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On-Site Wildland Activity Choices Among African Americans and White Americans in the Rural South: Implications for Management

Cassandra Y. Johnson
J. M. Bowker

Executive Summary: We compare wildland activity choices for a sample of rural African Americans and Whites who visited wildland settings in and around the Apalachicola National Forest. We also look at intra-racial (same race, different gender) variations for activity participation. This research extends previous research focused on the visit/not visit wildland question by examining activity choice by race and gender for those who do visit. Our results show no racial differences for consumptive activities like fishing and hunting; however, African Americans are significantly less likely than Whites to participate in most forms of nonconsumptive activities like camping and hiking. Greater gender differences in activity participation were found for Whites than for African Americans. We discuss management implications and ways forest managers may attract more African Americans to participate in forest-based outdoor recreation. This includes target marketing strategies that promote fishing and group activities on the Apalachicola National Forest.

Keywords: African Americans, ethnicity, management strategy, rural, south, wildland recreation

Authors: Cassandra Johnson is a social scientist with the USDA Forest Service, Southern Forest Experiment Station. J. M. Bowker is a research social scientist with the same agency.

Introduction

A 1992 Texas A&M survey of the National Park System revealed that minorities were conspicuously absent among visitor groups to the nation's monuments and parks (Albrecht, 1992). National Park Service visitors tend to be overwhelmingly White and middle-class. Differences in minority versus White visitation is not just a matter of absolute numbers. Minorities visit national parks far less than their proportions in the overall population. For instance, the Texas A&M study that found only 0.4% of car and 3.8% of bus visitors to Yosemite National Park were African American (Goldsmith, 1994). The same study showed that less than five percent of the Grand Canyon National Park's car and bus visitors were Latino Americans.

In comparison, approximately 22% of Arizona's population is Hispanic (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1998).

These results notwithstanding, federal agencies are making efforts to attract ethnic minorities to public lands. Some minority groups have already begun to show up in greater numbers at federally managed public recreation areas. In some areas of the country with urban proximate forests like the Angeles and San Bernardino National Forests, recreation visitors include increasing proportions of Latino American visitors with various degrees of American cultural assimilation (Chavez, 1992; Chavez, 1993; Carr & Williams, 1993). Studies have shown that Latino Americans generally recreate with larger family groups, compared to Whites; and more recently immigrated Latinos are also more likely to prefer collective activities liking picnicking over more solitary ones such as hiking and walking (Baas, Ewert, & Chavez, 1993).

Forest managers in the South have also noticed increased visitation by Latino and Asian American visitors (Martin, 1998). Yet, national studies continue to show that African American participation in most forms of forest-based wildland or dispersed area recreation activities is noticeably less than other minorities, although African Americans constitute the largest racial minority in the country (Cordell et al., 1999).

Empirical studies have examined African American versus White visitation over the past 25 years in a generally urban context (Johnson, Bowker, English, & Worthen, 1997). Most of these investigations compared visitation, participation rates, and perceived attractiveness for different types of recreation areas (e.g., developed versus dispersed settings) among Whites and minority groups. These studies have posited a number of reasons for the relative lack of African American participation, which include relative wealth, structural barriers, and cultural preferences (Taylor, 1989).

These studies have also shown three general factors or tendencies that seem to distinguish African American and White outdoor recreation participation. The first is a tendency among African Americans for collective recreation activities, as opposed to White preferences for more solitary pursuits. For example, Dwyer and Hutchison's (1990) comparison of reasons given by African Americans and Whites for recreating found African Americans showed a stronger preference for meeting people rather than avoiding social interaction. Also, in follow-up studies to Dwyer and Hutchison (1990), Gobster and Delgado (1993) reported that African Americans did more talking and socializing than Anglo visitors when recreating in a Chicago area park. And Dwyer (1994) reported that African Americans indicated a stronger preference for team sports that required interaction with others. White visitors showed more preference for solitary or small group activities such as jogging or golf. Kelly (1980) reported similar findings.

The second distinction is an African American preference for developed settings and White preference for more natural areas. Philipp (1993)

examined a sample of African Americans and Whites who engaged in tourism and compared the two groups' preferences for tourism destinations and interests. Results showed that within categories of tourism destinations, African Americans were significantly less likely than Whites to choose wildland-type areas as preferred vacation sites. This finding is consistent with Kaplan & Talbot's (1988) study showing African American and White variation in types of preferred recreation environments.

