

BOURDIEUIAN ANALYSIS ON AFRICAN AMERICANS' UNDER-  
REPRESENTATION AT PARKS AND OUTDOOR RECREATION

A Dissertation

by

KANGJAE LEE

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Chair of Committee,	David Scott
Committee Members,	Michael B. Edwards
	Jim Gramann
	Reuben A. Buford May
Head of Department,	Gary Ellis

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## ABSTRACT

This study used Pierre Bourdieu's theory of practice and analyzed African Americans' under-representation at parks and in outdoor recreation. It focused on Cedar Hill State Park (CHSP) located in Cedar Hill, Texas and investigated local African Americans' non-visitation to the park. The study also explored how fear of racism impacts middle class African Americans' travel choices and how they negotiate constraints associated with racism. This study is guided by four research questions: (1) What factors prevent local African Americans' visitation to CHSP? (2) How does Bourdieu's concepts and theory explain African Americans' non-visitation to CHSP and other outdoor recreation sites? (3) How does racism impact middle class African Americans' travel choices? and (4) How do they negotiate fear of racism when they travel? A qualitative research approach was employed in this study. Archival method, site visits, and fact-to-face interview with 13 local African Americans were conducted. Data collection was implemented from October 2012 to March 2013.

The collected data provided rich information related to the phenomenon under investigation. First, racism was interwoven with the history of local community and Texas state parks. There has been a rapid increase of Black populations and white flight at cities around CHSP. Many incidents of racial discrimination were found in the history of the community and Texas state parks. Second, this study identified that (1) lack of information and encouragement, (2) lack of interest/cultural irrelevance, (3) lack of attraction, and (4) fear of racism were four main reasons African Americans do not visit

CHSP or other state and national parks. These four reasons were closely interrelated with each other and commonly held racism as an underlying theme. The findings illustrated that racism is a foundation of the under-representation issue.

To my parents, JungHee Lee and JongPal Kim, my hero and heroine.

To my wife, Soyon An, my morning light which imbues my soul and meaning in my life.

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

Numerous studies and government reports have documented that African Americans account for a very small portion of outdoor recreationists and visitors of wildland public recreation areas (Floyd, 1999; Johnson, Bowker, Green & Cordell, 2007). For example, a recent report from the Outdoor Foundation (2012) noted that African Americans showed the lowest rate of outdoor recreation participation while Whites had the highest rate than any other racial groups. A nation-wide survey also demonstrated that African Americans have the lowest rate of National Park visitation (13%) and Whites (non-Hispanics) possess the highest rate (36%) (Solop, Hagen, & Ostergren, 2003). Similarly, a comprehensive survey report from the National Park Service acknowledged that White Americans are the most “over-represented” visitor group whereas African Americans are “the most under-represented” visitor group of national park units (U.S. Department of Interior, National Park Service, 2011, p.10).

Why do African Americans not go to parks or participate in outdoor recreation at the same level as their White counterparts? Leisure researchers started to examine this under-representation issue beginning in the 1970s. To date, several different explanations about the reason why African Americans or people of color infrequently engage in outdoor recreations have been proposed. Those explanations include the marginality and ethnicity hypothesis (Johnson, Bowker, English, & Worthen, 1998; Washburne, 1978), discrimination (Chavez, 1993; Gobster, 2002), the collective

memory hypothesis (Johnson & Bowker, 2004), and systemic racism (Cavin, 2008).

However, existing explanations tend to be too one-dimensional in their approach as they ascribe the under-representation issue to a few demographic or psychological factors. None of these explanations is conclusive and they have failed to explain this leisure phenomenon using a viable and comprehensive theoretical framework (Floyd, 1998; Henderson & Ainsworth, 2001).

Moreover, there has been a paucity of research which examines African Americans' travel behaviors. Although a handful of researchers argue that fear of racism is the main reason African Americans do not visit parks and outdoor recreation sites (Carter, 2008; Philipp, 1994), existing literature not only lacks sufficient empirical evidence to support the argument but also does not explain how many African Americans negotiate fear of racism and still take trips to unfamiliar destinations. Finally, existing theoretical explanations on the under-representation issue tend to overlook African Americans' tourism behavior even though their park visitation and outdoor recreation participation can be understood as tourism activities.

African Americans' under-representation in the great outdoors is particularly important as we seek equality and justice. First, while researchers assert that frequent contact with natural environment produces significant health benefits (Faber Taylor & Kuo, 2006; Kellert, 2005; Kuo & Faber Taylor, 2004; Louv, 2005), African Americans are least likely to be the beneficiaries of public natural lands. Although Executive Order 12898 affirmed that all citizens should receive the same environmental benefits from resources managed by federal tax (Waye, 2004-2005), African Americans do not gain

the full benefit of their taxes. Second, a unique collection of the nation's natural and cultural resources is not equally experienced by a broader segment of the U.S. population. It means many African Americans obtain fewer educational opportunities to learn about the country's distinctive culture and history compared to their White counterparts. Lastly, state and federal governments' will lose the rationale for preserving nation's natural environment for the future generations if it is utilized by only a segment of population. To make public recreational resources enjoyed by all citizens, park and recreational agencies need to make their resources culturally more relevant to historically disfranchised population and encourage visitation from African Americans and other people of color (Wilkinson, 2000). Thus, adequate understanding in African Americans' under-representation issue and travel behavior is imperative for environmental justice and equal rights of the citizen of the United States and helping agencies to entice more diverse clientele to their recreational resources.

To this end, this study employs Pierre Bourdieu's sociological theory to analyze African Americans' under-representation issue and travel behaviors. Bourdieu's theory of *practice* deals with diverse issues such as culture, power, oppression, inequality, and reproduction. The theory is holistic as it explains human action and social order in the light of both individual agency and social structure. His comprehensive theoretical framework is expected to provide overarching explanations about the under-representation issue and make an innovative addition to existing body of knowledge. Furthermore, the theory is expected to offer more sophisticated explanations about

African Americans' leisure and travel behaviors and illuminate how researchers and agencies can deal with the under-representation issue.

### *Statement of the Problem and Objectives*

The purpose of this paper is twofold. First, it attempts to use Pierre Bourdieu's theory of practice to explain African Americans' under-representation in outdoor recreation. To this end, this study focuses on African Americans' non-visitation to Cedar Hill State Park (CHSP) located in Cedar Hill, Texas. Although the park is located near predominantly African American communities, the majority of CHSP visitors are White Americans (Esri, 2010). Based on Bourdieu's concepts and theoretical perspective, this study attempts to explain local African Americans' infrequent visitation to the CHSP. Second, using qualitative interview method, this study attempts to explore how racism impacts middle class African Americans' travel choices and how they negotiate this particular constraint. The research questions that frame this study are:

1. What factors stymie local African Americans' visitation to CHSP?
2. How do Bourdieu's concepts and theory explain African Americans' non-visitation or visitation to CHSP or outdoor recreation sites?
3. How does racism impact middle class African Americans' travel choices?
4. If the fear of racism indeed constrains African Americans' tourism activity, how do they negotiate constraints?

### *Justification for the Study*

The study provides three contributions. First, it will shed fresh insight into the under-representation issue through a sound theoretical explanation. Second, by

understanding the under-representation issue with Bourdieu's theory of *practice*, the study should provide clearer vision for agencies and recreational resource managers to make changes that will contribute to greater visitation among African Americans. Third, this study will explain how middle class African Americans negotiate fear of racism when they plan and engage in tourism activity and offer practical implications for alleviating constraints to participation.

## CHAPTER II

### LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter reviews literature related to the study of the under-representation issue as it relates to outdoor recreation, African Americans' tourism behavior, and Bourdieu's theory of practice. The first section illustrates the manner in which leisure scholars have examined the under-representation issue. The second section reviews studies of African Americans' travel behavior. The third section elucidates Bourdieu's concepts and theory of practice. The fourth section reviews leisure literature that utilized Bourdieu's work.

#### *Minorities' Under-representation in Outdoor Recreation*

Leisure researchers have attempted to explain minorities' under-participation to outdoor recreation since the late 1970s. To date, five general explanations have been proposed by researchers. Those five explanations are the marginality hypothesis, the ethnicity hypothesis, discrimination, collective memory, and systemic racism.

Both the marginality and ethnicity hypothesis were proposed by Washburne (1978). The marginality hypothesis suggested that "blacks do not participate [in outdoor recreation] because of poverty and various consequences of socioeconomic discrimination" (p. 176). Washburne stated that Blacks' under-representation is partially due to their marginal position in society and unmet basic needs. Although Washburne did not fully elaborate how Blacks are marginalized, the history of slavery illustrates clear economic disparity between Black and Whites in the U.S. From the 17<sup>th</sup> century to



the end of Civil War in 1865, the slavery system in the U.S. aggressively and brutally exploited African Americans. While Whites acquired substantial amount of wealth via slave system, African Americans suffered serious economic disadvantages (Feagin, 2000). It is estimated that the total value of exploited slave labor from the 1620s to the 1860s is worth at least \$1 trillion (\$97 trillion in today's standard) (Swinton, 1990). Moreover, the economic inequality created by slave system has been historically reproduced and perpetuated. While Whites have been able to pass down their accumulated wealth to next generations in the form of asset inheritance (e.g., estates, savings accounts, stocks, and other investments), African Americans have owned limited or no inheritable resources due to slavery and racial discrimination (Feagin, 2006; Shapiro, 2004). For instance, African Americans owned 0.5% of the total worth of the U.S. in 1865 and there had been only another 0.5% increases in this figure for next 125 years (California Newsreel, 2003). Similarly, from 1972 to 2002, African Americans' median household income marked only 60% of that of the White median household income (Massey, 2007).

Although socioeconomic inequalities between Whites and African Americans have been decreased in the post-Civil Right era, racial discrepancies in income, education, and employment persists in the U.S. society (Shinew & Floyd, 2005). For example, Bowser (2007) noted that Blacks generally earn less income than Whites and this pattern persists even though two groups have the same educational level. Moreover, a report from U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics showed that Blacks have the lowest labor force participation rate (67.5%) and the highest unemployment rate (16%) among any

other racial groups in 2010 (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2011). Thus, marginality hypothesis posited that African Americans' marginal social position limits their access to recreational resources.

The ethnicity hypothesis states that "leisure patterns of Blacks are based on their subcultural style, or *ethnicity*" (Washburne, 1978, p. 177). It suggests that Black have a distinctive historical relationship with wildlands so they possess normative structure and value system which discourage outdoor recreation participation. Thus, Washburne noted that visiting wildlands or engaging in outdoor recreation may be perceived as "White" pastimes by Blacks. Thus many African Americans may evince little interest in outdoor pursuits and there may be "powerful forces" within African American community that discourage access to wilderness (p. 178). Similar arguments have been advanced by Taylor (1989). She reviewed studies on environmental perception and reported that Blacks were less interested or concerned about wildlife, ecology, and environmental issues.

Since these two hypotheses were introduced in 1978, they have become the dominant explanations of the under-representation issue nearly two decades (Manning, 2010). However, researchers also provided criticism of the two hypotheses. For example, Floyd (1998) pointed out that marginality and ethnicity have been ineffective explanatory concepts due to four reasons. First, the concept of marginality was never clearly defined and researchers usually equated marginality as synonymous with socioeconomic status. Second, the concept cannot account for socioeconomic differences within ethnic minority groups. Third, although the marginality hypothesis suggests that

discrimination is the main determinant of minorities' under-representation, it is not well explained how historical and contemporary discrimination affect their leisure patterns. Finally, both marginality and ethnicity hypothesis contain an Anglo-conformity bias, an ideological assumption that minorities will exhibit leisure patterns similar to White Americans if they are not hindered by their low socioeconomic status or are more assimilated into mainstream American culture. In addition to Floyd's critiques, the ethnicity hypothesis also contains some limitations. Similar to the marginality hypothesis, African Americans' normative structure or value system that discourages outdoor recreation activities was not well defined by Washburne. Researchers often treat the idea as a synonymous with cultural characteristic. However, if African Americans do not frequent to natural environment due to their unique culture, a critical question that needs to be pondered is how and why they possesses or developed such a distinctive culture. To date, a negligible effort has been made to address the origin of African American leisure culture which is believed to restrict their visitation to wildlands.

The impact of racial discrimination on outdoor recreation participation has also been investigated (Chavez, 1993; Feagin, 1991; Floyd & Gramann, 1995; Gobster, 2002; Philipp, 1998; West, 1989). Some researchers have argued that African Americans and other people of color often encounter racial discriminations during their leisure pursuits and these distressing experience negatively impact African Americans' leisure and travel patterns (Chavez, 1993; Foster, 1999; Holland, 2002; Philipp, 1998; 2000). For example, African Americans suffered various discriminatory and exclusionary practices when they attempted to visit parks or engage in outdoor recreation. Racial exclusion and

segregation practice prevailed at public recreational spaces throughout the country so African Americans were either barred from or segregated at public recreational sites such as beaches (Poirier, 1996; Wolcott, 2012), swimming pools (Wiltse, 2007), amusement park and skating rinks (Wolcott, 2012), and national parks (Shumaker, 2009) until passage of the Civil Rights Act in 1964. Moreover, conservationists who had played principle roles in the establishment of national parks usually had no interest in encouraging minority citizens' visitation to the parks (Jordan & Snow, 1992).

However, other researchers acknowledged more nuanced relationship between racism and African Americans' leisure patterns. They suggested that Blacks' under-representation does not necessarily stem directly from racism incurred while recreating. Rather they may perceive employees of recreational agencies and organizations as unwelcoming. Simultaneously, they may feel agencies are not committed to providing culturally relevant offerings (Allison 2000; Scott, 2000). This indirect form of discrimination is deeply embedded in organizations and perpetuates existing practices that exclude non-traditional customers even though practitioners do not intend to discriminate (Scott, 2000). Findings from other researchers support this assertion. Researchers have documented that White managers of parks, forests, and wilderness areas often assume that majority of visitors are Whites so the interpretive exhibits in these areas only celebrate White Americans' history and heritages (Taylor, 2000). Stories and contributions of people of color are often ignored or distorted in these places (Lockhart, 2006). Moreover, parks in the U.S. have historically been visited and managed by White middle class and park managers imposed strict behavioral rules and

dress codes to inculcate cultural norms of White elites to working class and immigrant visitors (Byrne & Wolch, 2009). In other words, many outdoor recreation sites and tourism destination are racialized and constructed as White spaces where Whites are expected to visit and occupy (Austin, 1997-1998; Carter, 2008; Martin, 2004). Thus, Carter (2008) explicated that the motivations behind the differences in Blacks and Whites' park visitation and tourism behaviors are not economic or cultural factors but are based on their perceptions of racialized spaces; African Americans feel unsafe and unwelcomed to visit "White spaces."

In a similar vein, Johnson (1998) and Johnson and Bowker (2004) utilized the concept of collective memory (Halbwachs, 1980) to understand African Americans' under-participation in outdoor recreation. The idea of collective memory is that a group of people can remember traumatic events coherently because these events are continuously and inter-generationally reproduced among group members. Johnson and Bowker suggested that African Americans' low participation is partially due to lynching, assaulting, and exploitation toward African Americans implemented by White Americans in wildlands through the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century. Since these horrifying experiences usually took place in natural settings, it follows that African Americans are likely to perceive fear and danger in wilderness. These negative perceptions toward wilderness are passed down to younger generations.

Cavin (2008) utilized systemic racism theory (Feagin, 2006) as an alternative theoretical framework to understand under-representation. The theory explains how racism in this country and Whites' wealth and power have been perpetuated across

generations. Cavin presented a conceptual framework using systemic racism theory and argued that African Americans' under-representation can be understood as a byproduct of centuries-old racial discrimination in the U.S. society. Cavin's dissertation is probably the first attempt to provide a comprehensive theoretical foundation for explaining the under-representation issue. A shortcoming of his work is that he provides little empirical evidence that correspond with systemic racism theory and its various dimensions. While the theory strongly emphasizes the history of racism and its social reproduction, his qualitative interview data mainly portray Black outdoor enthusiasts' leisure experience in today's U.S. society and failed to provide multigenerational accounts on under-representation.

In sum, this brief review on Blacks' outdoor recreation pattern shows that researchers have proposed several different approaches to understand under-representation. Although, each approach certainly has its own merit to explain Blacks' outdoor recreation pattern, little effort has been made to establish strong linkages among these perspectives and broaden their analytic scope. The one exception is Cavin's (2008) use of systemic racism. Thus, an overarching theoretical framework that holistically embraces findings from existing literature is in serious need.

#### *African Americans' Travel Patterns*

Although park visitation and outdoor recreation participation can be an extension of tourism activity or vice versa, existing literature fails to explain and analyze the under-representation issue in terms of tourism behavior. To date, only a handful of researchers have examined African Americans' tourism behavior. Agarwal and Yochum

(1999) investigated expenditure differences between Whites and African Americans who visited Virginia Beach during the summer of 1997. They discovered no significant expenditure differences between two racial groups. However, other researchers identified that African Americans have unique travel pattern that distinguishes themselves from other racial groups. For example, Philipp (1994) compared travel pattern of Whites and African Americans and found that the latter group tended to travel with a large group, prefer structured and organized travel patterns, and visit well-known restaurant chains. Philipp asserted that African Americans' tendency to avoid out-of-the way places stems from their fear of racial discrimination. Other researchers also proposed similar arguments. Foster's (1999) study of prosperous African American travelers during 1890 to 1945 showed that racism has been indeed a serious concern among African Americans when they plan and engage in both domestic and international travels. Regardless of their socioeconomic status or social prestige, African Americans who lived in the Jim Crow era suffered various forms of racial discrimination during traveling. Moreover, Rugh's (2008) book on Americans' family vacation documented that automobile travel was particularly problematic for Black travelers during the postwar era in the U.S. because White owners of gas stations, hotels, and restaurants often refused to serve Black travelers or forced them to use segregated facilities that were inferior in quality. On the one hand, Black travelers avoided such embarrassing incidents by visiting Black-owned businesses listed on the *Green Book* or *Travelguide*, two travel guide books designed for African Americans (see Rugh, 2008, p. 77-79). On the other hand, some African Americans protested Jim Crow laws by sending complaint

letters to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). Their vivid descriptions about the racism in the context of tourism and eloquent arguments about its injustice spurred Civil Right movement and greatly helped the enactment of Civil Right Act in 1964. Both Foster and Rugh's historical account on African American traveling implied that African Americans' distinctive travel patterns are manifestation of their fear of racism.

Thus, these researchers commonly suggested that African Americans' distinctive travel patterns can be understood as the legacy of Jim Crow era and blatant racism; Racism has historically restricted African Americans' mobility and travel behavior and these patterns have been socially reproduced over time. While these studies have helped us to comprehend African Americans' travel behaviors, further investigation is in need in order to gain deeper insights into African Americans' travel choices and how they negotiate this type of constraint and still take trips to unfamiliar tourism destinations. Since traveling may be conceptualized as a meaningful educational opportunity (Philipp, 1994), investigation on this issue is closely related to social justice and equality of people in the United States. Moreover, the under-representation issue has not been examined in light of tourism behavior. Since outdoor recreation and tourism are deeply interrelated leisure activities, establishing the linkage between the two might help us better understand the under-representation issue.

#### *Pierre Bourdieu and Theory of Practice*

While previous studies lack a sound theoretical underpinning that holistically explains African Americans' outdoor recreation and travel patterns, Bourdieu's theory of



practice is a promising remedy for addressing this issue. Pierre Bourdieu is among the most influential social scientists in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. He has inspired numerous studies across a wide range of disciplines and he is arguably the second most famous French sociologist next to Emile Durkheim (Grenfell, 2004). Unlike classical sociology theorists, (e.g., Karl Marx and Max Weber) who believed possession of the means of production or capital establishes social inequality, Bourdieu believed that social stratification is constructed and expressed by individuals' choice and style of leisure pursuits. Thus, Bourdieu's theory of practice is particularly helpful for developing comprehensive explanations of mechanisms behind the inequality in the context of recreational practices. Although his theory of practice is a complex theory that entails diverse issues in human society—including, power, class formation, social stratification, and reproduction of social inequality—an underlying theme of theory of practice is the manner in which social inequities are established and reproduced through social institutions and cultural practices (Grenfell, 2004; Swartz & Zolberg, 2004, Robbins, 2008). Influenced by both structuralism and phenomenology, Bourdieu explains human action and social order in terms of reciprocal relations between *individual agency* and *social structure*. He also theorized that social stratification and group distinctions are based on symbolic forms of domination and power. The theory of practice cannot be adequately understood without comprehending three major concepts in Bourdieu's thinking: habitus, capital, and field. I elucidate each of these concepts and explain how they are integrated into his theory of practice.

## **Habitus**

The concept of habitus has evolved over the years and Bourdieu provided somewhat different definitions throughout his works. In his relatively recent publication, Bourdieu (1990) defined habitus as,

...a system of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operation necessary in order to attain them (p. 53).

More simply, habitus is group members' mode of conduct that determines what is appropriate or inappropriate, available or unavailable, and possible or impossible at given social situations. Habitus is the system of disposition by which cultural norms or model behavior are internalized and institutionalized within groups through socialization (Browitt, 2004). It forms the shared cultures that define groups while simultaneously being structured by deep historical social conditioning (Widick, 2004). Habitus is therefore developed unconsciously through habits, feelings, and thoughts within individuals in response to cultural meanings while simultaneously serving as an active expression of the legitimacy of collectively held cultural meanings (Lovell, 2000; Widick, 2004). According to Coakley's (2006) interpretation, habitus becomes critical in the socialization process for determining social and material boundaries within which lifestyle choices are made.

For Bourdieu, habitus is a conceptual mediation between agency and structure. He is sharply critical about the dichotomy of agency and structure in explaining human behaviors and attempted to reconcile these seemingly contrasting perspectives using the concept of habitus. He stated, “objective structures tend to produce structured subjective dispositions that produce structured actions which, in turn, tend to reproduce objective structure” (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977, p. 203). Here Bourdieu illustrated a systematic circular relation between agency and structure by referring habitus as structured subjective dispositions that is both the *product* of objective structures and the *producer* of the structured actions which in turn reinforce objective structures. This is the reason why he often called habitus as “structured structure” or “structuring structure” (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 53). Habitus is structured by individuals’ given socio-historical circumstance so that it is called internalized social structure or structured structure. However, it also reinforces existing social structure and agencies’ status quo when individuals act upon their habitus so it is called structuring structure.

