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Visitor Perceptions of Crowding and Discrimination at Two National Forests in Southern California

Deborah J. Chavez



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Visitors to southern California National Forests are urban dwellers and as a group are culturally diverse. To manage the National Forests for this diverse group of visitors, information is needed on their expectations, preferences, and experiences at recreation sites. To evaluate visitor perceptions of crowding and discrimination, to determine favorite activities, and to determine the potential of visitor displacement from recreational sites, observations and surveys were collected during July and August 1990 in two of the National Forests. Racial and ethnic groups were categorized into Anglo American, Hispanic American, Mexican American and Others. In general all groups rated crowding similarly, although Hispanic groups expected more people than were found at the sites. Additionally, enjoyed activities differed only slightly between ethnic groups: all reported hiking, picnicking and visiting with others as favorite activities. The biggest difference between ethnic groups was exposure to discriminatory acts. Members of minority groups were more likely to report being subject to these acts. There was little evidence of displacement at the sites studied. Potential management actions include suggestions for improving interaction and communication between resource managers and the visiting public, reducing depreciative behaviors, and better signs. Research needs include evaluating these suggested management actions.

Retrieval Terms: crowding, cultural diversity, discrimination, displacement, participant observation, symbolic interaction

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In Brief ...

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Visitors to southern California National Forests are urban dwellers and as a group are culturally diverse. To manage the National Forests for this diverse group of visitors, information is needed on their expectations, preferences, and experiences at recreation sites. To evaluate visitor perceptions, observations and surveys were collected during July and August 1990 in two of the National Forests. The objectives of the research were these: (1) to provide information about perceptions and expectations of crowding; (2) to determine which recreational activities are most enjoyed relative to ethnic identity; (3) to determine perceptions about discrimination; and (4) to provide information about displacement of visitor groups. This paper reports exploratory research that begins to address the dearth of information on these topics.

Two research techniques were implemented for this exploratory study: site observations and self-administered questionnaires. The sites observed were the Apple White picnic area of the San Bernardino National Forest and the upper San Antonio Canyon of the Angeles National Forest. These research sites are concentrated dispersed use areas located near water. Both sites were used later to administer the questionnaire.

Information acquired from site observations were used to develop the survey questionnaire. To keep the questionnaire to a reasonable length, some issues identified during site observations, such as depreciative behavior, were not addressed further in the survey questionnaire. These issues are addressed to the extent possible in this paper. The questionnaire was developed in English and Spanish from a combination of past research reported in the literature and findings from the site observations. Four sites were studied to ensure an adequate representation of various cultural and ethnic groups. On the San Bernardino National Forest data was collected from visitors at the Apple White campground (mostly Anglos), and the Apple White picnic area (mostly Hispanics). On the Angeles National Forest data was collected from visitors on the west fork of the San Gabriel Canyon (mostly Hispanics), and the upper San Antonio Canyon (mostly Anglo, Asian, and Middle Eastern visitors).

Given the exploratory nature of the research and the small sample size (n=312), results are probably applicable only to the study sample. Respondents ranged in age from 11 to 75 with an average age of 30.9 years. Almost half were married, while one-third were never married (many of these were under age

18). Slightly over half the respondents were male, and almost two-thirds were employed. About one-third of the respondents had some college, while another 19 percent had less than high school education. Six in ten of the respondents were born in the United States, and those born elsewhere had lived in the United States an average of 11.6 years. Seven in ten respondents filled out the English version of the survey questionnaire. Over half the respondents preferred to be known as an American of "Hispanic" descent. This group includes Mexican American (27.5 pct), Hispanic American (25.7 pct), Central American (1.1 pct), and Cuban American (1.1 pct) respondents. Anglo Americans made up another quarter of the respondents (24.6 pct), and the remainder were from various backgrounds including American Indian (3.6 pct), Middle Eastern American (3.3 pct), Black/African American (1.8 pct), and several Asian American groups (less than 1 pct each).

Site observations suggested culturally diverse visitation, large group sizes, little active depreciative behaviors, preferences for sites close to water and sites in the shade, and little between-group interaction (both between visitor groups, and between visitors and resource managers).

Survey respondents were asked a series of questions concerning crowding at the recreational site. The first question presented a scale of 1 to 9 where 1 was "not at all crowded" and 9 was "extremely crowded." The average level of perceived crowding was 4.3 (n=310), indicating a slightly crowded condition. All ethnic groups rated crowdedness similarly. About half of all ethnic and racial groups expected a different size crowd at the site than was actually there. Anglo Americans were more likely to expect fewer people, while Hispanic American and Mexican American respondents expected larger crowds of people at the site.

In general, respondents reported picnicking, hiking, and visiting with others as the most enjoyable activities on their recreational outing.

The majority of respondents reported not having been treated unfairly because of their ethnic identity. Only 2.9 percent of all Anglo Americans and 12.7 percent of all others perceived themselves as having been victimized by an act of discrimination, while 32.4 percent of all Hispanic and Mexican Americans perceived themselves as having been victimized by an act of discrimination.

About one-third of the respondents were first time visitors at the site (32.2 pct). Another 18 percent had visited one or two times previously, and the remainder had visited three or more times before. Ethnic group comparisons were nonsignificant. Additionally, respondents were asked if they had plans to return to the area. Almost all (94.5 pct) had plans to return. Ethnic group comparisons were nonsignificant.

Site observations indicate potential management applications for one site only. These include topics of signs, litter, and

visitor-agency interactions. Implications of the survey focus on the issues of crowding, visitor activities, discrimination, and displacement.

Signs---Signs could be modified to consider cultural diversity, clarify messages, and perhaps to decrease deprecatative behaviors. Considering cultural diversity requires multiple languages and an understanding of the visitors. For example, Spanish signs ought to be available in addition to English. Signs can also focus on positive messages when possible.

Litter---Trash cans should be moved nearer to where visitors actually recreate-near the streambeds. The trash cans can be painted a more readily seen color and be imprinted with "Feed Me" to attract use.

Interactions---Any attempt to speak English was readily accepted by the visitors. Resource managers could try using some Spanish phrases. Resource managers should not assume that all Hispanic-looking visitors speak only Spanish.

Crowding---None of the groups reported crowd size to influence their enjoyment of the site. This finding probably would have been different for extremely crowded conditions. Findings suggest that Anglos might be more affected by crowded sites.

Activities---In general, visitors to the sites studied are more similar than different in the activities they enjoy. Natural resource managers of these areas, and areas like these (near urban

areas, with visitors from multiple cultural groups) should understand the similarities and provide the amenities necessary to satisfy these needs. Also, some accommodations should be provided for large groups that frequent these areas---perhaps picnic tables in clusters of three or four.

Discrimination---Resource managers should be sensitive to cultural group differences, be from culturally diverse populations, and have more interactions with visitors that are not based solely on law enforcement actions.

Displacement---The data indicate that displacement does not seem to be a factor at these sites. No ethnic group was any more likely to be either a first-time visitor to a site or a many-time visitor to a site, nor was any group any more likely to plan not to return to a site. Two possibilities remain: displacement from an area may have occurred before the survey and thus was not captured here; or, racial and ethnic groups are interacting in this rural environment, and no group is being moved to accommodate the influx of another group.

Introduction

Visitor groups to southern California National Forests tend to be urban dwellers from the Los Angeles basin. The cultural diversity of the Los Angeles basin manifests itself into culturally diverse populations visiting wildland recreation sites. Thus, two key characteristics of visitors to southern California National Forests are (1) they come from an urban culture, and (2) they have diverse ethnic and racial affiliations.

Many natural resource management techniques are geared toward rural, Anglo populations (Simcox 1988). Evidently these techniques may not be applicable to urban, culturally diverse populations. This disparity has been the subject of research, with particular emphasis on National Forests located near the large, urban populations of southern California.