The third distinguishing factor seems to be a more heightened concern among African Americans for safety in recreation settings. Studies have shown that African Americans feel more cautious and circumscribed in their behavior when they travel to recreation areas that are considered "White" domain (Meeker, 1973; Lee, 1972; West, 1989). For example, Lee (1972) observed that African Americans traveled to regional parks in groups because of the perception of safety in numbers. West (1989) addressed the issue of interracial relations in Detroit area parks. He charged that this issue has been ignored by leisure researchers despite findings from prior studies that indicate that fear of racism and discrimination have prohibited minorities from visiting recreation areas outside of their neighborhoods.

Recreation research has firmly established differences in wildland preferences and participation for African Americans and Whites in an urban recreation context. However, much less attention has focused on behavior patterns of rural African Americans and Whites who choose to recreate in wildland settings. The assumption implicit in existing recreation research on African Americans and Whites is that rural African Americans and Whites would engage in similar wildland activities. However, according to Chavez (1992), rural-based natural resource recreation areas have been managed largely by and for rural Whites. This finding makes sense, given that Whites are the most frequent visitors to rural wildlands. Yet, rural African Americans may differ from rural Whites in their choices and preferences for wildland activities. This is an important consideration for rural forest recreation managers who wish to attract larger numbers of African Americans to forest recreation areas.

The central focus of our research is to examine and statistically test for differences in the behavior of Southern, rural African Americans and Whites who have chosen to visit wildland areas. To our knowledge, very little research exists on this issue. Moreover, if differences can be shown to exist, addressing these differences via management actions may be one avenue to respond to the "underserved" minority issue. While we would not necessarily generalize to urban samples within and/or outside the region, the results nevertheless remain important because the largest number of nonurban African Americans reside in the South (Rankin & Falk, 1991).

We also analyze within-race gender differences, for example, African American females and African American males as separate groups, because few studies comparing racial group differences address leisure preference or behavior variation by gender (Klobus-Edwards, 1981; Shinew, Floyd, McGuire, & Noe, 1995). Yet, along with socioeconomic status, race and

gender are considered to be continuing sources of inequality in American society. Along these lines, White (1991) talks about African American women's fear of recreating in wilderness areas. According to White, African American women in particular are afraid to recreate alone in the wilds because of the underlying fear that they may be harassed, not only because of their gender, but also because of their race.

Shinew, Floyd, McGuire, & Noe (1995) propose the multiple hierarchy theory of recreation participation, which holds that race, gender, class, and age are all potential factors that can influence recreation participation. Presumably, the recreation behavior of persons who occupy marginalized societal positions, such as older, less affluent, minority females, is less actualized than that of other racial and socioeconomic groups.

The theory is also very relevant to single women with children who do not have the advantage of a husband's income. Most American women earn only about 74% of male income (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1997). The Forest Service and other land management agencies are considering implementing user fees for recreation services. However, planners should recognize that the implementation of such programs may have differential effects on minorities and women (Bowker & Leeworthy, 1998). Female-headed families in particular may be priced out of some outdoor recreation markets if fees are required.

Methods

A mail-back questionnaire designed primarily to survey individuals within households was employed (although some questions asked about both the respondent and other household members). In this paper, we use only responses to questions about individuals within households. Households were selected from 1990 Census tracts of six rural counties surrounding the Apalachicola National Forest in Florida: Calhoun, Franklin, Gadsden, Gulf, Liberty, and Wakulla (Survey Sampling, Inc. 1992). These six counties encompass an area of over 3,600 square miles and are collectively referred to as the Apalachicola region. The total population is 92,358. The African American sample was drawn at random from white page telephone directories in Census tracts that contained at least 50% African American households. The White sample was selected at random, regardless of racial density. Sample size was calculated based on the total number of Black and White housing units in the Apalachicola region, 8,915 African American and 22,626 White units (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1990; U.S. Department of Commerce, 1992).

Questionnaires were mailed in December, 1994, followed by a postcard reminder to non-respondents two weeks later. Three weeks after the postcard was sent, a replacement questionnaire was mailed to those who still had not responded. The postcard reminder and replacement questionnaire were intended to help increase the response rate and reduce nonresponse bias (Dillman, 1978). Responses by persons under 18 or by

someone who did not live in the sample area were omitted from the analyses. To avoid gender bias in household responses, we asked that the survey be completed by the person living in the home 18 or older who most recently had a birthday. The number of usable addresses was 1,177, and the overall return rate was 39% or 459 observations.[1]

The relatively low response rate may be attributed in part to the fact that this was a household survey where potential respondents had no prior knowledge of the survey and no direct interest in wildland recreation. Nationally, Forest Service and wildland recreation visitation account for relatively small percentages of outdoor recreation visitors. For this article only, we use the subset of those who actually reported visitation to wildland recreation areas (n=286). Addresses were purchased from Survey Sampling, Inc. Separate return rates for Blacks and Whites could not be calculated because Survey Sampling had no way of identifying addresses by race prior to mailing.