Habitus also highlights symbolic form of class distinction. In *Distinction*, Bourdieu examined a wide range of cultural consumption behaviors among different social classes in French society and found the existence of markedly different tastes among groups. For example, when the same photographs were shown to people, upper and middle class tended to focus on their artistic and aesthetic meanings whereas working class tended to seek practical utility and the direct message they can extract from the photos. He argued that “social class is not defined solely by a position in the relations of production, but by the class habitus” (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 372). According to

Bourdieu, individuals constantly highlight intergroup differences through this kind of distinctive dispositions, unconsciously legitimize their peculiarity as a superior quality, and readily establish social hierarchy. Thus, habitus speaks to social inequality and its reproduction.

### **Capital**

The idea of capital was originally proposed by Marx to draw the class distinction and its definition was limited to one's accumulation of money or wealth. However, Bourdieu criticized that Marxists' ideas are too materialistic and simplistic to fully understand complex nature of social stratification in contemporary society. He extended Marx's idea and developed four types of capital: economic, social, cultural, and symbolic. On one level, Bourdieu's idea of capital is conceptually similar with Marx in the sense that they both regarded capital as power resource which creates social hierarchy. At another level, however, Bourdieu accented non-materialistic and symbolic forms of class differentiation via his cultural, social, and symbolic capital.

Economic capital indicates a person's financial or monetary status. Bourdieu gave conceptual priority to economic capital and believed that it is foremost among capital in understanding class distinction. He also stated that "economic capital is at the root of all the other types of capital" and his three other capital are in fact "transformed, disguised form of economic capital" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 252). Moreover, economic capital can be more easily transformed into other capital than vice versa. Thus, although four capital are interchangeable, the interchange is not equally possible in all direction (Swartz, 1997).

Social capital refers to a person's social networks. The concept describes the extent to which individuals can extract certain resources from their social network to achieve certain goals. Thus, it is not only about "how many people I know" but also "who I know." Unlike Putnam (2000) and Coleman (1988), Bourdieu (1984) explicated inherently exclusive and potentially repressive effects of social capital. For example, while Putnam (2000) posited that participation in civic engagement and voluntary community activity generates social capital, his argument is somewhat utopian and offered little explanations on the distribution of social capital within social members. Bourdieu's understanding of social capital is grounded in power inequality. He believed that social members vary greatly by the extent to which they can take advantage of the social network due to unequal power distribution. As such, he noted that social capital can create or reinforce entrenched social divisions.

Cultural capital denotes a wide range of cultural resources and inclinations. Bourdieu claimed that cultural capital exerts more subtle, informal, and tacit exclusionary practices than economic capital yet it plays as equally critical role as economic capital in terms of class distinction in contemporary society. Moreover, Bourdieu (1986) stated that there are three forms of cultural capital. First, embodied cultural capital refers to one's disposition or inclination to certain cultural resources such as music, food, art, clothing, etc. Cultural capital includes verbal facility, general cultural awareness, aesthetic preferences, and scientific knowledge. Second, objectified cultural capital means the possession of certain cultural materials such as books, work of art, clothes, as well as specialized cultural abilities to properly use and appreciate them.

Finally, institutionalized cultural capital refers to academic achievement such as obtaining certain academic degree or certificates. Thus, cultural capital is one's cultural awareness expressed in his/her cultural consumption patterns and the ownership of cultural objects.

Symbolic capital is “a form of power that is not perceived as power but as legitimate demands for recognition, deference, obedience, or the services of others” (Swartz, 1997, p. 90). It is the power that *legitimizes* value of capital within the field. Symbolic capital is deeply related to Bourdieu's other concepts such as symbolic power, symbolic violence, and misrecognition. Schubert's (2008, p.191) silverware example is particularly useful for help us understanding these concepts and their relationships. Schubert hypothesized that a working class man happens to sit with an upper class man and have an expensive dinner at a luxurious restaurant. The former realized that he does not know which fork to use with the salad or which spoon to use with the soup. He is embarrassed by his lack of knowledge on silverware usage because his companion seems to be fully aware of it. In this scenario, knowing silverware usage is unwittingly perceived as superior cultural practice which distinguishes two individuals' social positions. It is implicitly *legitimized* as an important cultural practice (cultural capital) which signifies class distinction even though there is nothing inherently superior in this type of table manners.

What makes this legitimization possible is symbolic capital. Symbolic capital exerts symbolic power that justifies the value of other capital. Bourdieu argued that exercising such power is a form of symbolic violence because it obscures intrinsic

characteristic of resources and enforces individuals who have less symbolic capital to accept superiors' value legitimization without questioning validity and reasonability. It is "generally unperceived form of violence and...is an effective and efficient form of domination in that members of the dominant classes need exert little energy to maintain their dominance" (Schubert, 2008, p. 184). The victims of symbolic violence suffer what Bourdieu called *misrecognition*. This is passive adaptation of superior's valorization and insensibility to the arbitrariness of superiors' value assigning. Thus, symbolic capital is Bourdieu's way of describing symbolic dimension of power relations and class formation.

The silverware example suggests that value of capital is not fixed but subject to change because it depends on legitimization. In other words, there is no such capital which possesses exactly the same value across social contexts since the worth of capital is determined by the way in which group members signify them. In academia, for example, accumulating economic capital (income and wealth) might be unimportant than obtaining more cultural capital (e.g., educational credentials, sophisticated language usage, and publishing books and articles) for occupying a superior position because a rich person cannot be an eminent scholar simply because he/she has more money than others. However, in business setting, economic capital might be highly valued than cultural capital because the priority in this field is accumulation of wealth.

This point engenders questions about the number and boundary of social spaces. If the value of capital changes according to social space, how many social spaces are

actually out there? How is the boundary of those spaces drawn? According to Bourdieu, answers to these questions can be found in his another important concept, field.

### **Field**

The concept of field describes the structure of the social setting that habitus is formed and operates. It is a space of struggle, domination, resistance, differentiation, and inequality. Metaphorically speaking, field is “a football field...where a game is played” (Thomson, 2008, p.69). On a football field, players hold their own position and exercise their specific task to compete against opponent players and achieve winning. What is doable for players is determined by rules and regulations. Similarly, in the field, individuals compete with others to improve or maintain their positions by accumulating more resources (capital) than others. They implement their own strategies to achieve this end, and whether or not their strategies are appropriate or acceptable is determined by what is considered to be legitimate within that specific field. Thus, field is the social space of struggle for control over valued capital.

Theoretically, the boundary between fields cannot be clearly drawn due to three reasons. First, multiple fields exist in society and some fields are subfields of another field. For example, the field of painting is a subfield of the field of visual art. Thus, field tends to proliferate and there are as many fields and subfields as we can imagine. Second, fields overlap with one another. For instance, many aspects of economic field are governed by field of politics or vice versa: the government of a developing country might exempt tax regulation for exporters to strengthen nation's foreign exchange reserves, or a political party might lose a presidential election because it did not receive



sufficient financial support from enterprises during presidential campaigns. Finally, the boundary of fields depends on how field members valorize capital. Field members constantly struggle to legitimize value of their resources to highlight group differences. Since the value of capital changes over time, so as the boundary of fields. In this respect, “fields are arenas of struggle for legitimating” (Swartz, 1997, p. 123). For Bourdieu, drawing a clear boundary among fields is pointless because the territory of field depends on symbolic struggle takes place within each field. Field is a contested terrain.

### **Theory of Practice**

The concept of habitus, capital, and field are synthesized in Bourdieu’s theory of practice which holistically explains social inequality and its reproduction. In his co-authored book with Passeron (1977), *Reproduction in education, society, and culture*, Bourdieu explained how educational inequality in France society had been intergenerationally reproduced. When the French education system was democratized in the early 1960s, numerous students from working and middle class family were able to enter higher education institutions. However, the number of working class students significantly declined over the years because not only they dropped out from the schools but children from working class family did not enter the universities anymore. Consequently, the majority of students in French universities remained upper or middle class students. Those who benefited from the French schooling system were people already possessed socioeconomic advantages.

Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) explained persisting educational inequality using his theory. They contended that working class students lacked cultural capital needed to

academically excel in the university. While upper class students were previously exposed to books and the subjects taught by universities during their socialization process, working class students did not have such experiences due to the limited capital of their parents or family members. Because of their modest background and insufficient capital, working class students were not able to form the habitus that university system values. For example, university professors favored language usage, writing styles, and knowledge of upper class students that displayed in classroom settings and assignments. Schools tended consider the disposition of upper class students as culturally superior or what university students should cultivate. In other words, in the field of French education, educational institutions exerted symbolic power, legitimized elite habitus, reproduced educational inequality in French society.

Bourdieu and Passeron further explained why working class students did not enter the university. On the one hand, the students and their parents might fear of being failures. They might believe obtaining a university degree is overwhelming and too challenging for people who possess limited money (economic capital), social network (social capital), and general understanding of university education (cultural capital). For them, sending their children to college might be a risky investment for the future. On the other hand, the students and their parents might simply have no aspiration for education. They might perceive it as unnecessary and an excessive investment for earning income. These two cases are working class students' practical adaptation to the basic conditions of their existence. By internalizing structural characteristics of their circumstance, and by passively complying with their given social circumstances, not receiving higher

education was considered as orthodox norm among working class family. By adopting non-higher education as a taken for granted aspect of their life, working class acted in the way that educational inequality reproduced across generations. Here habitus functions as “a sort of deep-structuring cultural matrix that generates self-fulfilling prophecies according to different class opportunities...structural disadvantages can be internalized into relatively durable dispositions that can be transmitted intergenerationally through socialization and produce forms of self-defeating behavior” (Swartz, 1997, p.104).

Although Bourdieu’s theory of practice provides persuasive explanations as to how social inequality has been sustained, his theory has been a target of criticism. Researchers argue, for example, that Bourdieu’s concepts are ambiguously defined throughout his oeuvre so their conceptual boundaries are not clearly drawn (Swartz, 1997; Grenfell, 2008). They have also questioned how his concepts can be adequately utilized or operationalized in empirical research. Researchers also argued that Bourdieu’s theory tends to be structural functionalistic and explains social reproduction in a highly mechanical and systematic fashion (Gartman, 1991; Jenkins, 1982; Sewell, 1992). Since Bourdieu stressed that existing social hierarchy tends to be reinforced by habitus and unequally distributed capital within the field, critiques have argued that he offered little explanations on social change or resistance from those who are dominated (Jenkins, 1982). Although Bourdieu rejected these criticisms as a partial understanding of his theoretical framework, some researchers seem to still find his writing style as

ambiguous and his concepts and theory slippery and overly abstract (Swartz, 1997; Grenfell, 2008).

Nevertheless, Bourdieu has provided comprehensive explains about diverse social issues such as culture, power, class formation, stratification, and reproduction and inspired numerous social scientists. His broad analytic view is important, if not imperative, to holistically understand African Americans' underutilization of outdoor recreation resources. Moreover, it is worth noting that there is another advantage of Bourdieuan analysis, which is Bourdieu's methodological approach.

#### *Bourdieu and Research Methodology*

Bourdieu's unique methodological approach is another strength for examining the long-standing inequality in outdoor recreation participation. Bourdieu deemed that all social scientists should conduct reflexive research that critically examines socio-historical circumstance surrounding the research topic. In their book, *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*, Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) introduced three levels of field investigation method.

1. Analyse the positions of the field vis-à-vis the field of power.
2. Map out the objective structures of relations between the positions occupied by the social agents or institutions who compete for the legitimate forms of specific authority of which this field is a site.
3. Analyse the *habitus* of social agents, the different systems of dispositions they have acquired by internalizing a deterministic type of social and

economic conditions, and which find in a definite trajectory within the field...a more or less favourable opportunity to become actualized (p. 104-5).

In the first level, Bourdieu encourage researchers to examine the history and structure of the field and its relationship with other related fields. The second level suggests investigation on stratification and class distinction within the field. It means examination on the way in which capital are distributed within the field. Particular attentions need to be made on power structure and the function of symbolic power within the field. The third level calls for analysis on habitus. It needs to be done by examining cultural norms shared by group members and the formation and reproduction of habitus. These levels do not need to be successively implemented. What is crucial here is that researchers need to comprehensively analyze their data. Data should be analyzed with respect to “field position, structures, and their underlying logic of practices, and most importantly, the relationship between field and habitus – not just the one and/or the other” (Grenfell, 2008, p. 223-4). Thus, Bourdieu’s methodological guideline allows researchers to analyze cultural norms or beliefs related to park visitation and outdoor recreation activity. Moreover, they offer critical analytic perspective that takes into account socio-historical backdrop of African Americans’ infrequent park visitation and outdoor recreation participation. This keen insight into historical reproduction of shared group culture and power inequality is rarely observed in existing studies.

In sum, Bourdieu’s theory of practice and his methodological philosophy are particularly helpful to synthesize findings from existing literature, meticulously examine the under-representation issue, and ultimately offer an overarching theoretical

perspective that comprehensively explains why African Americans underutilize outdoor recreation resources. As Figure 1 demonstrates, Bourdieu's three concepts can integrate the cruxes of ethnicity and marginality hypothesis, discrimination thesis, and collective memory into his theory of practice. For example, the concept of field explains historical power inequality between Whites and African Americans and embraces ideas about discrimination and collective memory. Racism has been the strongest ideological force that has justified White supremacy throughout American history (Feagin, 2000). Until

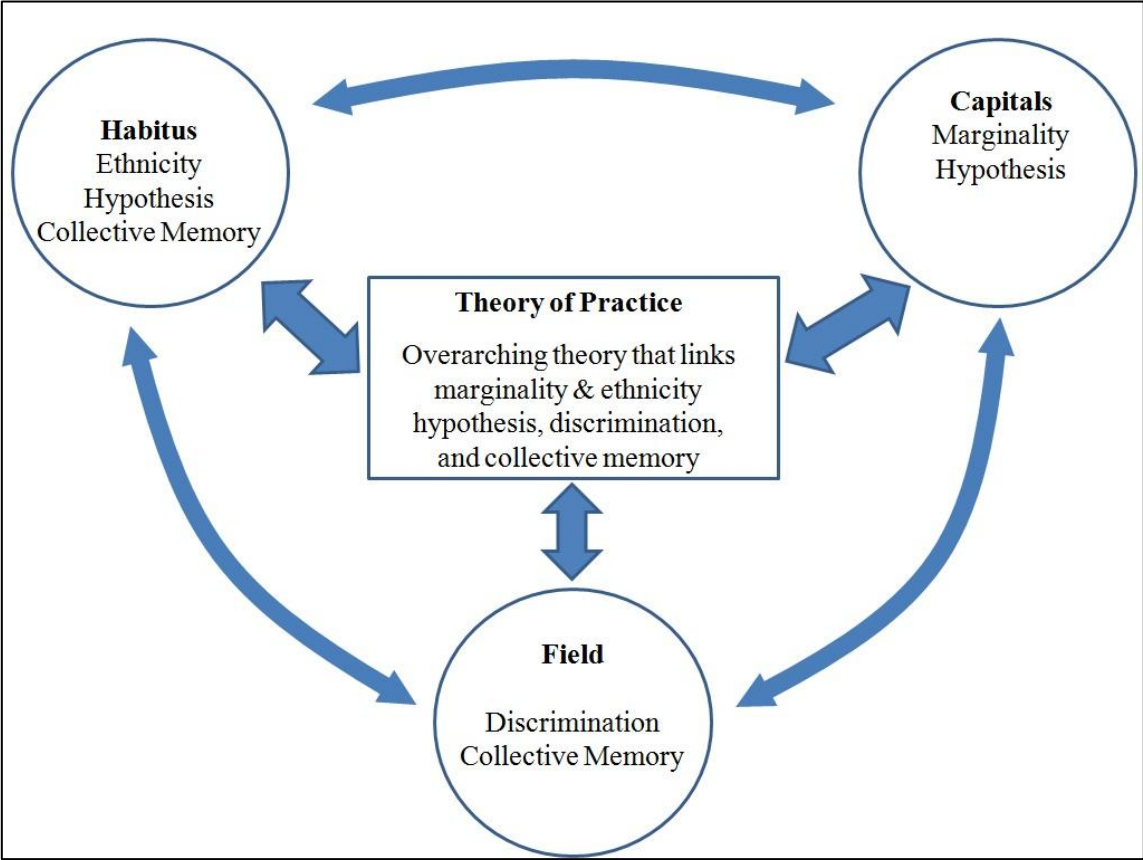


Figure 1. Integrating four theoretical explanations into theory of practice

recently, African Americans were not allowed to freely visit parks or outdoor recreation sites due to racism (Byrne & Wolch, 2009; Fox, 1981; Jordan & Snow, 1992; Shumaker, 2009). Moreover, Blacks had been the target of lynching, hanging, and rape in forested areas. Thus visiting natural environment might be still considered as life-threatening for many African Americans (Johnson, 1998; Johnson & Bowker, 2004). Similarly, the concept of capital can explain ideas underlying the marginality hypothesis. Slavery systems and racial discrimination prevented Blacks to accumulate sufficient economic capital for purchasing outdoor recreation services and/or equipment which made it almost impossible for them to develop or obtain cultural, social, and symbolic capital for visiting parks and engaging in outdoor recreation. Finally, the concept of habitus embraces the ethnicity hypothesis and collective memory and explains African Americans' values as it relates to outdoor recreation. Centuries of racial discrimination has made it problematic for African Americans to develop and shape the habitus that appreciates and enjoys outdoor recreation activity. The habitus has been socially reproduced across generations so visiting parks or engaging in outdoor recreation is still viewed as an undesirable or uninteresting activity by today' African American community. Thus, by reconciling existing four explanations, theory of practice is expected to provide a more complete picture of the under-representation issue.

#### *Bourdieu and Leisure Studies*

Although the previous section illustrates that Bourdieu's three concepts can be consolidated into the theory of practice and offer a macro-analytic viewpoint, leisure researchers have rarely examined their study subjects with his larger theoretical

perspective and tended to focus on his individual concept. A representative example of this research trend is their utility of social capital. The growing interests toward social capital is reflected in the publication of a special issue of *Journal of Leisure Research* focused on the concept of social capital (2005, Vol. 37, No. 4). In this special issue, Glover and Hemingway (2005) pointed out differences among social capital conceptualized by Bourdieu, Putman (2000), and Coleman (1988) and demanded leisure researchers to be attentive to the distinctions among three scholars. Glover, Parry, and Shiness (2005) investigated members of community garden groups and found that group members were able to mobilize resources necessary for gardening and home maintenance by shaping strong social ties with other members. They argued that leisure activity functioned as a lubricant for social capital production because it facilitates development of a social tie and network which eventually generate social capital. In the similar vein, Son, Yarnal, and Kerstetter (2010) analyzed middle-aged and older women's engagement in a leisure club called the Red Hat Society and identified that club members were able to produce social capital by participating in club activities. For example, members gained several different benefits such as bonding with family and friends, social support from other members, sense of belongingness, and socialization with others. Arai (2006) conducted a critical analysis on social capital and challenged leisure scholars to be more circumspect in their use of social capital by taking into account three characteristics of social capital. First, people can take advantage of social capital through abstract form of trust. Second, actions that produce social capital in one



social context may not produce social capital in other space. Finally, people have uneven access to social capital and not all are equal.

Other researchers applied social capital to investigate different types of leisure activities. A theme emerged from this line of inquiry is unequal distribution of social capital. For example, Glover (2004) analyzed social divisions and racial discrimination in the context of a community gardening project and identified that African Americans gained less social capital by involving in the activity and felt that their opinions and needs are not fully reflected in the project. Similarly, Sharpe's (2006) examination on a grassroots softball league in Canada found that individuals situated within a senior network were more advantaged in their ability to mobilize social capital to achieve their goals. Haluza-DeLay (2006) argued that racial minorities do not gain the same opportunity of social capital formation due to racism and warned that access to social capital needs to be explained based on the manners in which individuals are categorized as members of racial groups. In other words, he claimed that race is a determinative of the extent to which individuals can take advantage of their social network. Likewise, Mulcahy, Parry, and Glover (2010) explored experiences of members of mothers groups and found that only certain mothers can take advantage of social capital reside within this social network. Devine and Parr (2008) explored the manner in which social capital is generated and shared among the participants of inclusive youth camp. Consistent with other studies, Devine and Parr found that social capital was not equally shared by youth campers with and without disabilities. Moreover, they identified that some campers without disabilities expressed distrust and uneasiness toward campers with disabilities

and pointed out that inclusive recreational program might impede the formation of social capital if participants do not possess mutual respect and trust. In sum, these researchers suggested that power is one of key elements that determines how social capital is distributed among group members and who can take advantage of their social network.

Other researchers utilized the concept of habitus and cultural capital to analyze individuals' access and participation pattern to diverse leisure activities. These include examinations of individuals' leisure repertoires (Stalker, 2011), an under-representation of African Americans as visitors to Rocky Mountain National Park (Erickson, Johnson, & Kivel, 2009), interracial contact in leisure (Floyd & Shinew, 1999), informal hierarchies in communal celebrations (Dunlap, 2009), demographic transformations in societies' cultural habits (Luckerhoff, Lemieux & Paré, 2008), the gendered nature of video-gaming (Delamere & Shaw, 2008), women's participation in ice hockey (Auster, 2008), leisure consumption in the relationship with power (Rojek, 2006), swing dancing (Doane, 2006), skateboarding (Atencio, Beal & Wilson, 2009), and cycling (Steinbach, Green, Datta & Edwards, 2011).

Although growing number of reseachers utilized Bourdieu's concepts in leisure study, they have not comprehensively employed Bourdieu's theory of practice. This research trend obscures Bourdieu's theoreical depth and significantly undermines theory's explanatory power. In fact, leisure researchers seem to overlook many other benefitts and strengths of Bourdieu's work for investigating leisure phenomenon. This study advocates for more concert use of his concpets and theory and intends to illustrate

Bourdieu's full potential in leisure study. To this end, it analyzes African Americans' infrequent park visitation using Bourdieu's theory of practice.

## CHAPTER III

### METHODS

The purpose of this study is to utilize Bourdieu's sociological theory of practice to analyze the reasons why African American residents in the city of Cedar Hill, Texas do not visit CHSP as frequently as their White counterparts. Moreover, it also investigates how African Americans' tourism behavior can expand our understanding in the under-representation issue. A particular emphasis was given to the exploration of middle class African Americans' experience of racism in the context of tourism and how they negotiate fear of racism when they plan and engage in tourism activities.