The first phase of a multi-phase study focused attention on land ethics held by urban, culturally diverse visitors to the Angeles National Forest in southern California (Simcox and Pfister 1989). The data seemed to indicate that Hispanic populations visited the recreational sites in larger groups than did other ethnic or racial groups. Common sense might suggest that large groups of Hispanic visitors simply follow from typically large family size; however, the alternative hypothesis formulated for this phenomenon was that visitors felt safer in larger numbers than in smaller numbers (Ewert 1992). Perhaps the Hispanic visitors simply wanted to be safe from ethnic slurs and conflicts and going in large groups helped assure this.

Interpretation of these research findings leads to two possible research hypotheses. One hypothesis concerns racism: ethnic minority groups could be the subject of discriminatory acts. The other hypothesis concerns displacement: Hispanics could be starting to populate an area and in so doing are displacing Anglo visitors.

A preliminary search of the literature indicated two things. First, little research has examined racism in recreational settings, particularly urban National Forests. Second, intergroup contact does not necessarily create assimilation but sometimes increases ethnic group divisions, which may lead to displacement of one group of visitors from a recreational area.

Project Objectives

To research the hypotheses on racism and displacement, I observed and surveyed visitors on two National Forests in southern California. I collected data relative to visitor perceptions about such seemingly diverse topics as types of activities most enjoyed on wildland recreation sites, crowding, evidence of discrimination, and displacement. The objectives of the research were these:

- (1) to provide information about perceptions and expectations of crowding;
- (2) to determine which recreational activities are most enjoyed relative to ethnic identity;
- (3) to determine perceptions about discrimination; and

- (4) to provide information about displacement of visitor groups.

This paper reports exploratory research that begins to address the dearth of information on these topics. First, it examines whether the problem of racism exists. And second, it looks at displacement of visitor groups.

Definitions

Ethnic Groups, Prejudice, and Discrimination

An ethnic group may be defined as a collectivity existing within a larger society and having real or putative common ancestry, memories of a shared historical past, and a cultural focus on one or more symbolic elements defined as the epitome of their peoplehood. Examples of such symbolic elements are kinship patterns, religious affiliation, language or dialect forms, nationality, or a combination of these (Schermerhorn 1970).

Prejudice refers to an attitude of aversion and hostility toward the members of a group simply because they belong to it and therefore are presumed to have the objectionable qualities ascribed to the group. Whereas prejudice is a state of mind, discrimination is actual behavior. Discrimination entails the arbitrary denial of power, privilege, and status to members of a minority group whose qualifications are equal to those of the dominant group (Vander Zanden 1987).

Density, Crowding, and Succession or Displacement

Density is the number of encounters that occur between recreationists, while crowding is defined as a negative, personal, subjective evaluation of some density level (Hartley 1986, Shelby and others 1989). Density at a recreation site may increase until it begins to restrict the recreationist's personal goals, and then it becomes crowding.

Whether population density has a negative effect on people has attracted much attention from social scientists for a quarter of a century. No clear conclusions have emerged, and the debate continues. Density does and does not produce negative effects on people. When density is held constant, some people will feel crowded and others will not, because some people can tolerate or adapt to higher levels of density than can others (Gillis and others 1986). Adaptability varies across a spectrum of variables including culture (Gillis and others 1986, Gove and Hughes 1983, Porteous 1977, Rapoport 1978).

The succession or displacement phenomenon has attracted a great deal of attention also (Clark and others 1971, Dustin and McAvoy 1982, Schreyer 1990b, Schreyer and Knopf 1984). The best example of management-induced displacement is the visitor "invasion-succession" phenomenon, whereby veteran recreationists who prefer little or no human-made developments are displaced by others such as resource managers who build new facilities in response to increasing use pressures (Dustin and McAvoy 1982, Schreyer and Knopf 1984).

A research project, directed by the California State University at Los Angeles, on the Angeles National Forest in southern California, looked at displacement and why visitors stop using a particular recreation site (Hartley 1986). Seventy percent of visitors surveyed had changed their past recreation site. Seeing damage from vandalism was the primary cause for changing recreation sites for 48 percent of the displaced visitors, while 28 percent cited not feeling safe as the primary reason. Other frequently cited reasons were litter, too much noise, too few facilities, or too many people (Hartley 1986).

Methods

Two research techniques were implemented for this exploratory study: site observations and self-administered questionnaires. Multi-method techniques are often deemed necessary (Campbell and Fiske 1959), especially when the research is exploratory.

Site Observations

The sites observed were the Apple White picnic area of the San Bernardino National Forest and the upper San Antonio Canyon of the Angeles National Forest. These research sites are concentrated dispersed use areas located near water. By definition, dispersed use occurs in natural areas with little site modification. Some areas have become so popular with urban visitors that these sites need to be managed as if they were developed sites (Hartley 1986). Both research sites were used later to collect the questionnaire data.

Before the observation sessions, one day was spent at another concentrated dispersed use site on the Angeles National Forest, Barbecue Alley in the San Gabriel Canyon, to develop categories of interest. These included sociodemographic variables (e.g., age composition, size of groups, and equipment), land ethics variables (e.g., passive and active littering, and depreciative behaviors), norms for behavior (e.g., activities and sanctions), and social interactions (e.g., within groups, between groups, and between natural resource agency and visitors).

Three individuals observed the Lytle Creek Apple White site on July 14, 1990, and two individuals observed the upper San Antonio Canyon site on July 15, 1990. The author collected information at each site.

The usual guidelines for participant observation were followed including these on when and how to take field notes (Webb and others 1966):

- Position yourself on the outer fringes
- Engage in the same environmental context as the group being studied—such as wading in the streambed
- Avoid overt recording, which may influence subject's behavior
- Record data immediately after a function
- Seek out patterns of behavior.

Information acquired from site observations was used to develop the survey questionnaire. In an effort to keep the questionnaire to a reasonable length, some issues identified during site observations were not addressed further in the survey questionnaire (such as depreciative behavior). These issues will be addressed to the extent possible in this paper.

Survey Questionnaire

The questionnaire for the survey portion of the study was developed in English and Spanish from a combination of past research reported in the literature and findings from the site observations. A survey team, already established for the second phase of the land ethics study (Simcox and Pfister 1989), collected data for this project. The survey team was briefed on the goals of the project and trained before beginning data collection. The team was divided into pairs; each pair had responsibility for a particular data collection site, and a graduate student served as coordinator of the team. The team pre-tested the questionnaire and made minor modifications to the Spanish version.

The team was instructed on how to approach subjects and encourage participation in the survey. While the questionnaire was designed for self-administration, the survey team members were available for questions. Also, some team members were bilingual and were available for Spanish-speaking visitors. Team members did have occasion to conduct face-to-face interviews when respondents were unable to complete the questionnaire on their own.

Four sites were studied to ensure an adequate representation of various cultural and ethnic groups. On the San Bernardino National Forest data was collected from visitors at the Apple White campground (mostly Anglos) and the Apple White picnic area (mostly Hispanics). On the Angeles National Forest data was collected from visitors on the west fork of the San Gabriel Canyon (mostly Hispanics), and the upper San Antonio Canyon (mostly Anglo, Asian, and Middle Eastern visitors).

In general, the questionnaire topics covered the issues of crowding and its effects on enjoyment, activities most enjoyed, number of visits to an area and plans to return, perceptions about discrimination, and sociodemographics. The first question on crowding came from a single item used to indicate how crowded an area was at time of visit (Heberlein and Vaske 1977), and was recommended for comparisons across studies (Shelby and others 1989). These studies suggest that if one area is extremely crowded, displacement studies of nearby areas may be warranted.

The data from the questionnaire were used to determine norms for group size by ethnic identity and to indicate when "crowding" was thought to occur. The data also indicated how crowding and enjoyment of recreation activities were related. Importantly, the data indicated if discrimination (as a measure of racism) exists in forest recreation areas and, where it does exist, who the perpetrators were, as well as how much of a problem it was (measured by return visits and displacement).

SAS (Statistical Analysis System) version 5.18 was used to analyze the survey data. Tests of statistical significance included Chi Square and ANOVA where appropriate.

