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RACIAL DISPARITY IN SOCIAL SPATIALITY:

USAGE OF NATIONAL PARKS AND OPERA ATTENDANCE

by

JOSEPH TERRY JOHNSON

Under the Direction of Toshi Kii

ABSTRACT

This study investigates the existence of an ethnic separation in different settings of leisure activities. I examine the relationship between race, gender, socioeconomic status, and education with respect to the usage of popular cultural activities and high cultural activities to demonstrate the racial disparity occurring in both. A literature review pertaining to the usage of outdoor recreation, as in camping and hiking evidences the influence of racism on the disparity in Non-white participation. In contrast to out-door leisure activities, literature evidences the influence of class instead of race for the disparity in indoor leisure activities. Using the 1993 General Social Survey (GSS), I am able to arrive at the conclusion that the type of leisure chosen by an ethnic group relates much less to the educational level, economic status or the place of residence as it does to the perception of the socially constructed settings.

INDEX WORDS: Index terms, Place attachment, Popular cultural activities, High cultural activities, Interracial contact, Leisure activity, Collective memory, Arts.

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by

J. Terry Johnson

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

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Georgia State University

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Barbara McMartin, writer of more than a dozen guidebooks on the Adirondacks, when asked how often she encounters an African-American while on the trail, responded by saying, “Almost never” (Wechsler, et al., 2001, online edition). In his article, “F*ew Blacks visit Dacks: Public lands remain a White enclave*,” Alan Wechsler states, “This would be in keeping with a National Park Service poll that found minorities just don’t feel comfortable in a predominantly White environment” (Wechsler, et al., 2001, online edition). Alice Green, a civil-rights advocate from Albany stated, concerning the absence of Blacks from the wilderness, “If you don’t see people of color, you sort of get the impression it’s not for you” (Wechsler, et al., 2001, online edition). It’s a “Catch-22” (Wechsler, Alan and Brown, 2001, online edition). Ken Thurman, assistant city editor at the Albany Times Union, reported his father’s initial reaction when told that he (Ken Thurman) was going to hike Buck Mountain, “Why do you want to do that? That’s something only white boys like to do. You won’t see any black folks out there” (Thurman, 2001, online edition).

This study of socially perceived space examines the nature of race and marginality, describes the evolution of the racialized system, and propounds the legacy of this racialization as the foundation for the absence of ethnic minorities from certain types of leisure activities. With nearly one in four US citizens identifying themselves as a member of a minority group, there is an obvious absence of a racial diversity among the visitors of most National Parks in America. For example, from the National Park Service, a polling of visitors to the Grand Canyon in Arizona indicated that 4.7 percent were Hispanics, 1.5

percent Blacks and 1.2 percent Native Americans. At Yosemite National Park in California, 3.6 percent were Hispanics, 3.3 percent Asians, 1.3 percent Native Americans and 0.4 percent were Blacks (Source: National Park, 1997). From the National Endowment for the Arts, the figures show that Blacks account for a mere 3.9% of those attending an operatic performance in 2002. Opera attendees are wealthier, somewhat older, more highly educated, and tend to reside in the suburbs. Opera performances tend to attract slightly more women than men (58% to 42%), with the median age of the opera audience being 48 years of age (National Endowment for the Arts, 2002). Though Whites (including Hispanic Whites) composed 72.9 percent of the adult population in 2002, approximately 86 percent of opera attendees are White (National Endowment for the Arts, 2002).

In popular outdoor recreation, hikers and campers are wealthier, somewhat older than the general population, highly educated, and tend to reside in the suburbs. Of the hikers surveyed on the Appalachian Trail, 71 percent had a college degree or higher in comparison to the national figure where only 24% of the population has at least a bachelor degree[1.] In addition, 29.4% of the hikers will have a Master's or greater education. According to national figures the average income for all races is $22,199; for non-Hispanic Whites, the income is $25,278, and for Blacks, the income is $15,197; however, sixty-four percent of hikers surveyed on the Appalachian Trail earned more than $40,000 (Use and Users of the Appalachian Trail: A Source Book, 2003). "Non-Hispanic whites are generally more likely to participate in all leisure activities surveyed than other ethnicities or races. African Americans have a particularly low rate of participating in outdoor activities (e.g., camping and hiking) compared with other ethnicities and races" (National Endowment for the Arts, p. 52, 2002). From the National Endowment for the Arts, 2002, of those earning over $40,000 per year, 45.8% of Whites responded affirmatively to the survey question of

[1] National figures based on the US 2000 Census.

