

## **Apartheid in the Great Outdoors: American Advertising and the Reproduction of a Racialized Outdoor Leisure Identity**

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This article provides evidence of a racialized outdoor leisure identity perpetuated in magazine advertisements. The evidence is based on a content analysis of 4000+ advertisements from three magazines (*Time*, *Outside*, and *Ebony*) published between 1984-2000. Advertisements taking place in the Great Outdoors or featuring models participating in wilderness leisure activities rarely include Black models, while advertisements featuring White models regularly make use of Great Outdoors settings and activities. That Black models are confined to urban and suburban environments (within the pages of magazine advertisements), while Whites have exclusive domain over the Great Outdoors, potentially has consequences for how Blacks and Whites perceive wilderness recreation and wilderness spaces.

**KEYWORDS:** *Outdoor Recreation, racial differences, leisure identity, content analysis, magazine advertisements.*

There is often a stark contrast in the leisure activities of White and Black Americans. An example of such leisure differences can be seen in their relative rates of participation in wildland recreation activities such as hiking and camping, and in differences in their rates of visitation to U.S. national parks. According to recent statistics, 34% of Whites hiked in the past year compared to just 11% of Blacks (Cordell, Betz, & Green, 2002), and 35% of Whites reported visiting a national park within the past two years compared with just 14% of Blacks (National Park Service, 2001). Past research has typically sought to explain leisure differences between Blacks and Whites either by pointing to a history of economic disparity, or by presuming sub-cultural differences in recreation tastes between the two groups (Floyd, 1998; Johnson, Bowker, English, & Worthan, 1998). More recent research into the development of racial differences in leisure behavior has examined the influence of such factors as differential socialization, ethnic/racial identities, and fear of discrimination (Bixler, Floyd, & Hammitt, 2002; Carr & Williams, 1993; Feagin, 1991; Taylor, 1993; Williams, 2002). Differences in leisure par-

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This research was supported by the Canon National Park Science Scholars Fellowship Program. I thank Judith Stepan-Norris, Philip Cohen, Matt Huffman and anonymous reviewers for providing comments and suggestions. Readers interested in viewing selected advertisements compiled during the preparation of this paper are invited to email the author.

ticipation rates are undoubtedly a complex issue, and the explanations listed above have each provided greater understanding. In this article, however, I advocate for an additional explanation that I believe has been under-valued. I seek evidence for the position that there exists a stereotyped leisure identity that is associated with wildland leisure activities that results in fewer Black Americans participating in outdoor recreation.

Wildland recreation enthusiasts are generally viewed as young, rugged, and adventurous, and I contend that they are almost exclusively perceived as being White. This socially constructed conception of participants in wildland recreation is what I refer to as a *racialized outdoor leisure identity*. This outdoor leisure identity may be unappealing to some segments of the population, particularly those who value a more cosmopolitan or sophisticated identity, and it may be mutually exclusive from the self-image of many urban Blacks. Thus, the existence of a racialized outdoor leisure identity may deter socialization favoring participation in wildland recreation. This may help explain the low levels of participation in outdoor recreation by Black Americans and contribute to their low utilization of U.S. national parks. In this paper I review the literature on racial differences in leisure participation and the representation of Blacks in the media, and then I present the results of a content analysis of magazine advertisements in which a racialized outdoor leisure identity is shown to exist. The paper concludes with a discussion of how this may influence participation rates in wildland recreation.

### Theoretical Background

When leisure researchers speak of outdoor recreation, they ordinarily use the term in a restrictive sense (Kelly, 1993). Outdoor recreation is not simply all leisure activities that take place out of doors (e.g., football, softball, or golf), but instead is synonymous with wildland or wilderness recreation (in this paper I use all three terms interchangeably). Wildland recreation refers to activities that usually take place in space socially constructed as the *Great Outdoors* (more on this below), such as hiking, camping, and white-water rafting. Research over the past 30 years shows that Blacks are less likely than Whites to participate in outdoor recreation activities, and they are less likely to visit national parks (Cheek, Field, & Burdge, 1976; Clifford, 1994; Dwyer & Hutchison, 1990; Mueller & Gurin, 1962; Washburne, 1978). In the early 1980s, a study reported that 58% of Whites had visited a national park, compared to 17% of Blacks (National Park Service, 1986). More recently, a 1991 study of attendance at Yosemite National Park found that over 80% of visitors were White, with Blacks accounting for less than 3% (Clifford, 1994), and a 1992 study of attendance at Grand Canyon National Park showed that Blacks accounted for merely 1.5% of visitors arriving by car, and 2.0% of visitors arriving by bus (Goldsmith, 1994).

Studies of racial difference in leisure behavior began in earnest in the 1970s and have continued in the ensuing decades (Bultena & Field, 1978; Carr & Williams, 1993; Craig, 1972; Dwyer & Hutchison, 1990; Floyd, Shinew,

McGuire, & Noe, 1994; Washburne, 1978). Much of this research has been informed by two broad theoretical perspectives: the marginality perspective, and the ethnicity (or subculture) perspective. The marginality perspective grew out of socioeconomic explanations for leisure differences. Its proponents point to the larger discretionary income among the dominant group (Whites), and their greater access to recreational facilities and other public goods, as having led to a broad range of leisure activities. Conversely, racial and ethnic minorities historically have been denied the opportunities mentioned above by both overt and institutional racism, and as a consequence developed a separate and more limited set of leisure activities (Floyd et al., 1994; Washburne, 1978; West, 1989). In contrast to the marginality perspective, the ethnicity perspective offers a cultural explanation for intergroup differences. It states that an identifiable set of Black leisure activities results from a distinctive Black subculture. In other words, Black Americans have a set of values and attitudes towards leisure behavior that are different from that of the majority of (White) Americans, and those subcultural values result in alternative leisure choices (Floyd et al., 1994; Washburne, 1978; West, 1989).