Results

Given the exploratory nature of the research and the small sample size (n=312), results are probably applicable only to the study sample.

Data From Site Observations

All findings from site observations are presented in *appendix A*.

Sociodemographics

The following sociodemographic measures were obtained from site observations:

- Age composition was site-specific
- Cultural diversity was not site-specific
- Groups generally had six to eight members
- Many languages were spoken
- Vehicles in parking lot had a wide price range
- Equipment suggested that visiting this site was not necessarily a "cheap day out"
- Equipment indicated the level of pre-planning and seemed to be site-specific.

In general, the sites reflect the cultural diversity found in southern California. And like southern California, some enclaves exist. For example, while the ethnic identity of visitors to San Gabriel Canyon is mixed, the majority of visitors are of Hispanic origin.

In general, visitors of all ages were noted, but use of areas seemed to be linked to age. For example, San Antonio Canyon seemed to attract visitors of many ages, while the Lytle Creek picnic site had few elderly visitors and consisted mostly of young families. Group sizes varied but generally averaged between six and eight members; most larger groups were non-Anglo. Several languages were spoken, especially at the San Antonio Canyon site, but the most common languages were English and Spanish. Also, activity at the San Antonio Canyon site seemed to be planned, while there were signs of unplanned activities at the Apple White picnic site. Planned activities were indicated by used--not new--equipment, pre-cooked and packaged food; unplanned activities were indicated by items such as new barbecues and bags of groceries. As a measure of income, equipment and types of vehicles were observed. In general, the San Antonio Canyon site attracted visitors with larger incomes.

Depreciative Behavior

The following observations concerned depreciative behavior:

- Passive littering was common
- Active littering was not as common

- Past use such as broken glass and litter was evident
- Gang-related activities such as graffiti were evident
- Some active depreciative behaviors such as tree carving were observed
 - Trash cans were available but not convenient to visitors
 - Rules and regulations, while posted in English and Spanish, were covered with mesh wire and almost unreadable.

In general, most people did not engage in active depreciative behaviors (such as littering or tree carving) but did engage in passive behaviors (such as watching litter being blown by and not picking it up). There was a good deal of evidence of past depreciative behaviors, mostly consisting of tree carving, spray painting, broken glass, and litter on the ground. Some of the spray painting and tree carving were thought to be gang-related since the script matched that found in gang-related graffiti in the southern California valleys.

Additionally, management actions appeared to be geared toward mitigating or stopping depreciative behaviors. Signs were posted giving rules and regulations for the area. The assumption of literacy may be problematic, however, and not all signs were readable. For example, one sign posted outside a restroom facility listed rules and regulations in English and Spanish but was covered with a mesh wire (used to prevent vandalism), which hindered the legibility. Other management actions included placing trash cans at the sites. Mostly these cans were used, but some had not been recently emptied and were overflowing. In other cases, the trash cans were not placed near the visitors and were instead placed near the parking area. These cans did not get much use, indeed did not get enough use.

Preferences, Norms, and Roles

Visitor preferences, norms, and roles were as follows:

- Preference was for sites close to water (not necessarily by picnic tables)
- Preference was for shaded areas
- Activities were varied and included stream walking, picnicking, game playing, sleeping or relaxing, and fishing
- Parents offered little negative sanctioning of children.

In general, visitor preferences were for shaded areas located near the water. Preferences for activities were varied but mostly included water activities and food-related activities such as picnicking. Food choices ranged from making salsa from scratch to fast-food fare. Water activities included stream walking, dam building, splashing, and fishing. Other activities included relaxing and visiting with others. In general, negative sanctioning, especially by parents, did not take place. Mostly, visitors experienced a care-free environment.

Social Interactions

The following patterns of social interaction were observed:

- Little interaction between groups of visitors
- Most intragroup interactions were child-care related
- Very little interaction between Forest Service and visitors--mostly law enforcement activities.

The brief interactions between visitor groups were mostly child-related. Interactions within groups also were related mostly to child-care or food. The few resource agency contacts with visitors were law enforcement activities.

Data From Survey Questionnaire

Data obtained using the survey questionnaire are given in *appendix B*.

Sociodemographic Profile of Respondents

Respondents ranged in age from 11 to 75 with an average age of 30.9 years. Almost half were currently married, while one-third were never married (many of these were under age 18). Slightly over half the respondents were male, and almost two-thirds were employed (many of the unemployed included students under age 18). About one-third of the respondents had some college, while another 19 percent had less than high school educations. Six in ten respondents were born in the United States, and those born elsewhere had lived in the United States an average of 11.6 years. Seven in ten respondents filled out the English version of the survey questionnaire.

Cultural Group Preference

Over half the respondents preferred to be known as an American of "Hispanic" descent: this group includes Mexican American (27.5 pct), Hispanic American (25.7 pct), Central American (1.1 pct), and Cuban American (1.1 pct) respondents. Anglo Americans made up another quarter of respondents (24.6 pct), and the remainder were from various backgrounds including American Indian (3.6 pct), Middle Eastern American (3.3 pct), Black/African American (1.8 pct), and several Asian American groups (less than 1 pct each).

The first phase of the land ethics study indicated that Hispanics are made up of several subgroups and do not comprise a homogeneous unit (Simcox and Pfister 1989). To this end, further analyses will not force all Hispanic respondents into one group but keep them separate. Sample sizes limit the groupings to Hispanic and Mexican Americans. Cuban American and Central American will be added to the "Other" category. Thus, further analyses will examine four groups: Anglo American, Hispanic American, Mexican American, and Others. *Figure 1* depicts the recoded cultural identification preference of the respondents in the study reported here.

Addressing Research Objectives

Perceptions and Expectations of Crowding---Respondents were asked a series of questions concerning crowding at the recreational site. The first question presented a scale of 1 to 9 where 1 was "not at all crowded" and 9 was "extremely crowded." The average level of perceived crowding was 4.3 (n=310), indicating a slightly crowded condition.

All ethnic groups rated crowdedness similarly: Anglo American 3.3, Hispanic American 4.2, Other 4.7, and Mexican American 4.8. Anglos were slightly less likely to indicate a recreational site was crowded than any other ethnic or racial group.

This rating, however, was not statistically significant according to a Scheffe test.

The next question asked if this was the size of crowd that the respondent expected to find at the site. About 6 in 10 respondents (57.2 pct, n=306) reported the crowd not to be the size expected and indicated in the follow-up question that they had expected a larger crowd. Additionally, respondents reported that the size of crowd at their site did not make any difference in their enjoyment of the recreational site.

Two questions were asked concerning perceptions of actual crowd size and expectations of crowd size. Respondents were first asked if the crowd there was the size crowd they expected to find. If the respondent answered "no" then they were asked if they expected a larger crowd or a smaller crowd. About half of all ethnic and racial groups expected a different size crowd at the site than was actually there (*table 1*). Anglo Americans

Table 1---Perceptions of crowding and expectations for size of crowd

Ethnic identity	Crowd not as expected ¹	Expected smaller crowd	Expected larger crowd
	(n=269)	(n=41)	(n=140)
Anglo American	45.6	43.3	56.7
Hispanic	66.2	25.6	74.4
Mexican	62.9	14.6	85.4
Other	52.4	40.0	60.0

¹If respondents answered "No" to the question, "Was this the size crowd that you expected to find?" then they also responded to "Did you expect a larger crowd or a smaller crowd?"

