



# Tourism Geographies

An International Journal of Tourism Space, Place and Environment

ISSN: (Print) (Online) Journal homepage: [www.tandfonline.com/journals/rtxg20](http://www.tandfonline.com/journals/rtxg20)

## The myth of African American under-representation in nature tourism

Kangjae Jerry Lee

To cite this article: Kangjae Jerry Lee (2024) The myth of African American under-representation in nature tourism, *Tourism Geographies*, 26:1, 70-81, DOI: [10.1080/14616688.2023.2190159](https://doi.org/10.1080/14616688.2023.2190159)

To link to this article: <https://doi.org/10.1080/14616688.2023.2190159>



Published online: 14 Mar 2023.



[Submit your article to this journal](#)



Article views: 335



[View related articles](#)



[View Crossmark data](#)



Citing articles: 1 [View citing articles](#)

COMMENTARY



## The myth of African American under-representation in nature tourism

KangJae Jerry Lee 

Department of Parks, Recreation & Tourism Management, North Carolina State University, Raleigh, North Carolina, USA

### ABSTRACT

Although nature-based recreation areas are among the most popular tourism destinations in the U.S., African Americans are far less likely to visit them compared to White Americans. This paper offers a critical analysis of the phenomenon often labeled Black under-participation or under-representation (BUPR) in nature tourism. First, I use the concept of the White racial frame to unpack the White centrism and normalism embedded in the notion of BUPR and explain how it erases Black Americans' historical relationship with nature while concealing centuries of Black exclusion in great outdoors. Second, I use the notion of the White-Savior Industry Complex to critique diversity initiatives of public park and tourism agencies, namely lack of strong sense of ownership in their historical Black exclusion. Finally, I make three recommendations for rectifying the enduring racial oppression in nature tourism.

### ARTICLE HISTORY

Received 16 February  
2022  
Accepted 27 February  
2023

### KEYWORDS

Racism; outdoor  
recreation; White-Savior  
Industry Complex;  
environmental justice

## Introduction

Nature tourism is among the most popular pastimes in the U.S., or at least that has been true for White Americans. Since the 1950s, research has documented that African Americans are far less likely to visit national parks and forests compared to their White counterparts (Audience Research Inc., 1955; Mueller & Gurin, 1962; Resource Systems Group & Wyoming Survey and Analysis Center, 2019; USDA Forest Service, 2019). For the past few decades, this racial and ethnic disparity in nature visitation has been labeled as Black 'under-participation' or 'under-representation' (BUPR) and has been recognized as a serious environmental injustice issue, as White Americans have disproportionately enjoyed the health, educational, cultural, and social benefits of the natural environment and public parks (Buckley, 2020; Floyd & Johnson, 2002). Moreover, BUPR runs counter to public park and tourism agencies' democratic mission to make America's natural environment accessible to all. It also poses a risk to their very existence because, as tax-supported entities, they could lose funding and,

**CONTACT** KangJae Jerry Lee  [klee24@ncsu.edu](mailto:klee24@ncsu.edu)  Department of Parks, Recreation & Tourism Management, North Carolina State University, Raleigh, North Carolina, USA

© 2023 Informa UK Limited, trading as Taylor & Francis Group

eventually, be deemed an unjustifiable expense if their visitor base were to remain largely White (Waye, 2005). Therefore, it is important to clearly understand White dominance in the American great outdoors and change its trajectory into the future.

In this paper, I aim to offer critical insights into BUPR and contribute to ongoing efforts to promote racial and ethnic diversity and inclusion in America's great outdoors. First, I use the concept of the White racial frame (WRF) (Feagin, 2013) to expose the White centrism and normalism embedded in the notion of BUPR and illustrate how they erase Black environmental history and obscure centuries of Black exclusion in nature tourism. Second, I use the notion of the White-Savior Industrial Complex (WSIC) (Cole, March 21, 2012) to criticize public park and tourism agencies' diversity initiatives, which tend to suffer from lacking a strong sense of ownership in their history of Black exclusion. Finally, I argue that Whiteness in nature-based outdoor recreation needs to be dispelled by increasing the number of African American environmental leaders, recognizing Black history within the American great outdoors, and promoting African Americans' authentic experiences in nature tourism.

### The myth of BUPR and the White racial frame

The WRF denotes 'an overarching white worldview that encompasses a broad and persisting set of racial stereotypes, prejudices, ideologies, images, interpretations and narratives, emotions, and reactions to language accents, as well as racialized inclinations to discriminate' (Feagin, 2013, p. 3). The central idea of the WRF is that Americans consciously and unconsciously view the behaviors and perspectives of White people as normal, desirable, and ethical, while those of people of color are located at the opposite end of the spectrum.