#### *Research Site*

CHSP is located on the outskirts of the Dallas-Fort Worth metroplex area in Texas. It occupies 1,826 acres of the eastern shore of Joe Pool Lake which is 10 miles southwest of the city of Dallas (see Figure 2). The majority of parkland was originally a farmland owned by the Penn family since the 1850s (Texas Park and Wildlife, 2006). In 1975, the land was sold to the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers and in 1990 was given to the Texas Parks and Wildlife Department (Texas Park and Wildlife, 2006). In 1991, the land was opened as Cedar Hill State Park. The park offers diverse outdoor recreation resources such as 355 camping sites, marina facilities, swimming area, hiking and bike trails, playgrounds, and picknicking sites. It also has The Penn Farm Agricultural History Center, the restoration of Penn family's house and barns. Popular activities

within the park include camping, swimming, boating, fishing, hiking, mountain biking, and birdwatching.

Today, the park is one of the most heavily visited state parks in Texas. During the fiscal year of 2012, 287,055 individuals visited CHSP and the park is ranked the fourth most popular Texas State Park among 106 (Texas Park and Wildlife Department, 2012). The majority of overnight park visitors were from Dallas-Fort Worth Metroplex

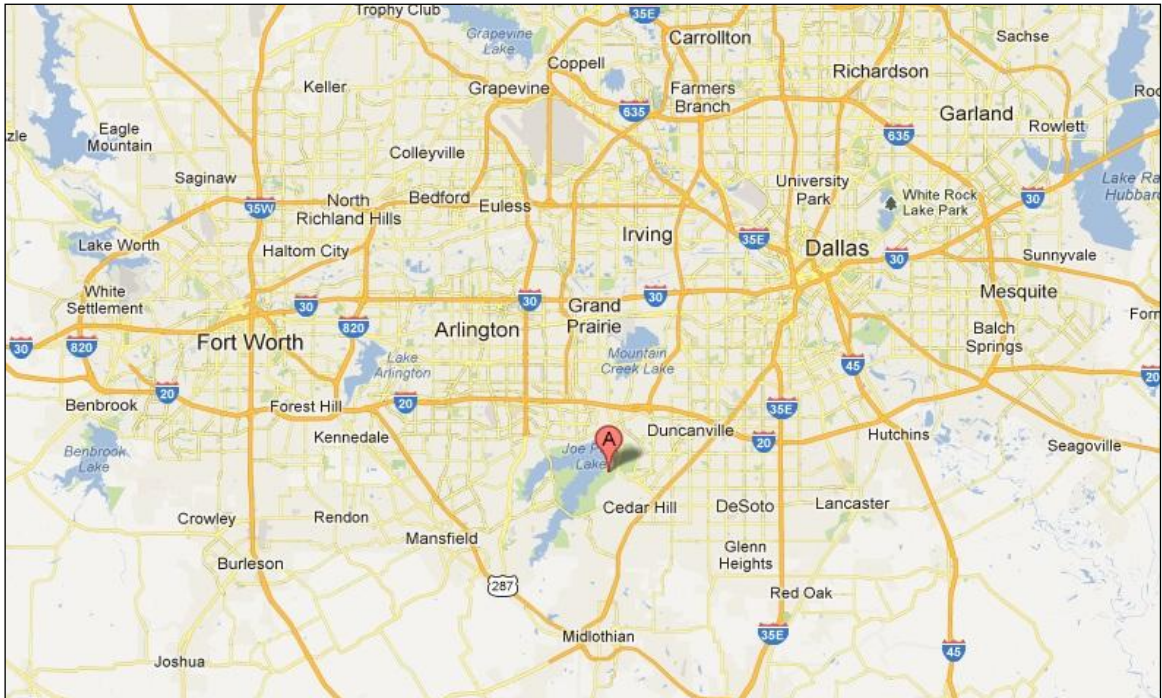


Figure 2. The location of Cedar Hill State Park (Cedar Hill State Park, Aug. 2012)

area and near by cities such as Grand Prairie and Cedar Hill (Esri, 2010). Whites and Blacks constitutes approximately 67% and 11% of overnight visitors respectively.

Although there is no report that clearly shows the daytime visitor information, the data from Texas Park and Wildlife Department suggested that the demographic characteristics of daytime visitors are almost identical to overnight visitors' so the majority of daytime park users are Whites from nearby cities (Texas Park and Wildlife Department, 2011). In fact, the park official also commented that he does not see many African Americans in the park and they probably constitute approximately 10% of the daytime visitors (R. D. Rinn, personal communication, September 20, 2012). Moreover, my observations affirmed that African Americans were the most under-represented racial group in the park. Although I have visited the park three times and observed hundreds of Whites and Hispanics, I have seen no more than four African Americans in each visits. Accumulatively, I encountred 10 African Americans from three site visits.

It is worth highlighting that CHSP is closely located to large African American communities even though the majority of park visitors were White Americans. As Figure 3 and Table 1 shows, cities that surround the park and Joe Pool Lake have large Black populations. For example, 2010 Census data showed that Blacks constitute more than 50% of the residents of the City of Cedar Hill (U.S Census Bureau, 2012a). This is nearly four times larger Black residential percentatge compared to the national average, which is 12.6% (U.S. Census Bureau, 2011). Moreover, average annual incomes of these cities are around \$60,000 (ZIP Code Database, 2010). While state's median household income from 2006-2010 marked \$49,646 (U.S Census Bureau, 2012a), most of people in these cities seem to be middle class with higher than average income levels. These information imply that the financial burden or long travel distance are not the primary

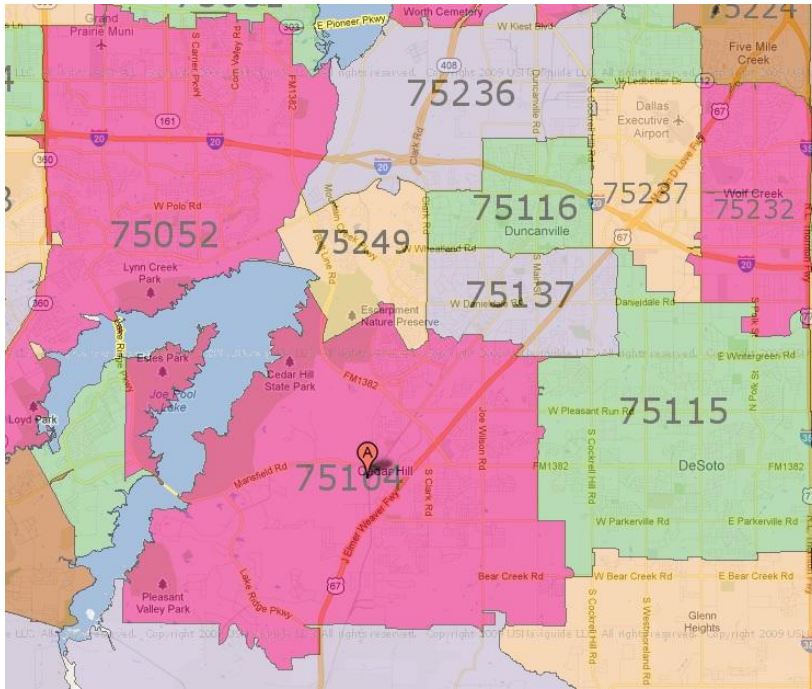


Figure 3. ZIP-code of cities near Cedar Hill State Park (Cedar Hill State Park, Aug. 2012)

Table 1. Demographic information of the areas nearby Cedar Hill State Park

ZIP-code	Population	White & Black residential percentage	Average income per Household
75104	45,373	Whites: 35.4% Blacks: 51.9%	\$60,140
75249	13,373	Whites: 31.3% Blacks: 48.4%	\$51,949
75137	18,861	Whites: 47.4% Blacks: 37.1%	\$59,459
75052	88,996	Whites: 47.9% Blacks: 25.4%	\$60,254
75115	48,877	Whites: 23.2% Blacks: 68.6%	\$57,510

*Note.* This table was created based on the information from U.S Census Bureau (2012a) and ZIP Code Database (2010).

concern of Black residents for visiting CHSP. While cultural or psychological factors are assumed to be more salient barriers, a closer examination is required to precisely understand the reason why local Black residents infrequently visit CHSP.

#### *Data Generation*

Based on Bourdieu's three levels of analysis method, this study intends to utilize multiple resources to collect the information related to the under-representation issue, middle class African Americans' experience of racism during tourism, and their negotiation strategy. Therefore, the study employed three data generation techniques.

#### **Archival Method**

Archival research was conducted to understand the structure of field of Texas Park and Wildlife (TPW) and CHSP. It also intends to investigate African Americans' life in the cities around CHSP and their historical relationship with the park. Archival method uses the data that is already collected by someone and stored in data archives. It provides researchers a sociohistorical insight into the phenomenon under investigation so the method is believed to be an effective technique to understand historical contexts related to research topic (Hill, 1993; Patton, 2002). The success of archival method largely depends on whether archives preserve any meaningful texts or materials for researchers and whether researchers receive access to such resources. (Hill, 1993). First, I contacted the headquarters of TPWD to find out any documents that illustrate history of TPW and CHSP. Through the support of TPWD staff, several documents that related to the history of TPWD and CHSP were obtained. Those documents include two technical reports from TPWD: *The preservation plan and program Penn Farm*



*Agricultural History Center at Cedar Hill State Park* (Texas Parks and Wildlife Department, 1991) and *Segregated recreation: Discrimination in the Texas State Parks* (Texas Park & Wildlife Department, 2004), an unpublished book chapter from TPWD historian Cynthia Brandimarte and her colleague Angela Reed (Brandimarte & Reed, 2013), and a historian James Wright Steely's book (1999) *Parks for Texas: Enduring landscapes of the New Deal*. Second, I analyzed the contents of two brochures available at CHSP, *Cedar Hill State Park Activity Guide* (Texas Park and Wildlife Department, 2006) and *Interpretive guide to Cedar Hill State Park and Penn Farm Agricultural History Center* (Texas Park and Wildlife Department, 2007) to understand the information provided to park visitors. Third, to understand the history of local community and African Americans' life in the cities around the CHSP. I visited Zula B. Wylie Public Library in Cedar Hill to review *Cedar Hill Today*, the local newspaper published until July 2009.

### **Site Visit**

I visited CHSP to observe racial demographic of visitors, park usage patterns, characteristics of park amenities, and interpretive displays in the Penn Farm Agricultural History Center. Three visits were made from October 2012 to January 2013 and each visit lasted approximately four hours. Field notes and photographs were taken whenever I encountered something potentially related to this research.

### **Interviews**

In-depth, semi-structured, face to face interviews were conducted with 13 middle class African Americans who live in the cities around CHSP from October 2012 to

February 2013. Informants were recruited by purposive snowball sampling method (Patton, 2002). Key informants were two city officials of the city of Cedar Hill. Recruitment criteria were middle class African American residents in the cities around CHSP such as Cedar Hill, DeSoto, Duncanville, Lancaster, and Arlington. Middle class status was conceptualized based on education level and median annual income of state of Texas in 2011 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2012a). Individuals who hold a college degree and have approximately annual income of \$45,000 are considered middle class. The sampling objective was to include African American adults who do not have financial difficulty to visit CHSP and examine African Americans' habitus or cultural traits related to park visitation and outdoor recreation. Table 2 summarizes each informant's characteristics. Pseudonyms were used for interviewees to protect their privacy. The interview questions were developed based on McCracken's (1988) suggestions and organized into three sections. First, I asked informants' demographic information to identify interviewees' contextual information and backgrounds (e.g., Could you briefly introduce yourself? How old are you?). Informants' demographic information were asked at the beginning of the interview in order to build some degree of rapport with the interviewees so I could obtain honest responses and gain rich and detailed data without violating informants' privacy (McCracken, 1988).

Second, informants' leisure preference, visitation patterns to CHSP, socialization process, and perceptions about park visitation and outdoor recreation were asked. Of particular interest is to understand interviewees' perceptions about CHSP and outdoor recreation activity and whether or not they have ever been to CHSP. If interviewees

Table 2.

Characteristics of informants

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I-1. Sean; Late 50s; male; works for a city government; had lived in Southeast Dallas area for 13 years; An enthusiastic angler who has been to many different fishing sites; Visited CHSP a few times for fishing.

I-2. Risty; Mid 30s; male; works for a city's park & recreation department; had lived in Southeast Dallas area for seven years; Favorite leisure activity is playing video games and has never been to CHSP.

I-3. Jennifer; Mid 50s; female; works for a city's park & recreation department; had lived in Southeast Dallas area for three years; has three daughters and one boy; interested in sports and has never been to CHSP.

I-4. Stephanie; Mid 40s; female; works for a city government, had lived in Southeast Dallas area for 12 years; Originally from east Texas and used to enjoy outdoor recreation at her father's large property; has never been to CHSP.

I-5. David; Early 60s; male; retired; had lived in Southeast Dallas area for five years; an enthusiastic outdoor recreationist and has visited multiple national parks and state parks throughout the county; has ever visited CHSP.

I-6. Jeff; Early 50s; male; used to work for a city government; lives at Northwest Dallas area; playing golf and watching his daughters' sport games are his two favorite leisure activities; not interested in nature-based outdoor recreation such as camping and hiking; has never visited CHSP.

I-7. Sam; Late 50s; male; used to work for a city government; had lived in Southeast Dallas area for 30 years and very familiar with the history of community; does not have a strong desire to visit CHSP.

I-8. Justin; Early 40s; male; a business man; born and raised in Dallas; lived several different cities in Southeast Dallas area; his leisure activities are centered around his children's activities; does not like outdoor recreation because he is afraid of snakes; He has never been to CHSP.

I-9. Steven; Mid 60s; male; retired; lived in the Las Vegas area several years for his job; moved back to Southeast Dallas area 5 years ago because he wanted to get closer to his family; visited CHSP with his friend for fishing; stated that he does not see any advertisement about the park.

Table 2, continued

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I-10. Amanda; Early 40s; female; had lived in Southeast Dallas area for 10 years; loves music and signing a song; married for 15 years and has three children; does not have a strong interest in outdoor recreation; she has never visited CHSP.

I-11. Anne; Late 20s; female; a school teacher; had lived in Dallas all of her life; had lived in Southeast Dallas area for 22 years; recalled that racial demographic of her community started to change in the mid-1990s; likes to play at home; she has never visited CHSP.

I-12. Susan; Early 20s; female; graduate student; had lived in West Dallas area her entire life before going to graduate school; has one younger brother and one older sister; does not like outdoor recreation; prefers to play with her puppy or watch TV shows. She has never visited CHSP.

I-13. Kevin; Early 20s; male; college student; lives in the North Dallas area in a racially diverse community; enjoys sports such as basketball and football; does not have a strong interest in outdoor recreation. He has never been to CHSP.

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*Note.* the interviewees' names used in this study are pseudonyms.

rarely visited CHSP and expressed little interest about outdoor recreation, I asked them to explain the reason for such leisure patterns. I also asked if they believe their racial identity, socialization process, and experience of racism have shaped their leisure preference (e.g., “Do you enjoy or frequently engage in outdoor recreation such as going to parks, hiking, camping, fishing, hunting, etc.?” “Have you been to CHSP?” “If you are not interested in engaging in outdoor recreation activities that I described, can you explain me why?” “Do you think your racial identity has influenced your leisure preference?”).

Finally, I asked if interviewees experienced any form of racial discrimination in outdoor recreation and tourism context. If interviewees did, I ask them to describe about the incidents and asked how their experience of racism impacted their leisure and travel behavior. During this stage of interview, vignette technique was utilized to effectively capture informants’ past experience of racism and its impact on their leisure choice. Vignette technique refers to a specific data collection method that uses “short scenarios or stories in written or pictorial form which participants can comment upon” (Renold, 2002, p. 3). It is particularly useful data collection technique for eliciting cultural norms derived from respondents’ attitudes and beliefs about a specific situation (Barter & Renold, 1999). Moreover, the technique has been widely used to investigate potentially sensitive issues such as racism and sexual abuse (Barter & Renold, 1999). In this study, vignettes were used to provide a reference that interviewees can talk about their experience of racism in leisure and tourism context. Moreover, I decided to use vignettes because I was concerned, as an Asian, that interviewees would feel uncomfortable

talking about racism with a non-African American individual. Since interviewees might provide socially acceptable answers and do not candid about their experience of racism, vignettes technique was used to alleviate difficulties to obtain rich and vivid descriptions about interviewees' feelings and experiences of racism. The vignette consists of three short stories about racial discrimination. I asked interviewees to read all three stories and followed up with a few open-ended questions and then asked whether they previously encountered similar incidents (e.g., "What do you think about these stories?" "Have you ever experienced similar incidents?"). I further asked how their experience of racism influenced their choice of leisure and tourism activity. The interview questions and vignette are attached to Appendix A and B respectively. The vignette technique significantly helped me obtain rich data about informants' experience and perception of racism. All informants, except Jeff, stated that they can strongly agree with or relate to my three vignettes. After they read the vignettes, informants talked about their experience of racial discrimination without hesitation. Vignettes seemed to provide a point of departure that interviewees could comfortably share their personal stories with me. While establishing a certain level of rapport with interviewees prior to asking potentially sensitive questions is critical in qualitative interview (Patton, 2002), the vignette technique quickly and naturally led us to the issue of racism, helped me to gain rich data about interviewees' experience of racism.

#### *Data Analysis*

There are various ways of data analysis in qualitative research, yet most qualitative researchers agree on seven fundamental steps that are associated with

qualitative data analysis (Marchall & Rossman, 2006). These include: (1) organizing the data, (2) immersion in the data, (3) generating categories and themes, (4) coding the data, (5) offering interpretations through analytic memos, (6) searching for alternative understandings, and (7) writing the report or other format for presenting the study (Marchall & Rossman, 2006, p. 156). Based on these seven steps, interview data was analyzed by the following procedure. First, data from archival method was separately organized with interview data. Second, I reviewed interview and archival data repetitively to immerse in both data sets and become intimately familiar with collected information. Third, I deliberately looked for recurring ideas or languages to identify salient themes in interview and archival data. Fourth, salient themes were coded using abbreviations of key words. I used red color abbreviations for interview data and blue color abbreviation for archival data to distinguish the source of themes. Fifth, I combined all coded themes, examined interrelations among them, and established integrative interpretations. Sixth, I searched alternative explanations of study findings and examined whether my interpretation is the most plausible.

#### *Trustworthiness*

This study employed several techniques to bolster the trustworthiness of the data generation and study findings. First, triangulation was conducted. Triangulation refers to the act of bringing more than one source of data to a single study (Marshall & Rossman, 2006). Triangulation not only provides holistic insight into the phenomenon under investigation, but also enhances the transferability of findings (Rossman & Wilson, 1994). Triangulation was achieved in this study by combining the information obtained

from archival method and interviews. Second, I prepared a notebook and wrote reflective memos from the beginning to the end of data collection. By doing this, I was able to review how my analytic lens evolve and generate deeper insights into the research topic (Wolcott , 1994). Third, I conducted member checking (Lincoln &Guba, 1985) upon completion of transcriptions. This process allowed me to validate the data. Second, I employed a number of tactics that ensure honesty among participants (Shenton, 2004). From the outset of each interview, I emphasized there are no right or wrong answers to interview questions and encouraged interviewees to be candid. In addition, I honestly answered interviewees' questions about my background, academic career, and experience of racism. Through these techniques, I was able to quickly establish rapport with the participants and obtain candid responses.

### *Subjectivity*

In qualitative research, the examination on researcher's own bias is important for enhancing trustworthiness of findings and maintaining unique insights because researchers are primary instruments of data collection and analysis (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Moreover, Bourdieu emphasized that social scientist should engage in *reflective* research that critically examines their own bias and prejudice, historical condition of their academic field, and their relationship with social condition that makes the inquiry possible (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Deer, 2008). Prior to the data collection, I analyzed my own biases about the under-representation and asked myself three questions: (1) why and how did I start to investigate African Americans' infrequent park visitation?, (2) what is the historical context that makes this type of inquiry possible?, and (3) what



kind of position and responsibility do I hold in my academic field? These three questions made me to not only conduct self-examination on my academic endeavor, but also review the history of inquiry. First, I recognized that my interest in African Americans' under-representation issue is deeply related to my experience of living in six different cities across three countries. I have been exposed to different cultures and interacted with diverse racial/ethnic groups since an early age. I also experienced several incidents of cultural conflicts and racism when I moved to a new country. These experiences made me inquisitive about cultural difference and how it influences intergroup relationship. I believe this is the reason why I found leisure behaviors of minority a fascinating line of inquiry when I joined the graduate school at Texas A&M University. Second, I noticed that leisure behavior of racial/ethnic minority has become a distinctive line of inquiry in the field of leisure study and its popularity is continuously growing (Floyd, 2007). Using the data set created by Floyd, Bocarro, and Thompson (2008), I reviewed the number of articles focused on race and ethnicity published by five major leisure journals (*Journal of Leisure Research*, *Journal of Park and Recreation Administration*, *Leisure Sciences*, *Leisure Studies*, and *Loisir et Societe*). Figure 4 summarizes the number of articles on race and ethnicity published in five leisure journals from 1974 to 2005. It shows a gradual increase of the number of articles since late 1970s. A sharp increase of publications in mid 1990s was largely due to journals' special issues focusing on race and ethnic issue. Today, the popularity of race/ethnicity is greater than ever before. Perhaps this is one of the reasons why I did not have any difficulty to choose the under-representation issue as my dissertation research topic. The topic's increasing popularity

among leisure scholars might be explained in two ways. On the one hand, the increasing popularity might be a reflection of the extent to which American society has become racially and ethnically more inclusive. In other words, since the enactment of Civil Right Act in 1964, leisure researchers might pay more attention to unequal recreational opportunity between Blacks and Whites as well as diversity issues in leisure and recreation. On the other hands, it might be largely due to the rapid increase of minority population in the U.S. while the majority of U.S. outdoor recreation participants remain predominantly White Americans.