We compared aggregated sample characteristics—race, gender, age, and household income means—to 1990 U.S. Census household figures for the region (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1993).[2] While congruency between the sample and Census characteristics may not necessarily indicate sample representativeness, incongruence would likely signal a nonrepresentative sample. African Americans comprised about 20% of the sample and Whites 80% (See table 1). The proportion of adult African Americans in the population was 31%, and Anglos made up about 69% of the population. The proportion of males in the sample was 60%, females 40%. The proportion in the adult population was about 0.9 to 1.[3] Mean age for the sample was 49.6. The median sample age was 48. The median age for the adult population in the Apalachicola region was 40 to 44 years of age (A composite median age for the six-county survey area was not available in the Census because the survey area was a composite created by researchers).

Fifty-three percent of the respondents reported education at the college or technical-school level, and approximately 51% of the population 25 and over had post-high school education. Mean household income for the sample was approximately $40,000. Median household income for the sample was $37,500.[4] For the population, median household income ranged from $17,247 in Franklin county to $25,019 in Wakulla county. Table 1 shows racial group comparisons for the above characteristics based on t-tests. The African American and White samples were statistically different at ≤ 0.05 only for gender.

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[1] Copies of the questionnaire are available from the authors.

[2] Only African American and White responses were used in our analyses. Census figures are reported only for African American and White adults eighteen and over unless otherwise indicated.

[3] Figure includes races other than African Americans and Whites; however, other races comprised less than three percent of the population.

[4] Household income is based on 190 observations, as a number of respondents chose not to answer the income question.

Table 1: Demographics for Pooled, African American, and White Samples

Characteristic	Adult population (n=66,148)	Total Sample (n=286)	African American (n=58)	White (n=228)
Percent African American	31.0	20.3	—	—
Percent male	47.4	60.1	51.7	62.7
Mean age	40-44**	49.6	52.7	48.9
Post high school education	51.0	53.0	47.4	54.8
Mean household income*	$17,247 -$25,019**	$40,259	$35,113	$41,340

* African Americans and Whites significantly different at w.05, t-test;
**median figure

Results

To examine activity choice by wildland visitors in various activities, we asked those respondents who had visited both unspecified wildlands and Forest Service wildlands to tell us what activities they pursued while visiting such places. Respondents were presented with a list of 17 activities, ranging from consumptive activities like hunting and fishing to nonconsumptive activities like nature observation and relaxing, and were asked to mark the box next to the activity in which they participated. More than one response could be checked. Only p-values of ≤ 0.05 or less were considered significant based on chi-square comparisons of group frequencies (SAS Institute, 1985).

Activity Preferences

The first portion of our analysis shows the proportion of African American and White wildland visitors who participated in each activity (Table 2). Activities were categorized generally as consumptive and nonconsumptive. Within the nonconsumptive category, we further organized activities into subgroups. These were *group*, including family time, picnicking, and relaxing; *exploration*, including hiking and camping; and *meditative*, involving more reflective, solitary activities. These combinations are subjective, based on researcher conceptualizations of the activities. Respondents may have assigned their respective activity or activities to different groupings depending upon the meaning certain activities held for them. However, categorizing helps us to understand better the general types of activities preferred by African Americans and Whites.

For the total sample, the five most frequently mentioned activities were fishing, relaxing, nature observation, picnicking, and hunting. African American responses followed the overall pattern. The first and second responses for Whites were also fishing and relaxing, followed by nature observation, picnicking, and camping. There were no significant differences between African Americans and Whites for any of the consumptive activities. However, Whites reported significantly more participation in six

of the nine nonconsumptive activities—picnicking, relaxing, hiking, camping, nature observation, and canoeing/kayaking.

The finding of no significant differences in consumptive activities like fishing, and the greater participation by Whites in appreciative activities such as camping and hiking, are similar to results reported over the years for urban-based samples (Washburne, 1978; Washburne & Wall, 1980; Stamps & Stamps, 1985; Dwyer, 1994). The similarity of recreation behavior for African Americans in our rural sample with that of African Americans from non-rural areas throughout the country suggests that African American outdoor recreation behavior may be more similar among areas than different.