A chronological review of previous research is particularly helpful in unraveling the connection between BUPR and WRF. For example, *Participation in Outdoor Recreation: Factors Affecting Demand among American Adults*, published in 1962—arguably one of the earliest official documentations of racial and ethnic disparities in outdoor recreation in the U.S.—reported that 'Negroes on the average engage in outdoor recreation *less than white people* [emphasis added]' (Mueller & Gurin, 1962, p. 10). Here, the study used White Americans' participation rates in outdoor recreation as a benchmark for estimating those of African Americans. Since then, subsequent studies have described African Americans' outdoor recreation participation as 'under-participation' (e.g. Carr & Williams, 1993; Washburne, 1978) or 'under-representation' (e.g. Davis, 2019; Miles et al., 1994).

Thus, the notion of BUPR initially surfaced from a series of comparative analyses between Blacks and Whites, and during this process, Black Americans' outdoor recreation rate was *pathologized* simply because it deviated from that of White Americans. Indeed, previous studies rarely provided a clear explanation of their basis for the use of the term 'under' or explained how many more Black nature travelers would be *enough* to address BUPR. Although one might argue that the term 'under-representation' or 'under-participation' was used due to the discrepancy between the proportion of African Americans in nature tourism and their share of the U.S. population, such an assertion carries an erroneous assumption that the two figures need to closely align

with each other. To put this differently, we must realize that there is no objective or scientific threshold which distinguishes 'under' or 'over' participation in outdoor recreation for any population group. Moreover, the use of the term 'under' not only conjures a misconception that Black people are somewhat 'less' than other people or in deficit of some qualities that ordinary people possess, but it also prevents us from questioning whether White people's outdoor recreation rate is 'over-participation' or 'over-representation.'<sup>1</sup> It means that Whites' leisure behavior has been socially constructed as 'normal' or 'standard,' while that of African Americans has been continuously treated as a problem or the subject of in-depth scrutiny.

## Historical black exclusion in nature

What is even more troubling about the notion of BUPR and its WRF is that they not only erase Black Americans' deep historical relationship with nature (Glave, 2010) but also conceal the centuries of Black exclusion that White environmental leaders involved in (Byrne & Wolch, 2009; Lee et al., 2022; Mowatt, 2020). For example, most African slaves brought to North America were experienced farmers and cattle producers because they came from agrarian societies in West Africa (Blassingame, 1979). Elderly slave women were highly specialized in medicinal plants and served as lay doctors for their masters and other slaves, indicating that they held distinctive social positions during the Antebellum period (Blum, 2002). Similarly, African Americans were some of the most proficient anglers and hunters in the South (Giltner, 2008), and Black cowboys were expert riders, ropers, and herdsman who contributed to the development of the American West in the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Glasrud & Searles, 2016). For many Black slaves, nature was a site of racial oppression and violence, yet it also served as a place of empowerment and liberation where they could escape from, and resist to, the plantation bondage system (Finney, 2014; Sene-Harper, 2022; Theriault & Mowatt, 2020). African slaves who escaped from plantations to secluded wildland established 'Maroon communities' throughout the Southern states and developed their own government, social order, and culture (Lockley, 2009; Price, 1996). Moreover, during the Jim Crow era, African Americans developed their own resorts, beaches, and travel agencies across the nation to enjoy outdoor recreation activities without the intrusion of White racism (Armstead, 2005; Floyd & Mowatt, 2014; Hart, 1960). Many Black civil rights activists also fought for equal access to outdoor recreation. William J. Trent Jr., an adviser of Negro Affairs for Interior Secretary Harold L. Ickes, fought for African American access to parks, which led to the ending of racial segregation in national parks in 1942 (Young, 2009).

Thus, what actually disrupted Black Americans' historical connections with nature and engendered today's White dominance in nature tourism was centuries of Black exclusion in America's great outdoors. To date, researchers have put forth several theoretical explanations for the cause of the White dominance (see Floyd & Stodolska, 2014; Scott & Lee, 2018). Yet, recent studies have highlighted racist ideology inculcated in the socio-historical context surrounding the birth of the American conservation movement and national and state parks (Byrne & Wolch, 2009; Lee et al., 2022; Mowatt, 2020). They have offered more comprehensive and persuasive explanations by

illuminating how White environmental leaders have historically barred Black Americans and other people of color from great outdoors. For instance, instrumental figures in the U.S. conservation movement and the birth of national parks, such as Madison Grant, Gifford Pinchot, and Teddy Roosevelt, were wealthy, powerful, White males who held strong eugenic beliefs (Gerstle, 1999; Merchant, 2003; Mowatt, 2020). They observed that the White race was becoming 'soft' and attenuating because of rapid industrialization and urbanization (Dyer, 1992; Sinkler, 1971). Interestingly, they viewed the wilderness as the ideal context within which Whites could build masculine and boisterous characters and came to equate wilderness conservation with the preservation of White supremacy (Powell, 2016; Taylor, 2016). Since its beginning, White conservation leaders have nurtured both the idea and the reality of the American great outdoors as a space exclusively for the prosperity and benefits of the White race.