"Did you participate in any outdoor activities, such as camping, hiking, or canoeing during the last 12 months?" Whereas only 13.6% of Blacks responded that they had participated in such activities, a 32.2% difference, resulting in a statistical significance of a Pearson Chi-square value 2.516356510707e-040.

Approximately, 96.5 percent of hikers who were surveyed on the Appalachian Trail were White; 1.6 percent were Blacks, 1.2 percent were Asian American, 0.5 percent were American Indian or Alaskan Native, and 0.2 percent were native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islanders (Use and Users of the Appalachian Trail: A Source Book, 2003). Compare these figures to the national average, and the findings indicate that although 96.5 percent of hikers are non-Hispanic White, non-Hispanic Whites make up only 69.1 percent of the US population. Blacks compose 12.1 percent of the population; however, only 1.6 percent of the hikers surveyed indicated that they were Blacks. Incidentally, while the Appalachian Trail Source Book displayed a lack of any figures concerning Hispanic or Latino (of any race) hikers upon the Appalachian Trail , Hispanic or Latino (of any race) make up 12.5 percent of the population, making them the largest minority group in the United States according to the 2000 U.S. census. Though the age of "overt" manifestation of discrimination in the United State appears to have ended, the thesis I put forward is that the perception of discrimination through the venue of "Colorblindness" still has an effect upon the various milieu of society.

The intention of this paper is to focus on four specific areas: (1) the theoretical perspectives on racial ideology, (2) a brief history of its development, (3) the emergence of racial marginality after the establishment of a racist ideology, (4) and an explanation for its continuation (Bourdieu, 1984, 1990; Connerton, 1989; and Halbwachs, 1941). By examining the phenomenon of racial marginality, hereafter merely called marginality, comes the hope of

understanding the relationship between the races and the usage of outdoor as well as indoor leisure activities. From the General Social Survey (GSS), 1993, the data suggest that the type of outdoor recreation chosen by an ethnic group relates less to education, economic status or the place of residence as it does to the perception of the socially constructed setting of who may or may not be welcome to participate. The marginality theory of recreation behavior attributes a lack of minority participation in outdoor recreation to a lack of socioeconomic resources. This, however, diminishes marginality to a socioeconomic explanation of racial variation. Marginality theory (Floyd, 1998) does not explain the absence of upper-class Blacks in certain types of leisure activity.

Numerous lucubrations have attempted to unravel the complexities within the phenomenon of racial disparity concerning the usage of both popular and high culture activities. High culture is a term referring to the milieu of the arts cultivated under the European Renaissance, which is the revival of intellectual or artistic achievement and vigor. In essence, high culture is a phrase used to describe the cultural milieu of a western society's upper class, which is the highest socioeconomic class in a society. The cultural elite is defined as the most powerful sections of society, i.e. the social, political, economic and intellectual. The elite are then the group or class of persons enjoying superior intellectual, social, or economic status. The definition of culture is that which is defined *as* such by the dominant classes. In fact, Bourdieu uses the term culture to refer solely to this aspect of civilization. The operational definition of high culture then is the beliefs, values, mores, customs, behaviors, and material objects of a given way of life, in which the cultural elite controls the artistic qualities of the work and of the members allowed to enter into the group. High culture defines the standards of an artistic work that are acceptable for those who

produce the work as well as to those who partake of them. Contrasting high culture of the elite to popular culture, popular culture refers to the activities produced for, and consumed by the non-elite or to the general population of the society. Institutionalized high culture demarcates the elite from those below the elite to embrace the artistic interest in an association with a given social class and to establish the individual as a member with that class (Dimaggio and Useem, 1978; Bourdieu, 1984).