While it is instructive to learn that our results are similar to studies conducted in other parts of the country, we believe it is also important to understand what particular recreation activities mean to African American and White recreationists in various geographical regions. For instance, is fishing done more for subsistence by rural, Southern African Americans and more for sport recreation for Northern or Midwestern African Americans? Toth and Brown (1997) found that rural Whites and African Americans generally reported similar reasons for engaging in fishing; however, African Americans in the study relied more on fishing as a means of subsistence, while fishing as a sport was more important to Whites. Subsequent studies should address questions of recreation and activity meaning more thoroughly.

Table 2: Activity Participation by African Americans and Whites in Wildland Settings (Sample Proportions)

	Total Sample n=286	African American n=58	White n=228
Consumptive			
fishing	78.7	81.7	75.9
hunting	44.4	30.4	42.2
collecting	18.9	17.3	19.6
Nonconsumptive			
Group			
family time	41.6	36.4	45.3
picnicking	53.1	38.2	61.0*
relaxing	64.7	51.0	70.8*
Exploration			
hiking	41.9	18.9	48.6*
camping	43.1	6.7	50.0*
nature observation	56.6	36.0	62.0*
canoeing/kayaking	21.7	5.4	26.1*
Meditative			
spiritual development	15.7	14.3	17.1
spending time alone	30.8	28.5	31.5

* African Americans and Whites significantly different at w.05, chi-squared test.

Activities by Race/Gender Subgroup

We looked more closely at activity participation by race and gender subgroups. These analyses centered on four subgroups: African American females, African American males, White females, and White males. The top portion of Figure 1 shows results for within-race consumptive activities: fishing, hunting, and collecting berries/mushrooms. The bottom portion shows p-values for each group and activity. P-values are reported only for activities with significant group differences. Males and females of both races reported the greatest amount of participation in fishing. Significant differences in fishing participation were found for White males and females but not for African American males and females. Males of both races reported greater involvement in hunting. Again, significant gender differences were found for both African Americans and Whites in this activity. Results showed no intra-race gender differences for collecting forest plants.

Figure 1: Intraracial Consumptive Activities

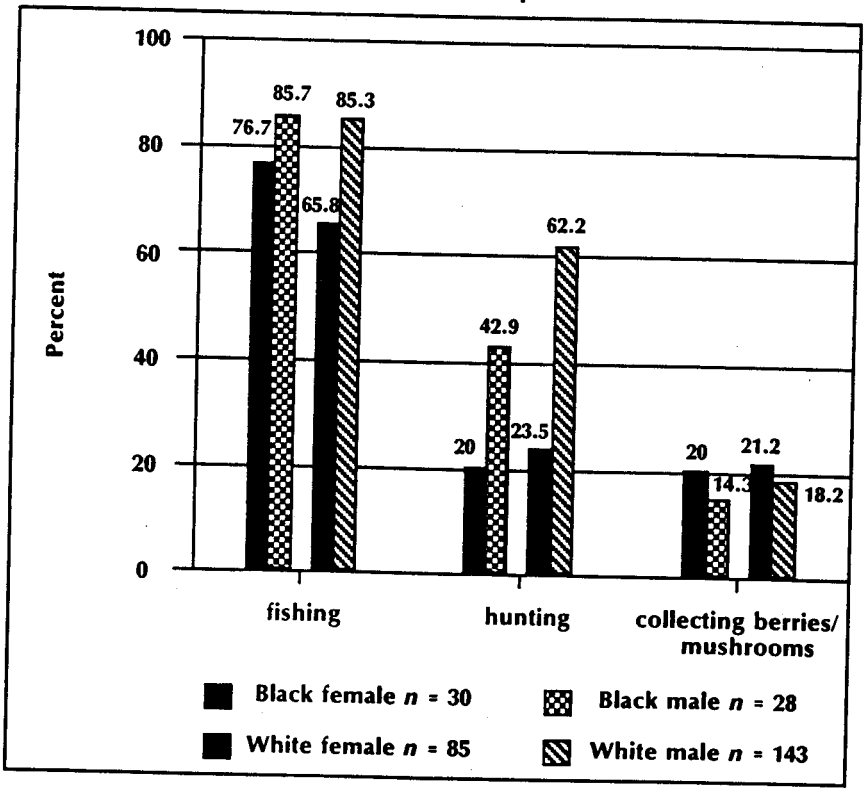


Figure 1 Cont.

