has been stated that fields are structured social contexts that include practices and rules that create a particular way of being, valuing and thinking. It has also been stated that people's instinctive knowledge and common sense have a huge influence on their thoughts and actions, and habitus generates and shapes perceptions and actions that are formed by history. It can be understood that, compared to Chinese students, English physical education students may have been exposed to the habitus of the OAA community in two ways, the first of which is that OAA existed as part of their physical education in their early childhood and schooling. The second is based on one semester of studying OAA expertise in a higher education institution. From Bourdieu's perspective, the early formation of habitus has a huge influence on shaping individuals' actions and thoughts for the rest of their lives. The inculcation of dispositions happens throughout childhood and schooling as individuals watch and listen; therefore, the cultural capital of those who surrounded them becomes part of their habitus (Bourdieu, 1977; Thatcher et al., 2016). Another component of social practice will now be discussed, namely, capital (Bourdieu, 1984).

### ***III. Capital***

Bourdieu's concept of capital, which emerged from classical economics and Marx's perspective, considers capital as a productive resource and the

accumulation of individual labourers' knowledge and skills (Yang, 2009). Bourdieu (1986, p. 245) identifies four forms of capital, namely, economic capital (funding, facilities, or teaching staff), cultural capital (knowledge, skills, or qualifications), social capital (interpersonal networks, or associations) and symbolic capital (prestige, celebrity or honour). In addition to the interconnection of these four forms of capital, Bourdieu (1986) believes that one form can be transformed into another. Capital can be anything that is regarded as being valuable within a given field (Beames and Telford, 2013) and these resources can be used to implement practical action in a particular field because they are effective and valuable in relation to that field (Bourdieu, 1993). The acceptance of OAA as a field leads to considering it as follows:

*Existence of specific stakes and interests: via the inseparably economic and psychological investments that they arouse in the agents endowed with a certain habitus, the field and its stakes...produce investments of time, money and work (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 87).*

Thus, the OAA field or academic field is understood as a complex space that contains different kinds of resources that enable OAA participation and facilitation as capital. For example, students can obtain cultural capital and legitimise it by diplomas, qualifications and degrees, which are the efficient capital in the OAA or academic field. This cultural capital can also be transformed into another form of capital, which is 'symbolic of recognition when it accumulates and the groups in power acknowledge it' (Dromundo, 2007, p. 6). Then, individuals and groups struggle to improve their standing and obtain recognition in order to define what is valuable and legitimate within the field in which they operate.

In the larger cultural field of English education, the English government has acknowledged the value of OAA and introduced it into the physical education curriculum by building on different forms of capital, such as establishing corresponding rules, regulations, personnel management and training. OAA is delivered to students as cultural capital by means of education so that they acquire knowledge based on the implementation of the curriculum and teaching practice. An educational system can be regarded as a legitimate entity and distributor of mainstream cultural capital (Hsu, 2015). Bourdieu (1998) considers that a curriculum is developed by a dynamic interaction between action and reflection. The curriculum is a dynamic process within the constant struggle for capital among the members of the given field rather than a rigid and fixed product. Hence, reflection is a productive constructional process to create meaning (Bourdieu, 1998). Bourdieu believes that it is important to reflect on knowledge or the curriculum in a constantly shifting educational field. The Chinese government has been trying to impose the value of OAA from the traditional Chinese education environment in the past decade and it intends to incorporate OAA into Chinese education to compensate for the deficiencies of traditional education (Gao, 2008; Zhu et al., 2017). The implication of OAA in an eastern culture provides more subjective evidence for its value and justification. In China, a growing number of correlational research projects and studies have found that OAA can contribute to students' interpersonal and intrapersonal development since the early 2000s (Huang, 2010; Wang, 2009; Wang, 2012; Yang et al, 2005; Zhang and Zhu, 2007). However, this approach is not generally adopted by Chinese educational institutions and the attitude that 'OAA is valuable for students' is not widely accepted by Chinese society and people. It can be seen that capital

that is perceived as valuable in one set of social circumstances may not be considered as being valuable in another. If Chinese people are unfamiliar with OAA and its implementation, it may cause a cultural conflict (Beames and Brown, 2005), the root of which lies in different cultural capital, economic capital, social capital and symbolic capital among them. On the other hand, Chinese students have had little previous experience of the OAA culture in their educational background; thus, it will be difficult for them to critique the value and behaviour of the OAA culture around them. If the Chinese government suggests that learning through OAA is valuable for Chinese education in both explicit (policies) and implicit (educational television programmes) ways, it is likely that Chinese students will accept the value of OAA and implement it (Beames and Telford, 2013). Webb et al. (2002) indicate that 'fields are fluid and dynamic, mainly because they are always being changed both by internal practices and politics' (p.28). These elements can help the researcher understand the factors that influence the thoughts and behaviour of individuals and groups in the process of socialisation and cultural reproduction.