Moreover, the eugenic and racist foundations of the American conservation movement and nature tourism were well supported by Jim Crow laws and racial violence until the 1960s. For years, institutionalized racism restricted Black people's travel and set clear boundaries pertaining to where they could go and what they could do during leisure time (Alderman et al., 2019; Wolcott, 2012). The rise of the Ku Klux Klan and the lynching of Black people in the woods instigated a terror of the wildlands within generations of Black communities (Lee & Scott, 2017; Outka, 2008; Starkey, 2005). Furthermore, the National Park Service had a 'conscious, but unpublicized policy of discouraging visits by African Americans' so that national parks were off-limits to African Americans, and segregated facilities were rarely provided until the 1940s (Young, 2009, p. 652). Similarly, state park leaders had little to no interest in park provision for Black citizens. During the 1950s, White Americans had access to 180 state parks across nine Southern states, while only 12 parks were available to African Americans (McKay, 1954). 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 & Wildlife Department, 2004, p. 8). Park officials' racial prejudice frequently justified the discriminatory park provision, arguing that Blacks were not interested in using public parks because they were so poor and paid almost no taxes to support them (O'Brien, 2015).

In a nutshell, America's great outdoors have been socially and politically constructed as a White space that White people are expected to visit and occupy (Carter, 2008; Martin, 2004). Slavery, Jim Crow laws, violence, lynching, and the racist underpinnings of the American conservation movement have disrupted Black Americans' deep relationship with nature and inflicted numerous challenges for multiple generations of African Americans to gain the knowledge, skills, and cultural dispositions necessary to appreciate and enjoy the natural environment (Byrne & Wolch, 2009; Lee & Scott, 2016). Thus, a substantial amount of historical evidence indicates that White dominance in nature tourism in contemporary America needs to be comprehended as the legacy of historical racial oppression<sup>2</sup>.

### **Avoiding the White-savior industrial complex**

As I debunked the myth of BUPR in the above sections, we must now ponder how to rectify these historical racial injustices and make nature tourism more inclusive and welcoming to African Americans and other racial and ethnic groups. Although many park, travel, and environmental agencies are working hard to accomplish this goal

(Dillette & Benjamin, 2022; Lee et al., 2020; Schultz et al., 2019; Stanfield McCown et al., 2012), I also believe these organizations should more closely examine the problematic framework and phrasing that undergird how they seek to right the injustice. In particular, Anderson et al. (2021) warned that well-intended agency efforts can turn into White-Savior Industrial Complex (WSIC), a three-step phenomenon that maintains White hegemony and paternalism as well as marginalization and othering of people of color (Cole, March 21, 2012). Cole metaphorically explained WSIC as a situation where White people (1) first perpetuate injustice 'in the morning,' (2) heroically aim to fix them 'in the afternoon,' and (3) garner recognition for those efforts 'in the evening.' Anderson et al. illustrated that outdoor recreation organizations' diversity and inclusion initiatives intended to 'fix' the historical injustice in the past (or 'in the morning') are marked by White individuals' 'implied invitation of "others" into "our" spaces and recreation practices' (p. 540) and recognitions of 'individual, rather than organizational, accomplishments' (p. 541). For example, regarding the programs aimed at increasing the number of racial and ethnic minorities in leadership positions by a specific percentage, the authors questioned, 'When these goals are met, who will celebrate? The communities of color they targeted, or their own leadership teams?' (p. 541).

Building upon Anderson et al.'s analysis, I argue that the most pressing task for agencies is cultivating *stronger senses of ownership* in their troubling pasts by making deeper reflection and more explicit acknowledgments. For instance, during the growing awareness of racial injustice and the Black Lives Matter movement in 2020, the National Park Service (NPS) issued the 'Statement from Deputy Director David Vela Regarding Race, Equity, and the Values of the National Park Service' (NPS, 2020). The statement emphasized that the NPS is committed to 'lead change and work against racism' and that the agency is 'entrusted with and spotlight places where our nation has struggled with issues of race, equity, and systemic violence... from the home of Martin Luther King, Jr. in Georgia, to the history of the Buffalo Soldiers at Yosemite and the Presidio in Golden Gate in California, the Frederick Douglass home in Washington DC, Little Rock Central High School in Arkansas, and the path of the marchers from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama.'