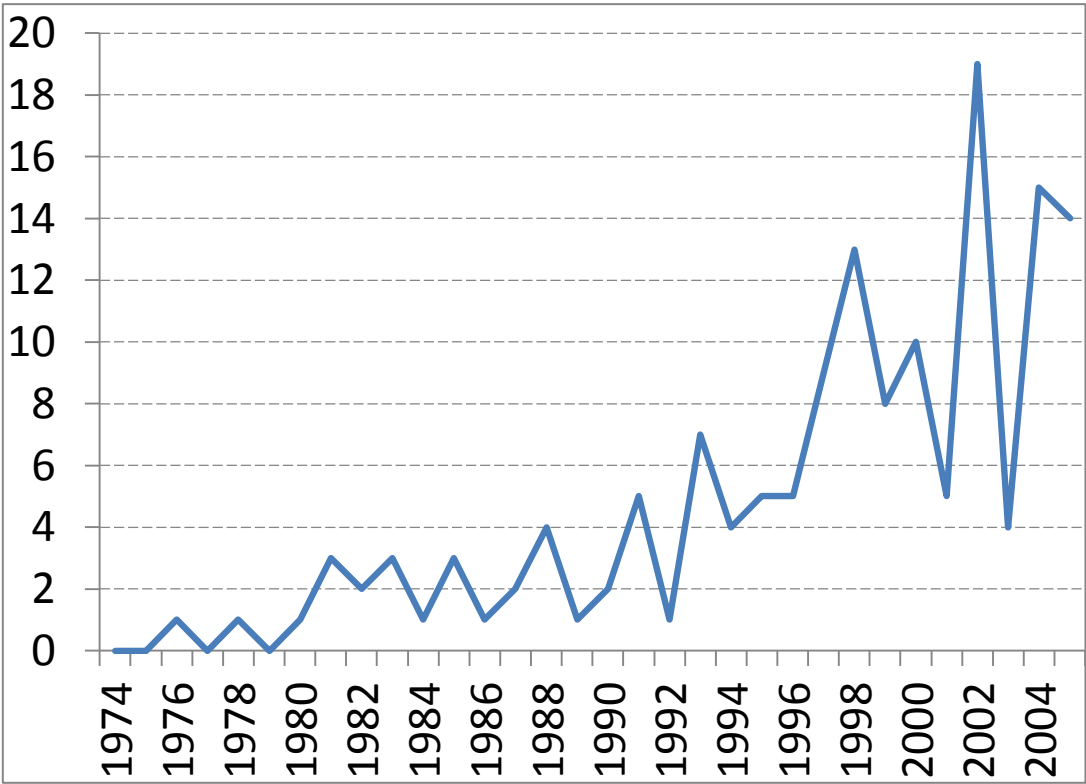


Figure 4. The number of articles on race and ethnicity published in five leisure journals from 1974 to 2005 (Floyd, Bocarro, & Thompson, 2008)

The U.S. Census Bureau (2012b) projected that non-Hispanic White Americans would no longer be the majority of U.S. residents by 2043. Although the nation's demographic is rapidly changing, racial profiles of outdoor recreationists do not correspond with the change. Under this circumstance the federal funding for park and recreation agencies is in jeopardy and the organizations are facing a formidable task to make their recreational resources accessible and attractive to all segments of U.S. population (Wilkinson, 2000). Thus, increasing number of race and ethnicity studies in five major leisure journals might be spurred by the racial demographic changes. Perhaps recreational agencies, practitioners, and researchers had realized that they need to understand more about minorities' leisure behavior so they can be better prepared for the uncertain future. Last, I realized that it is my responsibility as a researcher to make general public to be more aware of the under-representation issue, investigate the cause of racial disparities in outdoor recreation opportunities, and provide a practical guideline for agencies to alleviate or solve this issue. I have learned that many African Americans are still suffering numerous social disadvantages because of racial oppressions persisted in this country for a few centuries (Feagin, 2000; Feagin, 2006). Moreover, I have personally experienced several incidents of racial discrimination, which made me realize the pain of racism and how it negatively impacts almost every aspects of individuals' lives. However, the general public and many recreational agencies represented by White Americans seem to have little understanding about racism or be in a denial of its existence in contemporary American society. In my opinion, under-representation should be comprehended in terms of the system of discrimination that has been perpetuated in

American history. In sum, my self-examination helped me to be mindful about my own bias and prepositions about under-representation. It helped me to maintain unique and keen insight and strengthened trustworthiness of the study (McCracken, 1988).

## CHAPTER IV

### FINDINGS

The data collected from archival method, site visits, and in-depth interviews provides rich insight into the history of cities near CHSP and TPWD, local African Americans' low visitation to CHSP, their perceptions about the park, and impact of racism on their travel patterns. To effectively present these various pieces of information, this chapter is divided into two major sections. The first section presents findings related to the history of cities near CHSP and TPWD. The second section presents the findings related to local African Americans' perceptions toward CHSP and natural recreation settings, factors that influence their non-visitation to the park, and the impact of racism on their travel patterns.

#### *History of the Community and TPWD*

The study collected rich information about the history of cities near CHSP and TPWD. Two salient themes emerged from data analysis: (1) white flight and racial conflict and (2) racism in Texas state parks. These findings about the field of CHSP and TPWD illustrate power dynamics within these two social spaces and provide important background and contextual information which facilitates adequate understanding on the phenomenon under investigation.

#### **White Flight and Racial Conflict**

The study first identified a major change in the racial demographic of the cities around CHSP over the past three decades. There has been a large scale African

American migration into the cities and subsequent decreases in the number of White residents. Risty used the term *white flight* and explained this demographic change in the city of Cedar Hill:

Traditionally Cedar Hill is, kind of being a good old boy town. Kind of more traditionally older White, yeah, it was a typical, you know picket fence, White Americans. But what's happened in Dallas and southern sector of Dallas, you have a big migration [of African Americans]... then you also have white flight out here.

White flight is defined as the out-movement of Whites from their residential area when they observe the influx of African Americans or minorities in their neighborhood. White flight is believed to negatively impact economic, educational, and social fabric of a community (Boustan, 2010; Crowder, 2000; Frey, 1979; Harris, 1999; Woldoff, 2011).

According to Risty, the city used to be a White middle class community, yet many White residents left the city once African American migration occurred in large numbers.

Census survey data support Risty's description about white flight. Table 3 summarizes racial demographic changes in four cities near CHSP from 1980 to 2010. Although the residents of the four cities surrounding CHSP were predominantly White until the 1980s, they received large number of Black migrants in the 1990s. Subsequently, the percentage of White residents in the cities started to decrease. For example, White residents constituted 92% of city population in Cedar Hill, yet the percentage declined to 25.5% in 2010. By 2010, African American constituted more than half of residents in the four cities, except Duncanville. Today, the four cities are more racially diverse than ever before.

The rapid increase of Black population provoked acute tensions between White

Table 3. Racial demographic changes in four cities near Cedar Hill State Park

	Cedar Hill			Desoto		
	White	Black	Total	White	Black	Total
1980	6335 (92.5%)	116 (1.7%)	6849	14327 (92.2%)	536 (3.4%)	15538
1990	15171 (75.9%)	2784 (13.9%)	19976	22230 (72.8%)	6347 (20.8%)	30544
2000	16278 (50.8%)	10727 (33.5%)	32044	16818 (44.7%)	17067 (45.3%)	37646
2010	11322 (25.5%)	23004 (51.7%)	44477	8542 (17.4%)	33337 (68%)	49047
	Lancaster			Duncanville		
	White	Black	Total	White	Black	Total
1980	12749 (86.1%)	876 (5.9%)	14807	26092 (93.9%)	341 (1.2%)	27781
1990	13580 (61.4%)	6536 (29.6%)	22117	28237 (79%)	4248 (11.9%)	35748
2000	8703 (33.6%)	13654 (52.7%)	25894	20388 (56.5%)	8837 (24.5%)	36087
2010	4689 (12.9%)	24827 (68.3%)	36361	12461 (32.3%)	11331 (29.4%)	38524

residents and Black new comers. For example, Sam described how white flight caused racial conflict in his city. Sam stated:

I tell you why all the White folks are leaving. They call it white flight....And they leave it there....The pastor of this church. It was White, White congregation...they folded. Most of White churches folded....The majority of White churches, because of, Blacks moving in, Whites moving out, right? [The pastor] says, uh, “Brother, [Sam]” this is what he says “Brother [Sam].” He said “I love you.” He said “I love you.” He said “But I can’t get Black folks coming to my church.”

When Sam had a conversation with a White pastor in his church, the pastor explicitly stated that he does not want to have Black followers even though he personally loves

Sam. Sam offered another example that nicely illustrated racial tensions within the community:

When I was the president [of a Christian organization], I would say “Alright, let’s mix this thing up. Let’s go and sit with somebody you didn’t come in here with,” right? Or, “Get up and hug somebody,” right? And it got back to me, says, uh, says “My people complain.” [This was from] Caucasian churches.... It wasn’t like them hugging each other like, OK, you hug Black and you hug Hispanic or it was, they said they [were] uncomfortable with that. Now,...OK, you Christian, I Christian, I’m definitely Black and you whatever, right? But they were uncomfortable with that. Because of race. Not, not because, you know, they came from another churches or something like that, it was clearly race. They said I made them uncomfortable.

Although Sam firmly believed that Christianity should not differentiate among its followers based on race, he received complaints from White churches regarding the interracial contact he introduced during services. The racial conflict between Blacks and Whites was even more vividly illustrated by Sam’s further articulation on two racial groups’ struggles over power:

*Sam:* Oh well, the first part of it. You know the demographic changed. So when the demographic changed, you have less of [racism] because you have less of them (Whites). I mean, they leave, right? But you still have it, with 10, 20 percent that are here.

*Researcher:* So I guess the local community, in terms of racial attitudes among White individuals, hasn’t really changed. It’s just a change of numbers?

*Sam:* That’s the bottom line. I’m gonna tell you. Now, I tell you this. You can take it or leave it. Because it’s (racism) so strong. They eventually, they eventually, they says “We’re gonna have a Black mayor.” Eventually. That’s the case, that [these people say] “Let’s pick what we want.”

*Researcher:* OK,

*Sam:* This is, that’s what they did.

*Researcher:* OK,

*Sam:* That’s politics of it, I’m just telling you like it is. They said “Eventually we’re gonna have this, eventually we’re gonna have a Black superintendent, but let us choose the one. Not the Blacks. Don’t let them choose.” Right? Do you understand what I’m saying?

*Researcher:* Yes, it’s like,



*Sam*: (Interruption) Right, it's the percentage of it. It's the percentage that has much power. That has that much power. I ain't tell you what somebody told me. I tell you my, I tell you what I know evidently.

Although the city's demographics have changed significantly over the past three decades and the community has turned into predominantly Black, Sam assured that decision makers in the city are still White individuals. Moreover, even though the city had a Black mayor, Sam personally observed that the mayor was elected because he/she acted in favor of conventional White residents. While Sam has been heavily involved in city's administrative issues, he observed that racism is deeply inculcated in the political landscape of his city. Sam noted White "diehards" are "still controlling things" in his city. Sam's stories reflect racial conflict in the communities surrounding CHSP as a large number of Blacks migrated into the traditionally White neighborhood.

Archival data from *Cedar Hill Today* also confirmed Sam's description and reported hostile racial relationship and power dynamic within the community. Since 1992, the newspaper reported several racial conflicts between Whites and Blacks and illustrated heightened racial tension caused by white flight. Most struggles between Blacks and Whites took place at Cedar Hill schools. For example, on January 9, 1992 a newspaper article reported that Cedar Hill Independent School District (CHISD) received a complaint through the Office of Civil Right regarding racial discrimination (Hart, 1992, January 9). The racism issue was also described by a newspaper caricature published on the same day (see Figure 5). While the newspaper did not provide detailed explanations about the meanings of the caricature, its description of a wolf's threatening posture to an African American boy and the message on the bottom "AGAIN THE CRY

WENT OUT. BUT THIS TIME, NO ONE CAME” indicated that it was inspired by the famous fable *The Boy Who Cried Wolf*. The caricature can be interpreted in two ways. First, given the storyline of the fable, local African Americans might previously complain about racial discrimination multiple times, yet the community in general seemed to treat the complaints as fabrications or over-recreations. Second, regardless of the validity of African Americans’ previous charges on racism, racial discrimination in Cedar Hill school system was indeed a serious issue.

Since the fable caricature was published, several newspaper articles reported continued racial conflict in the CHISD. For instance, an article from February 6, 1992 showed that Cedar Hill Concerned Citizens Association (CHCCA) filed a complaint

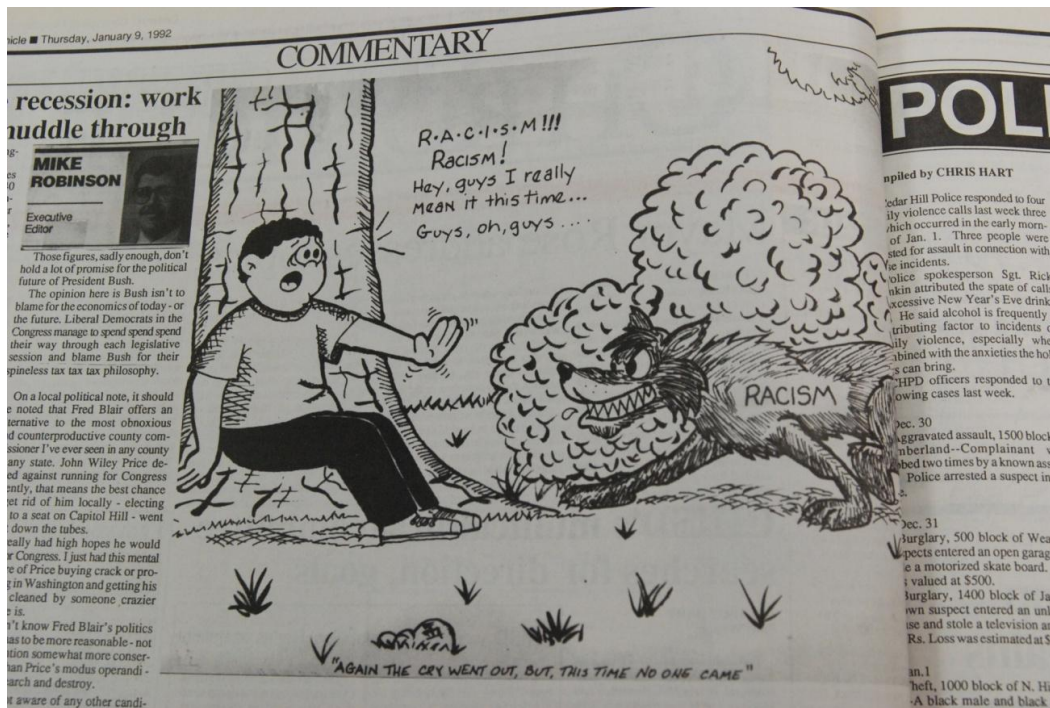


Figure 5. The caricature from *Cedar Hill Today* (Jackson, 1992a)

against CHISD and requested corrective actions on the following five items: (1) under-representation of minorities on the school board, (2) under-representation of minorities on all levels of the professional staff, (3) lack of participation of minorities in the decision-making process which negatively affects minority students' educational growth, deprives them of role models and deprives them of aspirations to seek professional careers, (4) staff insensitivity of minority culture, and (5) participation of minority students in extracurricular activities (Hart, 1992, February 6). Although CHCCA initially raised this issue almost one year ago, CHISD seemed to pay little attention to the complaint (Hart, 1992, March 5). As the fable caricature connoted, CHISD and local



Figure 6. The caricature from *Cedar Hill Today* (Jackson, 1992b)

community probably rejected the initial complains as invalid. Frustrated by the lack of communication from CHISD, CHCCA aggressively requested changes on the racial insensitivity of Cedar Hill education system and called for a mediation session sponsored by the Justice Department (Hart, 1992, February 6). Figure 6 shows the newspaper caricature which described the conflict between CHCCA and CHISD as a boxing match. While CHCCA's assertiveness was portrayed as masculine and as a determined boxer, the passiveness of CHISD was represented by a smaller and thinner boxer and his negative facial expression. While the two parties planned to attend the mediation, CHISD suddenly withdrew from the mediation two days before the scheduled date. CHISD board members said "they were upset that the concerned citizens' grievances were neither processed through the district's conventional channels of resolution nor presented before the board to allow both parties to try to resolve the issues without having to resort to third party mediation" (Hart, 1992, February 13, p. 1A). Figure 7 is the caricature that described the cancelation of the mediation. CHCCA and Justice Department are reading the note left by CHISD. The message on the bottom "SUPPING A PUNCH" summarizes the nature of the revoked match between the two parties. The statement from Robert McKenzie, the representative of CHCCA, nicely summarized the concerns from CHCCA and the way in which Cedar Hill education system discriminated against students of color. Targeting one of the education board members, McKenzie stated,

He's been asleep while the district's SAT scores have taken a nose dive and has not stepped to the forefront with a solution. He's been asleep while teachers are

slapping and throwing down our children. He's been asleep while administrators allow racist children form KKK organization at the high school (Hart, 1992 February 27, p. 3A).

While heated debate between the two organizations continued for four months, they settled down in May 1992. The leaders of both parties, citizens, and city council members attended the "race summit" organized by McKenzie and discussed possible solutions for the complaints. Eventually, the CHISD Board of Trustees accepted the recommendation from the district's Multi-cultural Education Committee for developing multicultural environment (Hart, 1992 May 14, p. 1A).



Figure 7. The caricature from *Cedar Hill Today* (Jackson, 1992c)

Two years after the school debate, the diversity issue appeared again on the headline of the newspaper, this time focusing on Hispanics. On 15<sup>th</sup> September 1994, the headline article, “Hispanics claim discrimination,” described that several parents of Hispanic students acknowledged city’s education board that “they are frustrated by the district and city’s apparent lack of support and understanding toward Latin and Hispanic students” (Huynh, 1994, September 15, p. 1A). According to the article, Hispanic students “have been harassed by police and school officials, and have been labeled as gang members because they are of Hispanic descent” (p. 1A). In contrast to these comments, the school principle noted “he has never falsely accused anyone of being a gang member, and does not have anything against these or other Hispanic students.” He also stated that “I don’t discipline color or ethnic groups, I discipline students” (p. 3A).

Racial issue appeared once again on the newspaper in 1995. One article focused on the discrimination lawsuit filed by Charles Etta Williams, a former African American elementary school principal, against CHISD (Layton, 1995, March 3). Williams experienced strong antagonism from teachers and local community when she was hired by CHISD in 1988. Teachers not only referred to Williams with racial epithets but asked the police department to conduct a background check of her. Although Williams successfully finished her first year at the school and received a very good performance review, the superintendent recommended school board to not to renew Williams’ contact because of repeated complaints from parents and community members regarding Williams’ race. The contract was eventually terminated without providing adequate notice and explanations so Williams took a legal action and filed a lawsuit with the

federal court in March 1992. The newspaper reported that she finally won the suit against the CHISD.

The series of newspaper articles from *Cedar Hill Today* provided a snapshot into the racial relations during the period of white flight. They acknowledge that there has been on-going racial conflicts between Whites and people of color and racism was indeed pervasive within the community. African Americans and Hispanics constantly demanded fair and equal treatment from White decision makers in the school system and community. The newspaper illustrated historical inequality in power and symbolic capital in the field of local community.

### **Racism in Texas State Parks**

Together with white flight and racial conflicts in the cities around CHSP, archival data provided another important contextual piece of information by illustrating the historical relationship between racism and Texas state parks. The findings related to the field of Texas state parks showed that historically African Americans were not allowed to visit Texas state parks because of racial discrimination. While Texas state parks started to emerge in the 1920s and 1930s, the state followed racial segregation policy set by the 1896 Supreme Court Decision *Plessy v. Ferguson* so the parks were segregated until 1964 (Texas Parks and Wildlife Department, 2004). A historian James Wright Steely stated that “No state and apparently none of the New Deal urban parks [in Texas] provided even “separate but equal” facilities for Black citizens” (p. 97). Even though some parks allowed African Americans’ entrance, Black visitors experienced a myriad of discriminatory practices from park officials. For instance, in Tyler State Park,



Black visitors had to use a back entrance to the park and only allowed to use limited facilities (as cited in Texas Park & Wildlife Department, 2004, p. 3. Originally from Cynthia Brandimarte's personal communication with Brent Leisure on 10 May 2004). In Texas, "African Americans and Hispanics had only little or no access to the state parks until the Civil Rights Act of 1964" (Texas Parks and Wildlife Department, 2004, p. 8).

An irony of the history of Texas state park is that many African American Texans actually built the parks as the members of the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) during the Great Depression (Steely, 1999). CCC was a part of New Deal project designed by President Franklin Roosevelt and it was a public work relief program that recruited unemployed and unmarried men who were in the age of 18 to 25. The main idea of CCC was to provide income for relief families by hiring these young men for conservation and construction projects in the country. While members of CCC designed and built more than 50 state parks throughout Texas during the 1930s, they were segregated into "White" and "Colored" company due to Jim Crow laws (Steely, 1999, p. 39). Steely (1999) documented that approximately three to four African American CCC companies worked for Texas state parks from 1935 to 1942 and built parks or repaired their deteriorated infrastructures. For example, Company 1823 was constituted of African American war veterans and it built several state parks such as Lake Abilene State Park, Lake Sweetwater Metropolitan Park, Palo Duro Canyon State Park, Fort Parker State Park, Kerrville State Park, and Huntsville State Park. These African American CCC companies created recreational facilities exclusively for Whites. Furthermore, Black CCC members were not allowed to freely visit parks they built. For



example, when Millard Fillmore Rutherford, a former Black CCC enrollee at Fort Parker State Park, returned to the park to show his bride the dam that he built, they were told that African Americans were not allowed to enter the park (Brandimarte & Reed, 2013). In Texas, African Americans created many state parks, yet their access to the parks was problematic due to racism.

In sum, the study identified that racism is interwoven with the history of cities near CHSP and Texas state parks. The communities around CHSP have observed white flight since 1990s and experienced sharp conflict between traditional White residents and Black migrants. Moreover, African Americans were barred from Texas state parks until the 1960s even though they actually help built many state parks as members of CCC. Racism was deeply inculcated in the field of local community and Texas state parks, and Whites have had more symbolic capital than African Americans. This historical information is a crucial backdrop to properly understand today's local African Americans' visitation to CHSP and other state or national parks.

#### *African Americans' Non-visitation to CHSP and the Under-representation Issue*

While this study identified racism embedded in the field of CHSP and Texas state parks, the data analysis also found that local African Americans' non-visitation to CHSP and the under-representation issues can be explained by four types of constraints: (1) lack of information and encouragement, (2) lack of interest/cultural irrelevance, (3) lack of attraction, and (4) fear of racism. However, the analysis also revealed that these four reasons were not mutually exclusive. Rather, they were closely interrelated with each other and commonly held racism and racial conflict between Black and White as an

underlying theme. This section illustrates how these four reasons impact not only local African Americans' visitation to CHSP, but also African Americans' travel pattern and participation in outdoor recreation in general.