CHAPTER 2: USAGE OF PUBLIC SPACE

In retrospect, the 1963 Civil Rights movement culminated in the dismantling of institutional barriers to political participation and public accommodations, including specific actions targeted at public parks and recreational areas (Floyd, 1998; Philipp, 1999). Early researchers attempted to explain the ethnic pattern in outdoor leisure participation. One theory posits the premise of racial marginality. Exploiting the labor resources of the periphery, with the development and accumulation of power within the center underlies the concept of marginality. In 1978, Randal Washburne articulated a conceptual basis of marginality and ethnicity for recognizing race and ethnic effects in leisure participation. By definition, marginal groups occupy an unequal and disadvantaged position within common fields of knowledge and power (Brodwin, 2003). Subject to stigma as a subordinate group, Blacks[2] often reside in second-class citizenship, vulnerable to the threats of economic and social discrimination, even when discrimination is not blatantly evident, as in the subtle form of color-blindness, discrimination is still intimidating (Brodwin, 2003). The esprit de préjugé continues to affect the usage of a given space, be that space a workspace, leisure space or any space constructed in the production of space (Lefebvre, 1974). Discrimination is a serious issue in park management, and receives in

---

[2] Black is a color-defined term employed as a mode of ethno-racial classification. The Europeans in the colonization and conquest of non-Europeans constructed the English word. The term differs slightly in two basic ways. The first meaning designates people who were part of the African Diaspora. The second meaning assigns native non-European people lacking African ancestry as “Black.” In a survey that I administered in 2001, under the ethnic identity section, one individual had marked through the word “Black” penciled in “Negro.” This is to say, Black is just one of several ways that an individual can label himself or herself.

depth examination by leisure researchers (Blahna and Black, 1993; Chavez, 1993; Eisenhauser, et al., 2000; Floyd and Gramann, 1995; West, 1989).

From a survey conducted by Noe, Hutcheson, and Snow (1990), a rank order of favorite activities by subjective social class controlling for race demonstrates an interesting pattern. Whites rank individual activities higher than Blacks, whereas Blacks rank group activities higher than Whites do. The proposition from their research, suggested by the results of their survey, indicated that Whites choose different leisure activities than those chosen by Blacks.

A theory promoted by Myron Floyd (1998) discusses marginalization as it relates to racial conflicts in outdoor recreation. In 2002, Lincoln Park in Chicago became the site where Paul H. Gobster conducted his study on racial and ethnic diversity of recreational users. Racial and ethnic minority participants (excluding Whites) of this study responded when asked of a favored location in the park, 43 percent of Blacks, 51 percent of Latinos, and 82 percent of Asians knew of popular areas in the park where members of their racial or ethnic group went (Patterson, 1972). What research demonstrates is that Blacks are more likely to use city parks, and less likely to visit national or regional parks (West, 1989). Recent research demonstrates that even within the city park there exists a state of segregation by race (Gobster, 2002). When asked if there were any times or situations with the park where you felt discriminated against, 14% of Blacks responded positively, more than any other racial groups. Three other identified sources of discrimination emanated from other park users (4%), the police (4%), or from the park faculty or staff (0.5%). P. C. West exclaimed that incidences of aggression against Blacks may be isolated examples limited to a few individuals, but these incidences may be more pervasive (West, 1989). The mere telling of the incident will influence the decision making of others to the type of activity chosen. Nonetheless, little research exists where the focus is on

the effects of racial discrimination on the leisure activities of Blacks (Philipp, 1999). Even in calmer, unspoken prejudicial behavior such as an elite Key Biscayne Country Club member eyeing a bucolic interloper, discrimination could make users feel uncomfortable no matter the setting, be that setting an outdoor leisure activity or in the concert halls during a performance of Mozart's The Magic Flute (Philipp, 1999).

This history of discrimination, which cast minorities as imperfect people, and "a list of others who are seen to pose a threat to the dominant group in society as polluting bodies or folk devils" (Sibley, 1995. p 49.) will have the dominant group locate the marginalized group 'elsewhere' (Cullen, Bradley, and Pretes, 2000; De Vidas, 2004; Wacquant, 1993). This "elsewhere" could be anywhere, or it could be nowhere in particular. It could be a physical place like a city park, or a residential area within an inner city, or a nonphysical place such as a construct of the mind. Wherever the place, it is impossible for the citizens of that relegated environ (especially when the destination of the place is the ghetto) to overlook the belittling of the elite for existing in such areas associated with poverty, disease, crime and drugs (De Vidas, 2004). "Today, living in the historic Black Belt of Chicago carries an automatic presumption of social unworthiness and moral inferiority which translates into an acute consciousness of the symbolic degradation associated with being confined to a loathed and despised universe" (Wacquant, 1993. p. 371). Two centuries of slavery and another century and a half of discrimination created two cultures in America, which Orlando Patterson calls a classificatory racial system, where anyone not completely White is Black (Patterson, 1972). The creation of two cultures precludes the establishment of different places, with one such place designated as leisure places, where each culture deems, consciously or subconsciously, the ownership of that given place.