While the statement expressed the agency's commitment to racial justice and listed Black historic sites that it manages, what was painfully missing was a sincere apology or acknowledgment that many national parks were founded upon White supremacy and actively engaged in ethnic cleansing against Indigenous people and exclusion of Black Americans (Kantor, 2007; Spence, 1999; Young, 2009). To be fair, the NPS oversees many units rather irrelevant to nature tourism or outdoor recreation (e.g. national historic sites) as indicated in the statement, and there are other nature tourism destinations such as national forests, national wildlife refuges, nature preserves, and state parks. Research has also documented that many individual NPS units are making good-faith efforts to promote racial and ethnic diversity and inclusion (Mott, 2016; Santucci et al., 2014; Schultz et al., 2019). Still, it is disappointing that the statement issued in official terms by the NPS, particularly during the nationwide reckoning of America's systemic and institutional racism in 2020 (Dyson, 2020), largely glossed over the agency's historical discrimination against people of color. Furthermore, given national parks' distinctive reputations as 'America's best idea' (Stegner, 1998) and 'some of the central values and experiences in American culture' (Nash, 1970, p.

726), the statement seemed to miss a rare opportunity to make a broader and profound impact on racial justice in the U.S.

At the very least, it was questionable if the statement obscuring their long-standing history of racial discrimination could help the NPS build strong trust with Black communities. Given the lingering racist and eugenic ideologies deeply embedded in the history of America's nature tourism and conservation movement, it is more than reasonable to expect multiple generations of Black communities to hold strong distrust against public park and tourism agencies. Accordingly, they might perceive that the agencies' efforts to promote racial and ethnic inclusion are disingenuous. After all, White Americans are an increasingly small share of the tax-paying population, and the agencies might simply need African American visitors to ensure their survival. Studies have supported this possibility by documenting that park and recreation agencies often unknowingly participate in racially exclusionary practices, and their diversity and inclusion efforts are often symbolic rather than substantive (Allison, 1999; Allison & Hibbler, 2004). Hence, it is crucial for the agencies to fully embrace their dark past and its lingering negative impact on people of color and to clearly express their strong sense of responsibility in a formal acknowledgment. Otherwise, a question will remain as to whether they are truly committed to or capable of ending the enduring historical racism and diversifying nature tourism.

### **Black leaders, Black history, and Black authenticity**

Finally, even if park and tourism agencies publicly acknowledge their history of Black exclusion, the words become meaningless if corresponding *actions* do not follow. I argue that practitioners and researchers in nature tourism should focus on three specific actions: (1) recruiting more Black environmental leaders, (2) highlighting Black accomplishments in the creation of nature tourism destinations, and (3) promoting authentic Black experiences in nature tourism.

First, increasing the number of African American environmental leaders is essential not only for creating a counter-image to existing White dominance, but also for fostering equitable resource allocation and decision-making in destination management. Research from education and political science (Banducci et al., 2004; Gershenson et al., 2021) also suggest that strengthening African American representation among decision makers of nature tourism is conducive to workforce diversification and African American youth's stewardship in outdoor recreation. One caveat here is that African American environmental leaders should be in positions of power and autonomy, rather than figureheads of White bureaucracy. Historically, many agencies have had a very small number of African American leaders. For example, Robert Stanton has been the only one African American director of the NPS since its inception in 1916 (NPS, n.d.a). Similarly, in 2021, Randy Moore became the first African American chief of the USDA Forest Service since the agency's inception in 1905 (USDA Forest Service, 2021).

Second, Black Americans' significant contributions to nature tourism need to be more widely celebrated and recognized. Even prior to the creation of the NPS in 1916, Buffalo Soldiers—African American cavalry units in the U.S. Army—served in Yosemite, Sequoia, and General Grant (now Kings Canyon) national parks during the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries (Mason, 2019). Buffalo Soldiers were the first park

rangers; they engaged in park development; patrolled for poachers, fires, and stray livestock; and served as tour guides. Their commander was Captain Charles Young, the third African American to graduate from the U.S. Military Academy and the first Black national park superintendent (Mason, 2019). Captain Young and his soldiers arrived in Sequoia National Park in 1903 and helped develop roads and trails in the park (NPS, n.d.b).

Similarly, at Mammoth Cave National Park (MCNP) in Kentucky, African Americans played a crucial role in developing the cave into a major tourism destination. Stephen Bishop, a slave of Franklin Gorin, was a pioneering explorer of Mammoth Cave and drafted one of the most extensive cave maps during the mid-1800s (O'Dell & George, 2018). Masterson 'Mat' Bransford and Nick Bransford, two slaves leased to Gorin, were the first cave guides in the 1800s (NPS, n.d.c). During the early 1920s, Matt Bransford, the grandson of Mat Bransford, and his wife, Zemmie Bransford, turned their home into the Bransford Summer Resort to accommodate Black visitors who could not stay at the Mammoth Cave Hotel and offered them cave tours while keeping the tours secret from White patrons (Algeo, 2013). Jerry Bransford, the great-great-grandson of Mat Bransford, is currently working as a tour guide at the MCNP (Carmichael, 2012; French, 2018). Thus, it is literally impossible to discuss the history of the MCNP without understanding the Bransfords' pioneering work and continuing legacy which has lasted over a century.