Although the marginality and/or the ethnicity perspectives have both received empirical support, they typically explain only a small amount of the variance (Bultena & Field, 1978; Christensen & Yoesting, 1973; Kelly & Godbey, 1992; White, 1975), and neither perspective, as they have been traditionally conceptualized, is adequate for explaining the complexities of racial differences in leisure participation. As a consequence, researchers have called for the field to move beyond the two perspectives and employ more multi-faceted explanations to anchor their research (Allison, 2000; Philipp, 2000). One promising avenue is research in the area of leisure socialization. Such studies still examine traditional socioeconomic status variables, but they also incorporate concepts like ethnic and leisure identities (Carr & Williams, 1993; Pfister, 1993; Taylor, 1993; Williams, 2002) and the sociocultural meaning of wildland spaces (Johnson, Horan, & Pepper, 1997; Lee, 1972; Virden & Walker, 1999). (For an in-depth critique of both marginality and ethnicity, and a more thorough review of alternative explanations, see Floyd, 1998.)

### *Leisure Socialization*

Leisure activities are essentially learned behavior (Kleiber & Kelly, 1980). Norms, values, beliefs and attitudes are learned from parents, teachers, friends and classmates, at home, at school and at church, and the techniques and rules for games, hobbies, and other pastimes are learned in the same way. In addition to the various rules and techniques needed for participation in particular leisure activities, subjective aspects of leisure must also be learned: attitudes toward a particular leisure activity (whether the activity is an acceptable way to spend leisure time), and an aesthetic appreciation of the activity (whether the activity is enjoyable). These attitudes can vary from one ethnic group to another. Kelly (1989) states

Leisure is ethnic. That is, it is behavior learned in particular cultures and sub-cultures. It is interpreted in the symbols and language forms of a culture . . . It is integrated into the full fabric of life, of all that we are and seek to become (p. 105).

An important influence on leisure behavior is the personal groups to which we belong. "Leisure socialization is a social process that takes place in the context of institutional roles, but is most directly developed in interaction with our immediate communities of family and friends" (Kelly, 1983). Individuals may belong to many different social groups (family, friendship groups, co-workers, etc.), and these groups collectively make up a *personal community* (Burch, 1969). People in an individual's personal community expose that individual to a menu of potential leisure activities. Additionally, the people in one's personal community display a variety of attitudes, norms, and values, about those activities, as well as about leisure in general. Repeated and prolonged exposure to attitudes and values concerning a leisure activity, stemming from role models, helps to shape attitudes and values regarding that activity.

Another component to understanding leisure behavior is the study of leisure identities. Leisure activities are often imbued with specific and widely-shared expectations about the types of people who engage in them. In this context, identity is viewed as an individualized interpretation or enactment of those expectations. The image of a polo player or a yachtsman is quite different from that of a bowler or horseshoe player, which is quite different still from that of a skydiver or in-line skater. Many activities, and the images that accompany them, are associated with particular racial, ethnic, or social class groups (Donnelly & Young, 1988; Haggard & Williams, 1992; Marx, 1994; Taylor, 1993). Individuals can modify or personalize a leisure identity, to some extent, but they must do so within a bounded framework to be considered authentic and to guarantee acceptance by other leisure participants.

#### *Sociocultural Meaning of Wildland Places*

Much also can be learned about leisure behavior through an understanding of the social definition of places. Just as leisure activities can have particular identities, so too can places have identities. Geographers distinguish between space (mere location) and place; space becomes place only after meaning is attached to it (Williams & Carr, 1993). Research has shown that public places can develop socially constructed definitions about the types of activities that are appropriate for particular locales, and concerning the types of people who are welcome there (Day, 1999; Greider & Garkovich, 1994; Lee, 1972; Lofland, 1973; Madge, 1997; Samdahl, 1988; Williams & Carr, 1993). This is certainly the case with wildland places, or the *Great Outdoors*.

In this article, I purposely use the term Great Outdoors because it represents an idealized view of wilderness and nature. The Great Outdoors does

not refer to any specific named place or set of places found on a map, instead it is a socially constructed notion of a type of place characterized by a sense of isolation and remoteness found in areas that typically are far removed from the urban environment. The term evokes images of undeveloped and unspoiled wilderness that have not been altered at all, or, at most, has been changed only minimally by human intervention. Accompanying this socially constructed conception is the notion that such pristine places have a universal allure and are a cherished part of U.S. history (Roosevelt, 1998).

It has been argued, however, that this view of wilderness is Eurocentric and that the Great Outdoors does not have the same appeal for Blacks and other minorities that it has for Whites. In fact, for both Blacks and Native Americans, wilderness places may be tied more to the history of domination, enslavement, and lynching at the hands of Whites than to any romanticized ideal about getting back to nature (Cronon, 1996; Di Chiro, 1996; Johnson, 1998; Meeker, 1973; Taylor, 2000). Several studies have focused on preferences for different recreation settings and the findings show, fairly consistently, that Whites respond more favorably to densely wooded areas with fewer facilities, while Blacks prefer natural environments that are more open and maintained with more structures and amenities (Kaplan & Talbot, 1988; Philipp, 1993; Virden & Walker, 1999). Other studies have reported racial differences for future park development and programming with Blacks preferring areas designated for sports and other organized activities and Whites opting for more natural settings and nature based activities (Payne, Mowen, & Orsega-Smith, 2002).