High Cultural

Each stratum within the hierarchy of social class possesses a distinctive articulation with distinctive cultural preferences. From the moment of birth, the processes of socialization assure the perpetuation of lifestyle, education, and cultural traditions from one generation to the next. The relationship between social class and education solidifies the culture predilection within the family. With higher education, the opportunities avail to the aesthetic appreciation of highbrow artistic culture. As an indication of this linkage, derived from the survey of the National Endowment for the Arts, 2002, of those without a high school diploma, only .5% went to the opera the previous year, 1.0% of those with a high school diploma went to the opera, 2.6% of those with some college went to the opera, 5.7%, of those with a Bachelor degree went to the opera, 8.9% of those with Master degree went to the opera, 12.4% of those with Professional degrees (MD etc.) and 15.3% of those with Ph.D's went to the opera. In comparison, 17.4% of Whites in this survey possess a Bachelor's degree whereas 10.8% of Blacks have a Bachelor's degree. Again, 6.5% of Whites have a Masters whereas 3.7% of Blacks possess a Master degree. Of those have a Professional degree, 1.3% are White, .6% are Black. Education, thus, functions as a major influence on the type of artistic culture that is appreciated. The embracing of an artistic interest in an association with a given social class establishes the individual as a member with that class (Dimaggio and Useem, 1978). Expanding upon the research of McIntyre and Pigram (1992), the degree of involvement by an individual in an activity reflects the devotion and participation in the activity; this involves: (1) attraction, which is an activity considered meaningful and important to the individual, (2) self-expression, how the individual wishes to convey the impression of the self to others, and (3) centrality, how an activity revolves

around the self conception of the individual (Kyle et al., 2002). Embracing standards, tastes and social affiliation provide cues to the status of others and the way in which the others are to be treated (Goffman, 1951). High culture portrays the characteristics of exclusiveness. In an effort to include blue-collar workers within the arena of highbrow culture, which the upper class in the United States dominates, some resistance appears to emanate from the traditional patrons of the arts (Dimaggio and Useem, 1978). The upper class in an exertion of political power excludes other classes from the arena of high culture as a means of preserving elitism (Dimaggio and Useem, 1978). In spite of this, a strategy to access this elitist domain is the upward mobility in the acquisition of elite education and cultivation of artistic taste. Research indicates that involvement in cultural activities as well as in popular leisure activities performs a formative role in developing a psychological attachment (Kyle et al., 2002). When an attachment to a place happens, i.e. such as a hiker's attachment to the Appalachian Trail, a sense of ownership occurs. With a sense of ownership, the feeling of "this is my place and not your place" takes place. There evolves the delineation between us, who are the owners, and them, who are not.

In a study structured to measure the attitudes and behaviors of Black students and the relation to their perception of Whiteness, the results indicated which behavior was unacceptable by attributed the action as acting White. Of the list of behaviors indicated as being White, heading the list was: (1) speaking Standard English, (2) listening to "White music," and (3) going to the opera or ballet. In this list, going camping, hiking, or mountain climbing were unacceptable to Black students and construed as acting White (Fordham and Obgu, 1985). Attitudes and behaviors that children learn in their communities follow them to school and into adulthood. What develops is a collective identity in opposition to what White

Americans define Black Americans to be. Along with the oppositional identity is the construction of an oppositional cultural frame of reference in what is attributable as Whiteness, is not appropriate for Blackness. Acting White in this regards is an anathema for Black Americans. To participate in such an activity brings self-doubt with the thoughts of betraying ones own race. If, as indicated, going to the opera or camping relates to acting White, then retribution, mentally or otherwise, places constraints on Blacks' participation (Fordham and Obgu, 1985). Minorities apply an oppositional cultural frame of reference selectively. When a Non-white individual participates in an activity that has been associated as belonging to Whites, then that individual becomes marked as by his or her minority group as acting White. Thus, the main strategy for coping with the burden of acting White is to avoid the behavior construed as being White. From the Washington Post (archive edition, February 10, 1985), E. Sargent, who as an African American, remarked that upon learning Beethoven might have been a mulatto, that this fact alone enabled him to enjoy classical music more so than ever before, even though his Black friends remained steadfast in their belief that classical music is "White music."