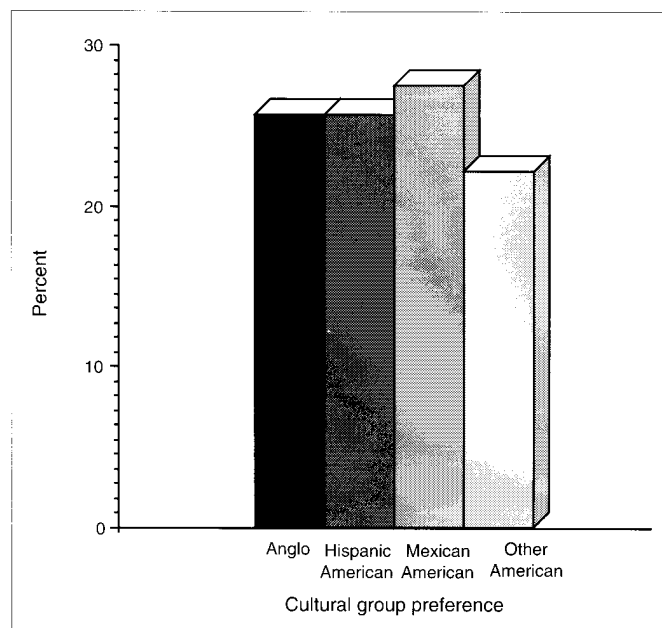


Figure 1---Several subgroups of respondents who preferred to be known as Americans of Hispanic descent were recoded into two groups: Hispanic Americans and Mexican Americans. Other American includes Cuban Americans and Central Americans.

were more likely to expect fewer people, while Hispanic American and Mexican American respondents expected larger crowds of people at the site.

Activities Most Enjoyed-In general, respondents reported picnicking, hiking, and visiting with others as the most enjoyable activities on their recreational outing (fig. 2). Picnicking was more enjoyable for Hispanic subgroups than for Anglo Americans, while hiking was more favorable to Anglo Americans than to Mexican Americans or others.

An unexpected finding concerns visiting with others. While traditional knowledge indicates Hispanic American groups like to socialize on outings, it did not show up as the most enjoyed activity here. Indeed, proportionately more Anglo Americans reported this as an enjoyed activity than did any other group.

Perceptions of Discrimination-Respondents were asked to report discriminatory activities. Questions about acts of discrimination were asked about mistreatment by law enforcement people and mistreatment from other visitors. The questions referenced the current recreational site and another matching set of questions concerned another forest recreational site.

The majority of respondents reported not having been treated unfairly because of their ethnic identity. Only 2.9 percent of all Anglo Americans and 12.7 percent of all others perceived themselves as having been victimized by an act of discrimination, while 32.4 percent of all Hispanic and Mexican Americans perceived themselves as having been victimized by an act of discrimination (fig. 3).

Hispanic Americans and Mexican Americans were more likely to be victimized by law enforcement officials than were

Anglo Americans or others (table 2). Almost 8 in 10 of all reported acts were against people of Hispanic origin.

Hispanic American visitors and Mexican American visitors identified law enforcement persons of Anglo American and Hispanic descent as the perpetrators of discriminatory acts. Mexican Americans were slightly more likely to identify Hispanic law enforcement as the perpetrators whereas Hispanic Americans identified almost equal percentages of Anglo and Hispanic law enforcement persons as perpetrators.

Visitors were also queried about other forest visitors and acts of discrimination (table 3). Hispanic Americans and Mexican Americans were more likely to report being victimized by other forest visitors than were Anglo Americans or others. The majority of all reported acts were against people of Hispanic origin.

Hispanic American visitors identified other forest visitors of Anglo American and Hispanic descent as the perpetrators of discriminatory acts. Mexican American visitors identified other forest visitors of Anglo American and other descent as the perpetrators of discriminatory acts.

Visitor Displacement-About one-third (32.2 pct) of the respondents were first time visitors at the site. Another 18.1 percent had visited one or two times previously, and the remainder (49.7 pct) had visited three or more times before. Ethnic group comparisons were nonsignificant (Chi Square=8.953, df=6, p=0.176).

Additionally, respondents were asked if they had plans to return to the area. Almost all (94.5 pct) had plans to return. Ethnic group comparisons were nonsignificant (Chi Square=6.503, df=3, p=0.090).

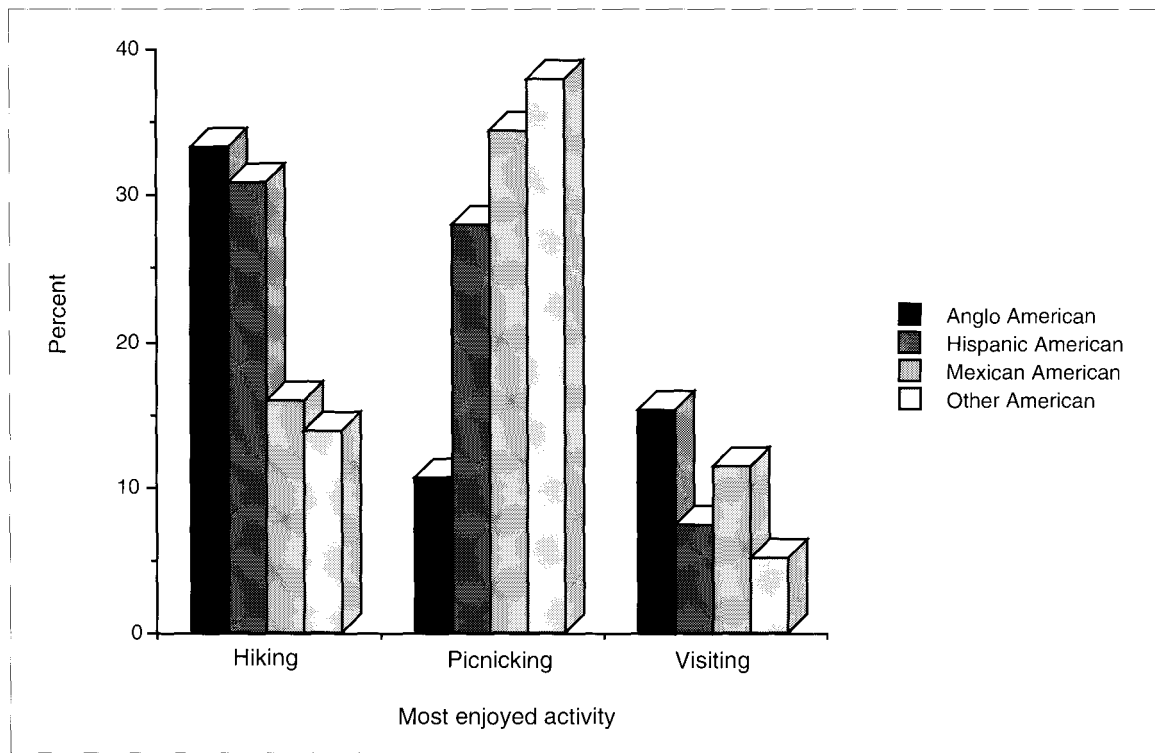


Figure 2-Activity preference for all cultural groups included hiking, picnicking, and visiting with others