The meanings entangled in the value-laden expression, the *Great Outdoors*, are also evident in the outdoor leisure identity. The outdoor leisure identity is a stereotyped composite of who visits wildland areas, and by extension, who belongs there. The stereotype combines Henry David Thoreau's transcendentalist view of wilderness as *Eden* with Theodore Roosevelt's view of wilderness as a proving ground for masculinity. Both basic archetypes (the environmental conservationist and the rugged frontier individualist) hold valued currency in the cultural capital of U.S. society (Henberg, 1998). However, a distinction must be made between dominant cultural capital, which is relevant principally to the dominant group (Whites), and non-dominant cultural capital which pertains only to specific racial and ethnic minorities (Carter, 2003; Clay, 2003). The myths and legends surrounding wilderness areas appeal primarily to Whites (Callicott, 1998; Henberg, 1998; Johnson, 1998; Meeker, 1973), and there is a developing area of scholarship where alternative discourse concerning wilderness is viewed as an effort by racial and ethnic minority groups to challenge and resist the dominant conception of the Great Outdoors (Di Chiro, 1996; Floyd & Johnson, 2002; Taylor, 2000).

Leisure socialization, then, encompasses all these aspects: learned behaviors and techniques, aesthetic appreciation for different activities, and leisure identities. It is through these processes that a racialized outdoor leisure identity has developed. Outdoor recreation participants frequently display a narrow and distinctive leisure identity, and consequently, the Great

Outdoors is often conceptualized in a limited respect regarding the type of people who belong there. Hikers, backpackers, and the like are viewed as rugged, health conscious individuals with an intense, almost reverent bond with nature. Most of all though, I contend that outdoor enthusiasts are seen as White and the Great Outdoors is seen as White space.

### *Media Images*

The mass media is one of the primary means by which images and stereotypes are disseminated and perpetuated, and the engine that drives the media is money (in the form of advertising). Although advertisers are not constrained by reality, it is clear that advertising reflects and builds upon images and themes found in the society at large. At the same time, advertising influences how viewers of those images perceive the world around them. Therefore, we would expect a racialized outdoor identity, if in fact one does exist, to be reproduced in magazine advertisements. The importance of the socializing influence of advertising has been well documented in the literature. The average American is exposed to over 1500 advertisements a day (Kilborne, 1987), and the effects of the images presented in ads can be far-reaching (Bristor, Lee, & Hunt, 1995; Fuller, 2001; Kern-Foxworth, 1994). Advertising images have been blamed for many things from the stability of gender role stereotypes (Wernick, 1991), to the rise in the number of people with eating disorders and the increasing number of persons who opt for cosmetic surgery (Wolf, 1992), and violence against women (Kilborne, 1987). Advertisements can also be an important aspect of identity formation. Marilyn Kern-Foxworth, in her 1994 book *Aunt Jemima, Uncle Ben, and Rastus: Blacks in Advertising, Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow*, states:

Advertising has mushroomed into an over 146 billion dollar industry, which equates to approximately 584 dollars spent annually to advertise to each man, woman, and child in America. It is an institution wielding a lot of influence and tremendously impacts every facet of our daily lives. Subconsciously, and sometimes consciously, advertising messages are major factors in formulating images of black Americans (p. xi-xii).

### *Images of Blacks in Advertisements*

Studies have shown that Blacks historically have been underrepresented in magazine advertisements (Kern-Foxworth, 1992, 1994; O'Barr, 1994; Ohmann, 1996), they have been shown most often in subordinate positions with respect to Whites (Bowen & Schmid, 1997; Jacoby & Hoyer, 1987), and they tend to have light skin tones and "White" facial features (Keenan, 1996). Other research suggests, though, that such representational inequality occurred primarily in the past and that currently, Blacks are better off in the pages of magazine advertisements than they are in the outside world (Bowen & Schmid, 1997; Fuller, 2001; Humphrey & Schuman, 1984). As far as numerical representation goes, that may be the case: the percentage of advertisements in *Time* magazine that include Black models increased from 1.3%

in the early 1950s, to 3.14% in the mid-1960s, to 11.4% in the early 1980s, to 14.9% in the early 1990s (Bowen & Schmid, 1997; Cox, 1969; Humphrey & Schuman, 1984). However, Black models still are infrequently depicted in occupations that require high levels of educational attainment; Whites are twice as likely as Blacks to be depicted as business professionals while Blacks are three times more likely than Whites to be portrayed as athletes (Licata & Biswas, 1993). Although research on advertising has examined racial differences in numerical representation, occupational status, and societal roles, I found no studies that examined differences in the geographical settings that models occupy. If Black models are disproportionately absent from wilderness settings, then that would indicate a previously unreported form of racial imbalance in magazine advertising.

### *Hypotheses*

The hypotheses are fairly simple and straightforward, each addressing aspects of the racialized outdoor leisure identity, its visual representation, and the social definition of the Great Outdoors.

- H<sub>1</sub>: For each magazine, the percentage of White Models depicted in the Great Outdoors will be higher than the percentage of Black models depicted in the Great Outdoors.

The degree to which this hypothesis holds true may vary among the three magazines, but the basic relationship should be evident in all of them. This supports the notion that there is an underlying belief regarding the type of person who belongs in wilderness areas (Whites), and the type of person who does not belong there (Blacks).

- H<sub>2</sub>: For each magazine, the percentage of White models shown engaging in outdoor leisure activities will be higher than the percentage of Black models similarly depicted.

While similar to the first hypothesis, this hypothesis supports the notion that there are certain leisure activities that are seen as more normative for Whites than for Blacks.

- H<sub>3</sub>: The percentage of advertisements classified as outdoor ads will be highest in *Outside*, followed by *Time*, and then *Ebony*.

If it is true that the outdoor identity is less attractive to Blacks than to Whites, because *Ebony* is targeted primarily to Blacks, advertisers in *Ebony* are unlikely to use wilderness settings or models that display an outdoor image to sell their products. Conversely, because *Time* is aimed at mainstream (mostly White) America, advertisers are more likely to make use of wildland settings and to feature models that carry an outdoor image in an effort to sell their products. Finally, because *Outside* is targeted to outdoor enthusiasts, advertisers in the magazine are the most likely to make use of the wilderness settings and the outdoor image to sell their products.