### **Lack of Information and Encouragement**

Lack of information and encouragement for visiting CHSP was one of the main reasons the majority of informants have not visited the park. Among 13 informants, only two answered they previously visited the park. When I questioned the rest of 11 informants as to why they have not visited the park, several of them stated that the park does not actively advertise its recreational resources to local community. Stephanie and Risty expressed their perception about CHSP advertisement:

*Stephanie:* I lived here, I've never seen a piece of advertisement about Cedar Hill State Park. 11 years, I've been living in [this city], I've never seen a piece of advertisement about Cedar Hill State Park other than driving by it. You see the sign. It says Cedar Hill State Park. That's it. I've never seen anything promoting that park. Absolutely nothing.

*Risty:* I mean I don't think I'm not interested [about going to CHSP]. I think it's that I don't know what they offer, you know what I mean? I think, their advertisement in the community, they are not anything that are, there are not something that I can think "Oh Cedar Hill State Park," "Oh, they got a zip-line," "Oh they have that." You know, there is nothing, so to be honest with you...I really don't know what exactly what they offer. You know, I know it's a state park but after that, it's like "What's in there" (chuckles).

Similarly, Steven mentioned that he has not really seen any advertisement about CHSP even though he visited the park with his friend for fishing. Until his first visit to the park, Steven believed that the site is Cedar Hill Lake instead of a state park. Steven stated:

If I seen advertisement and "Alright, interesting, OK I go check it out." Which is, I don't see Cedar Hill. Never been heard [about CHSP], the park here. Matter of fact, I always thought that that's a place to go fishing. But it is a park. I thought

it's just a lake. So if I'm told about it or advertised, someone recommended me, I may go.

Thus, even though these informants stated that they were interested in outdoor recreation or willing to visit the park, they pointed out lack of advertisement and encouragement as reasons for not visiting. However, it is vexing why informants had to *wait* until the park attracted them and promoted visitation if they are truly interested in outdoor recreation and visiting the park. TPWD website hosts sufficient information about CHSP so it is very easy to find recreational resources within the park if one invests a few minutes for an internet search. While people tend to independently look for information they are interested, this was not the case with informants. Clearly, informants were passive about park visitation and did not deliberately look for the information by themselves.

It is important to note that racism was deeply related to informants' passiveness. Informants had a strong skepticism toward the racial attitudes of CHSP officials, and they strongly believed that lack of advertisement and encouragement from CHSP is mainly because the park is not interested in attracting African Americans and other people of color. Informants were doubtful if the park ever made any effort to entice local minority residents. Moreover, their skepticism stemmed from their experience of long-standing racial conflict between Blacks and Whites within the community, especially during the period of white flight. The following interview excerpt from Sam illustrates how his experience of racism within the community shaped his' view toward CHSP:

*Researcher:* Do you think why you never had a chance to visit CHSP?

*Sam:* Yeah, like I said I didn't know anything about it, right? Let's put it that. How many acres of there?

*Researcher:* The size of the park?

*Sam:* Yeah.

*Researcher:* It's more than 1800 acres.

*Sam:* 1800 acres?

*Researcher:* Yes, sir.

*Sam:* That's a big park for people not to know about it, right? (chuckles)

....*Sam:* Now, everybody likes to go to places that they are welcomed, or they can feel welcomed. I won't, I don't like going a place like where I'm [not] treated [well], yeah, I mean you get that sometimes, right? You know like, a few years ago, you come through here, they are gonna ask you questions. Because of your race.

*Researcher:* In this town?

*Sam:* Oh yeah. He (a police officer) said "Where are you going? Where are you heading?" [My friend] said "I'm going to Waxahachie" He said "Well, why do you come through here? Can't you find another way?" And that was state highway up here. Texas Avenue 215 (pseudonym), that's state highway. You know what I'm saying? You had that....It was, you know, they were pretty bold with it.

Sam initially stated that he has not been to the park because he did not know about it.

However, he soon referred to the size of CHSP to connote that the park is not actively advertising their recreational resource to local African Americans. Later, Sam articulated that he wants to visit places that welcome African Americans and described the racial prejudice his friend experienced in his community a few years ago. This interview excerpt showed that Sam is doubtful whether or not he will be welcomed at the park because he has experienced many acts of racial discriminations in his community over the past three decades. In other words, his experience of racial discriminations has shaped a negative perception toward CHSP and it has curtailed his visitation to the park. He also did not think the park is actively encouraging African Americans' visitations, and he believes he is not welcome or would not be treated nicely in the park. Sam perceived that racism is prevalent in the field of local community.

Sam's experience of racism and negative perception toward CHSP were echoed by other informants. When I interviewed Jennifer, an employee of a city's park and

recreation department, she opined that she did not get the job recently announced at her workplace. Jennifer firmly believed that she was not hired because of her race:

If someone has had a job and they are no longer in that position, they view experience as being nothing, if you are a Black. If you are White, they might hold some weight...

You're OK, as long as you doing a job and even if you train somebody, but you'll never get that job. You'll never get that job, if you're Black. And, they made that quite clear here, from [my] observation.

Jennifer also described prevailing racial prejudice in her work place using a recent incident with her White boss. After observing email exchanges between Jennifer and a new employee, her boss warned Jennifer that her communication style was disrespectful and “negative” even though she communicated with what she believed was a professional manner. Jennifer said, “So if I was somebody else, even a Hispanic girl, it will be viewed as answering the question. But a Black person, it was negative.”

Similar to Sam, Jennifer's experience of racism seemed to color her impression of CHSP. She believed that the field of local community is filled with racism and CHSP is no exception. In the following interview excerpt, Jennifer articulated her perception of CHSP's poor advertisement to local minorities and how CHSP has been perceived by other local African Americans including her two daughters:

*Jennifer:* Well, actually when they talk about Cedar Hill Park, they don't, [the park doesn't] really say anything to encourage us to come. All we hear is that some group [of people of color] went, [but there is] nothing positive that they say [about the] area, so we stay away from there.

*Researcher:* OK.

*Jennifer:* Because it seems to be a pocket, just like you said racism.

*Researcher:* I see. Can you, can you talk more about what you mean by nothing positive experience in Cedar Hill State Park?

*Jennifer:* Well, I don't hear anything positive and my kids who go everywhere, haven't had, haven't had a desire [to visit the park]...they just don't, they just

don't go. They make it sounds like it's not for us. People talk about it, but they talked about it like, it's their (Whites') place that they go.

*Researcher:* I see.

....*Jennifer:* It's no encouragement for people of colors.

*Researcher:* Right.

*Jennifer:* Unless it's some project at school or the classes going, something like that. Otherwise, and, when they advertise it, I don't get any, any advertising that would attract people of color, some people go anyway. But majority of them, I'm talking about my, my daughters and her friends just like, they are in their 20s...so they don't go, they do other things.

*Researcher:* I see, so it's more like your daughters' assessment that that place is not, how do I say this,

*Jennifer:* It's not for them.

*Researcher:* Right.

....*Researcher:* OK, do you agree with that assessment?

*Jennifer:* Well, I don't know, I haven't tried, like I said, I've heard people talk about it, but not once have I heard [African Americans] say "We've gone" so I don't hear anything positive words, any Blacks wanna go.

*Researcher:* Right.

*Jennifer:* They know about it, but unless it's something with the school, or college, or a church function, I don't hear anything else about it.

*Researcher:* I see.

*Jennifer:* And a lot of them don't even know where it is.

Jennifer stated that she has not seen any advertisement that encourages minorities' visitation to the park. She has also observed that local African Americans rarely visit the park and, in many cases, they are not even aware of its existence. Moreover, she has noticed that younger African Americans such as her two daughters and their friends conceive the park as an amenity for White individuals and "not for them." Due to her continuing experience of racial prejudice in the workplace and the negative comments from her daughters and other Black residents regarding CHSP, Jennifer conceived CHSP as another social context where racism is prevalent and White Americans usually occupies. For Jennifer, it is not surprising at all that she does not see any park advertisements targeting Black residents.

Risty also commented on CHSP's lack of advertisement to minorities based on his experience of racial prejudice. He articulated that decision makers in his city and workplace remain White even though the city has experienced a significant increase in the African American population. He described enduring White power and racial prejudice in his community using an incident at his workplace as evidence:

[Racism] is very prevalent, I witnessed, either experienced throughout my whole professional life since I working [in the field of parks and recreation]...I can give you a perfect example of it. I've been on the Juneteenth committee for 2 years here....we have a really nice park over here that has amphitheater, seats about 2000 people so we decided to have a, a free concert, for the community, kind of celebration....We planned for about 1800 people, but we ended up having 6800. Yeah, so that was the best Juneteenth celebration we ever had in the four cities [around the CHSP]. It was unbelievable success. Well, we were awarded a national award through the NRPA....when it was the time to go and receive the award, even though you had three African Americans on the committee that worked for the event, no one African American was on the trip....Yeah, It was all White Americans. So, to the African American employees, that's like, you know "Wow." Basically slapping the face....[Among] at least 7, 8 employees, just not one African American representation to accept the award of African American event. It was, (scoffing).

Although African American employees, including Risty, were instrumental in the success of the Juneteenth event, the organizations did not send a single African American to the award ceremony in the nationally well-known conference among recreational practitioners<sup>1</sup>. Risty felt that discrimination was a reason as to why he and other African Americans did not receive any credits for their hard work and contributions. He also described racial power dynamics in his professional field and articulated that African American employees are almost ostracized in the workplace:

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<sup>1</sup> The researcher happened to attend the same award ceremony organized by NRPA. He confirmed that award recipients of the Juneteenth event were three White individuals.

When you look higher up, you had the same people for 15, 20, 25 years. The majority of time, people just hire people who look like them, act like them, and move like them, I think until someone moves in from the outside, I think they have no reason to change....I think that's just, throughout recreation, it's a good old boy network....within African Americans, you will find yourself boxed in because there is no one to cry to. There is no one to go, get any help from because they are probably in the same position that you are in, you know where you're gonna go? I found there is no backlash for not actively pursuing or recruiting minorities to these locations.

Due to the racial discrimination and administrative stagnation he observed in the field of parks and recreation, Risty believed that not only CHSP but also other state and national parks are also managed by racially biased elderly White individuals so the park does not actively promote minorities' visitation:

I found that, my time here are, a lot of people who are kinda stuck in the positions of where they at....So all of these directors and superintendents and all that, they are in 50s.... They are slow to embrace, or they are slow to recognize how quickly things are changing....I think what happened is that people are just using some old traditional methods of advertisement because that's what they've normally done.

In the similar vein, Risty speculated that CHSP and other public parks have relatively few minority employees so they fail to understand the recreational needs of minority population:

Um, I think maybe they just don't have, they may not have minority staff who understands exactly how to target minority community...If I'll try to attract Asian community, there is something that you can tell me that I should be known (The researcher is an Asian), I wouldn't know unless I'm an Asian, you know? ... So I think, I don't think they are really doing a poor job, I think they just, sometimes I think when you, just don't know....you just kind of don't know....I think that's kind of what they are lacking.

Risty's assessment is accurate in the sense that employees in state and national parks or outdoor recreation agencies are predominantly White Americans and many minority employees experience racial discrimination (Shinew & Hibbler, 2002). Although Risty



never visited CHSP and did not know the racial demographics of the employees at CHSP, he presumed that the park lacks minority employees who understand minorities' recreational needs. Moreover, his negative perception was extended to other state and national parks. Although it is unfortunate that some informants have a strong skepticism about CHSP's racial inclusiveness without ever visiting the park, the community indeed went through acute racial conflict. This strife has colored their view of CHSP and other public parks as welcoming places.

In sum, many informants mentioned lack of information and encouragement as a preventative factor of park visitation. They constantly experienced racism in their everyday life and believed that the park is also managed by racially prejudiced and/or racially insensitive White employees. In other words, their experience of racial discrimination shaped a strong sense of victimization so they were skeptical about the extent to which CHSP and other public parks are concerned about the minorities' recreational needs. The informants strongly believed that CHSP is another social context where racism ideology is imbued and taken for granted. They also stated that power and symbolic capitals were unequally distributed in the field of local community because Whites have controlled important issues in the community. By internalizing this social context, some local African Americans seemed to shape the habitus which makes them perceive that visiting CHSP as an unusual activity for local Blacks.

### **Lack of Interest: Cultural Irrelevance**

While some informants pointed out lack of encouragement and advertisement as a main reason for their non-visitation and expressed the skepticism about CHSP's racial

attitude, other informants stated that they have not visited the park simply because they were not interested in going to parks for outdoor recreation. They mentioned that they are more interested in other leisure activities such as reading books, watching television, and playing video games and sports. Moreover, they stated that outdoor recreation is not a popular or common leisure activity among African Americans and they have rarely seen African Americans who enjoy nature-based outdoor recreation activity such as visiting parks, camping, and hiking. For example, Jeff's favorite leisure activities were playing golf and watching his two daughters' sport activities. He stated that he has not observed any African Americans who regularly visit parks for outdoor recreation purpose:

No, you know, when I was in college, joined fraternity. And African Americans fraternity and sorority, they have this alumni association so you could continue to interact after graduation...we still interact and I see friends from college and other people in the fraternity, in the community,...But none of that, any of connections, none of them relates to visiting state or national park or outdoor activities.

David, an avid outdoor man who has been to many national parks and state parks, has also recalled that he rarely saw any African Americans when he visited parks and camped. He said that he is "a little unusual as African American" because he likes to go to parks so much. In fact, he remembered his fellow African Americans told him, "You like a White boy [who] wanna go camping." Sean, an enthusiastic angler, also stated that he has not seen many people of color when he goes to fish:

*Researcher:* OK. When you go fishing, do you see a lot of African Americans like you?

*Sean:* No, no.

*Researcher:* So I guess it's most of the time White Americans.

*Sean:* Yes. You know, I would say...(chuckles) yeah, no question that I'm the minority when I'm, wherever I go. I'm definitely the minority.

Thus, some informants expressed that they have no interest of going to CHSP or parks in general simply because they lacked interest in outdoor pursuits. Furthermore, they uttered that it is difficult to find African Americans who frequently visit parks or participate in outdoor recreations. Implied here is the idea that African Americans possess the habitus that s views outdoor recreation activity as an orthodox or unusual activity for Blacks.

I asked if informants can think of any particular reason that they or other African Americans are not interested in visiting state or national parks and engaging in outdoor recreation such as fishing, hunting, camping, and hiking. They mentioned (1) lack of economic capital, (2) inner city environment, (3) no previous experience, and (4) African American's leisure habits as four reasons for the non-visitation. First, Anne, Jeff, Kevin, and Risty pointed out lack of economic capital among African Americans. Anne is a teacher of sixth and eighth grades and she teaches in "very poor area of Dallas complex" where the majority of residents are "Hispanic and Black." Although her school recently started a Girl Scout program, she found that some students were not able to participate in "traditional Girl Scout activities" such as camping "because of lack of monetary resources." Jeff also stressed the importance of economic capital and how it stymies African Americans' travel and leisure choice:

I think a lot of it gears more towards resources to do that... just like traditionally African American funerals were held on the weekends. And, Caucasians will have any days of week... It was because, we had to, you know, more challenging for African Americans to get out from work. In the middle of week, travel then, take an extended time of periods [to attend funeral]... You still see some of that as opposed to weekday. So certain areas where African Americans still have no resources, they'll be still challenged with this.... When I grew up, we didn't do

anything. We spent the whole summer in our neighborhood playing and went to the pool, those recreational activities or visiting a grandparents, we get to go to grandparents and other relatives in summer.

Likewise, Kevin stated that many African Americans have financial difficulty so the under-representation issue is related to “cost effective[ness]” because outdoor recreation such as going to national parks requires “a lot of money.” Similarly, Risty pointed out that “a lot of these mothers have three or four kids” and in many cases they are just “trying to make it right now.” Clearly, for those single parent families, participating in outdoor recreation might not be their priority due to financial struggles. Although lack of economic capital was not a major barrier for local Blacks to visit CHSP, it was indeed a salient constraint for many other Blacks to visit outdoor recreation environments and engage in outdoor recreation. Second, Risty and Anne mentioned the importance of physical proximity to parks. Risty noted that many African Americans are living in the “inner city” geographically far away from natural environment so it is difficult for them to access to parks and outdoor recreation settings. Anne also stated that “urban inner city atmosphere” might prevent access to parks and outdoor recreation resources. Third, Jeff, Kevin, and Anne stated that they simply had no previous experience of park visitation and outdoor recreation. Jeff articulated that he has had little contact with park and outdoor settings:

I didn't do it growing up, a lot of that activities. So I never spent, as an adult, a lot of time doing it. But I have friends who do hiking and attract to [outdoor recreation]...but all of those are Caucasians, you know, I can't recall any African Americans ever talking about doing that type of stuffs.

Similarly to Jeff, Kevin stated that he has not been really introduced to outdoor recreation activities such as going to state or national parks and he was more “gravitated

towards playing basketball and different sports other than camping and stuffs.” Anne mentioned that she preferred to “be inside” when she was growing up and “playing outside was not really [her] thing.” Although she is not particularly uninterested in outdoor recreation activities, she said she does not do “those type of activities often at all.” Finally, Sam and Anne mentioned habitus of African Americans. Sam described that going to park or outdoor recreation is not particularly relevant to African American leisure culture:

*Sam:* Right, I can’t stress [culture] enough. You know, Black folks ain’t park folks. You know, I’m not saying that, because you have [some exceptions] right? But, we, ah, we were told to grill at [the back yard], right? And cook-out right at the house. That’s our culture.

*Researcher:* Instead of going far, home centered,

*Sam:* There you go. And, ah, or, we rather, how can I say, we rather go an amusement park than we would public park.

*Researcher:* I see

*Sam:* Like, I say when it comes to picnics, OK you bring in the family...as far as [going to park for picnics,] it’s not our culture. Not from what I see, you know. And I’ve been around for a while (laugh).

*Researcher:* So I guess it’s more of home-oriented outdoor recreational activity, where family members can establish bonding and,

*Sam:* Yeah, there you go. Very, very [close to home]. Sit-around-watch-football-type setting, you know, get-the-chips-in-the-dip-type. And, but as far as, even the walking the dog, we rather work the dog up and down the, from the house, around the corner. You would [see very few] Blacks taking the dogs to park and walk. Not that we can’t, I’m just saying that, very few. Very few do that. Cause it’s, like I said, I can’t stress enough the fact that it’s culture thing.

Sam articulated that African Americans’ leisure activities are usually social gatherings centered around home setting and stated that African Americans’ leisure culture has little association with natural environment and the great outdoors. Similar to Sam’s description of Black leisure culture, Anne said that “outdoor recreation activities are just

not socially acceptable” for African Americans although sports such as football and basketball are more of “things that are socially acceptable within our community.”

While informants mentioned four reasons that they or other African Americans do not visit CHSP or other parks and engage in outdoor recreation activities in general, some informants explicated that four reasons are interwoven with racism. Comments from Steven, Susan, and Sam were particularly insightful in this regard. Using the term “exposure,” Steven explained the intersection between African Americans’ lack of economic capital and formation/reproduction of leisure habitus.

*Steven:* No. No, ah, a lot of people (African Americans) do it (outdoor recreation). It’s not as frequently as white. You know, it is not the stuffs that we grow up doing. We didn’t grow up, been exposed to it....But a lot of them (White Americans) grow up in the environment, they got boats, so they were able to go boating and stuffs like that so they are exposed to at the young and early age. We are not. So I don’t think this is something [inherently White activity]. They have boats. You know?

*Researcher:* So I guess the extent to which you expose to outdoor recreation resource is, you talk about the existence of boat, you think it has to do with social economic status?

*Steven:* I think it’s part of it. I mean if you go to lake or stuff like that, who do you see there riding boats? ...What do we call that motorcycle looking thing out there, jet ski, jet ski, who do you see riding those most of time?

*Researcher:* White Americans.

*Steven:* It’s not that we can’t afford them. We can afford them now. But it’s not something we had grown up. Not something we did growing up. A lot of it, we didn’t have a swimming pool growing up. So those type of activities, [what we did?] We had a basketball court, football field. That’s what we did. That’s what we are good at. You know. So this has to do with exposure. Socioeconomically, you grow up in the environment you had that, that’s what you did. You have it. You did what you have to do. In our cases, football basketball, track, you know, that’s what we did.

Steven explained that African Americans have failed to acquire cultural capital necessary for pursuing outdoor recreation because of their lack of economic capital to obtain recreational goods and services such as boats. Although today’s African

Americans have sufficient economic capital to purchase outdoor recreation products, Steven believed that Blacks still do not engage in outdoor recreation because many of them have had limited contact with outdoor resources so their unfamiliarity or lack of interest about outdoor recreation has been reproduced across generations. He implied that the majority of African Americans were not able to develop the habitus that makes them to perceive outdoor recreation as an available and desirable leisure pursuits. Steven's explanation is persuasive since African Americans have historically been the target of economic exploitation due to racism, and the economic disparity between Black and Whites has been persisting in the U.S. history. Hence, it is reasonable to believe that lack of economic capital has exerted substantially negative impact on African Americans' outdoor recreation participation.

Susan also eloquently argued that racism has been the main force that shaped African Americans' leisure habitus. In the following interview excerpt, she offered her historical perspective on African Americans' leisure and explained how racial discrimination has created under-representation:

*Susan*:...Leisure for people of colors and the fact that people of colors were, are not able to like, did not have access. We have to talk about access when we talk about the history of leisure, because there was no access to those things (outdoor recreation), so how do you expect me appreciate these things if my parents didn't appreciate it, my parents' parents couldn't appreciate it. Because [participation pattern] was just anything to do with access to, right?

*Researcher*: Right.

*Susan*: So I feel like it's, it's gotten passed down [from] generation to generation to where, "Oh, no we just don't do these things, we just don't, we don't go, we don't go camping", you know, that's just not what we do. It's something that settled in the Black community, but it's like "OK, let's go back and try to figure out why we don't do these things" because now we have access to going camping, so why do we not go anymore and I feel like if we go back, it's just

been displayed “No we don’t do that” and before it was like “We can’t do that.” So we’ve found other places for leisure, other spaces for leisure.

*Researcher:* Such as basketball court and,

*Susan:* Exactly. So a lot of people of color moved to the inner city, there’s no space for parks and camping at all those things, but there’s basketball, there’s dancing, there’s running, there’s football, there’s, you know, like those are the, those are the spaces that we did have access to as far as leisure goes.

Susan stressed that historically African Americans had “no access” to outdoor recreation resources due to racism and the pattern has been inter-generationally reproduced.

Although Susan did not explicitly explain why African Americans had limited or “no access” to outdoor recreation resources, African Americans were indeed barred or segregated from public recreational sites due to racism and Jim Crow law. She argued that this historical circumstance not only has made African Americans to unable to develop the habitus for appreciating outdoor recreation but also has *normalized* African Americans’ under-representation issue. While she posited that racism is the main reason of the under-representation issue, she observed that many African Americans failed to recognize the connection between racism and today’s under-representation.