African Americans were also integral in the development of many national and state parks. During the Great Depression, more than 200,000 African Americans served in the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), a federal work relief program from the New Deal project (Digital Public Library of America, n.d.). African American corpsmen designed, built, and renovated national and state parks in multiple states (CCC, 1941; Zaragoza, 2010). These pioneering works of African Americans in the American great outdoors are nothing short of extraordinary, yet in my opinion they have received unreasonably limited attention. Researchers should continue their effort to excavate hidden and forgotten Black pioneers in nature tourism, and their stories should be front and center to directly confront with the notion of BUPR.

Finally, I argue that White dominance in nature tourism should be challenged and attenuated by promoting African Americans' authentic experience rather than imposing White European environmental attitudes and behaviors. Empirical findings from various contexts generally agree that outdoor recreation activities of White Americans tend to be individualistic such as seeking solitude, independence, and exploration while those of African Americans and other people of color tend to be more collectivistic in nature and centered on relationship and community building (Gobster, 2002; Le, 2012; Walker et al., 2001; Whiting et al., 2017). The stark difference is understandable given that White Americans' environmental attitudes and behaviors are rooted in transcendentalism and romanticism promoted by White environmentalists during the 1800s (Nash, 1982). Considering this historical backdrop, imposing White Americans' ways of appreciating the great outdoors on African Americans will likely accentuate WSIC in nature tourism. Thus, it is important to conduct more research to better understand African Americans' motivation and preference in nature tourism and how park and tourism agencies can satisfy them. The bottom line is that, if the agencies are truly committed to correct the historical injustice committed against Black Americans, they need to invest much more effort to understand and promote African



Americans' authentic experience in America's great outdoors, the place that many Black pioneers have built and managed.

## Conclusion

This paper interrogates the notion of BUPR, which has been perpetuated by WRF and the racist history of the U.S. conservation movement. Given the centuries of systemic and institutional racism in the great outdoors, promoting greater access to natural environments for African American is essentially a social justice and humanitarianism issue. I have asserted that developing stronger sense of ownership in their own incriminating history of Black exclusion is crucial for public park and tourism agencies to build firm trust with African American communities and reject the problematizing and pathologizing of African American leisure behavior. Moreover, it is critical to increase the number of African American environmental leaders, highlight Black history in nature tourism, and promote African Americans' authentic experiences to dispel the common stereotype that nature tourism is a White domain. In doing so, a stronger foundation for greater racial and ethnic justice in America's nature tourism can be established.

## Notes

1. A notable exception is a study from Taylor et al. (2011). By analyzing two nationwide survey data collected in 2000 and 2008-9, the authors concluded that non-Hispanic Whites were "over-represented" among the visitors of National Park Service units in both survey years (p. 10).
2. While this article focuses on the case of Black Americans and racial issues for the special issue, it is worth noting that the early nature tourism activities in the U.S. as well as the American conservation movement during the 19th century, which gave rise to many nature tourism destinations such as national parks and forests, intersect with elitist, classist, and sexist tendencies of wealthy and influential White conservation leaders. For more information, please see Jacoby (2014), Powell (2016), and Taylor (2016).

## Acknowledgments

The author would like to thank Dr. Myron Floyd for his insightful comments on the earlier draft of this manuscript and three anonymous reviewers for their constructive feedback.

## Disclosure statement

The authors have no affiliation with any organization with a direct or indirect financial interest in the subject matter discussed in the manuscript.

## Notes on contributor

*Dr. KangJae "Jerry" Lee* is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Parks, Recreation, and Tourism Management at North Carolina State University. His research interests include 1) social and environmental justice issues in public park, outdoor recreation, and tourism and 2) the relationship between leisure and subjective well-being.