## Method

To find evidence of a racialized outdoor leisure identity, I performed a content analysis of magazine advertisements in which I recorded the geographical settings occupied by Black and White models, as well as the activities in which they participated and the image they conveyed. To ensure a wide variety of print advertising, I analyzed three different magazines that are targeted to reach three different, though non-mutually exclusive, audiences. First, I examined *Time*, a mainstream newsmagazine with a very high circulation, to see what images are presented by advertisers to the general society at large. Secondly, I examined *Ebony*, a magazine marketed primarily to Blacks, to determine the images to which Black Americans are exposed. Lastly, I examined *Outside*, a magazine marketed specifically to outdoor recreation participants, to learn what images are being presented to outdoor enthusiasts. *Time* and *Ebony* are both among the largest selling magazines in their respective classifications, and each has been used in content analyses by other researchers (Bowen & Schmid, 1997; Cox, 1969; Feasley & Stuart, 1987; Humphrey & Schuman, 1984; Shuey, 1953). *Outside* is a niche magazine, and while it has a smaller readership, it is the principal magazine devoted specifically to outdoor recreation. Comparisons among the three magazines regarding several factors (i.e., circulation, number of pages, date founded, etc.) can be found in Table 1.

TABLE 1  
*Characteristics of Magazines Selected for Content Analysis*

Characteristics	Magazine		
	<i>Ebony</i>	<i>Outside</i>	<i>Time</i>
Circulation	2,000,000	500,000	4,000,000
Founded	1945	1976	1923
Number of pages/issue	149	149	95 <sup>a</sup>
Percentage of black models	92.3%	4.8%	9.0%
Percentage of female models	59.6%	28.8%	35.5%
Percentage of adults	89.4%	96.1%	87.0%
Percentage of models coded "race other"	0.6%	1.0%	1.8%
Percentage of models coded "race indeterminate"	0.8%	5.3%	2.1%
Percentage of ad pages	40.2%	35.5%	29.2%
Percentage of ad pages that are populated	70.5%	52.2%	37.1%
Personal care products as a percentage of ad pages	31.1%	<1%	<1%
Clothing ads as a percentage of ad pages <sup>b</sup>	0.8%	29.9%	1.4%
Automobile ads as a percentage of ad pages	12.6%	19.1%	30.8%
Beer and liquor ads as a percentage of ad pages	6.5%	5.4%	3.5%
Cigarette ads as a percentage of ad pages	8.1%	1.2%	4.8%

<sup>a</sup>*Time* is published weekly, the other two magazines are published monthly.

<sup>b</sup>Advertisements for hiking boots are not counted as "clothing ads", although other types of footwear are included.



My study spans the years 1985 to 2000. Besides the obvious advantage of being contemporary, the chosen time period also has other benefits. The advances of the Civil Rights Movement led to a decrease in the socioeconomic differences between Blacks and Whites in several important areas as evidenced by the emergence of an expanded Black middle class (Allen & Farley, 1986; Landry, 1987). Larger disposable incomes and enhanced purchasing power for Blacks, in combination with refinements in the targeted marketing strategies employed by advertisers, should provide for a greater variety of media images of Blacks than in previous decades. There was also an increase in the overall popularity of outdoor recreation activities during this time period. The combination of these factors makes the late 1980s and the 1990s an ideal era for this study.

I decided to analyze two issues, six months apart, from each year over the study period, and I wanted to examine what I considered to be standard editions (i.e., no seasonal, holiday, or special year-ending issues). With that in mind, I selected the March and September issues, and there is no reason to suspect that the results of the study would be substantially different had I chosen otherwise. In the case of *Time*, which is published weekly, I chose to examine the second issue of each applicable month. I coded all ads within those issues, and the unit of measurement, or the recording unit, was an *ad page*: defined simply as any page of the magazine that contains advertising. Because, however, I am interested in the individual identities of the characters depicted in the ads, I also made a separate record for each person appearing in the ad, up to four people per ad, beginning with the most prominent person. Whenever I am comparing the magazines to one another as a whole, I use ad pages as the unit of analysis, where each ad page counts only once regardless of the number of people who appear in the ad. Whenever I am comparing the people who appear in the magazines, I use individual people as the unit of analysis, where each person counts once regardless of in which ad they may appear.

In order to prevent measurement problems resulting from discrepancies in the size of the advertisements, only full page or multi-page ads were included in the sample. Multi-page, or *multi-spread* ads, were counted and analyzed once for each page in the ad spread. Inserts (e.g., record or book clubs ads, etc.) were not included in the sample and were not counted to determine the number of ads per issue. Feasley and Stuart (1987) differentiate between *type-specimen* ads and *copy-heavy* ads, the former consisting of text with no illustrations, and the latter consisting of text inclusive of a small picture "carrying little weight in the communication of the message" (p. 21-22). I make no such distinctions, and *copy-heavy* ads are grouped with *type-specimen* ads as *text-only* ads. Because I am interested in the visual representation of a specific leisure identity, I only examined advertisements that contain pictures. Advertisements that contain only text will be counted to determine the total number of ads in each issue, but they will be coded as *text-only* and be excluded from the later analysis. I make further refinements described below based on an exploratory analysis of several issues of each magazine.

Ads with pictures were coded into two mutually exclusive categories based on the content of the ad: outdoor advertisements, and non-outdoor advertisements. The first category, outdoor advertisements, is defined as any ad that is either set in the Great Outdoors or that uses the Great Outdoors as a major theme. Also included in this category are ads in which a major character in the ad displays an outdoor leisure identity. The term *outdoor leisure identity* is operationally defined as a person who is depicted engaging in a wildland leisure activity (e.g. hiking, camping, rock climbing, or mountain biking). The second category, non-outdoor advertisements, includes all other ads not classified as outdoor ads. This category contains ads set in rural, suburban, or urban environments, as well as ads that are set indoors. Although the precise location along a rural/urban continuum is often impossible to determine for advertisements with indoor settings, such ads, by definition, do not exemplify a wilderness identity and are thus included in the non-outdoor group. Theoretically, it is possible for an individual to present an outdoor leisure identity even in an indoor setting, for instance an ad set inside a mountain cabin, but I did not encounter any such ads. Advertisements without a setting, or in which the setting is indeterminate, are coded into the above groups according to the image or activity depicted by the product or the actor. Some activities were coded as urban (baseball, basketball), and some activities are coded as outdoor (mountain biking, rock climbing), regardless of the indeterminacy of the setting.