Likewise, Sam illustrated how today’s under-representation stems from centuries-old racism in the country. Sam previously stressed culture as the main reason for African Americans’ under-representation. In the following conversation, he described indisputable relationship between Black recreational culture and racism.

*Sam:* Well, I think more Whites do it (outdoor recreation), right? No necessarily has to be White activity. You know more White people do that because, it could be a cultural thing. You know they were brought up, doing it, you know. They took children so now their children grow up, they are gonna do it. I suggest that it has to do with culture.

*Researcher:* You talked about the fact that, you mentioned about African Americans’ leisure culture, it’s home-oriented and it’s close to home. Now we are talking about racism issue, and you talk about culture. It seems to me, correct



me if I'm wrong, one of the reasons why African Americans' leisure culture is home-oriented is because of safety issue, relate to racism.

*Sam*: Oh yeah, yeah, well, I was just thinking. Years ago, we couldn't stay at hotels. You couldn't go to the diners. You have to go around. Negroes only, Whites only. So it has to, you are right, it has to do, it has the root, right? So where you might have Caucasians, they can go anywhere they wanna go and enjoy whatever they wanna enjoy, Negroes couldn't.... That culture was, well, it was embedded in us, alright? Maybe that's all we thought we can do. And we feel, well, say stay home, right, so we don't have to deal with it (racism). Whether folks gonna separate you or not, [home environment] allows you to do whatever cause there were certain places we couldn't go in. If we went in, there is certain area that we had to sit and, you know, you don't sit on the same counter with, you know, you had that. You are right. It (the formation of the under-representation issue) has a lot to do with it (racism).

When I asked Sam if his idea of African Americans' distinctive leisure culture is related to racism, he affirmed that racial discrimination is at its "root." He also asserted that African Americans' home-oriented leisure culture has been shaped by racial discrimination and segregation practice in public spaces implemented during Jim Crow era. Similar to Susan, Sam believed that prolonged racial oppression has restricted African Americans' mobility, normalized their limited access to outdoor recreation resources, and instilled Black community the home-oriented leisure culture.

In sum, three informants commonly articulated that racism is a main reason underlying under-representation because it has extorted economic and cultural capital required for engaging in outdoor recreation from African Americans and made them to view outdoor recreation as undesirable and unattractive activity. In other words, racism took away capital from African Americans and made them unable to develop leisure habitus required for outdoor recreation. They suggested that historical racial oppression toward African American is a foundation for explaining present day under-representation in outdoor recreation.

## **Fear of Racism**

While some informants described racism as a hidden cause of the under-representation issue and explained its subtle and indirect influence on African Americans' outdoor recreation patterns, many informants articulated more direct and overt influence of racism on African Americans' outdoor recreation and travel pattern. In fact, informants have experienced many instances of racial discriminations while traveling, which has significantly impacted their travel decisions and behavior. Although fear of racism was not a major obstacle for informants to visit CHSP, they observed that it is indeed a reason why many African Americans do not visit wildlands in general. Moreover, they articulated that having companions and seeking family or friends were two strategies to alleviate danger of racism when they travel unfamiliar places.

Informants described their experience of racial discrimination while traveling. Sean described his experience of racism when he was a college student and visited Washington D.C.:

I never will forget, being a freshman at the [University], one of my fellow freshmen was from Washington D.C. We went to, I mean, we were...I'm not trying to be funny but we were good kids, I mean, we hadn't done anything, not trouble, you know, we went to Washington D.C. went to a concert. After the concert, we tried to get a cab back to my friend's mother's house. And not a cab would pick up, there was three black, young black guys, wouldn't pick us up. We had to walk. Few miles cause we couldn't get a cab, couldn't get a cab. And I guess, a cap driver was foolish to pick up young black men...we just wanted a cab. But we couldn't get a cab.

Sean and his friends were not able to catch a taxi even though they saw many unoccupied taxies driving on the road. Eventually, Sean and his friends had to walk several miles. Sean believed that taxi drivers did not pick them up because they were

viewed as dangerous criminals, a typical racial prejudice toward African American males (Feagin, 2000). Anne also described her experience of racism when she was on a tour with her university's gospel choir. When she visited a small restaurant with her friend, a waitress did not serve them:

So we were stuck in Connecticut (because of a blizzard), and you know we were on tour, we were on a bus, so it wasn't like we can just drive, get in a car and drive anywhere, but there was a little restaurant next to the hotel and a friend of mine and I, we decided to walk to the little restaurant cause it was only place open, then we walked over there, order our food, and they made us go to the kitchen to pick up our food. They didn't bring the food to us, we didn't know they, we thought they were taking us to a table or, we didn't know where we were really going and they took us to the kitchen to pick up our food and I just remember thinking, I'm almost rather be hungry then pay for this food.

While Anne and her friend assumed that the waitress was taking them to another table, she actually brought them to the kitchen and said, "Why don't you go pick that (food) up and go back to your place?" Anne mentioned that the incident happened in either 2003 or 2004 and stressed that the racism is still prevalent in the United States. Stephanie experienced similar racial discrimination at a restaurant when she was visiting an university town for a job training. When she entered the restaurant where her classmate made a reservation for a party, the restaurant clerk almost refused to provide a table for her:

Sixteen of us in the class, [I was] only African American in that class, we went to a restaurant to [have a party], and this particular restaurant says no reservations required. One of the other ladies already checked. She called them and told them "We are large group and we're coming", "No problem." When we got there, I was the first one there, and you know, I said "Hey, I'm here, someone already called you earlier about the party, we're coming in" and they're like "Oh, we're sorry. We actually have already had all of our reservation filled, you know, we don't, it's gonna be 35 to 40 minutes wait before we are able to seat you guys." But [my classmate] had literally like just called and when she came in, she did not identify herself being with the group. She just went up and said "Can I get a

table for?".... she got the table. And it was, I mean, do what you know absolutely no other reason for that has to occur other than [racism], I'm like "OK, so maybe they thought I had a party of 8 of just all Blacks.".... So [it] really made [sic] an uncomfortable evening. In fact, I didn't even eat. (laugh) I stayed, cause my group was there, we were there as a group we agreed to go over some class stuff, but I was like..."I ain't eat in here" (scoffing) you know "No, I'm not doing it" and I didn't. On the way back, I had a drive through.

The restaurant clerk told Stephanie that seating was unavailable for her even though she informed the clerk her classmate already made a reservation. Moreover, when her White classmate arrived at the restaurant and asked for a seat, the clerk immediately assisted the classmate. Stephanie was disturbed by this incident and refused to eat at the restaurant. She had to have "a drive through" after the party was over. Steven also shared his experience of racism during his business trip with a White female co-worker. Since his co-worker did not believe his explanation about racism, Steven decided to demonstrate how routinely African Americans are mistreated:

*Steven:* I was in Reno. Reno, Nevada. There with a lady working with me. She was a White. We went [there for business purpose]. We went up there for six days so we got to talk about racism and discrimination. So I was telling her, how, even though during this time they (Whites) are discriminating, [She said, ] "Ah, no, no, no way" so [I said,] "OK, watch, let's go to the restaurant." We already picked up our restaurant, we went to the restaurant. I said, "You watch and see where they seat me." They seat me back towards back. They seated her towards the front. There was seats available all over. So I asked her "Could I be seated a little bit closer to the front?" "Well, we don't have anybody serving that area." But they were seating people over there that area. OK? So. Next day, I said [to her] "Let's go to the lunch together." No, actually we [had a] breakfast together. I said "You watch where they seat us, they are gonna seat us towards the back." Again, we went to breakfast together, that's where they seated us. Back towards back. Another restaurant. So when the people come in, they don't see me. Quickly they will see other folks. It's alive. Alive and thrive. I see it all the time.

*Researcher:* I'm sorry to hear that.

*Steven:* No, you don't have anything to do with that. It comes with this (pointed a back of his left hand and indicated his skin color). I understand it. It doesn't stop me being successful but it was there. Still is.

Steven never visited those two restaurants previously, yet he was certain that he would not be seated at the front table because of his race. Steven's prediction was confirmed two consecutive times and he made his co-worker to realize how prevalent discrimination is toward African Americans in contemporary American society.

Similarly, Justin described his experience of racial prejudice when he was at a golf club in the Northwest region of the U.S. His entrance to the club was initially refused without a particular reason:

I was, you know, trying to, I was actually in the Northwest. And I was, at a country club, they didn't wanna let me in, they said that I couldn't, I couldn't get in. Then they found out that I was actually one of the new members. They, they were very uncomfortable about me being there, and I found out only three of us who are African American in that whole club. They weren't comfortable with me being there.

In this incident, Justin noticed that the club members were predominantly Whites and he was one of a few African American members. He sensed that club clerks were "very uncomfortable" about his presence at the club because of his race and did not want him to enter the facility.

While these stories from informants acknowledge that African Americans frequently experience racial discrimination from White service providers, Justin articulated another incident of racial prejudice he experienced from a White customer:

I've had a situation in traveling, I had an elder lady, when I got on the plane. She didn't wanna sit next to me. And [at first] she said, because I was bigger, cause I used to be a lot bigger, but she sat next a White guy who was bigger than I was. But she didn't want sit next to me.

Justin's story suggests that many African Americans encounter racial mistreatment from *both* service providers and customers. While the majority of my informants are middle or

upper-middle class who have above average income levels and are college educated, their socioeconomic status did not exempt them from racial discrimination. All informants articulated that they experienced racial discrimination at some point in their life time.

The experience of racial discrimination significantly and negatively impacted some informants' travel behaviors. When I asked informants how racial discrimination influenced their travel pattern and choice, they mentioned that African Americans in general, including themselves, try to avoid certain places that they feel vulnerable and insecure. Those places include East Texas region, Southern states, small towns where a few people of color live, and rural and natural environment settings. Sean described his fear of being in the rural setting and East Texas:

*Sean:* I will say that, yes, I am little uncomfortable being out in, I wouldn't say wooden areas, but non-urban areas, really cautious about that.

*Researcher:* I see.

*Sean:* When I first get down here, there was a church event and it was in one of these little small towns. There's several those small towns and we were driving so I knew the Texas. We were driving in this little small town and somebody was following us and I got really nervous. And I had also another church related event. But it was in East Texas. And to get there, you have to take a lot of back roads and I was really uncomfortable cause in East Texas it's known that there is the Klan in East Texas. And they behave in a bad way so I'm driving to this person's house, there was a Christian owned large ranch. And we were having a little church's retreat there. But here I am. I was just nervous, not nervous, watchful, cause I mean, somebody that isn't watchful isn't smart.

Sean was especially uncomfortable and watchful when he was driving through small rural towns and East Texas. Likewise, David stated that many African Americans, including his wife, have strong safety concerns and are afraid to visit or camp in natural

environments. When I asked David if fear and safety concerns have any connection with racism, he affirmed a strong linkage:

Yeah, it's directly tied to it. That, some, things like what happened down in the Jasper. That you will find some guys who like, quote and quote "I wanna have some fun" and come and harass you, or giving you a hard time. You know, not saying "I'm gonna drag and kill you." There is always a fear that people will be victimized. The issue has to deal with that, African Americans are so easily identifiable. You can't hide it in the crowd (chuckle). You know, I feel uncomfortable in somewhere I'm the only person of color there and right out there in the crowd, you know, having upon, Ku Klux Klan, you know, I'm out (chuckle).

In this comment, David used the murder case of James Byrd, Jr. in Jasper, Texas<sup>2</sup> as an example and described how racism can be deadly and threatening to African Americans. Thus, he believed that the fear of racism has curtailed African Americans' visitation to remote area or natural environment and they are particularly vulnerable in those locales. David went on to describe his experience of Jim Crow and how racial segregation restricted African Americans' mobility:

I think its racial fear because we have been targeted in the past because of our color.... I grew up in the time before integration. Integration occurred in 64 and 65. I was in the, sixth, seventh grade. I knew how powerful racism was. That's the way it was. Nobody had to tell you. You knew, I knew I couldn't go to the restaurant in downtown, you knew, without someone saying, you knew the parameters. I will recall it, in 64 we went from [my hometown] to Columbus, Ohio to visit my sister. And, I never forget my dad asking, ah, we were in St. Louise, "Can colored people stay in hotels?" They said "Yeah." That's the first time I stayed in the hotel in my life. Next morning, I got up and drove across the line to Illinois, stopped [at a restaurant] and asked "Can colored people eat breakfast here?" They said "Yes." That's the first time I ate in the restaurant in

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<sup>2</sup> James Byrd Jr., a 49 years old African American male was murdered by three White supremacists in Jasper, Texas in 1998. He was lynched, chained his ankles to a pickup truck, and dragged for three miles at remote wooden areas. Later, three men dumped their victim's torso in front of an African American cemetery. This murder case drew national attentions due to racism and its brutality.

my life....I went to segregated school, there, generation before me was, they were very fearful, even my generation is fearful of what can happen to you if you are in the wrong place at the wrong time. You can go to jail and go to prison for something you didn't do.

David's comment showed that fear of racism significantly impedes African Americans' tourism activity. To avoid being in "the wrong place at the wrong time" and penalized for something they did not do, David and his parents' generation have continue to be mindful about potential racism anywhere they go. Similar to David, Steven articulated that he is always cautious about racism when he travels so he tries to avoid small towns where a few minorities live. Steven explained his experience of racism when he was traveling with his son and how it shaped his travel patterns:

*Steven:* I'm always cautious of it (racism). I don't go out and look for it. I see this person and "Oh, this person will be bad." No. [I don't do that]....Now what it does do for me is certain area, certain place where I am. I just know, I just know there is not a place I wanna be when sun goes down. You know, this is not a place I wanna be where I feel comfortable and safe.

*Researcher:* Where are those places?

*Steven:* Oh, places like, let's see, I just look, those small towns, where you go there, and then, you look that generally, they are old fashion, they got a little general store, uh, places like I was in the, I believe it was [a small city] in Wyoming? My son and I were on our way to Mount Rushmore. Well, we stopped this little store and bought some ice cream, eat some snack and stuff. And then, we left outta there and then there was a small post office, you have seen a small post office in a little town? Well, I like to take a picture of, I like to take a picture of small post offices, so I was taking one. You know what the cattle guard is?

*Researcher:* Cattle guard?

*Steven:* It's a rail, it's rail that cattle won't walk over it. While I was standing one of those, the wind blew my hat out, so I turned to grab it, and my leg went down through the cattle guard, and cut my leg.

*Researcher:* Oh,

*Steven:* It was real bad. So we back, just me and my son, we went back to this little store, and I'm bleeding...So I go back in this little store and I'm bleeding like a somebody just cut me open, yeah, it was pretty bad, I ended up having 16 stitch. So I say "Do you have a doctor here?" [The person at the counter said] "No we don't have a doctor here." "Is there no doctor in the town?" "No, we



don't have a doctor in this town." so I said "What do you guys do when you have an emergency?" "Oh, we go to Casper." Casper, Wyoming which is 35 miles away from there, it was on the route where I was gonna go, I had to drive [this small town] in Wyoming to Casper, Wyoming with paper towels on my leg because my son was only 13. He wouldn't drive. He couldn't drive.

*Researcher:* You have to, oh wow,

*Steven:* Loosing blood. Cause they wouldn't, they wouldn't wait on me. They said they don't have a doctor, you know they have some kind of doctor, they have some type of first aid kit if they have nothing else.

*Researcher:* Absolutely.

*Steven:* So I drive there to Casper, Wyoming. Well, that's the town that I wouldn't spend a night at the first place because they treated me really well in the store and I was OK. Then I went back and I'm hurt. They show no compassion, you know, do you think we were waiting on until get dark? Nah. Drove to Casper. Now when I get to Casper and [in the emergency room, I found that] nobody in the hospital looked like me. I won't leave my son [alone] and [make him wait] on me. They made [us separated and I said] "No I want my son to be with me." "Well, he would be OK here." "No, I want him with me." I won't leave my son out there, it was just me and him, I'm already treated like a crap in this state....So it's there. I see it, you know.

Although Steven was badly injured, he was not able to receive any medical assistance from the shop clerk. He had to apply pressure on his wounded leg by himself to prevent further bleeding and drove about 35 miles toward a bigger city to seek medical support. This distressing experience made him avoid rural towns with few minorities. He insisted that he would not spend a night at those small towns.

Jennifer also stated that she and other African Americans usually pay more attention to their safety when they travel through Southern states. She explained that African Americans tend to avoid those places unless they have a family in the regions:

*Researcher:* Do you think racism, racial discrimination impacts your decision on where to travel and travel behavior?

*Jennifer:* Yeah.

*Researcher:* Can you specifically talk about that?

*Jennifer:* Well, in, if you're going up North, not so much. But if you're going through the South, yeah, there's some places that we just avoid unless we have family living in there.

*Researcher:* I see.

*Jennifer:* Because you will be treated like a step child.

*Researcher:* Right.

*Jennifer:* And so in the South, folks are very careful on where they go or not go. And I know different, I listen to how folks have been killed and shot and misused right here in the South even in this city.

*Researcher:* Oh, wow.

*Jennifer:* Not [this city], [I mean ] Metroplex, so yeah, I pick and choose where I wanna go.

*Researcher:* I see, you wanna be at the safer place.

*Jennifer:* Right.

*Researcher:* Right. And you are talking about South but I guess it's not only about some specific part of Texas, it's more like Southern,

*Jennifer:* Area, uh-hum.

Similar to the above informants, Anne stated that African Americans commonly believe Southern states are undesirable to visit or live. Anne explained how she learned the potential of racism from her grandfather and how African Americans accepted certain places as off-limit:

*Anne:* And my grandfather particular who passed in 2011, he was the one who always kinda told us the story [of racism.] And I remember we were, when I graduated from [the college] and I had my car, we drove back from D.C. to Dallas. And he was in the car with me and I remember one night...it was really late at night we were like in Mississippi or something like that. And we were, need to get gas, so my dad, you know, my dad, he was born in 60s, so he didn't really, you know, didn't experienced.

*Researcher:* Civil Rights Movement?

*Anne:* Civil Rights Movement and things like that and so you know, my dad was just thinking "Oh, we are just gonna stop it, at a gas station," or you know, whatever.

*Researcher:* Right.

*Anne:* Whereas my grandfather's thought process was, "This is Mississippi...we don't just stop anywhere."

*Researcher:* Right.

*Anne:* And so I think ever since that, when I travel I just think about that experience and his thought process, not that it keeps me from stopping certain places or things like that because I feel like this is somewhere I wanna go, I'm gonna go. Something I wanna do, I'm going to do it. But I will say that I do think of incidents like that when I do travel. Or just in general, daily interactions, things like that. And that's just because of that experience you know and then

like I said history and things that nature, I do call those things but I cannot say that it keeps me from doing anything.

*Researcher:* Right. You go certain places you planned to go anyway, but you become more cautious about,

*Anne:* Cautious. Maybe cautious or just thinking or just maybe bit more observant, sometimes and it doesn't happen often but even in Dallas, or you know, just there are such areas that you know are, for instances, like Spring Park (pseudonym) are in Dallas. It is traditionally known for being, uh, it is mostly, White occasional people, even living there it's known Spring Park, you don't have many Black people living in there at Spring Park.

*Researcher:* Spring Park?

*Anne:* Spring Park. And that's very well known. It's very well known that there's certain areas where it just not that you can't go, but you just won't see.... You just know that that's just not a area where it is acceptable for Black people or Brown people or whoever else to just live in that area. It's just not the norm. That's just kind of understood in this area....you do know that there are certain divide and there are certain norms or what have you, but again like I said, it makes you more cautious when you go to certain area, but it doesn't necessarily keep you from going.

*Researcher:* Right.

In this interview excerpt, Anne illustrated how racial fear or cautiousness was inter-generationally reproduced. Due to his experience of Jim Crow, Anne's grandfather believed that state of Mississippi was a dangerous place for African Americans and Anne learned his frame of reference while they traveled together. This experience changed Anne's viewpoint toward racism and she became more observant when she traveled. Anne also explained that even though racial segregation laws no longer exist, African Americans are clearly aware of certain places that they cannot or are not recommended to visit because of a history of racism and segregation. Anne illustrated how racial discrimination in the past can be passed down to younger generations and restrict the mobility of African Americans in the present.

While many informants' travel decisions and behaviors are negatively affected by fear of racism, some explained their own defensive strategies when they have to

travel places where they feel racially less tolerant. Stephanie articulated that she tends to travel to places that she knows well and usually travel with other people or someone who knows the area when she has to visit unfamiliar rural places where a few minorities live.

The following conversation illustrates her tactic:

*Stephanie:* [When] we are just talking [about] outdoor recreational, I usually go where I'm familiar with or [go with] someone who's familiar with, I'm going.

*Researcher:* Right. So I guess there is an issue related to safety?

*Stephanie:* Yes, definitely an issue.

*Researcher :* OK. So do you think racism or racial discrimination impacts your decision of where to travel or travel behavior? I mean, you kind of answered this question already, but,

*Stephanie:* Yes, I do.

*Researcher:* OK. So visiting familiar place and maybe going somewhere unfamiliar with someone that you know, so a group of people going together is kind of your strategy,

*Stephanie:* That's my [preference]. There are places I would like to visit outdoor, like Mount Rushmore. I'd love to take the kids and visit around Mount Rushmore. But, where Mount Rushmore is located? (chuckle). There are very few minority there. *Researcher:* It's in South Dakota.

*Stephanie:* (chuckle) Yeah, so, I would love to take the kids and I would love to visit Mount Rushmore, but I will tell you that it will be a concern, unless I was going [with] someone, you know that, I will feel safe and comfortable, knowing that, you know, we're together, so something happens cause that would be something that, you know,

*Researcher:* Right, much better than being alone.

*Stephanie:* Yeah, just from me, just take the kids, I wouldn't go alone.

Although Stephanie wanted to take her children to Mount Rushmore, she was nervous about potential racism. Evidently, safety concerns influenced her travel destinations and decisions. As such, when she visits unfamiliar places, Stephanie preferred to travel with a group of people or someone who is familiar with the area. Stephanie's preference was echoed by Sean. Although Sean is an enthusiastic fisher, he said that he feels uncomfortable at rural areas. I questioned how his fear of remote natural environment influenced his fishing participation:

*Researcher:* You talked about the fact that you're little uncomfortable being out there by yourself, maybe some remote areas. How does that impact your fishing participation? I mean, you have,

*Sean:* Typically when I go fishing, I'm with people, I'm with the group. I feel more comfortable in a group.