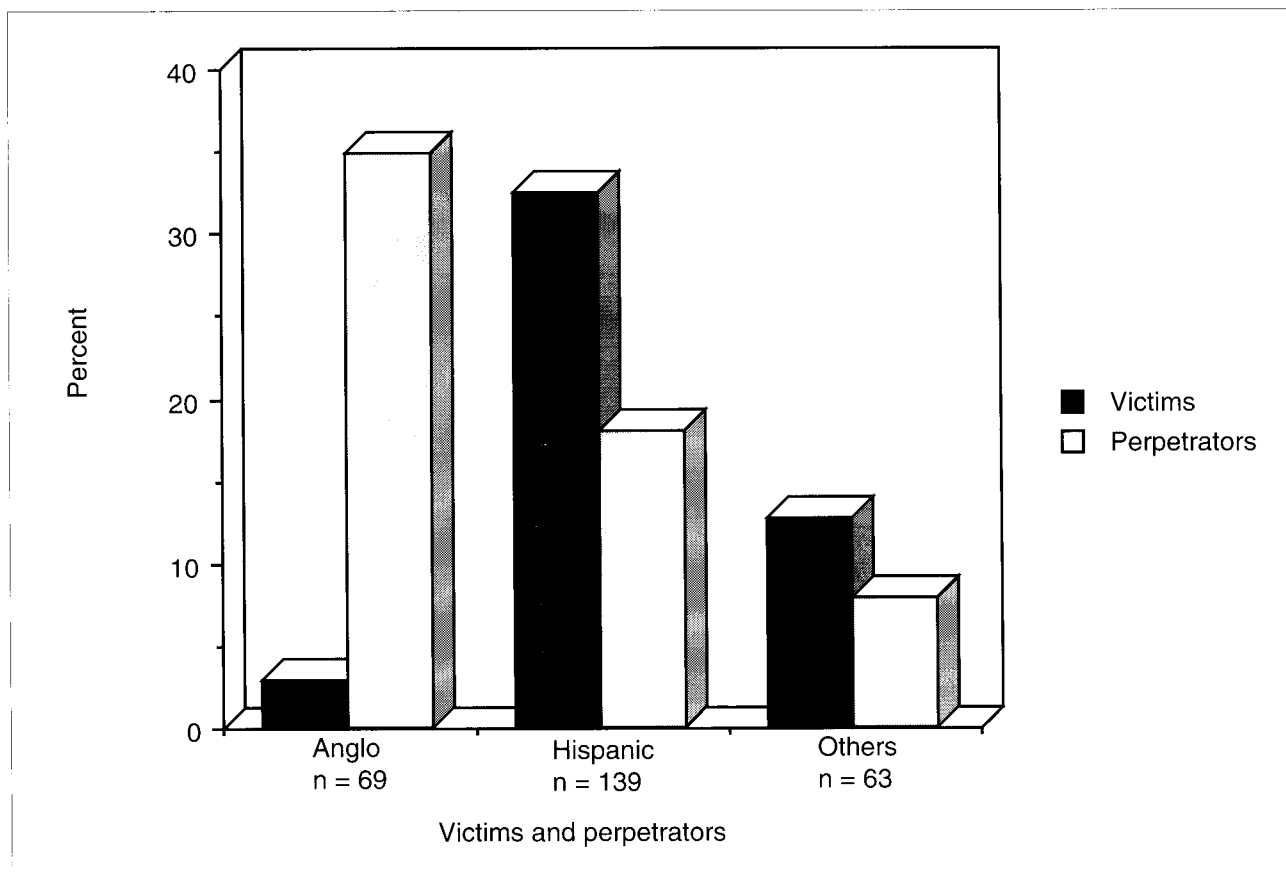


Figure 3-Hispanic and Mexican Americans most often reported being treated unfairly because of their ethnic identity, and Anglo Americans were most often reported as the perpetrators of such treatment.

Table 2-Ethnic identification of victim and law enforcement perpetrator of discriminatory act

Victim		Law enforcement perpetrator			
Ethnicity/race	Number	Anglo	Hispanic	Other	Don't know
		-----Percent-----			
Anglo	1	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Hispanic	18	44.4	50.0	5.5	0.0
Mexican	13	30.8	69.2	0.0	0.0
Other	5	40.0	40.0	20.0	0.0

Table 3-Ethnic identification of victim and forest visitor perpetrator of discriminatory act

Victim		Forest visitor perpetrator		
Ethnicity/race	Number	Anglo	Hispanic	Other
		-----Percent-----		
Anglo	1	00.0	100.0	0.0
Hispanic	10	60.0	40.0	0.0
Mexican	4	75.0	0.0	25.0
Other	3	33.3	0.0	66.7

Management Implications

Depreciative Behavior

In a study of natural resource agencies, Dustin (1990) examined the most common depreciative behaviors and the most effective techniques to resolve those problems. The behaviors included littering, leaving graffiti, and vandalizing. These behaviors were also the most costly along with stealing or destroying signs. The most to least effective techniques Dustin (1990) identified to resolve these behaviors were the following:

- Visibility of park and recreation personnel
- Increased patrols by law enforcement personnel
- Presence of host or volunteer at the site
- Stricter enforcement of the rules
- Increased visitor involvement
- Better communication of reasons behind the rules
- On-site education or interpretive programs
- Incentives to visitors for proper behavior

The findings from site observations and field interviews for the study reported here did not deviate a great deal from Dustin's findings.

Management is the key to controlling vandalism and other forms of depreciative behavior (Stickers 1983). Actions can be both direct and indirect, and some level of activity can occur at any budget level. Suggestions include these (Stickers 1983):

- Continue to develop and implement cost effective law enforcement measures
- Coordinate with other agencies
- Repair vandalism aggressively
- Establish incentive litter programs and "pack-it-in/pack-it-out" programs
- Improve communication with users both on site and off site
- Improve identification of user groups and problem users and develop strategies to reduce graffiti
- Continue to improve and build vandal-resistant facilities.

Several of the suggestions from the current survey are similar to suggestions made by Stickers.

Several patterns emerged from site observations. Findings indicated areas where the natural resource agency could potentially institute changes, while other changes would require more in-depth investigation before action could be taken. The areas where potential management actions are indicated will be discussed first. These suggestions have already been presented

to staff at the Lytle Creek Ranger Station, and some of the recommendations have been instituted or are in the process of change. Other recommendations may not be met because of personnel or budget constraints. Also, the emphasis of this part of the discussion is on the Lytle Creek Apple White picnic area on the San Bernardino National Forest and is applicable in varying degrees to the upper San Antonio Canyon site on the Angeles National Forest.

Signs

Signs could be modified to consider cultural diversity, clarify messages, and-perhaps-to decrease depreciative behaviors. Considering cultural diversity requires multiple languages and an understanding of the visitors. For example, Spanish signs ought to be available in addition to English.

One sign was in both English and Spanish, but a screen over the sign (used to prevent vandalism) rendered both languages unreadable. Other signs on the same post were much larger and could be read but were in English only.

On the road to this site was a sign indicating that campfires were allowed with permits but did not indicate where the permits might be available or why they might be necessary. This sign was in both English and Spanish (*fig. 4*).