The larger categories, outdoor ads and non-outdoor ads, were also then sub-divided into two mutually exclusive classes: ads that are not populated (that do not feature people), and ads that are populated (that do feature people). The first sub-class, non-populated ads, includes all ads where no people are present, or where the identities of visible persons are impossible to distinguish. Such ambiguity is a common occurrence in advertisements for automobiles where the outline or silhouette of the person driving is readily apparent, but their racial or sexual identity is impossible to differentiate. Also, in many of the outdoor ads depicting hikers, mountain climbers, or skiers, the models were often so bundled up with clothing that their individual identities were indistinguishable. The second sub-class, populated ads, includes any ad that contains at least one person, except as noted below. Advertisements that feature cartoon characters (e.g., Joe Camel, Mickey Mouse), and ads with drawings of people that are intentionally unrealistic (e.g., caricatures), are coded as ads without people. This was done because such ads are obviously fictionalized and they often do not project a distinct or consistent racial or sexual personality with which readers can identify.

The models themselves were coded according to their race, sex, and child/adult status. The variables sex and child/adult status were coded dichotomously, while race was coded trichotomously (Black, White, and other), and determinations were made subjectively based on visual cues such as skin color, hair type, facial features, and style of dress (for sex). In one previous study (Keenan, 1996), complexion was measured using the Pantone Matching System, a color comparison guide used in the printing and textile in-

dustries, but the purpose of that study was to differentiate between darker and lighter skinned Blacks and in the present study such precise refinement was not necessary. Skin color is perhaps the most salient external feature for distinguishing one person from another and researchers often classify individuals visually during observation studies (Hughes & Hertel, 1990; Hutchison, 1987).

All coding used for this study was done by the author. However, to check the reliability of the coding scheme, two colleagues each rated one entire issue of each of the three magazines (a total of 223 records). Agreement among the coders was determined using Cohen's Kappa, a conservative measure of intercoder reliability, and the results were above acceptable levels for all variables coded (Lombard, Snyder-Duch, & Bracken, 2002). The average agreement between the three coders was 82.1% for race, and 91.2% for outdoor image.

Because this study is examining differences between Black and White models only, and because there were so few depictions of models other than Blacks or Whites (between 0.8% and 1.8% depending on the magazine, see Table 1), models coded as "other" were excluded from the analysis. Black and White models were then coded as to whether or not they displayed an outdoor leisure identity. This was usually determined by the setting, but in the case where there was no setting or the setting was ambiguous, the activity in which the model was engaged was often telling, as was the text of the ad in some instances. Because I am interested primarily in leisure identities in the U.S., tourism ads for foreign countries were excluded from the analysis (0.6%). Ads for other types of media (e.g., television programs, movies, or books) were also excluded (2.5%).

A special category, *collage ads*, was created for ads in which there is a myriad of different images or for ads that feature a large group of diverse people where no individual identity is dominant (< 1.0%). In the preliminary analysis, a typical collage advertisement featured a schoolteacher and a classroom of students, with several students of both sexes and at least one representative from several racial and ethnic groups. In such cases, the identity of the main character (i.e., the teacher) was noted, and the rest of the advertisement was coded as a collage. If there was no main character, then the entire ad was coded as a collage and was excluded from the analysis.

A few further rules were also observed when coding the ads. Advertisements that show multiple photos of the same person counted as only one person. Also, as mentioned above, only four people per ad were coded. In ads that featured large groups of people from a single racial group (4+), regardless of their sex, the entire group was counted as four people, with the sexes coded proportionate to the number of each sex depicted in the group. For example, one issue of *Time* featured the Zion Baptist Gospel Choir (four black males, and four black females), however it was the only advertisement in that particular issue that featured Blacks. Counting each member of the choir separately would lead to the false impression that Blacks were more heavily represented throughout the issue than they actually were.

Following the above scheme, the ad was coded as displaying two Black males and two Black females. Thus, no single ad page can contain more than four people, although a two-page spread could contain eight people, subject to the above constraint that no person appears more than once in any ad, regardless of the number of additional pages. The number of ads analyzed, the number of people analyzed, the number of ads excluded, and the final sample size appear below in Table 2.

### Results

Support for the first hypothesis was overwhelming and these results are presented in Table 3. In *Ebony*, Whites are depicted in the Great Outdoors

TABLE 2  
*Number of Advertisements Sampled from each Magazine*

Advertisements	Magazine			
	<i>Ebony</i>	<i>Outside</i>	<i>Time</i>	All Magazines
Total number of records	2864	1731	1434	6029
Number of records analyzed	2683	1667	1350	5700
Number of records excluded	181	64	84	329
Percentage of records excluded <sup>a</sup>	6.3%	3.7%	5.9%	5.5%
Total number of people analyzed	2120	992	653	3765
Total number of outdoor people	30	467	67	564
Total number of ad pages <sup>b</sup>	1917	1415	1099	4431
Total number of outdoor ad pages <sup>b</sup>	21	595	83	699

<sup>a</sup>Ads excluded from the analysis are text ads, collage ads, ads for foreign tourism, and ads for television, movies, and other media.

<sup>b</sup>When totaling the number of ad pages, each ad page counts only once, regardless of the number of people appearing in the ad.