## ORCID

KangJae Jerry Lee  <http://orcid.org/0000-0002-5327-3235>

## References

- Alderman, D. H., Williams, K., & Bottone, E. (2019). Jim Crow journey stories: African American driving as emotional labor. *Tourism Geographies*, 24(2-3), 1–25.
- Algeo, K. (2013). Underground tourists/tourists underground: African American tourism to Mammoth Cave. *Tourism Geographies: An International Journal of Tourism Space, Place and Environment*, 15(3), 380–404.
- Allison, M. T. (1999). Organizational barriers to diversity in the workplace. *Journal of Leisure Research*, 31(1), 78–101.
- Allison, M. T., & Hibbler, D. K. (2004). Organizational barriers to inclusion: Perspectives from the recreation professional. *Leisure Sciences*, 26(3), 261–280.
- Anderson, K. R., Knee, E., & Mowatt, R. (2021). Leisure and the “White-savior industrial complex.” *Journal of Leisure Research*, 52(5), 531–550.
- Armstead, M. B. Y. (2005). Revisiting hotels and other lodgings: American tourist spaces through the lens of Black pleasure-travelers, 1880–1950. *The Journal of Decorative and Propaganda Arts*, 25, 136–151.
- Audience Research Inc. (1955). *A survey of the public concerning national parks*. Government report. Department of the Interior, National Park Service.
- Banducci, S. A., Donovan, T., & Karp, J. A. (2004). Minority representation, empowerment, and participation. *The Journal of Politics*, 66(2), 534–556. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2508.2004.00163.x>
- Benjamin, S., & Dillette, A. K. (2021). Black travel movement: Systemic racism informing tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 88. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2021.103169>
- Blassingame, J. W. (1979). *The slave community*. Oxford University Press.
- Blum, E. D. (2002). Power, danger, and control: Slave women’s perceptions of wilderness in the nineteenth century. *Women’s Studies*, 31(2), 247–265. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00497870212952>
- Buckley, R. (2020). Nature tourism and mental health: Parks, happiness, and causation. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 28(9), 1409–1424. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09669582.2020.1742725>
- Byrne, J., & Wolch, J. (2009). Nature, race, and parks: Past research and future directions for geographic research. *Progress in Human Geography*, 33, 743–765. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0309132509103156>
- Carmichael, A. (2012 March, 16). Guide has family history link to park. *The Daily News*. [https://www.bgdailynews.com/news/guide-has-family-history-link-to-park/article\\_6c46fc56-7351-5f61-9a0f-a7935b9acb19.html](https://www.bgdailynews.com/news/guide-has-family-history-link-to-park/article_6c46fc56-7351-5f61-9a0f-a7935b9acb19.html).
- Carr, D. S., & Williams, D. R. (1993). Understanding the role of ethnicity in outdoor recreation experiences. *Journal of Leisure Research*, 25, 22–38. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00222216.1993.11969907>
- Carter, P. L. (2008). Coloured places and pigmented holidays: Racialized leisure travel. *Tourism Geographies*, 10(3), 265–284. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14616680802236287>
- Civilian Conservation Corps. (1941). What the *civilian conservation corps* (CCC) is doing for colored youth. *The CCC and colored youth*. United States Government Printing Offices.
- Davis, J. (2019). Black faces, black spaces: Rethinking African American underrepresentation in wildland spaces and outdoor recreation. *Environment and Planning E: Nature and Space*, 2(1), 89–109. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2514848618817480>
- Digital Public Library of America. (n.d.). Roosevelt’s tree army: The civilian conservation corps: Camps for African Americans and native americans. <https://dp.la/exhibitions/civilian-conservation-corps>.
- Dillette, A., & Benjamin, S. (2022). The Black travel movement: A catalyst for social change. *Journal of Travel Research*, 61(3), 463–476.
- Dyer, T. G. (1992). *Theodore Roosevelt and the idea of race*. LSU Press.