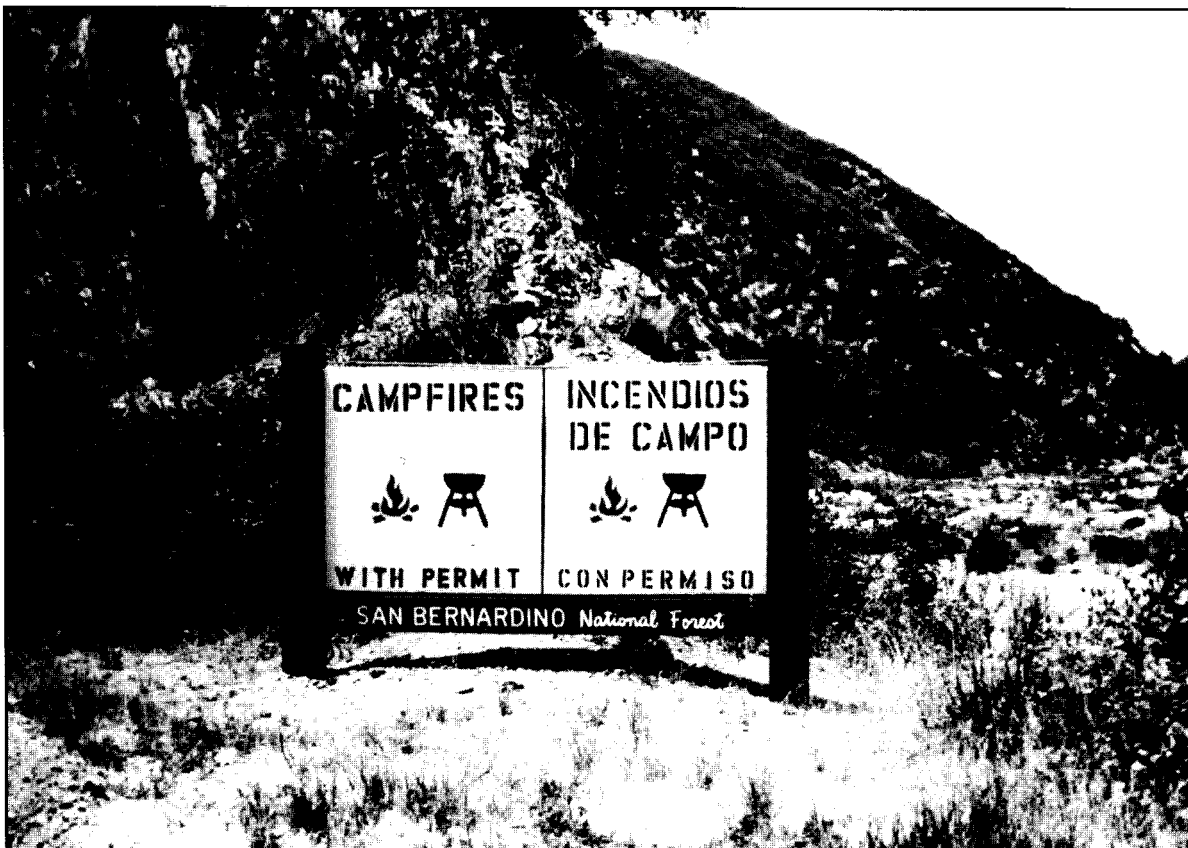


Figure 4—Although this sign gives information in English and Spanish, it does not tell where permits may be obtained.

Other signs at this site varied between positive ("do") signs, such as "Shooting permitted 5 miles," and negative ("don't") signs, such as "Picnic area closed 10 pm to 6 am."

Staff at the Ranger Station indicated that cultural diversity was foremost in consideration, and some signs were being amended relative to this concern. The "campfires with permits" sign may be more problematic though. The solution was to have two signs: one in English and one in Spanish. If two signs were available, then more information could be included on each, such as where to obtain the permits or why permits were necessary. Negative psychological reactance (negative reactions to threats to one's freedom) could be mitigated by using an explanation or justification for making a request. Messages should contain three essential elements: the task (getting the point across), identity (message should convey the agency as it really is), and relational (message should build, maintain, pare down relationships between the agency and the visitor) (Stutman 1990). For example, the new sign might say that permits are required, can be obtained at the ranger station, and are necessary for fire prevention. The problem concerns ordinances about signs, as the resource agency may not be able to add to what is already in place. Should this be the case, then perhaps a sign at the Ranger Station could read in English and Spanish, "Campfire permits available here."

Also problematic is the issue of positive versus negative signing. From trial and error the resource managers have learned that negative signs work best for visitors who are new to the area (about one-third of the visitors). Positive signs are better for repeat visitors. Positive signs are harder to enforce, however, especially if a case goes to court. Negative signs were suggested only for those rules in which safety is a factor and for those which are actually enforced on the site. It was estimated that sign changes would not be overly costly to implement, because the signs are often replaced due to vandalism anyway.

Litter

Not much active littering was observed. Several trash cans and a few trash dumpsters were available. Most of these were located near parking areas, however, and were not in the immediate vicinity of the visitors (at the water's edge). A large amount of trash and broken glass was on the ground after visitors left.

I suggested moving more trash cans nearer to where visitors actually were. The reasons were these: first, after a day of chasing kids, chasing dogs, and cooking, parents probably had little energy left to make one last trip back to the site and retrieve trash; and, second, since resource managers had to go to the water's edge to retrieve trash anyway they could just as readily go there to retrieve trash cans. This idea was approved and acted upon. The resource managers are considering painting the trash cans a more readily seen color and perhaps imprinting "Feed Me" on the cans. While this may not be esthetically pleasing to all visitors, it may help alleviate the littering problem. Of course, "Feed Me" should be in English and Spanish. Handing out trash bags to visitors was another idea to be implemented at the start of the next tourist or visitor season.

This strategy has worked at other sites and may work well here too. Litter control measures were seen as cost-effective improvements.

Interactions with Resource Agency

Implementing changes in interactions between the resource agency members and the visitors is more problematic. Little interaction was observed between the two groups. Mostly the agency members were in vehicles passing by the site, or the interactions were of a law enforcement variety. While law enforcement is necessary, in many cases need for law enforcement may be reduced by visibility of natural resource agency members, especially those who walk through an area.

Discussions at the Ranger Station centered on two main issues: funding and communications. While agency members recognized the importance of this kind of activity (deterrence and public image), funding was not available for the personnel necessary for this type of activity. Should funding become available, a problem would still exist with communication.

Communication may be more challenging but is also important. Few of the agency members stationed in this area were bilingual and communications were difficult. Some agency members are stationed in an area for only 2 or 3 years at a time and are not able to learn a new language before moving to a new location. Some resource agency members attempted to mitigate the communication gap by taking courses offering Spanish-speaking skills but found these skills did not match the dialect of the visitors. The resource managers at the site also attempted to recruit seasonal help with bilingual skills.

The research team found that any attempt to speak Spanish was readily accepted by the visitors. Perhaps the resource managers could start by testing a few key phrases until they feel more comfortable speaking Spanish. If the team used Spanish when approaching a group, the group would respond in Spanish; but in almost all cases, someone in the group spoke English, if not all members in the group. While it seems risky to try a new language and perhaps become embarrassed, the outcome may well be worth it. Also, resource managers should not assume that all Hispanic-looking visitors speak only Spanish.

Visitor Characteristics

The survey study sites are visited by multiple-cultural groups that reside in urban environments. As the humorous cartoon in *figure 5* depicts, urban visitors may think differently about a natural resource area than resource managers do. While this survey did not explore the differences between these two groups, it did explore the relationship of the visitors to the resources. For the most part, visitors were at the site to have a nice day away from the heat of the Los Angeles valley. They were there to enjoy the cool breezes, the water, the food, and each other.

Crowding

In general, visitors did not consider the sites to be too crowded and did not experience crowds as interfering with their activities. The visitor groups did not interact much, and most

people had a good enough time to plan to return to the sites in the future.

I expected Anglo Americans to rate a site as more crowded than would either Hispanic group, but the ratings did not differ statistically. No group thought the sites were overly crowded, and Hispanic groups were more likely to have expected more people at the sites. None of the groups reported crowd size to influence their enjoyment of the site. This finding probably would have been different for more extremely crowded conditions.

Overly crowded conditions, while not found in this study, have been reported at these sites (Hartley 1986, Simcox and Pfister 1989, Stickers 1983) and may need to be mitigated through management actions. Staff at some sites have already planned for this contingency or are setting up entrance gates and limited numbers of parking permits to restrict traffic to certain areas. This strategy is useful to a point. Where people live near the sites, it will be difficult to determine a point at which no more cars may enter. Additionally, at least with the Lytle Creek site, there is more than one destination area which complicates restrictions and guidelines. Resource managers from areas like this will have to consider alternative plans such as site-specific parking permits. Lytle Creek, for example, could have parking permits assigned to each picnic site and to the shooting range.

Activities

While all groups reported hiking, picnicking, and visiting with others as the most enjoyed activities, they differed in their order of preference. Anglo Americans' preferences were for hiking, visiting with others, then picnicking, while Hispanic Americans' preferences were for hiking, picnicking, then visit-

ing with others. Mexican Americans and Others differed slightly with their preferences: picnicking, hiking, then visiting with others. These differences might suggest a preference by Anglos and Hispanic Americans for high-energy activities, and by Mexican-Americans and others for more low-energy activities, such as eating. Also, I expected Hispanic groups to rate visiting with others higher than did other groups as an enjoyed activity, but proportionately more Anglo Americans gave this response than any other group. This finding is contrary to the popular belief that Hispanic groups like to visit with others or it may mean that Hispanics don't view visiting with others as an "activity."