TABLE 3  
*Models Depicted in the Great Outdoors by Race, each Magazine*

Magazine	Depicted in the Great Outdoors, Blacks		Depicted in the Great Outdoors, Whites		Chi-square
	Yes	No	Yes	No	
<i>Ebony</i>	19 (1.0%)	1901 (99.0%)	9 (5.7%)	150 (94.3%)	24.111**
<i>Outside</i>	5 (11.6%)	38 (88.4%)	394 (46.7%)	450 (53.3%)	20.316**
<i>Time</i>	0 (0.0%)	54 (100.0%)	57 (10.5%)	488 (89.5%)	6.242*

\* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .001$

or display an outdoor identity 5.7% of the time compared with 1.0% of Blacks (chi-square,  $p < 0.001$ ). In *Outside*, Whites are depicted in the Great Outdoors or display an outdoor identity 46.7% of the time compared with 11.6% of Blacks (chi-square,  $p < 0.001$ ). And in *Time*, Whites are depicted in the Great Outdoors or display an outdoor identity 10.5% of the time compared with 0% of Blacks (chi-square,  $p < 0.05$ ). Another way to express the results is to compute the odds ratio of being depicted in the Great Outdoors for Black and White models. For *Ebony*, the odds of being depicted in the Great Outdoors are 6 times greater for Whites than for Blacks. For *Outside*, the odds of being depicted in the outdoors are 6.6 times greater for Whites than for Blacks. For *Time*, the odds ratio cannot be computed because the odds of a Black model being depicted in the Great Outdoors equals zero.

A third way to visualize the magnitude of the results is to note the total percentage of Black models in each magazine, and then observe how the percentage drops when looking only at models that display an outdoor leisure identity. This comparison is presented in Table 4. In *Ebony*, Blacks account for 92.4% of the models depicted. However, when looking only at outdoor ads, the percentage of Blacks drops to 67.9% while the percentage of Whites climbs from 7.6% to 32.1%, an increase of over 4 times. In *Outside*, Blacks account for 4.8% of the models depicted, and again, the numbers change precipitously when considering only outdoor ads with the percentage of Blacks falling to 1.3%. Perhaps the strongest evidence, however, is provided by *Time*, where Whites account for 91.0% and Blacks account for 9.0% of the models depicted. When looking only at advertisements that are set in the Great Outdoors or that make use of outdoor images, all of the people depicted are White and none are Black.

The second hypothesis was also supported, as few Black models were shown engaging in outdoor leisure activities. For each magazine, a majority of the models shown were either at work or involved in daily living tasks (cooking, cleaning, etc.), so the number of participants engaged in many of the leisure activities is quite small. Still, 91.2% of the models shown hiking, 93.6% shown camping, 100% shown mountain climbing, 98.9% shown mountain biking, 95.0% rock climbing, and 100% of the models shown kay-

TABLE 4  
*Race by Magazine, Models Depicted in the Great Outdoors versus All Models*

Magazine	Great Outdoors, Only		All Models	
	Blacks	Whites	Blacks	Whites
<i>Ebony</i>	19 (67.9%)	9 (32.1%)	1920 (92.4%)	159 (7.6%)
<i>Outside</i>	5 (1.3%)	394 (98.7%)	43 (4.8%)	847 (95.2%)
<i>Time</i>	0 (0%)	57 (100%)	54 (9.0%)	546 (91.0%)

aking are White. Because the majority of the models depicted at play appear in *Outside* (76.3%), and the majority of models depicted in *Outside* are White (95.2%), these results are somewhat inflated. However, looking at the various leisure activities shown in each magazine separately still provides clear and compelling evidence of a racialized outdoor leisure identity. In *Ebony*, only 18 people are shown engaging in one of the outdoor activities mentioned above and 6 of them are White (33%), almost 4 times the percentage of Whites normally depicted in the magazine. This is compared with the 99 people shown engaging in non-outdoor leisure activities such as basketball, baseball, football, cycling, aerobics, and track or field events, of which only 5 are White (5%). In *Outside*, 354 models are depicted participating in outdoor leisure activities, 5 of whom are Black (1.4%), while 181 models are participating in non-outdoor leisure activities, 13 of whom are Black (7.2%). In *Time*, 33 models are depicted participating in outdoor leisure activities, none of whom are Black, and 14 models are participating in non-outdoor leisure activities, 6 of whom are Black (42.9%). In each case, the percentage of Blacks depicted engaging in outdoor leisure activities is lower than the percentage of Blacks shown in the magazine as a whole, and the percentage of Whites shown engaging in outdoor recreation is higher than the percentage of Whites normally shown. Table 5 presents the frequencies of the models engaging in selected leisure activities, by race, for each magazine.

Finally, the third hypothesis also received strong support, and these results are presented in Table 6. Of the three magazines, *Outside* had the highest percentage of ad pages coded as outdoor ads at 44.0%, followed by *Time* and *Ebony*, 7.9% and 1.4%, respectively. Considering the target audience, it is not surprising that such a high percentage of advertisements in *Outside* were classified as outdoor ads, but the magnitude of the difference between the percentages of outdoor ads in *Time* and *Ebony* is sizeable. One possible explanation for the difference in the number of outdoor ads in *Time* and *Ebony* is a difference in the types of products advertised in the two magazines. For instance, advertisements for personal care products are most often set indoors (making use of urban or suburban images) and are thus coded as non-outdoor ads. Of the ads in *Ebony*, 26.9% were for personal care products, compared with 1% of the ads in *Time* and less than 1% of the ads in *Outside* (refer to Table 1). Yet, even once the ads for personal care products are excluded, the percentage of outdoor ads in each magazine remain about the same.