Fishing: *P* values for race/sex comparisons

	white males χ^2 p =	white females χ^2 p =	black males χ^2 p =
white females	.001	–	–
black males	.956	.018	–
black females	.296	.245	.374

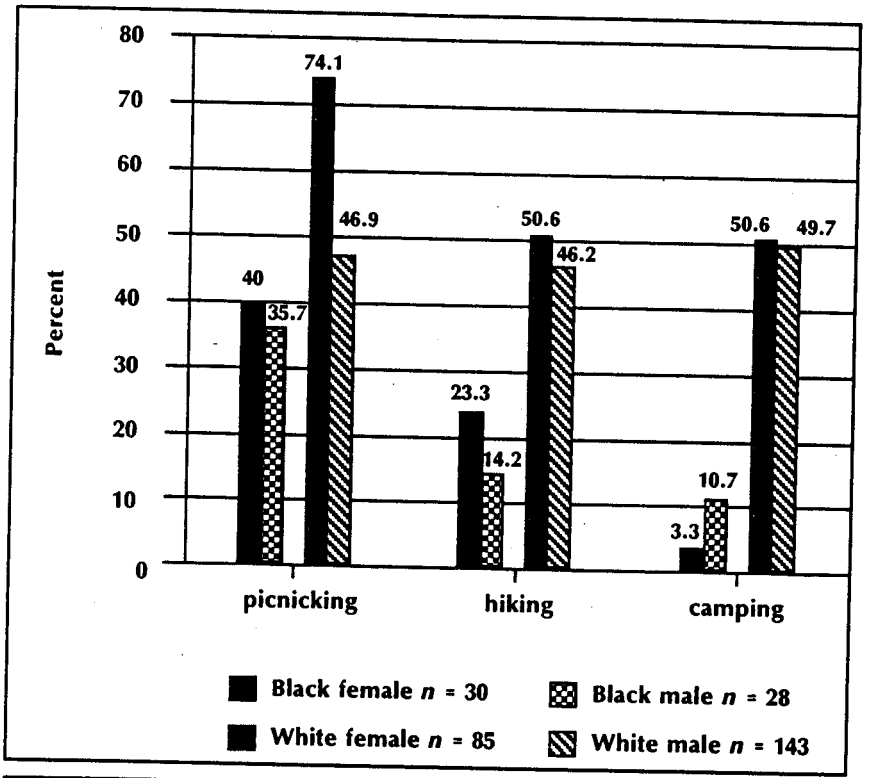
Hunting: *P* values for race/sex comparisons

	white males χ^2 p =	white females χ^2 p =	black males χ^2 p =
white females	.000	–	–
black males	.057	.064	–
black females	.000	.683	.054

Figures 2 through 4 show participation for categories of nonconsumptive activities by gender/race subgroups. In these analyses the nonconsumptive categories were collapsed. Individual activities are picnicking, hiking, camping, spending time alone, spiritual development, canoeing, relaxing, nature observation, and family time.

The two most popular activities for African American females were relaxing, picnicking/family time; and for African American males, relaxing and nature observation. Similarly, the most frequently mentioned activities for White males were relaxing and nature observation; and for White females, relaxing and picnicking. For picnicking, relaxing, and family time, significant gender differences were found for White males and females, but no other intraracial gender differences were found for any other nonconsumptive activity.

Figure 2: Intraracial Nonconsumptive Activities



Picnicking: *P* values for race/sex comparisons

	white males χ^2 p =	white females χ^2 p =	black males χ^2 p =
white females	.000	–	–
black males	.264	.000	–
black females	.488	.001	.736