*Researcher:* I see.

*Sean:* You know, most, you know it impacts not at all, cause I'm with the group. So my concerns is about being in a remote area by myself. I'm more comfortable when I'm in a group. The larger the group that I'm with, the more comfort I have.

Sean commented that he does not seriously worry about racism when he goes to fish because he is usually with other fellow fishers. Sean's fear of racism increases when he is alone in the nature. Jennifer made a similar comment. She believed that she did not experience racial discrimination during outdoor recreation activities because she was in a racially "mixed group." Jennifer usually engaged in outdoor recreation as a part of her job or job related activities so she believed that being in a member of racially diverse group kept her from being the victim of racial mistreatment. These informants stated that traveling with other companions provide more sense of safety.

Although many informants were concerned about potential racism when traveling to remote and unfamiliar places, it is also important to note that those informants who have visited national and state parks said they had not experienced any racial mistreatment within the park. Rather, they articulated that their interactions with other recreationists and park officials were pleasant and positive. David recalled that all people he encountered in parks were accommodating and nice:

*Researcher:* You have been to many different national parks and state parks. Do you think about potential racism or racial discrimination that you might encounter when you were traveling?

*David:* No, it's not an issue. Park rangers, especially national parks are very accommodating. I remember we were at the trail road at the Rocky Mountain National Park. The boys and I, we sat through the park ranger [who] gave [us] a

lecture about elks and, educational, it was good, it was real good. We went to national park information center and her lectures, I enjoyed stuffs like that. But I never felt any like “What are you doing here?” or you know, No.

*Researcher:* How about interaction with other White visitors. Have you ever experienced something like No. 1 (pointed vignette) when you were in the great outdoor?

*David:* No, never had. In fact, what I saying is people who go out there is little different. They are more accommodating and open minded. You don't see any boong, ah, everybody is nice. They are, talk to you, they are friendly, um my experience all have been pleasant. You know, people you have something in common. We are seeing at different places and we come back at the campsite and I never had something stolen or vandalized or anything like that. Everybody is very, very accommodating.

David was not particularly concerned by racism and safety issue when he visited national and state parks because he never had unpleasant interactions with park officials or other visitors. In fact, he recalled that his interactions with other people in parks have been always enjoyable and pleasant. He also stated that people seem to have more open-mind in natural environment. Similarly, Anne stated that she did not really experience any discrimination when she engaged in outdoor recreation activities. She recalled that her interactions with other recreationists were delightful:

*Researcher:* I see. OK. Have you, you've been to the great outdoors such as National Parks or you know, have you ever experienced something like No. 1 (pointed vignette) when you're in great outdoors?

*Anne:* No.

*Researcher:* OK. Did you, how was your, if you can recall, how was your interaction with other racial, you know, group of people, visitors?

*Anne:* I think, I, when I have my camping things or hiking trails, things like that, it's just more so everybody just there having fun, just let's, you know, “Hey, where are you from?” or you know, “What part of Texas are you from?” or “What brought you here”, you know, it's more so, I think when you are in that type of environment, it just more so laid back and people are just kind of friendly, you know, just the environment and atmosphere which has really cause not a, *Researcher:* Different mindset?

*Anne:* Yeah, yeah, yeah so everybody was just there to enjoy, you know, and have fun, it's never be, it was never be like a “Oh, look” or anything like that.

Anne believed that the reason why she did not experience any unpleasant interactions with other people is because natural environments infuse a friendly attitude among visitors. She also posited that people who visit outdoor recreation sites hold having a good and enjoyable time as a common focal point so it promotes harmonious and friendly atmosphere. Similarly, Sean stated that his communications with other White fishermen have been pleasant:

*Researcher:* OK, how was your, um, have you had a lot of interactions with other fishers when you're fishing? I mean other White Americans.

*Sean:* There's, there's just kinda affinity people to fish and so it's like, if you fish that put you in the club. So yeah, I interacted with them. Cause typically most fishermen will.... Most of them communicate where the fish has been caught.

Sean explained that anglers commonly share a sense of companionship so he was never really mistreated or offended by White anglers. Steven also commented that most of his encounters with other people in natural environment were positive:

*Researcher:* Have you experienced any type of discrimination when you were visiting national parks or great outdoors?

*Steven:* No.

*Researcher:* No?

*Steven:* No. Not that I can say this happened. No.

*Researcher:* Do you remember interaction with White visitors or other visitors in the parks, or when you were maybe fishing, have you, can you recall your experience of interacting with other people.

*Steven:* Some people, I've interacted with some people. Yeah. It's been pleasant

*Researcher:* Those are all positive experience

*Steven:* Yeah, positive.

Thus, many informants expressed that fear of racism plays a crucial role in African Americans' visitation to parks and travel behavior. They experienced racial discrimination while they traveled and their experience of racism significantly impacted their travel decisions. They intentionally avoid certain locations where they might be

mistreated. They also seek companions who are familiar with the destination when they travel to places which they regard as potentially unsafe. Although some informants stated that their interpersonal interactions at the parks were positive and pleasant, they believe many African Americans still do not visit parks due to fear of racism. Fear of racism exerted considerably negative impact on many informants' travel behavior and possibly many other African Americans' visitation to outdoor recreation sites.

### **Lack of Attraction**

Lack of attraction was another reason that some informants do not visit CHSP. Two interviews articulated that they did not visit CHSP because recreational resources within the park were not necessary superior in quality. David stated that he does not really have "a desire to go to the state park in Cedar Hill" because he is more interested in visiting other state parks that provide more remote and outdoor atmosphere. For David who has been to many state and national parks, CHSP was not viewed as particularly attractive site to visit for camping and other outdoor recreation activities. Similarly, Sean visited the park several times for fishing, yet he did not have strong desire to revisit the park because in his and his fellow fishers' opinion it was not regarded as a superior fishing site:

You know, people that I have fished [think that] Cedar Hill state park, [Joe Pool Lake] is not deemed to be a great fishing lake....[Joe Pool Lake] isn't viewed [as a superior fishing site],.... So you know, I've been there but it's not...It's not that [attractive for fishing]....It's me, not going there is more of function rather than its reputation than anything else.

For avid outdoor men such as David and Sean, CHSP did not provide physical characteristics that satisfy their recreational desires.



While David and Sean focused on CHSP's functionality, I also identified that lack of cultural attractions might be another reason that the rest of informants and other local African Americans are not particularly interested in the park. Through archival research and site visits, I found that CHSP does not provide any historical information about African American slaves owned by Penn family even though slavery constitutes a significant part of the history of CHSP and Penn family. *The preservation plan and program Penn Farm Agricultural History Center at Cedar Hill State Park* (Texas Parks and Wildlife Department, 1991) provides rich information about the history of Penn family and CHSP that helps us understand the omission of Black history. According to the report, the Penn family's history in Cedar Hill was initiated by John Anderson Penn family's migration from Sangamon County, Illinois to Cedar Hill, Texas. John Anderson Penn left Illinois on October 24, 1854 together with his wife Nancy Anderson, his six unmarried children, and one married son Joseph R. Penn and his small family. They arrived in North Central Texas near Cedar Hill on December 8, 1854. Soon after, John started grew wheat, corn, oats and barley and maintained houses, sheep, and cattle. In the late 1850s John Anderson Penn acquired over 800 acres in the James Hughes survey for raising cattle, and later his son John Wesley Penn became the sole owner of those acres. This parcel grew to over 1,100 acres and became what we know as Penn Farm.

While *The preservation plan and program* mainly listed the major historical events within Penn family with chronological order, slavery appeared to be an important part of family history. Based on the record from Dallas County Tax Rolls, *The preservation plan and program* reported that in 1857, three years after the migration

from Illinois from Texas, John Anderson Penn became a slaveowner of “5 Negroes worth \$3000” (p. 35). In the same year, his two sons Joseph R. Penn and William A. Penn also became slaveholders and owned “1 Negro worth \$700” (p.35) and “1 Negro whose worth was estimated at \$800” (p. 37), respectively. Similarly, John Wesley Penn purchased “one negro named Peter [who is] about 35 years of age” for \$1200 on October 2 1860 (p. 37) and obtained another Black slave by 1861. Robert G. Penn owned five slaves “worth \$1600” in 1861. Acquisition of slaves seemed to make major contribution on Penn family’s economic growth. Since their arrival to Texas, Penn family’s property value continuously increased. For example, Joseph R. Penn’s property value had almost tripled (from \$2190 to \$6100) from 1855 to 1860 and all of Penn brothers’ economic prosperity continued until the Civil War. This is not surprising since White slave owners in Southern states accumulated significant amount of wealth through exploitation of slave labors in the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Feagin , 2000; 2006). For example, Fogel and Engerman (1995) estimated that a slave farm that has identical amount of land, livestock, machinery, and labors to a free farm would generate worth 53% more outputs. Penn family seemed to also take advantage of slave labor for their financial gains.

However, slavery also caused a serious problem in Penn family. *The preservation plan and program* reported that there was a conflict among Penn family members and it caused separation between John Anderson Penn and his sons by the time of Civil War. While the detailed information about the nature of family disruption was not specified, the report mentioned two possibilities related to slavery. First, there existed “ideological differences” between John Anderson Penn and his sons concerning slavery (p. 40). As

the report mentioned, this explanation is less convincing since they all owned several slaves during the last 1850s to early 1860s. Moreover, Penn brothers joined the Confederate army during the Civil War and their service record indicates that they were committed to the Confederate army and determined to fight for the South's right to own slaves. For instance, John Wesley was a member of Cedar Hill Cavalry Company and served until 1865. William was captured at Port Hudson, Louisiana on June 14 1863 and became a prisoner of war, yet he later rejoined the Confederate army and returned to combat. On October 22, 1864, he was killed in action at Hurricane Creek, near Little Rock, Arkansas. Robert G. Penn was once mustered on May 8 1862, yet recruited to Nineteenth Cavalry Regiment and finished his service as the war ended in 1865. Thus, for both father and sons, there seemed to be "considerable consensus over the rights of White citizens to own Black slaves" (p.40).

The second possibility is John Penn Anderson's sexual promiscuity with a female slave. Based on family lore, the report mentioned that the elder Penn's liaison with a female slave seemed to cause a conflict with his sons. John Penn Anderson's divorce with Nancy Penn and his return to Illinois in 1860s partially support this possibility and make this explanation more persuasive than the first story. Moreover, this explanation is hardly surprising since sexual exploitation of female Black slaves was a common practice in the U.S. history, and even Thomas Jefferson, the third presidents of the U.S., is known for his sexual exploitation of his female slaves (Feagin, 2006). Thus, the alleged family conflict may stem from "less political and more personal" reason (p. 40).

The history of Penn family offers unique insight into a middle class White farm family in the 19th century and their relationship with slavery. Moving from Illinois to Texas, non-slave state to slave state, Penn family quickly adopted a slavery system in the South and became slave owners. Although there exists limited historical evidence describing Penn family's relationship with their slaves and how they exploited and managed slaves, it is reasonable to expect that Black slaves significantly helped Penn family's adjustment to new environment and economic growth. Moreover, it is indisputable that their Black slaves made significant contribution to the development of the Penn Farm and maintenance of its infrastructures. However, Penn family also experienced a bitter conflict among family members due to slavery. In sum, Penn family's early life in Texas is interwoven with slavery.

Nevertheless, the story of Penn family's Black slaves does not exist anywhere in the park today. Although I examined seven interpretive exhibits displayed in the Penn Farm Agricultural History Center to find any description about Black slaves, there was no single word about slavery or African Americans (Appendix C shows six interpretive exhibits in the Penn Farm). Similarly, Penn family's Black slaves are invisible in two brochures of the CHSP created by TPWD, *Interpretive Guide for Cedar Hill State Park and Penn Farm Agricultural History Center* (Texas Park and Wildlife Department, 2007) and *Cedar Hill State Park Activity Guide* (Texas Park and Wildlife Department, 2006). Although the slavery constitutes an indispensable part of Penn family's history in Texas, the story is not delivered to park visitors as if Penn family had not ever owned slaves and Blacks slaves never existed within the farm.

At any event, the omission of the history of African American slaves in the Penn farm seemed to be a significant disadvantage for CHSP to attract more Black visitors. During in the interview process, I briefly described the omission of the slave history in Penn farm to some informants and asked if they think the park needs to provide the story to their visitors. They unanimously expressed strong interest about the history of Black slaves owned by Penn family and articulated that the park should present the missing history. For example, Steven stated that the slavery history should be told by the park because it is an important part of U.S. history:

Uh-hum, cause if it's provided, somebody might do research and go back and find out some of the relatives of those slaves. You know? I think it's history. You know it's history. This country is built on slave labor. I think that needs to be done.

Kevin also stated that the history of African American slaves should be mentioned by the park:

I might think they (African American visitors) would have, probably appreciate more if they (the park) do that, there's African American slaves that worked on the farm. Like you said, they didn't have anything about the slaves did work on the farm, so [visitors] just don't know about it, I think if [the park] did say a little bit, even if they said like, he had slaves and farm land, maybe [African American visitors] would appreciate little bit more, in my opinion....I mean, in my opinion, I think they should been mentioned, I mean, even in a, not like a negative way, but it should have been like "OK, he had slaves, you know, worked on this farm a little bit and they worked for Penn." So that's just my opinion.

Anne was somewhat surprised by the fact that the history of Black slaves has not been provided by the park. When I asked if she thinks the story of Black slaves needs to be told by the park, she strongly insisted that such a historical story needs to be told by the park. She also stated that the story will attract many African Americans including herself to the park:

Absolutely, I think if I, if they had something like that and I knew about it, I would have been there a long time ago. To me, I love the historical perspective that I can relate to, whether if it's, just any connection,.... it's such an important part of who we are and such an important part of, you know the nature, the city, like the, just kinda Dallas county and just different thing happen here in terms of slavery and civil rights things like that, just knowing those connections....So just knowing that, like I said, my interests just kinda picked if they somehow find the way to incorporate that into the, you know, the history of the park or into the museum as aspect of what it shows, I would definitely think that will have a big draw.

Similarly, Susan articulated that she wants to see the story of African Americans in the park. She believed that the history of slaves is often concealed in public discourse so she actually pays careful attentions to be fully aware of history of African Americans when she visits some places:

I would, I would like to see it there, and if it wasn't there, it would be something in back of my head to where when I left, visiting the history center, I would research that. Because it's difficult for me to even visiting any place [without thinking about slaves in South]....it's difficult for me to visit any historical sites in South and not think about slavery. And I feel a lot of times, that's covered up....so that's why I'm, I make sure to be aware, you know, of like "OK, that's fine, that's the history you wanna present to me, but let me go make sure...what you telling me is true." Because a lot of people like to glaze over and not talk about the whole idea of slavery, racism and I'm like "We are in Texas" like "This is part of our history"...Because they were there, like you can't tell me it was [1850s] and there were no African Americans on your land. like (laugh), you are lying to me.

Given the informants' strong interest in Black history and the large Black population around the CHSP, the park seemed to miss an important attraction for African American visitors.

While incorporating the history of Penn family's Black slaves into the interpretive narratives in CHSP is recommended, Stephanie's comment suggested that the park should be careful about the way in which the history is presented to visitors.

Reflecting on her travel experience, Stephanie expressed that she was not happy about how a campus tour guide described the works of African American slaves:

*Stephanie:* ...but then we went on the campus tour [of an university], one of the facilities you know, some of the facilities were built back during the Civil War and during slavery times. And one of the particular ladies that was taking us on the tour, I won't say insensitive, I won't say that she didn't know, I think she knew, I think she just, language that she choose to use, when we were doing the tour and she was like you know, "This floors which they were like marble, this was actually completely laid and placed by slaves...Look at the wonderful work they did, I know they really enjoyed putting this works together." I'm like "OK, lady, are you serious? Did you not just say slaves? Do you not get it was a forced labors? Free forced labor?" It was those kinda comments like throughout the entire tour that she kept making that were, I'm like "OK, do you ever this tour for Black people because if you do, you know, I don't think they get your sense of humor cause it's...

*Researcher:* So she was consistently saying slave and it was created by slave,  
*Stephanie:* Yeah, but it wasn't she was just saying [slavery] cause that I mean, that's part of the history. I get, that's part of the history. It was the comments about,

*Researcher:* They enjoyed,

*Stephanie:* Yeah. Or you know, "They did, some of the most miraculous work. I'm sure that they were so proud of their work." "Really? Lady?, 'Really?'" There's like, "Are you forget, do you not know the term slavery, maybe you don't know what slavery is." So it was things like that. It was, you know, I'm thinking "OK. does she not get it, you know, but when you, I started to looking at you know, her age and a, yeah, she gets it. She [understand that it is sensitive issue,] I'm like, so that I started to think maybe not a lot of Black people come to [this campus tour]. Maybe she used to saying that...but I'm like "Really?"

Stephanie was offended by tour guide's descriptions and languages about African American slaves and their achievements. She felt that tour guide was insensitive about her language choice and provided misleading information. Although Stephanie tried to understand the tour guide, she was unhappy about the way in which African American slaves were portrayed to campus visitors. Stephanie's comment suggested that parks need to pay extra attentions when they describe the story of African Americans and use celebratory and appreciative language to describe their achievement.

Therefore, some informants do not have a strong desire to visit CHSP because it does not provide superior recreational resources that fulfill their needs. Nevertheless, it might be also the case that the park failed to offer a cultural attraction that can entice many local African Americans. Informants' comments suggested that providing the history of Black slaves at Penn Farm would attract many African Americans to the park.



## CHAPTER V

### DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this study was to explain local African Americans' non-visitation to CHSP using Pierre Bourdieu's theory of practice. The study also sought to explore how racism impacts middle class African Americans' travel choices and how they negotiate this particular constraint. The study found rich information about the history of CHSP, cities around CHSP, and Texas state parks. Racism was the most salient theme throughout the history of all three. The study also identified four central themes related to African Americans' non-visitation to CHSP, under-representation in outdoor recreation, and tourism activity: (1) lack of information and encouragement, (2) lack of interest/cultural irrelevance, (3) lack of attraction, and (4) fear of racism. These four themes were deeply interrelated with each another and racism was a foundational explanation of these themes. Since the focus of Bourdieu's theory of practice is the way in which social inequality is produced and inter-generationally perpetuated, it is an effective theoretical perspective to comprehensively explain how racism has shaped these four themes and impacted African Americans' leisure participation.

#### *Summary of Findings and Discussion*

Some informants mentioned that the lack of information and advertisement about the park is a main reason they did not visit CHSP. Moreover, they strongly believed that it is largely because the park is managed by racially prejudiced White administrators who do not really care about minorities' visitation. Informants' comments also suggested

that many local African Americans share the same viewpoint. While it was illogical that these informants held strong distrust about park officials' racial attitude without ever visiting the park, Bourdieu's analytic scope helped us to understand their beliefs. Bourdieu emphasized historical understanding on the field and the way in which individuals are positioned in that social space. The data from multiple sources illustrated that the cities around CHSP experienced sharp increase of Black population and white flight over the past three decades. Subsequently, there has been constant racial conflict between African American emigrants and conventional White residents. Since informants routinely experienced racial discrimination in their community, they possessed pessimistic views toward community's racial relationship and their negative perception was spilled over to CHSP. Consistent with Carter's (2008) notion of racialized space and Austin's (1997-1998) idea of "white-identified leisure spaces" (p. 695), the park was constructed as a White space where African Americans' visitation or presence is unusual and undesirable. Local African Americans' lack of interest to visit CHSP can be also understood as an example of racial boundary maintenance (Barth, 1969; Stodolska, Marcinkowski, Yi-Kook, 2007). They understood CHSP as a White space and avoided to break the existing racial boundary between Blacks and Whites. This is important historical and contextual information to understand local African Americans' non-visitation to CHSP which would have not been revealed without Bourdieu's field analysis approach.

Some findings from this study were consistent with existing literature on the under-representation issue. The majority of informants stated that they had not visited

CHSP because they were not interested in outdoor recreation activities. Moreover, they posited that African Americans are generally not interested in outdoor recreation activities and they hardly met Black outdoor recreationists. These comments are echoed by existing studies about African Americans' outdoor recreation patterns (Floyd, 1999; Johnson, Bowker, Green & Cordell, 2007, Solop, Hagen, & Ostergren, 2003; U.S. Department of Interior, National Park Service, 2011). Moreover, informants explained that African Americans' under-representation is caused by lack of economic capital, inner city environment, no previous experience, and African American's distinctive leisure habitus. These four reasons are similar to existing theoretical explanations on African Americans' under-representation. For example, their explanation of lack of economic capital is almost identical to the marginality hypothesis because both stresses African Americans' low income level and socioeconomic marginality. Informants stated that African Americans tend to live in inner city environments so they are geographically far away from outdoor recreation sites. This idea of physical proximity is similar to Weber and Sultana' (2012) assertion that African Americans do not frequent national parks due to the fact that the majority of African Americans reside in Southeast region of the country whereas many national parks are located in Western region. Moreover, while informants' explained no previous experience and distinctive leisure habitus stymie African Americans' park visitation, this idea is consistent with the ethnicity hypothesis.

However, through Bourdieu' critical insight into the problem under investigation, the findings from this research went beyond the extant theoretical explanations and provided more comprehensive and sophisticated explanations on the under-

representation. The study shed more crucial insight into the leisure phenomenon under investigation and conducted in-depth analysis on the cause of the four reasons listed by informants. It revealed not only the deep interconnection among the four reasons, but also the inevitable linkage among the four reasons and enduring racism in the country. The origin of African Americans' lack of economic capital can be traced back to 17<sup>th</sup> century America. The slavery system prevailed in the American society has economically exploited African Americans for nearly 250 years (Feagin, 2000; Feagin & Feagin, 2008). African Americans had significant difficulty to accumulate economic capital due to racism, and this pattern persisted until Civil Right movement in the 1960s. Although Black middle class started to emerge in 1960s, their middle class status remains unstable and income disparities between Black and White remain large (Collins, 1983; Feagin & Sikes, 1995; Massey, 2007). As interviewees articulated, the economic disadvantages of African American have made it difficult for them to purchase leisure goods and services. It has also substantially limited their acquisition of cultural capital, the knowledge and skills, required for pursuing outdoor recreation. Moreover, America's natural environment has been managed and occupied by predominantly White American males (Byrne & Wolch, 2009; Fox, 1981; Jordan & Snow, 1992). Past and present discrimination have limited African Americans' access to state and national parks (Brandimarte & Reed, 2013; Shumaker, 2009; Steely, 1999; Texas Park & Wildlife Department, 2004). Under this historical circumstance, African Americans have had trouble finding social support from their peer group and failed to obtain social capital which helps them to visit parks and pursue outdoor recreation. Consequently, African

Americans' insufficient economic, cultural, and social capital have made them unable to develop the leisure habitus that appreciates and enjoys outdoor recreation. This pattern has been socially reproduced across generations via teaching from or everyday interactions with forebears. In other words, African Americans' under-representation in the great outdoors has been normalized by the centuries of racial oppression toward African Americans. Although researchers pointed out that the focus of the studies on minorities' leisure shifted away from race and racism (Floyd, 2007; Phillipp, 2000), this study illuminates racism remains a crucial factor to understand African Americans' leisure and it is the foundation for understanding the under-representation issue.