- Dyson, M. E. (2020). *Long time coming: Reckoning with race in America*. St. Martin's Press.
- Feagin, J. R. (2013). *The White racial frame: Centuries of racial framing and counter-framing*. Routledge.
- French, J. (2018, February 18). Mammoth Cave guide works to fund memorial for ancestors. *AP News*. <https://apnews.com/article/dddc78e58f344d5ea0378002a19c7c42>.
- Finney, C. (2014). *Black faces, White spaces*. The University of North Carolina Press.
- Floyd, M. F., & Johnson, C. Y. (2002). Coming to terms with environmental justice in outdoor recreation: A conceptual discussion with research implications. *Leisure Sciences*, 24(1), 59–77. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01490400252772836>
- Floyd, M. F., & Mowatt, R. A. (2014). Leisure among African Americans. In M. Stodolska, K. Shinew, M. Floyd, & G. Walker (Eds.), *Race, ethnicity, and leisure* (pp. 53–74). Human Kinetics.
- Floyd, M. F., & Stodolska, M. (2014). Theoretical frameworks in leisure research on race and ethnicity. In M. Stodolska, K. J. Shinew, M. Floyd, & G. Walker (Eds.), *Race, ethnicity, and leisure* (pp. 9–20). Human Kinetics Publishers Inc.
- Gershenson, S., Hansen, M., & Lindsay, C. A. (2021). *Teacher diversity and student success: Why racial representation matters in the classroom*. Harvard Education Press.
- Gerstle, G. (1999). Theodore Roosevelt and the divided character of American nationalism. *The Journal of American History*, 86(3), 1280–1307.
- Giltner, S. E. (2008). *Hunting and fishing in the new South: Black labor and white leisure after the Civil War*. Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Glave, D. D. (2010). *Rooted in the earth: Reclaiming the African American environmental heritage*. Lawrence Hill Books.
- Glasrud, B. A., & Searles, M. N. (Eds.). (2016). *Black cowboys in the American West*. University of Oklahoma Press.
- Gooster, P. H. (2002). Managing urban parks for a racially and ethnically diverse clientele. *Leisure Sciences*, 24(143), 143–159.
- Hart, J. F. (1960). A rural retreat for northern Negroes. *Geographical Review*, 50(2), 147–168.
- Jacoby, K. (2014). *Crimes against nature: Squatters, poachers, thieves, and the hidden history of American conservation*. University of California Press.
- Kantor, I. (2007). Ethnic cleansing and America's creation of national parks. *Public Land & Resources Law Review*, 28, 41–64.
- Le, L. (2012). Hispanic and White visitors in U.S. National Parks: Meta-analysis of visitor use survey. *Journal of Park and Recreation Administration*, 30(4), 1–20.
- Lee, K. J., & Scott, D. (2016). Bourdieu and African Americans' park visitation: The case of cedar hill state park in Texas. *Leisure Sciences*, 38(5), 424–440.
- Lee, K. J., & Scott, D. (2017). Racial discrimination and African Americans' travel behavior: The utility of habitus and vignette technique. *Journal of Travel Research*, 56, 381–392.
- Lee, K. J., Casper, J., & Floyd, M. (2020). Racial and ethnic diversity and inclusion effort of public park and recreation agencies. *Journal of Park and Recreation Administration*, 38(1), 88–105.
- Lee, K. J., Fernandez, M., Scott, D., & Floyd, M. M. (2022). Slow violence in public parks in the U.S.: Can we escape our troubling past? *Social & Cultural Geography*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14649365.2022.2028182>
- Lockley, T. J. (2009). *Maroon communities in South Carolina: A documentary record*. University of South Carolina Press.
- Martin, D. C. (2004). Apartheid in the great outdoors: American advertising and the reproduction of a racialized outdoor leisure identity. *Journal of Leisure Research*, 36(4), 513–535.
- Mason, K. S. (2019). Buffalo Soldiers as guardians of the parks: African-American troops in the California national parks in the early twentieth century. *The Historian*, 81(1), 84–98.
- Merchant, C. (2003). Shades of darkness: Race and environmental history. *Environmental History*, 8(3), 380–394.
- McKay, R. B. (1954). Segregation and public recreation. *Virginia Law Review*, 40(6), 697–731.
- Miles, M. P., Ritzel, F. H., Cordell, H. K., & McDonald, B. (1994). African American participation in wildland outdoor recreation. *Journal of Nonprofit & Public Sector Marketing*, 2(4), 63–77.