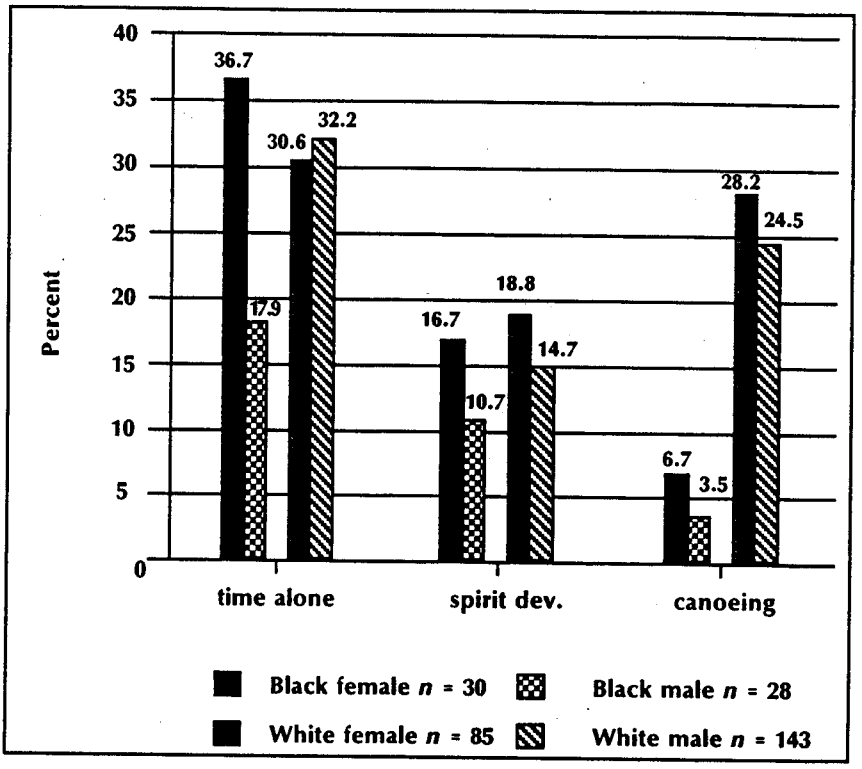
Hiking: *P* values for race/sex comparisons

	white males χ^2 p =	white females χ^2 p =	black males χ^2 p =
white females	.517	–	–
black males	.000	.000	–
black females	.009	.004	.374

Camping: *P* values for race/sex comparisons

	white males χ^2 p =	white females χ^2 p =	black males χ^2 p =
white females	.891	–	–
black males	.000	.000	–
black females	.000	.000	.271

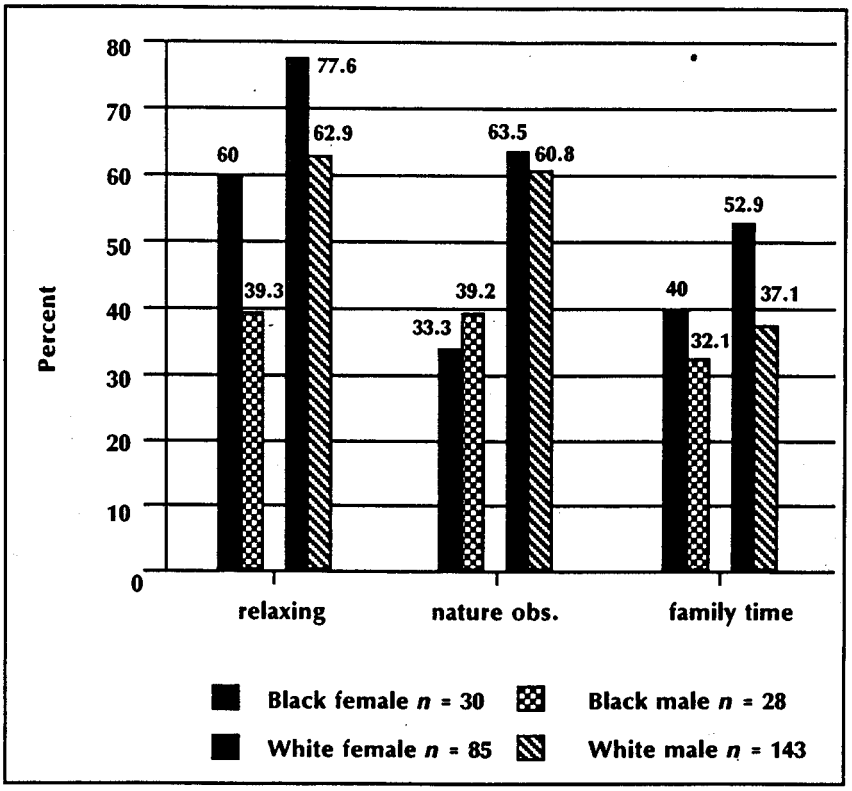
Figure 3: Intraracial Nonconsumptive Activities



Canoeing: *P* values for race/sex comparisons

	white males χ^2 p =	white females χ^2 p =	black males χ^2 p =
white females	.535	–	–
black males	.000	.000	–
black females	.002	.001	.590

Figure 4: Intraracial Nonconsumptive Activities



Relaxing: *P* values for race/sex comparisons

	white males 0^2 p =	white females 0^2 p =	black males 0^2 p =
white females	.015	–	–
black males	.019	.000	–
black females	.765	.078	.107