The knowledge and skills individuals possess may be considered valuable in another field or transformed into capital that is symbolic of recognition. For example, students who regularly take part in a range of physical activities in physical education lessons may be equipped with significant capital and may thus possess a high physiological and mental capacity in the field of school education. Students can apply these forms of capital to other subjects in school education or use them to enter the outside world. Although different forms of capital are transformable in one part of society, what is considered as capital in one social context may not be valued in another (Bourdieu, 1993). For

example, OAA frequently entails physical activity that involves ‘perceived risk’, but it potentially assists students to efficiently develop capital that includes the ability to adapt to different environments, courage when faced with difficulties and challenges, and a spirit of unity and cooperation when living or working in a group. On the other hand, the elements of perceived risk, a unique learning environment, pedagogy, symbolic resources or the capital of being courageous and cooperative in OAA may not be valuable in the fields of mathematics, history or chemistry. People from different cultural fields may not completely understand the nature of OAA and may wonder why students need to learn in a risky and uncertain environment. Beames and Telford (2013) maintain that the norms and rules of a cultural field depend on constant social conflict between individuals and groups of people in the given field. This conflict is based on what is deemed to be valuable and desirable capital, and how it can be used as an advantage or strength in the field.

There is a structure of dominant and dominated positions between individuals or groups in a particular field (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977; Bourdieu, 1997). The relationship between dominant and dominated positions leads individuals or groups to obtain, accumulate and forestall different forms of capital such as knowledge, identity and status (Xu, 2008). According to Telford and Beames (2015), ‘positions of power within a field are directly proportionate to the possession of whatever stakes are held by the field to be valuable’ (p.9). Due to its origin and long-term development in England, English educational institutions possess their own well-established educational resources, as well as a great reputation for teaching and researching OAA worldwide, which can be considered as symbolic capital. For example, OAA has been developed as part of the physical education curriculum in the English

educational field since 1995 by making educational policies (cultural capital), allocating funds (economic capital), and establishing official organisations (social capital). With the recognition of OAA-related concepts and the western philosophy of an experiential approach in the late 1990's (Huang, 2010; Zhang, 2014; Zhu and Zhang, 2012), the Chinese government has gradually realised the benefits of OAA and borrowed its educational concepts and philosophies to implement them in physical education teaching. According to a preliminary comparison of educational resources regarding OAA between England and China in the literature, England as the origin of OAA has enjoyed an abundance of OAA-related resources in the educational field. English educational institutions possess a greater amount of capital than China, such as the ways of academics, disseminating national bodies or legitimising and official organisations. Individuals or groups with a greater volume and legitimacy of capital may be deemed to be dominant and may find it easier to integrate and develop. On the other hand, individuals or groups who possess less capital may lack the necessary resources to become integrated and participate in the field of OAA. Bourdieu (1993) believes that the amount of capital possessed by individuals or groups has a direct impact on the amount of power they have in the given field.

In addition, educational institutions and their curricula cannot only be seen as a means to reproduce cultural capital, but also symbolic capital, which puts them in a position to acquire authority and enhance their dominant status. Diplomas and degrees as cultural capital are often regarded as the requirement to enter another field, especially in Chinese society (Huang, 2013). The amount of capital and ownership of cultural capital divides individuals and groups (Bourdieu, 1989, 1993). It is often linked with the future, social status,

success, actualisation of a person or group and thus becomes a symbol or means to represent the amount of power they possess (Bourdieu, 1997). This can partly explain why Chinese society has long attached great importance to academic credentials and achievements.