Another possible explanation for the differences in the use of outdoor settings in *Time* and *Ebony* is the difference in the greater percentage of female models in *Ebony*. If it were discovered that female models were less likely than males to be depicted in the Great Outdoors, because *Ebony* has a higher percentage of female models than does *Time*, then the magazine as a whole would be expected to have a lower percentage of outdoor ads. However, crosstabulations of sex by setting show that males and females are equally likely to display an outdoor leisure identity. For *Ebony*, 1.4% of male models are shown in the Great Outdoors, which is consistent with the 1.4%

TABLE 5  
*Number of Models Depicted Participating in Selected Leisure Activities*

Leisure Activity	Magazine					
	<i>Ebony</i>		<i>Outside</i>		<i>Time</i>	
	Blacks	Whites	Blacks	Whites	Blacks	Whites
Hiking	8	4	3	107	0	11
Camping	3	0	0	44	0	0
Mountain Climbing	0	0	0	29	0	1
Mountain Biking	0	2	1	84	0	5
Rock Climbing	1	0	0	18	0	1
Kayaking	0	0	0	16	0	2
Other Outdoor Sports	2	0	1	51	0	13
<b>Total, Outdoor Sports</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>349</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>33</b>
Basketball	21	1	1	1	0	0
Baseball	12	2	0	1	0	2
Football, backyard	12	0	0	8	1	2
Track & Field	9	1	0	4	3	1
Cycling	8	0	0	25	0	0
Aerobics/Working Out	8	0	1	19	0	3
Other non-Outdoor Sports	29	1	11	120	2	0
<b>Total, non-Outdoor</b>	<b>99</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>178</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>113</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>527</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>41</b>

of female models that are similarly depicted (chi-square = 0.002). For *Outside*, 45.2% of male models are shown in the Great Outdoors compared with 40.2% of female models (chi-square = 1.929). For *Time*, 9.7% of male models are shown in the Great Outdoors compared with 8.1% of female models (chi-square = .413). The *p*-values for all chi-square tests were greater than 0.15. These results, presented in Table 7, indicate that the outdoor leisure identity is not gender specific.

TABLE 6  
*Advertisements set in the Great Outdoors by Magazine, all Ad Pages*

Magazine	Non-Outdoor Ads	Outdoor Ads
<i>Ebony</i>	2645 (98.6%)	38 (1.4%)
<i>Outside</i>	934 (56%)	733 (44%)
<i>Time</i>	1244 (92.1%)	106 (7.9%)

TABLE 7  
*Models Depicted in the Great Outdoors by Gender, each Magazine*

Magazine	Depicted in the Great Outdoors, Men		Depicted in the Great Outdoors, Women		Chi-square <sup>a</sup>
	Yes	No	Yes	No	
<i>Ebony</i>	12 (1.4%)	838 (98.6%)	18 (1.4%)	1234 (98.6%)	0.002
<i>Outside</i>	265 (45.2%)	358 (54.8%)	106 (40.2%)	158 (59.8%)	1.929
<i>Time</i>	39 (9.7%)	365 (90.3%)	18 (8.1%)	204 (91.9%)	0.413

<sup>a</sup>all *p*-values greater than 0.15

### Discussion

The results of this study provide strong evidence for the existence of a White outdoor leisure identity and they show that the Great Outdoors is socially constructed as White space, at least within the pages of magazine advertisements. As predicted, a lower percentage of Blacks than Whites were shown in the Great Outdoors and fewer Blacks were depicted participating in wildland leisure activities. In addition, *Ebony*, a magazine targeted primarily toward Blacks, had far fewer ads set in the Great Outdoors than did either *Time* or *Outside*, magazines targeted primarily to Whites. Magazine advertisements perpetuate a stereotyped outdoor leisure identity virtually devoid of depictions of Blacks engaging in wildland recreation and/or visiting wilderness places. And because such an identity is so audibly pronounced, conspicuously evident in all three magazines, I submit that this racialized wilderness identity presented in the media is at least tacit recognition of the perception of the Great Outdoors held by many Black and White Americans.

I do not mean to suggest that the portrayal of Blacks in advertising is entirely to blame for the racialized outdoor leisure identity found outside of magazines, although I do think that advertisements and other media images help to reinforce such an identity. Perhaps the best explanation is that there exists a reciprocal relationship between media images and society; the "Whites only" conception of wildland places and wilderness recreation found in magazine advertisements is both a consequence and a cause of the racialized identity in the outside world. Research has shown that Blacks participate less than Whites in wilderness leisure activities so advertisers do not use the Great Outdoors as a setting when depicting Black models. The lack of Black models in wilderness settings then strengthens the belief that Blacks do not belong in real wilderness either.

I also do not mean to suggest that the racialized wilderness identity is solely responsible for the low levels of participation in wilderness recreation by Black Americans. As stated above, leisure studies consistently have found support for both the marginality and the ethnicity perspectives, and socio-economic and subcultural factors undoubtedly guide leisure socialization.



However, the existence of a racialized outdoor leisure identity has at least three important consequences. First, the stereotype that Black Americans, as a group, do not participate in wilderness recreation may become a self-fulfilling prophecy due to expectancy effects. Second, if wilderness recreation is defined as White leisure and wilderness areas are viewed as White space, then some Blacks may not participate to avoid a perceived (or real) increase in the likelihood of discrimination. Finally, some Blacks may internalize the notion that wilderness recreation is White leisure and thus avoid participation because it would conflict with their own racial identity and/or they may fear ostracism by other Blacks. I will elaborate on each of these points before I close with concluding remarks.