The literature indicates typologies for expectations of benefits and the meanings people attach to wildland recreation experiences. A collection of scientists from a range of disciplines identified potential benefits of recreation participation in four main areas: (1) social and personal; (2) material, (3) environmental, and (4) psychological. These four categories do not represent benefits *per se* so much as indicate what people expect the benefits to be (Schreyer 1990a). Schreyer (1990b) suggested the need to understand the benefits derived from recreational activities. Expectations of benefits for respondents from this survey could be placed into two categories: (1) social and personal benefits (health activities), and (2) psychological benefits (sharing, family, and escape). It is important for resource managers to understand the needs of visitors to recreation sites in order to meet them.

In general, visitors to these sites studied are more similar than different in the activities they enjoy. Natural resource managers of these areas, and areas like these (in proximity to urban areas, with visitors from multiple cultural groups), should understand the similarities and provide the amenities necessary to satisfy these needs. This recommendation is not meant to suggest that all needs must be met--that natural resource areas should accommodate all desires. Rather, it suggests that hiking trails and picnic tables should be abundant. Also, some accommodations should be made for large groups that frequent these areas--perhaps picnic tables in clusters of three or four.

The open ended question concerning additional comments visitors would like to make elicited several responses concerning amenities. About half indicated they were satisfied with the amenities available to them. Those who were not satisfied requested more restrooms, servicing restrooms more frequently, better parking facilities, and enforcement of littering laws. Each of these areas can be addressed by natural resource managers.

Discrimination

The majority of visitors said they had not experienced discriminatory acts at these recreational sites or at another recreational site. This is surprising given the incidence of discriminatory acts in urban areas. Of those who perceived themselves to be victims of discriminatory acts, proportionately more were Hispanic Americans and Mexican Americans. I am unsure what this finding really indicates. It could indicate that Hispanic and Mexican groups are more attuned to the term "dis-



City Dog
Hang in there.

Figure 5—Different cultural groups may think differently about the same natural resource area (Credit: W. Park 1987).

crimination" and report more because of this. It might be that they actually experience more and correctly perceive this to be the case. It might be that Anglo Americans have never been thought of or thought of themselves as discriminated against, yet this wouldn't explain why others held their perception. The findings offer more questions than answers.

This study did not examine ways in which these problems can be solved, but several suggestions are appropriate here. While little apparently can be done about interactions between natural resource agents and visitors, there are three needs to address: (1) managers should be sensitive to cultural group differences; (2) natural resource managers should be from culturally diverse populations; and (3) more interactions are needed between managers and visitors that are not based solely on law enforcement actions. These needs can be filled agency-wide and are not necessarily meant just for these survey sites.

Displacement

The data indicate that displacement does not seem to be a factor at these sites. No ethnic group was any more likely to be either a first-time visitor to a site or a many-time visitor to a site, nor was any group any more likely to plan not to return to a site. Two possibilities remain: displacement from an area may have occurred before the survey and thus was not captured here; or, racial and ethnic groups are interacting in this rural environment, and no group is being moved to accommodate the influx of another group.

Assuming that displacement has already occurred, managers can work to decrease related problems. Resource managers can, for example, suggest alternative sites for either or both parties. This may defuse an immediate problem but does not alleviate the underlying issue. Solving the problem will require resource managers to show by example how to integrate a site, for example, by an integrated and visible workforce. Alternative measures, especially with budget constraints, may be more suitable. An example would be setting up trash gathering parties or other cooperative efforts that incorporate visitors from diverse backgrounds. Resource managers should consider activities that include children from diverse backgrounds---they may be more amenable to tasks as a group and may work well with members of other cultural groups.

Research Needs

Management implications for the issues presented in this discussion section will need to be examined further, especially those measures that do not require large budgetary constraints,

as they may be most often used. In particular, these include suggestions for signs and litter control.

For signs, future research could involve measuring positive versus negative signs for "new" and previous visitors, or measuring the effectiveness of multilanguage signs.

For litter control, future research might include an experimental design. At the Lytle Creek site, for example, there are four parking and picnic areas. The litter cans at one parking and picnic area could remain in their present condition, while cans at the second parking and picnic area could be brightly painted; cans at the third parking and picnic area could be brightly painted with "Feed Me" printed in one language, while cans at the fourth parking and picnic area might be brightly painted with "Feed Me" in multiple languages. The most successful alternative would be identified.

Other issues require further research as well, such as preplanned and nonplanned visits, and age use patterns. For nonplanned visits, shopping bags could be surveyed to determine where nonplanners shop on their way to the site. If one or two sites are central shopping locations, then one site could pass out litter bags, while the other could serve as a control site and pass out no bags. Visitor behaviors related to littering could then be surveyed. Other studies might focus on use patterns related to age. A survey could be implemented to determine the factors which push and pull visitors of specific age groups toward and away from particular recreational sites.

Conclusions

To research hypotheses on racism and displacement, visitors on two National Forests in southern California were observed and surveyed. Data were collected relative to visitor perceptions about such seemingly diverse topics as types of activities most enjoyed on wildland recreation sites, crowding, evidence of discrimination, and displacement. Displacement was not evident at the sites studied. Activities enjoyed and perceived crowding were similar among four racial and ethnic groups: Anglo-Americans, Hispanic Americans, Mexican Americans, and all others. The biggest difference among the groups was perceived exposure to discriminatory acts, which were reported more often by minority groups. Research needs and management implications involve improving interactions and communication with visitors, reducing depreciative behavior, and posting better signs.

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Appendixes

A---Results of Site Observations

	Lytle Creek/Apple White San Bernardino National Forest	San Antonio Canyon Angeles National Forest
<i>Sociodemographic characteristics</i>		
Age Composition	Few elderly Many young families Few teenagers Some preteens Few young couples	Several elderly Few young families Several teenager, Some preteens Sonic young couples
Ethnic composition	Anglo Hispanic Few Black Asian Few multi-ethnic groups	Anglo Hispanic Few Black Asian Many Middle Eastern No multi-ethnic groups
Type of group	Average Five to six. Nuclear families	Average seven to eight Extended Families Grandparents Teens

	Lytle Creek/Apple White San Bernardino National Forest	San Antonio Canyon Angeles National Forest
<i>Sociodemographic characteristics</i>		
Language spoken	English Spanish Asian--specific clinic group unknown	English Spanish Armenian Arabic Other middle-eastern
Cars in parking lot	Large range-up to Mercedes Few nice cars Old vans and trucks All terrain vehicle Several motorcycles	High end of range Several nice cars Fairly new vans and trucks Recreational vehicle Several motorcycles
Equipment	Many radios (few loud) Barbecues Ice Chests, lawn chairs Mattress Table and kitchen chairs Hammocks Blankets	Few radios Barbecues Ice chests, lawn chairs Japanese floor mats Camcorder Hammock Blankets Camera, Tupperware Car seat to lay on
<i>Land ethics</i>		
Littering	Passive littering Active littering Girl picking up litter Broken glass Plastic bags Few diapers	Passive littering No active littering No one gathering litter Broken glass Plastic bags Few diapers Beer cans Playing cards Cardboard, particle board
Depreciative behaviors	Rock throwing (for fun) Dam building (even adults) Person showering under water faucet	Barbecues without permit
Trash can availability	Dumpster in parking lot Trash cans available Most by road and not by creek	No dumpsters Few trash cans-mostly distant Most by parking area One by creek overflowing
<i>Roles, behavior, and norms</i>		
Site selections	Couldn't tell how decided Shade preferred Close to water preferred	Couldn't tell how decided Shade preferred Close to water preferred
Activities, games	Stream walking popular Balls, inner tubes, rafts Rocks and logs as "toys" Plastic toy guns (boys) Plastic pop guns (boys) Rules made as play progresses Girls making mudpies Sunbathing Guitar playing Eating Eat and run Sleeping	Few stream walkers-mostly young males Few water toys Rocks and logs for sitting Plastic toy guns (boys) Girls holding hands Sunbathing Eating Eat and stay Sleeping