Family time: *P* values for race/sex comparisons

	white males 0^2 p =	white females 0^2 p =	black males 0^2 p =
white females	.019	–	–
black males	.612	.045	–
black females	.765	.216	.532

Discussion

Again, the purpose of this paper was to compare activity preferences for African Americans and Whites who actually visit wildlands. We examine only activity preferences here, as other racial comparisons such as environmental meaning and barriers to participation have been presented elsewhere (Johnson, et al., 1997; Johnson, Bowker, English, & Worthen, 1998). Because this was a household rather than an on-site survey, the activities respondents reported were those they engaged in while visiting wildland recreation areas sometime prior to responding to our survey. We did not include site attributes in our analyses because the national forest and other wildland areas in the region consist primarily of a relatively homogenous coastal plain forest containing similar physiographic attributes.

We examined both inter- and intraracial gender differences in wildland activity participation. Based on prior studies, we expected no significant differences in consumptive activities for African Americans and Whites but did expect that Whites would participate more in nonconsumptive activities. As predicted, there were no racial differences for consumptive activities, and Whites were more likely to engage in six of the nine nonconsumptive activities—picnicking, relaxing, hiking, camping, nature observation, and canoeing/kayaking. Our results are similar to those found elsewhere for populations outside of the rural south (Dwyer, 1994). Thus, it may be that African American outdoor recreation preferences are more alike than different across various regions of the country. Fishing was the only activity in which African American participation was greater than that for Whites; however, there was no significant difference for the two groups.

The White sample followed our prediction of gender variation more closely than African Americans. White males were more likely than White females to engage in fishing, and White females reported more involvement than White males in picnicking, relaxing, and family time. Results also suggest that although there are clear gender differences in activity participation, males engaged more in consumptive-type activities. Race seems to play a greater role than gender in determining participation, as there are greater differences between African Americans and Whites, regardless of gender.

However, results suggest that African Americans and Whites do, to some extent, engage in similar activities, such as fishing and relaxing; however, there are notable differences. For example, hunting may be more important to African Americans, and camping seems to play a larger role for Whites. Such information about activity preferences can be used by public recreation managers in the Apalachicola region to induce more African Americans to recreate on public lands. With a better understanding of the activities preferred by currently underrepresented groups, managers can redirect resources to specific recreation opportunities or site attributes for targeted groups.

For example, our activity preference results indicated that African Americans, both male and female, ranked fishing high relative to other activities, and roughly 19% of the African American visitor sample said they went specifically to the Apalachicola National Forest for fishing or hunting. Fishing seems to be a "pull" factor that recreation managers could concentrate on to increase African American visitation to the Apalachicola National Forest. Using this information, managers could direct additional resources to improving fishing venues. It may be that fishing is considered mostly to be a recreational or seasonal activity, or it could be that fishing represents an important source of food supply year round for a proportion of the African Americans who engage in this activity. Such information about how fishing contributes to the livelihood of local African Americans and Whites would be important in helping recreation managers promote fishing opportunities on the forest.

Generally speaking, outdoor recreation areas provided by land management agencies may be important in helping to sustain and, in some cases, revive rural community development, as more middle-class African Americans relocate to the South and to specific rural communities in the South. For instance, Dunn (1998) writes that recreation areas managed by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers provide much-needed outdoor recreation venues for African American family activities. Also, federal agencies with lands adjacent to economically declining rural Black communities may be able to help such communities withstand some of the depression. According to Cromartie and Beale (1997), increasing Black/White residential segregation in the rural, plantation South is creating enclaves of Black isolation and economic decline. In such areas, the Forest Service and other federal agencies could provide much-needed opportunities for outdoor recreation, which have been shown to revive depressed communities (National Advisory Commission, 1968).

Group activities such as relaxing, family time, and picnicking were top activities for both African Americans and Whites in the Apalachicola region. Research has shown that African Americans prefer more collective activities like spending time with extended family and friends. Also, because of their relatively small numbers, it may be important for African Americans to be in a group when venturing into relatively isolated woodland settings on forests, particularly in the South. In responding to an apparent collective orientation among African American recreationists in the Apalachicola region, managers could emphasize that the forest provides opportunities for group-related activities for social and civic clubs and religious groups. Managers could also stress that safety is a management priority and perhaps make uniformed enforcement personnel more visible.