Self-fulfilling prophecies, or expectancy effects, have been a subject of study for sociologists and social psychologists for over 50 years. In the customary scenario, expectancies are examined in the context of dyadic relationships where the subject, typically a student or employee, modifies his or her behavior, values, or beliefs to accommodate the expectations of another, usually a teacher or employer (Eden & Shani, 1982; Jussim, 1990; Rosenthal & Rubin, 1978). Although the present situation is somewhat different, consideration of the manner by which expectancies would operate can help us to understand the possible influence of the racialized wilderness identity. One common source of expectations that has been studied is stereotypes, and, as stated above, the outdoor leisure identity is essentially a constellation of stereotyped traits concerning who belongs in wilderness areas: rugged, adventurous, White people. Each prospective leisure participant who is aware of the stereotype can be considered to have a *hypothetical* dyadic relationship with that conception. Then, if they fail to measure up to the ideal (e.g., they are refined, cautious, or Black), they may mold their attitudes and behavior regarding wildland recreation in accordance with expectations. They accept the notion that wilderness recreation is not for them without even trying it, the essence of a self-fulfilling prophecy.

Expectancies involving the wilderness identity may also operate in *actual* dyadic or even group situations. Outdoor enthusiasts may assume that people who do not conform to the stereotype are not suited for or are not interested in participation in outdoor recreation, so they fail to invite them on wilderness excursions or include them in conversations about the Great Outdoors. As a result, such individuals are less likely to be exposed to attitudes favorable to the Great Outdoors and are correspondingly less likely to develop an interest in outdoor recreation.

The second contention, that Blacks may avoid participation in wilderness recreation because of an increased likelihood of discrimination, has been presented previously (Craig, 1972; Lee, 1972), but it demands further attention when considered together with the idea of a racialized outdoor leisure identity. Feagin (1991) illustrates how the likelihood of discrimination varies by location: discrimination is least likely to occur when one is at home among family and friends, and the likelihood of encountering hostility and prejudice increases as one proceeds to less familiar surroundings requiring

contact with strangers. The further one is from comfortable and familiar environments, the greater the potential for discrimination, and the greater the *fear* of discrimination. Feagin also outlines a range of responses including resigned acceptance, verbal reprimands or sarcasm, physical counterattacks, and withdrawal from or avoidance of potential sites of discrimination. It is this last response that is the most relevant here because if wilderness areas are socially constructed as White space then they are likely to be perceived by many Blacks as places where there is an increased likelihood of experiencing discrimination from White participants. In such a case, particularly when there are other, non-wildland leisure opportunities available that do not pose such a risk, the obvious resolution is simply to avoid visiting wilderness places.

The third potential consequence of a racialized outdoor leisure identity also involves anxiety or apprehension, but not the fear of discrimination by White participants. Instead, if Blacks internalize the notion that wilderness recreation is White leisure, then they may avoid participation because they fear ostracism by other Blacks. This is what Fordham and Ogbu (1986) refer to as the "burden of acting White." In his initial formulation of the ethnicity perspective, Washburne (1978) identified such a concern stating "there may be powerful forces within the [Black] community that discourage participation in 'White' activities" (p. 178). This is a particularly relevant issue because it could also impact how parents respond to the leisure choices of their children. Philipp (1999) writes

[A]n African American child's selection of a 'White' identified leisure activity, might cause discontinuities for the child in a household where such an activity is not highly valued or simply regarded as not an acceptable 'Black' activity (p. 389).

Thus, a racialized wilderness identity can influence attitudes and values which parents pass on to their children, as well as the behavior of the parents themselves.

### Conclusion

This study is an effort to verify the existence of a racialized leisure identity concerning participation in outdoor recreation. By means of an extensive content analysis of over 4000 magazine advertisements, I have shown that wilderness areas, and the leisure activities connected with them, are socially constructed as the exclusive domain of Whites. Magazine advertisements are noticeably lacking in depictions of Black models hiking, camping, and participating in other outdoor recreation activities, and I believe that this portrayal of the Great Outdoors has also been embraced by at least some segments of U.S. culture. Several potential consequences resulting from a racialized outdoor identity were presented, including its effects on leisure socialization.

This article should be viewed as a call for additional research in a number of areas. First, further research is needed to confirm the existence of the racialized outdoor leisure identity. Broader research could establish if

such a construction has been properly identified as *White*, or if it should be viewed more accurately as *non-Black*, or perhaps even another way. Second, if the outdoor leisure identity is validated, research is necessary to determine the prevalence of such a view. Does it have widespread acceptance among society, or is it confined to a smaller division of the populace? Does its recognition vary by region of the country, urban/rural residence, or social class standing? Third, does the existence of a racialized outdoor leisure identity actually influence leisure behavior, and if so, to what extent? And finally, research is needed to determine the mechanisms by which a racialized outdoor identity impacts leisure involvement. Three general postulations were presented, but they were merely applications derived from the literature that require testing in this new context.

Before concluding, it is important to make the following caveat: it is not my intention to imply that participation in wilderness recreation should be considered superior to any other type of leisure behavior, nor that there is anything deficient about someone who chooses not to participate in outdoor recreation. Furthermore, outdoor recreation (i.e., hiking and camping) is not the only way to express an appreciation of nature or a connection to wildland places. As discussed above, alternative conceptions for enjoyment of wilderness areas may reflect efforts towards empowerment through resistance to the dominant paradigm regarding the *Great Outdoors*.

However, I do believe the impact of a racialized outdoor leisure identity needs to be further explored, and that it is important to seek a more complete understanding of the reasons for the lower levels of participation in outdoor recreation by Black Americans. Such knowledge will increase the understanding of what factors impact leisure choices in general, and how those factors are perhaps experienced differently by specific groups. Also, when appropriate, the information can be used by program directors and managers of wilderness areas to promote support for their parks and to address the changing needs of their clients. National, state, and regional parks are *public* parks, supported by the general public through taxpayer funds, and they are intended for the enjoyment of all segments of the public. That is of particular concern as the population of the United States becomes increasingly more diverse. If a racialized outdoor leisure identity does contribute to the Apartheid in the Great Outdoors, then efforts should be made to discover ways to blunt its effect. Otherwise, as the pool of potential environmental stakeholders becomes proportionally smaller, support for public funding of wilderness lands may also decline.

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