## **Limitations**

In order to overcome the impasse between subjectivism and objectivism in social theory, Bourdieu proposes the theory of practice, which emphasises the dynamic and interdependent relationship between objective social structures and human agency (Bourdieu, 1977). According to this theory, society is an interdependently negotiated network of interactions and practices between individuals, which is open to strategic transformation because it is constantly undergoing change based on individuals and practices. Connell (2007) argues that the formation of western-based sociological thought by Bourdieu, Coleman and Giddens may be limited in its understanding of non-Western society. For example, when applying Bourdieu's theory of practice to the 'international' society, an issue emerged from the sociologically grounded need to build the social contours (Guzzini, 2006). It is inevitable that the larger field of society will be reduced to much smaller communities in cross-cultural or cross-national research. Each community may have its specific cultural characteristics and its own rules that may not be influenced by the broader social structures, such as the autonomous regions in China; thus, the analysis often involves geographic limitations. The capability of self-determination may not be fully restricted by the common social practices and structures. On the other hand, if concentrating on a specific object, the

limitations of 'society' may be scrutinised by the boundaries of the object (Guzzini, 2006). The recombination of objective social structures into complex configurations of social practices between individuals seems to ignore the subjectivism. King (2000) argues that indeterminacy always exists in the relationship between individuals, which take account of inter-subjectively meaningful, but creative social action. For example, people in the lower classes generally do not invest much in education. It is unlikely that they are uncultured, but they consider education to be helpless or useless (McNay, 1999). Similarly, the western-based sociological concepts by Bourdieu was limited in effectively interpreting the habitus of OAA in the Chinese context. If the local government or educational administrator does not support OAA as part of the Chinese curriculum in school context, it is unlikely that they consider OAA as an insignificant subject, but they consider other elements to be more important. They would rather invest in some other projects that are regarded as valuable resources for their lives. Besides, Bourdieu did not consider the interaction in the process of family socialisation. A number of scholars argue whether cultural capital can fully be transmitted by family, elders or the upper class such as the inheritance of capital (Geny, 2000; Lahire, 1995). The acquisition of cultural capital in the process of family socialisation cannot be regarded as 'transvasement' or mechanical transmission (Geny, 2000). Bourdieu's concept often emphasises an unknown process that is complex, fluid and dynamic (McNay, 1999). The limitation of this interpretation is that it may consider whether the family and the educational system are the cause and effect of individuals' acquisition of cultural capital and habitus in contemporary societies. Inevitably, there are many uncertain factors in the process of socialisation. There are the subtle

interactions between continuator and transmitter in the cultural reproduction in schooling and childhood.

## Conclusion

In development and policy support, most of Chinese people have little experience of OAA in their childhood and schooling. Conversely, English people can experience OAA in primary and secondary school, which meant that they have been totally immersed in an OAA learning environment from an early age. The inculcation of this disposition occurred throughout their childhood and schooling period, as they watched and listened; hence, the experience of those around them became part of their capital and culture (Bourdieu, 1977; Thatcher et al., 2016). Since Chinese people have little previous experience of an OAA culture in their educational background, it will be difficult for them to critique the value and behaviour of the OAA culture. If the government can develop and generalise OAA in both explicit (policies) and implicit (educational television programmes) ways and believe that learning from OAA is valuable for mainstream education, it is likely that the people will accept its value and experience it in Chinese or Taiwanese society (Beames and Telford, 2013). In an ideal world, if pupils are given the opportunity to construct and develop their experience of OAA in their childhood and schooling, this experience will lead them to possessing a much bigger personal background of OAA; thus, when they encounter further training courses in the future, their facilitation of OAA will be underpinned by an OAA-related cognitive foundation.

This study has contained an outline of how Bourdieu's work, as a

perspective of social theory, is helpful in understanding and deconstructing the development and culture of OAA. Bourdieu's social concepts of field, habitus and capital facilitate a deeper understanding of the world of OAA, the society in which we live, and how the embodiment of experiences from OAA can shape individuals' habitus with the disposition to value specific teaching practices. His sociological perspective provides a methodological tool for analysing the relationship between human agency and social contexts or circumstances. The application of Bourdieu's social concept into the Chinese educational field helped to critically analyse the differences of OAA between England and China. In the different social contexts, Bourdieu's theory helped us to reveal and recognise the operation of power and its implications in the field of OAA, such as the curriculum content and its potential form. In addition, the Bourdieu basics will serve as a helpful theoretical framework to analyse the participants' actions and thoughts regarding OAA, which may be influenced by social structures in a specific field (macro; structure) where certain rules apply and also individuals' habitus (micro; agency) (Bourdieu, 1972). While some may question the limitations of Bourdieu's social concepts, his key ideas are still potentially valuable for understanding the development of OAA, not least because the concepts of habitus and cultural capital have a way of refocusing the integrating aspects of educational experience and everyday lived experience to explain the ways in which privilege and disadvantage are structured within the larger social system. These key concepts will permit a deeper analysis of the particular issues in the various social worlds.

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