Moreover, Bourdieu's concept of symbolic violence and misrecognition adequately explained the normalization of African Americans' under-representation. Blacks have historically been unable to develop a leisure habitus for outdoor recreation. Racial discrimination from White Americans has successfully restricted African Americans' access to the great outdoors without encountering significant resistance. White Americans have historically justified their exclusive access to outdoor recreation and made African Americans to perceive the activity as something they do not enjoy or participate. While many informants were aware that racism has negatively impacted African Americans' access to outdoor recreation resources, some of them failed to realize the linkage between racism and the under-representation issue. They passively accepted this arbitrary condition as a status quo and even believed that African Americans are naturally and inherently disconnected with natural environment and more prone to sport activities such as basketball and football. For Bourdieu, this circumstance

is White Americans' symbolic violence to African Americans. Some informants *misrecognized* that under-representation issue stems from African Americans' own disposition or cultural characteristics rather than the consequence of racism. The idea of symbolic violence and misrecognition expand our understanding of the under-representation issue and acknowledge that it is a complex social phenomenon interwoven with past and present racism, oppression, and power.

This study also made a meaningful addition to previous literature on African Americans' travel behavior and national park visitation. Many informants described that they have experienced racial discrimination from both White service providers and customers while they were traveling. They believed that many African Americans do not visit the great outdoors because of the fear of racism. They stated that Deep South region and small rural White towns are places they tend to avoid. This finding, especially Stephanie's comment on her desire of traveling Mount Rushmore, offers an important implication to national parks management. Although visitation statistics vary by parks, African Americans are the most infrequent visitors of national parks in general (U.S. Department of Interior, National Park Service, 2011; Weber & Sultana, 2012). Given the fact that the majority of national parks are located in the remote rural area in the West region of American continent, informants' comments suggested that fear of racism (safety concerns) is one of the main reasons African Americans do not travel to national parks. However, it is also worth highlighting that some informants not only recalled their interactions within the parks were pleasant and positive, but also believed that natural environment promotes inclusive and enjoyable atmosphere. It seems ironic that no

informants have really experienced racial mistreatment at parks even though some of their travel movement was restricted by fear of racism and they strongly believed that it also limits other African Americans' visitation to parks. It implied that African Americans' fear of racism is not as salient in the federally managed parks, but escalated while there are traveling to parks. In addition, some informants specifically mentioned that limiting their journeys to the places they know and traveling with other individuals who are familiar with the destination are their strategies to prevent racial discrimination during tourism activity. Philipp (1994) identified that African Americans tend to travel shorter distance and travel with a large group of people compared to Whites. While he argued that African Americans' travel behavior might be understood as a defensive mechanism for preventing racial discrimination, the findings from this study strongly supported his argument via empirical evidence.

This study also identified that lack of attraction might be one reason that local African Americans do not visit CHSP. First, a few outdoor enthusiasts claimed that the park is not particularly superior in its quality and its physical settings do not satisfy their recreational needs. Second, the story of Black slaves owned by Penn families was not included in the interpretive narrations of CHSP. From the Bourdieuan perspective, this finding is a clear sign of unequal racial power relation within the field of park system. As Lockhart (2006) and Taylor (2000) pointed out, the interpretive narratives in parks are usually dominated by the stories and histories of White Americans. Similarly, the history of African Americans was invisible in CHSP. It is doubtful that the story of Penn family's Black slaves would have been buried if African Americans have been the

dominant racial group in U.S. society. Since the park is located in a predominantly Black community and some informants expressed strong interest in Penn family's Black slaves, finding a way to incorporate the Black history into the park's interpretive narrative might entice local African Americans. Moreover, Mandala Research (2011) reported that 81% of African Americans survey respondents were interested in the role of African Americans in the progress of the U.S. Given the African Americans' strong interest in their own history, CHSP might be recognized as an attractive destination for African Americans beyond the local community.

#### *Management Implications*

The findings from this study suggest five recommendation for TPWD. These recommendations are also applicable to other park agencies. First, it is recommended that TPWD receive a thorough review on the organization's racial inclusiveness from external organizations. A crucial issue is whether or not CHSP and TPWD really care about local African Americans' under-representation and want to promote racial diversity within Texas state parks. Although TPWD is a public organization and it has a social responsibility to ensure racial equality in hiring and service, multiple resources suggest that this is not occurring. For example, an article from *The Austin Chronicle* described that TPWD discriminated against African Americans in hiring and promotion and suggested that racial discrimination is common in the organization (Ruland, 2012, August 10). Ironically, the article was released almost the same time I began this research project. A staff member also informed me that the organization's community outreach program was not funded by state budget in the fiscal year of 2012 and it would



probably unfunded again in 2013 (K. Good, personal communication, March 12, 2013). Moreover, my review on the history of Texas state parks suggested that racial discrimination has prevailed in the creation and management of Texas state parks. These examples suggest that institutional racism is deeply embedded in TPWD. Since this form of racism is deeply inculcated in the organization's culture and politics, insiders often do not recognize its existence and tend to discriminate people of color even though they do not intend to discriminate (Allison, 2000; Scott, 2000). Hence, the racial discrimination within TPWD would continue if the organization does not admit or recognize its own racial bias. Inviting external reviewers to examine racial discrimination in TPWD may help the organization to make racial diversity indeed an important organizational mission rather than a catchphrase.

Second, TPWD should increase minority employees in their managerial and decision making positions. African Americans represent approximately 3% of organization's full time employees (83 out of 2772) where as Whites constitute 78.5% (2177 out of 2772) (Texas Park and Wildlife Department, 2013). Moreover, it is estimated that about six African Americans hold supervisory or managerial positions in the organization (D. Lewis, personal communication, April 29, 2013). With this small proportion of full time African American employees and decision makers, it is questionable whether TPWD can properly understand recreational needs of African Americans. On the one hand, hiring or promoting more African American employees would help TPWD to identify potential institutional racism within the organization and create effective marketing strategies targeting African American population. On the

other hand, TPWD should consider how to increase the number of African American applicants to TPWD employments since a limited number of Blacks have obtained degrees in the area of natural resource management or park and recreation related field (J. Gramann, personal communication, May 27, 2013). If TPWD is not viewed as an attractive work place for African Americans, the agency will continue to struggle to attract Black employees. Perhaps providing more internship opportunities for African American college students might be one way to cope with this issue.

Third, it is recommended that CHSP incorporates the history of Penn family's Black slaves in their interpretive narratives with celebratory and appreciative manners. The history of slavery and the discrimination toward African Americans are not necessarily delightful and enjoyable topics for people who seek pleasant recreational experience at the park. The park and other agencies need to pay extra attention to this sensitive issue and be careful about the way the story is delivered to visitors. The languages and expressions used in the narratives need to be celebratory and appreciative about African Americans' contribution to the U.S. history and country's development.

Fourth, the superintendent and managers of the park should actively reach out to community leaders. The study found that local African Americans possessed strong skepticism about the park employees' racial attitudes. If the park wants to dispel this negative perception and promote racial diversity among its visitors, it is important to inform the local community that park officials are eager to serve local minorities and the park is a racism-free context. Advertisement through social media and implementation of long-term community outreach programs will help local communities to positively

change their perception about the park, and eventually help local African Americans to develop a habitus which allows them to enjoy parks and outdoor recreation.

Finally, TPWD and other park agencies should not impose African Americans' visitation with an authoritative top-down approach. This study found that the under-representation issue is deeply related to a long history of racism and African Americans had been almost banished from the country's great outdoors. The majority of African Americans seemed to fail to recognize the arbitrary and unfairness of this situation. For Bourdieu, this is a symbolic violence from White Americans. Hence, the first step for ceasing this injustice is to enlightening African Americans and make them more fully aware of this discrimination. If agencies and practitioners are equipped with an authoritative mindset that they can actually *control* Blacks' leisure behavior and try to promote African Americans' visitation simply because their visitation justifies federal funding for their recreational resource, it is another symbolic violence which takes advantage of African Americans. Hence, recreation practitioners and park agencies should *empower* African Americans by acknowledging the injustice they have suffered for centuries and helping them freely choose their own destinies. Otherwise, we will likely repeat the same mistakes and perpetuate oppression and symbolic violence toward African Americans. While recreational researchers and practitioners started to recognize the importance of diversity issue and try to increase participation from people of color, a prudent and thoughtful approach which understands African Americans' own viewpoint is recommended.

### *Limitations of the Study*

This study contains several limitations. First, this study employed qualitative research approach and did not use quantitative data. While Bourdieu's analytic perspective encourages comprehensive investigation on the phenomenon under investigation, conducting survey research and supplementing numerical data would provide more complete information about African Americans' CHSP visitation and outdoor recreation participation. Second, this study focused on African Americans' perceptions and their experience of racism. While one purpose of the study is gaining rich insight into African Americans' visitation to CHSP, investigation on the perspective of the park officials and other visitors would enrich the data and provide broader understanding on the issue. Third, this study recruited middle class African Americans who possess above-average income, have professional career, and are college educated. It would be helpful to add insights from African Americans of other social class to better understand African Americans' CHSP and national park visitation. Lastly, informants for this study were recruited from Dallas area. Since Texas is a part of Deep South and believed to be a conservative state where racial prejudice is stronger than other states, recruiting informants from Northern states or other regions in the U.S. would yield deeper understanding in African Americans' national park visitations.

### *Recommendations for Future Research*

The findings and limitations of this study suggest a number of recommendations for future research. First, based on the findings from this research, one future study could design a questionnaire and conduct survey research at the cities around CHSP. Gaining numerical

data would bolster the trustworthiness of the findings from this study and generate more conclusive findings. Second, one future study could focus on the perspective of park officials and other visitors about the under-representation issue. Exploring the viewpoints of multiple stakeholders would be particularly helpful for gaining holistic understanding on the phenomenon under investigation. Third, one future study could replicate this study at different locations or using different sample groups. Conducting similar study at different parks or recruiting African Americans from various regions and diverse socioeconomic background would yield more thorough understanding in the under-representation issue and African Americans' tourism behavior. Finally, one future study can investigate the under-representation of other people of color in parks and outdoor recreation sites. Since each racial/ethnic group possess distinctive culture and history, expanding the target sample to other racial groups will produce broader implication for agencies and help them to effectively deal with diversity issue.

### *Conclusion*

The purpose of this study was to explain African Americans' under-representation at CHSP and outdoor recreation using Pierre Bourdieu's theoretical framework. The study also investigated middle class African Americans' experience of racism during travel and how they negotiate potential racism. The study identified that informants experienced numerous racial discrimination within their communities and some informants conceptualized CHSP as a white space where their visitation is discouraged. Bourdieu's critical and comprehensive analytic scope also revealed that racism is the main cause of the under-representation issue and it is an enduring injustice toward African Americans. African Americans have historically failed to obtain

economic, cultural, and social capital required for participating in outdoor recreation and this historical circumstance made it problematic to develop leisure habitus that appreciates and enjoys parks and outdoor recreation activities. While some informants understood this circumstance, many informants were unaware of this injustice and passively accepted the under-representation issue as their own disposition. Moreover, the study identified that informants experienced racial discrimination while they travel, and fear of racism significantly altered some informants' tourism behaviors. Findings from this study unequivocally demonstrated that racism is a foundational explanation of informants' non-visitation to parks and it is an important concern during their travel.

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## APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

### Personal Information

1. Although \_\_\_\_\_ introduced me to you, I did not have many interactions with you. Could you briefly introduce yourself?

Age

Occupation

Education

Are you from Cedar Hill?

When did you come to Cedar Hill?

Why did you move to CH?

Do you live by yourself?

I heard that the city of Cedar Hill (Southwest region of Dallas) used to be Bedroom community and the local residents were predominantly Whites. But then there was a sharp increase of African American population since 1990s. Are you familiar with that demographic change?

### Leisure Perception

3. Can you talk about your favorite leisure activity? What do you like to do when you have a free time?

- Tell me more about (*activity*). How and when did you start to participate in (*activity*)?
- What was the main purpose doing (*activity*)? In other words, what was the driving factor?
- When you were growing up, did anybody in your family ask or encourage you to participate in (*activity*)?
- How about your friends or people in your community? Did any of your friends ask or encourage you to participate in (*activity*)? What are the racial/ethnic backgrounds of your close friends?
- Can you think of any individual or factor that has significantly influenced your leisure choice?

4. How about outdoor recreation such as going to National parks, hiking, and camping? Are you interested? Why or Why not?

5. When you were growing up, did anybody in your family ask or encourage you to participate in outdoor recreation?



6. How about your friends or people in your community? Did any of your friends ask or encourage you to participate in outdoor recreation? What are the racial/ethnic backgrounds of your close friends?

7. Can you think of any other reasons that has significantly influenced your non-participation in outdoor recreation?

8. Do you think your racial background has something to do with your choice of leisure/recreation activity?

9. Have you heard about Cedar Hill State Park? Have you been there?

YES

- When did you go there?
- Who did you go there with?
- What did you do when you visited park? What kind of activity were you involved in when you visited CHSP?
- How often do you go there?

NO

- Why did you not go there?
- Are you interested in visiting CHSP if you do not have (*the reason for non-visitation*)?

10. If you are not interested in visiting Cedar Hill State Park, what would make your mind change? In other words, how can CHSP do a better job of attracting more people of color? What would be an attractive feature or characteristics that make you want to visit CHSP?

#### Racism and Travel pattern

I want you to read three short stories on this paper. Please take a look at them for a moment.

11. What do you think about these stories?

12. Do you think these stories are somehow related to you? Have you ever experienced similar incidents?

13. Do you think how racism/racial discrimination impacts whether or not you visit parks or engage in outdoor recreation?

- Do you think racism/racial discrimination impacts your decision on where to travel and travel behavior?

14. Have you ever experienced any sorts of racial discrimination when you were traveling or engaging in outdoor recreation?

If yes, how did you deal with it? How does your experience impact your leisure patterns? How does that impact not only your leisure patterns but also your life in general.

15. What are the places that you like to visit for traveling or vacation?

16. Some people believe that outdoor recreation activities such as going to National Parks, hiking, camping, fishing, and hunting are “White” activity. Do you agree with that? Why and why not?

17. Cedar Hill State Park used to be a farmland of Penn family, and Penn family was slave owners before the Civil War. In side of the park, there is Penn Farm Agricultural History Center. The center is basically a restoration of Penn family’s farm house and barns. It seems Penn family’s slaves made significant contribution of establishing those houses and barns. Today, if you go to the Center, you don’t see any explanations about the fact that Penn family owned slaves. African Americans’ history is not described in the park. How do you think about this?

18. Do you think today’s African Americans will appreciate if the park offers the stories of Penn Family’s slaves and their contributions?

19. Do you know anybody who might participate in this study? Could you introduce me some people? It could be your friends, family members, church members, etc.

20. Is there anything you want to talk about more?

21. I finished my interview questions. As a part of my appreciation, please feel free to ask me any questions about my research or even myself.

## APPENDIX B: VIGNETTE

1) My wife entered a department store. While she was looking for a gift, she realized that she was constantly watched by both customers and workers in the store as if people are curious or confused about her presence. She noticed that most of people in the store were Whites and she was the only person who is non-White. She felt uncomfortable being in the store and had to go out. The male store clerk followed her outside the store and said that he has to check her bag without any particular reasons. There was no business ethical reaction.

2) I thought my son would be much older before I had to tell him about the Black Male Code. As I explained it, the Code goes like this: Always pay close attention to your surroundings, son, especially if you are in an affluent neighborhood where black folks are few. Understand that even though you are not a criminal, some people might assume you are, especially if you are wearing certain clothes. Never argue with police, but protect your dignity and take pride in humility. Please don't assume, son, that all white people view you as a threat. Suspicion and bitterness can imprison you. But as a black male, you must go above and beyond to show strangers what type of person you really are --- Parents are talking to their children, especially their black sons, about the Code. It's a talk the black community has passed down for generations, an evolving oral tradition from the days when an errant remark could easily cost black people their job, their freedom, or sometimes their life.

3) When I make a decision for traveling and going somewhere, I always think about the possibility that I encounter racism. I don't want to be mistreated and ruin my vacation. I don't want to go to a wrong place at wrong time. There are many places that I want to visit, yet I'm not sure whether some of those places are OK to visit. I realize that I spend extra energy and time for gathering information about the destination and if it is safe place to visit.

## APPENDIX C: DISPLAYS AT PENN FARM







**MODERNIZATION**

By the turn of the 20th century, cattle had become an important part of the Texas economy. To keep up with the changing times, the people of Penn Farm adapted to new circumstances.

**A Barn for a CATTLEMAN**

Andy Penn, who inherited Penn Farm from his father, thought of himself as a cattleman rather than a farmer. The tenant families at Penn Farm cultivated most of the crops. Andy became known for judging sheep and cattle at fairs and livestock shows. In 1916, he built the newer, larger barn to provide better shelter for his cattle and horses.

Andy Penn with his prize-winning Hereford bull.

**Makin' Do With WHAT YOU'VE GOT**

This barn was built during World War I, a time when building supplies were scarce. Farmers often found ways to reuse older materials for new purposes. In this barn, an existing log cabin and the old Penn Schoolhouse became storage for hay and feed. See if you can find these older structures in the barn.

**HARVEST**  
Gathering Together and Moving Forward

The introduction of gasoline-powered machines at Penn Farm transformed the harvest from a large community event to one that involved only a few workers.

**A Working VACATION**

Harvest time was the busiest season on Penn Farm. It was time for grains to be out and threshed, cotton picked and baled and grass mowed and hayed. There was plenty of work for everyone — men, women, and children. A break from school allowed children to help with the harvest. This break is the origin of today's summer vacation.

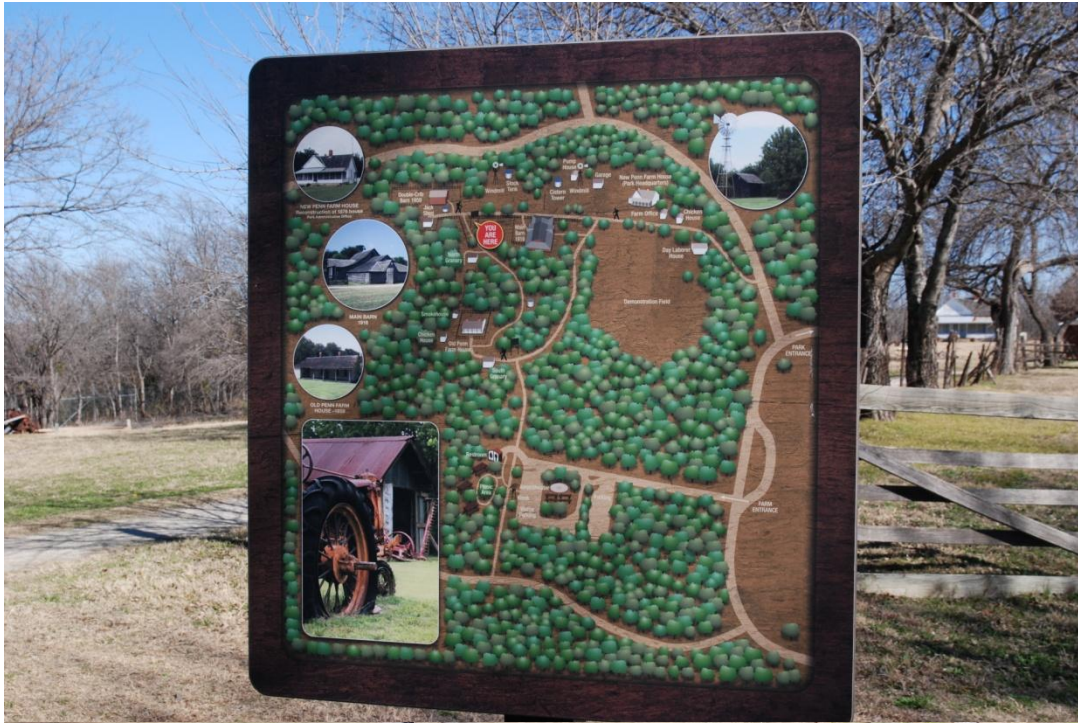
**Helping HANDS**

Until the 1920s, the community worked together during harvest time. Farmers, family members and neighbors carried the bundled grain from the binder to the large threshing machine, which beat the grain kernel from the stalk. With the invention of the combine — a single machine that combines the actions of the binder and thresher — just a few people could harvest 15 to 20 acres per day.

**Tracted OUT**

During the Great Depression, government subsidies made gasoline-powered equipment affordable for more farmers. Most landowners no longer needed tenant farmers to work their land. These tenants were "tracted out" and forced to seek work in the cities. In turn, mechanization increased productivity, helping the remaining farmers to support the growing urban populations.





**The HEART of the FARM**

Built in 1859, this house was first home to the Penn family and later to their tenant farmers. On a farm like this, women and children did important chores in and around the house.

**Petticoats and PLOWS**

When their help was needed, the women of Penn Farm worked the land alongside the men, plowing, seeding and harvesting. During the harvest they worked double-duty: cooking for the members of the work party and laboring in the fields. Mothers also had to keep an eye on their children while they worked, often bringing them along to the fields.

**Little Hands BIG CHORES**

Like most farm children, this young boy and girl were expected to help out both in the fields and around the house.

Every member of a farm family worked. Children tended livestock, helped with the laundry and harvested the crops. Lovell Penn recalled being put to work at a very young age and churning butter at his grandmother's knee: "I was still so small I had to... stand up on a chair to churn."

**From SUNRISE To SUNSET and Back Again**

The women of Penn Farm performed many domestic chores such as preparing meals, looking after the children and washing, ironing and mending clothes. They tackled these tasks without the help of modern appliances like washing machines and dishwashers. Farm women often said, "a man's work is from sun to sun, but a woman's work is never done."

Field activity based for the family garden and also spread to the fields.