- Mott, E. (2016). Mind the gap: How to promote racial diversity among National Park visitors. *Vermont Journal of Environmental Law*, 17(3), 443–469.
- Mowatt, R. A. (2020). A people's history of leisure studies: The great race and the national parks and US forests. *Journal of Park and Recreation Administration*, 38(3), 152–172.
- Mueller, E., & Gurin, G. (1962). *Participation in outdoor recreation: Factors affecting demand among American adults: Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission study report* (p. 20). US Government Printing Office.
- Nash, R. (1970). The American invention of national parks. *American Quarterly*, 22(3), 726–735.
- Nash, R. (1982). *Wilderness and the American mind*. Yale University Press.
- National Park Service. (2020, June 9). *Statement from Deputy Director David Vela regarding race, equity, and the values of the National Park Service*. <https://www.nps.gov/orgs/1207/06-09-20-david-vela-statement.htm>.
- National Park Service. (n.d.a). *Past Directors of the National Park Service*. <https://www.nps.gov/aboutus/nps-directors.htm>.
- National Park Service. (n.d.b). *Colonel Charles Young*. <https://www.nps.gov/chyo/learn/historyculture/colonel-charles-young.htm>.
- National Park Service. (n.d.c). *Black History at Mammoth Cave*. <https://www.nps.gov/mac/learn/historyculture/black-history.htm>.
- O'Brien, W. E. (2015). *Landscapes of exclusion: State parks and Jim Crow in the American South*. University of Massachusetts Press.
- O'Dell, G. A., & George, A. I. (2018). The celebrated Black explorer Stephen Bishop and Mammoth Cave: Observations by an English journalist in 1853. *National Speleological Society*, 76(9), 4–18.
- Outka, P. (2008). *Race and nature from transcendentalism to the Harlem renaissance*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Powell, M. A. (2016). *Vanishing America: Species extinction, racial peril, and the origins of conservation*. Harvard University Press.
- Price, R. (1996). *Maroon societies: Rebel slave communities in the Americas*. Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Resource Systems Group (RSG) & Wyoming Survey and Analysis Center (WYSAC). (2019). National Park Service comprehensive survey of the American public: 2018 – racial and ethnic diversity of National Park System visitors and non-visitors. Natural Resource Report NPS/NRSS/EQD/NRR—2019/2042. National Park Service, Fort Collins.
- Santucci, D. C., Floyd, M. F., Bocarro, J. N., & Henderson, K. A. (2014). Visitor services staff perceptions of strategies to encourage diversity at two urban national parks. *Journal of Park & Recreation Administration*, 32(3), 15–28.
- Schultz, C. L., Bocarro, J. N., Lee, K. J., Sene-Harper, A., Fearn, M., & Floyd, M. (2019). Whose National Park Service? An examination of relevancy, diversity, and inclusion programs from 2005–2016. *Journal of Park and Recreation Administration*, 37(4), 51–69.
- Scott, D., & Lee, K. J. J. (2018). People of color and their constraints to national parks visitation. *George Wright Forum*, 35(1), 73–82.
- Sene-Harper, A., Mowatt, R. A., & Floyd, M. F. (2022). A people's future of leisure studies: Political cultural Black outdoors experiences. *Journal of Park and Recreation Administration*, 40(1), 9–23.
- Sinkler, G. (1971). *The racial attitudes of American presidents*. Doubleday.
- Spence, M. D. (1999). *Dispossessing the wilderness: Indian removal and the making of the national parks*. Oxford University Press.
- Stanfield McCown, R., Laven, D., Manning, R., & Mitchell, N. (2012). Engaging new and diverse audiences in the national parks: An exploratory study of current knowledge and learning needs. *The George Wright Forum*, 29(2), 272–284.
- Starkey, M. (2005). *Wilderness, race, and African Americans: An environmental history from Slavery to Jim Crow* [Master thesis]. University of California.
- Stegner, W. (1998). *Marking the sparrow's fall: The making of the American West*. Holt.
- Taylor, D. E. (2016). *The rise of the American conservation movement: Power, privilege, and environmental protection*. Duke University Press.

- Taylor, P. A., Grandjean, B. D., & Gramann, J. H. (2011). *National park service comprehensive survey of the American public, 2008–2009: Racial and ethnic diversity of national park system visitors and non-visitors*. Fort Collins, CO: U.S. Department of the Interior National Park Service Science.
- Texas Parks and Wildlife Department. (2004). *Segregated recreation: Discrimination in the Texas State Parks*. Texas Parks and Wildlife Department.
- Theriault, D., & Mowatt, R. A. (2020). Both sides now: Transgression and oppression in African Americans' historical relationships with nature. *Leisure Sciences*, 42(1), 15–31.
- USDA Forest Service. (2019). USDA Forest Service national visitor use monitoring survey results: National summary report. Washington D.C.: US Forest Service. <https://www.fs.usda.gov/sites/default/files/2019-National-Visitor-Use-Monitoring-Summary-Report.pdf>.
- USDA Forest Service. (2021, June 28). Secretary Tom Vilsack announces the 20th Chief of the Forest Service. <https://www.fs.usda.gov/inside-fs/leadership/secretary-tom-vilsack-announce-s-20th-chief-forest-service>.
- Walker, G. J., Deng, J., & Dieser, R. B. (2001). Ethnicity, acculturation, self-construal, and motivations for outdoor recreation. *Leisure Sciences*, 23(4), 263–283.
- Washburne, R. F. (1978). Black under-participation in wildland recreation: Alternative explanations. *Leisure Sciences*, 1, 175–189.
- Waye, A. (2005). An environmental justice perspective on African-American Visitation to Grand Canyon and Yosemite National Parks. *West-Northwest Journal of Environmental Law & Policy*, 11(2), 125–142.
- Whiting, J. W., Larson, L. R., Green, G. T., & Kralowec, C. (2017). Outdoor recreation motivation and site preferences across diverse racial/ethnic groups: A case study of Georgia state parks. *Journal of Outdoor Recreation and Tourism*, 18, 10–21.
- Wolcott, V. W. (2012). *Race, riots, and roller coasters: The struggle over segregated recreation in America*. University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Young, T. (2009). 'A contradiction in democratic government': WJ Trent, Jr., and the struggle to desegregate national park campgrounds. *Environmental History*, 14(4), 651–682.
- Zaragoza, S. M. (Spring/Fall, 2010). The 3760: An African-American CCC company. *Forest History Today*, 20–26. [https://foresthistory.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/12/2010\\_Zaragoza\\_the-3760.pdf](https://foresthistory.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/12/2010_Zaragoza_the-3760.pdf)