	Lytle Creek/Apple White San Bernardino National Forest	San Antonio Canyon Angeles National Forest
<i>Roles, behavior, and norms</i>		
	Drinking beer Dam building One teen swinging small girl and dipping her in stream Game started but lasted few minutes between group members Pole for vaulting from rock to rock Boys racing "Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles" down stream Few dogs Splashing	Several dogs-dog walking Splashing Lawn chairs in water
Choice of food	Tortillas on barbecue grill Salsa from scratch Grocery bags Watermelons cooling in stream Asian group had rice swapped in seaweed Chicken Steak Hot dogs	Prepared foods Watermelon, cooling, in stream Asian group had Tupperware
Posted rules and regulations	Posted at restrooms Could not read print through mesh screen Could only see large signs, like "Dogs on Leash Only" Sign down road from site: No barbecues (easy to miss) Sign indicating picnic area	No restroom to post No snowballs sign Sign among some trees: "Land Management Survey: Please do not disturb" Sign in one parking area: No barbecues (easy to miss) No sign indicating Upper Canyon
<i>Social Interaction</i>		
Between groups	Some watching but little else Groups keep space between them Some talking between groups Some in water---play oriented (children)	Some watching but little else Groups keep space between them Almost no interaction at site
Within groups	Little parenting or sanctioning Preteens caring for children Mothers caring for children Few men cooking Men carried things from vehicle No signs of arguing Mostly nuclear families Traditional gender roles	Little parenting/sanctioning Preteens caring for children One father caring for children Few men cooking Men carried things from vehicle No signs of arguing Mostly extended families Traditional gender roles
Forest Service (FS) with public	No law enforcement Two vehicles drove by FS there early in day to clean up	Enforced barbecue prohibition One vehicle stopped Saw no evidence of cleanup

B-Results of Survey Questionnaire

Visitors completed 312 questionnaires; 71.5 percent used the English version and 28.5 percent used the Spanish version. The number of responses to each question is indicated by n. Percentages and averages of various responses are given in bold type. The survey was conducted in cooperation with the Institute of Outdoor Recreation and Tourism, Utah State University, Logan, Utah 84322-5235.

Dear Forest Visitor:

We need your point of view. We are trying to better understand why some people like to visit some areas, whether they plan to return to the area, and what they think about other visitors. Please take a few minutes to help us out. Thank you!

Some people like to have lots of people around them when they visit this area and others do not like to have many people around. We would like to know how you feel about this.

1. How crowded was the area at the time of your visit? (Circle one number.)

13.9	13.9	16.1	9.7	9.4	21.9	4.8	3.5	6.8	n=310
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
Not at all Crowded		Slightly Crowded		Moderately Crowded			Extremely Crowded		

2. Was this the size of the crowd that you expected to find? (Circle one.)

1. Yes	42.8	No	57.2	n=306
2. No ---> If no, did you expect a larger crowd or a smaller crowd?				
1. Smaller	28.1	n=160		
2. Larger	57.2			

3. Did the size of the crowd add to or take away from your enjoyment?

1. Added to enjoyment	27.8	n=306
2. Took away from enjoyment	10.1	
3. Did not make any difference	62.1	

4. What one type of activity did you enjoy most during your stay?

1. Picnic	27.9	n=298
2. Hike	22.8	
3. Swim	4.7	
4. Visit with others	9.7	
5. Relax	2.7	
6. Camping	0.7	
7. Games	0.3	
8. Shooting	0.7	
9. Fishing	4.0	
10. More than one favorite	26.5	

5. With more people in this area, do you think the activity you most enjoyed would have been more or less enjoyable?

1. More enjoyable with more people	13.4	n=306
2. Less enjoyable with more people	35.3	
3. Group size makes no difference	51.3	

6. How many times have you visited this site?

1. First visit	32.2	n=304
2. One to two times before	18.1	
3. Three or more times before	49.7	

7. Do you think you will ever return to this area?

1. No	5.5	n=310
2. Yes	94.5	
Why?		
Enjoy area	31.1	n=174
Nice environment	21.3	
Get away	17.8	
Why not?		
Poor environment	62.5	n=8
No amenities available	37.5	

8. Who do you think takes care of/manages this area?

1. Bureau of Land Management	2.9	n=307
2. Department of Fish and Game	2.3	
3. Parks and Recreation	18.2	
4. Sheriffs	2.0	
5. U.S. Forest Service	46.3	
6. More than one	4.2	
8. Don't know	24.1	

Some people have reported that other people do not treat them fairly simply because they are members of a particular ethnic group. Other people have not experienced this. We would like to know your experience here.

9. Did any law enforcement person (Forest Ranger or Sheriff) here treat you unfairly because of your ethnic identity?

1. No	90.1	Yes 9.9	n=303
2. Yes	----- > If yes, to which ethnic group does he or she belong?		
1. Anglo American	37.0		n=27
2. Black American	3.7		
3. Hispanic/Latino/ Mexican American	51.9		
4. Other	3.7		
5. Don't know	3.7		

10. Did another forest visitor here treat you unfairly because of your ethnic identity?

1. No	95.7	Yes 4.3	n=301
2. Yes	----- > If yes, to which ethnic group does the person belong?		
1. Anglo American	60.0		n=10
2. Black American	10.0		
3. Hispanic/Latino/ Mexican American	20.0		
4. Asian American	10.0		

Now we would like to know the same thing for other forests areas you may have visited.

11. Did a law enforcement officer (Forest Ranger or Sheriff) in another forest area treat you unfairly because of your ethnic identity?

1. I haven't been to any other forest area	12.2	n=296
	No	83.4
	Yes	4.4

2. Yes -----> If yes, to which ethnic group did the forest ranger belong?

1. Anglo American	30.8	n=18
2. Black American	7.7	
3. Hispanic/Latino/ Mexican American	46.2	
4. Asian American	7.7	
5. Middle Eastern American	7.7	

12. In that other forest area, did another forest visitor treat you unfairly because of your ethnic identity?

1. I haven't been to another forested area 10.7 n=291

No 85.9
Yes 3.4

2. Yes -----> If yes, to which ethnic group did the forest visitor belong?

1. Anglo American	44.4	n=9
2. Black American	11.1	
3. Hispanic/Latino/ Mexican American	33.3	
4. Other--more than one	11.1	

13. Do you think you will ever return to that area?

1. No 12.8 n=281
2. Yes 87.2

Why? Enjoy area 31.5 n=111
Nice environment 18.0
Get away 18.0

Why not? Poor environment 50.0 n=6
Other areas better 33.3
No amenities 16.7

The final questions are about you.

14. Sex 1. Male 53.6 n=304 2. Female 46.4

15. Your age 30.9 (years)

16. Your current marital status

1. Single, never married	35.0
2. Not married, living with partner	7.9
3. Married, living with partner	46.2
4. Separated	3.6
5. Divorced	6.9
6. Widowed	0.3

n=303

17. What was your last year of school?

Elementary School					Middle School		High School				College				Post BA/BS		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17+	
8.3						11.3		45.7				27.0				7.6	n=300

18. What cultural group do you prefer to have others think of you as?

1. Anglo American	24.6	6. Hispanic American	25.7	n=276
2. American Indian	3.6	7. Korean American	0.7	
3. Black American	1.8	8. Mexican American	26.4	
4. Chinese American	2.5	9. Vietnamese American	0.7	
5. Filipino American	1.8	10. Other (specify)	12.0	

19. What do you do for a living? Unemp/House/Student/Retired 28.0 n=289
Unskilled/Semi-skilled 13.1
Skilled/Semi-professional 37.7
Professional/Own business 8.0
Other/Non-specific 13.1

20. Where were you born? Inside U.S.A. 56.8 n=301
Outside U.S.A. 43.2 (mostly Mexico)

21. I have lived in the U.S.A.: 1. all my life 58.4 n=303
2. for 11.6 years

Is there anything else you think we should know about your visit to this area?

Positive about area	40.5	n=79
Negative about area	59.5 (mostly dirty and crowded)	

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR SHARING YOUR OPINIONS!



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**Pacific Southwest
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Research Paper
PSW-RP-216



Visitor Perceptions of Crowding and Discrimination at Two National Forests in Southern California