Efforts could also be made to help attract segments of minority communities that do not currently visit the Apalachicola National Forest. Given the apparent popularity of fishing among African Americans, managers could disseminate information to the African American community about fishing spots available on the Apalachicola forest. Forest managers

may assume that local fishing enthusiasts are aware of the fishing outlets on the forest; however, this assumption may not be the case. It may be that some longtime resident African Americans have never had much contact with the forest because federal recreation areas such as national parks and forests have historically been associated in their minds with White recreation. As one African American male respondent commented: "wooded recreational areas and parks are not frequented by Afro-Americans. I have always felt that they were red-neckish." Goldsmith (1994) quotes an Old Dominion University researcher who suggests that this notion may be the case: 'today's older African Americans were shut out of [so many] leisure activities for so long that they just didn't even think about such things.' Also, Brown (1994) asserts that lack of information among the African American elderly about recreation agencies inhibits their use of such resources.

Outreach strategies by Apalachicola National Forest managers could also involve educating underrepresented publics about activities in which they do not currently participate. Relatively few African Americans said they participated in camping or canoeing/kayaking. Promoting nontraditional activities like camping involves altering preferences, a long-range goal that would likely be more effective with younger groups. Local schools and scout groups could be contacted about the camp sites, hiking or biking trails, and canoeing areas on the Apalachicola. Again, these are longer-range outreach goals. It should be kept in mind that preferences often change slowly.

One way of focusing on specific customers or publics is with target marketing. Searle and Jackson (1985) propose that recreation managers use target marketing to better ensure that different segments of the population are aware of available resources. For instance, if funds are limited, Apalachicola National Forest recreation managers may consider designing facilities and services to help enhance the recreation preferences of underrepresented groups who currently visit. However, funds may be such that managers could also invest resources into efforts that would help managers better understand the preferences and constraints of those groups not currently visiting.

Also, in targeting underrepresented groups, either current or potential, managers could choose to focus on activities that are seasonal as opposed to those that do not vary with the seasons. For instance, about 17% of African Americans said they collected berries or mushrooms. In the seasons when certain fruits ripen, managers could emphasize the harvesting opportunities available on the forest and then approach harvesters with additional information on opportunities available in the region or forest.

Conclusion

This is an interesting time to study outdoor recreation participation because of the rapid changes in the ethnic and racial composition of the U.S.

population. The South, in particular, is an intriguing place for the study of both traditional and emerging African American outdoor recreation behavior, because the overwhelming majority of rural African Americans reside in the South. Also, as mentioned, increasing numbers of African Americans are relocating to both rural and urban areas in the region. Outdoor recreation managers, policy makers, and researchers will be challenged to respond better to these diverse publics over the coming decades. A more immediate challenge for federal outdoor recreation managers, however, is to reach out to long-standing constituents and underserved communities. These groups include racial and ethnic minorities, individuals with physical and mental impairments, low-income, or aged communities.

Poor racial and ethnic communities in the rural South, where residents live in counties adjacent to national forests and other federal reserves, are examples of underserved groups. Though minority residents in these communities live in close proximity to federal recreation areas, they seem to make relatively little use of these areas, compared to Whites. The recent report, Unlocking the Barriers: Keys to Communicating with Under-Served Customers, states that one of the most effective ways to serve USDA customers better is to get to know these clientele more intimately by building trust on the community level. This report urges federal agencies to become more a part of the local community rather than remaining aloof in the role of an imposing federal agent. Among other things, the report encourages Forest Service agents to establish a community contact and listen to constituent concerns.

Public recreation areas, like other public places in society, must yield to the growing diversity of cultures, thought, and behavior in American society. Within any given community, constituent groups are not likely to be homogenous with respect to social background characteristics like race and socioeconomic standing. As our results indicate, diverse racial groups often participate in and stress different kinds of outdoor recreation behavior. Ideally, management should be both cognizant of such differences and aware of their importance in community relations, including outdoor recreation participation.

There may be also be gender-based preferences and concerns that can be addressed by management. Gender differences in outdoor recreation behavior may become even more apparent as the number of female-headed households continues to increase. For instance, the percentage of female-headed households with children increased about 19% from 1980 to 1990. In comparison, the number of family households increased by only 10% during this period. Federal land managers should consider that some of the more traditional "mother-father, two kids" activities may give way to those that include a single female adult and children. For some outdoor recreation markets, signs and brochures advertising recreation opportunities on national forests could also include promotional material that show one adult and child or children. As public land stewards and advocates for the common good, government agencies should be most responsive to these societal changes.

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