Patrons of high culture and the elite arts persist mainly in the upper-middle and upper class, of which opera alone relates to economic inequalities (Blau, 1986). The common perception of the cultural arts, relates opera as a plaything for the rich and as the stomping ground of the cultural snobs (Zelechow, 1991). Elite art thus becomes a symbol for the distinction between rich and poor: solidifying the position of the rich, forbidding the approach of the poor into their own secluded domain. In spite of this, a strategy to access this elitist domain is the upward mobility in the acquisition of elite education and cultivation of artistic taste. Even so, riches alone is not the proverbial ticket to the upper crust. Admittance is

predicated by values, a life-style, and in the presentation of class and distinction. A study of the audiences of the performing arts reveal that three quarters of the audience are managerial or professional, while blue-collar labor's representation never exceeded one-twentieth (Dimaggio and Useem, 1978). This same study revealed the proportion of blue-collar workers remained low in all seating areas regardless of the price (Dimaggio and Useem, 1978).

Though opera attendance by race and ethnicity is disproportionate, it is imperative, as discerned by the pronouncement of the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA), to discern that race is not a good predictor of operatic attendance (The National Endowment for the Arts, 2002). NEA sponsored research shows that other demographic variables such as age, income and education are significantly better in predicting whether an individual attends the opera (Nichols, 2002; Peterson et al., 2003; Dimaggio and Ostrower, 1990). Nonetheless, though age, income and education are better predictors, race is still a significant variable in predicting whether an individual attends the opera. In an attempt to unravel the perplexities of music appreciation between the races or between the social classes, researchers endeavor to clarify the distinction why certain type of music is enjoyable by one group and not by another. Findings indicated that Blacks are more likely than Whites to enjoy music rooted in Black culture such as jazz, rap, and rhythm and blues. Furthermore, findings indicated that Blacks are less enthusiastic about big band and rock music than Whites, which some suggest that perhaps Blacks see these two types of music as having been taken over by Whites, despite personage like Duke Ellington (Zill and Robinson, 1994). In the United States, Blacks are much less interested in music that has its origin in White cultures such as classical music and Broadway tunes; unless the Broadway play is predominately Black in structure i.e. playwright, story line, actors, and actresses. Pierre Bourdieu uses the concept of *habitus*—which is the

pattern of thought, comprehension, and behavior—to depict how an individual incorporates their socioeconomic status to express the class position in cultural choices, which reflects the class structure in which they occupy (Bourdieu, 1980; Dumais, 2002). The "pattern of thought, comprehension, and behavior," manifests two different patterns in explaining the reasons for the dissimilar actions occurring between the two groups.

With the understanding of Pierre Bourdieu (1977) in his analysis of how society develops a sense of belonging through the conceptualization of habitus and shared capital, along with the illuminating works of Paul Connerton (1989) and Maurice Halbwachs (1941) concerning collective memory, there occurs the construction of an identity, of ethnicity and class differences.

> "The habitus is precisely this immanent law, lex insita, laid down in each agent by his earliest upbringing, which is the precondition not only for the co-ordination of practices but also for practices of co-ordination, since the corrections and adjustments the agents themselves consciously carry out presuppose their mastery of a common code and since undertakings of collective mobilization cannot succeed without a minimum or concordance between the habitus of the mobilizing agents and the dispositions of those whose aspirations and world-view they express" (Bourdieu, 1990. p. 59).

"In each of us, in varying proportions, there is a part of yesterday's man who inevitably predominates in us, since the present amounts to little compared with the long past in the course of which we were formed and from which we result" (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 56)

Participation in the elite arts forms an investment in cultural capital. To display a racially disparate pattern of participation in the high arts gives evidence to the influences of hegemony. In particular, in the past Blacks were excluded from high-cultural arts, both indirectly by economic and educational factors and directly by discrimination (Dimaggio and Ostrower, 1990). Culture, then, became an instrument of class domination in the same matter as economics is to social class. Evidence of Blacks participation in the arts is scarce and inconsistent (National Endowment for the Arts, 2002). There are contradictory conclusions in the research of leisure activities as defined by race. Some studies indicate a proportional representation of Blacks in the arts, while other studies report a lower participation. Within the Black community, some studies show a difference in arts attendance between middle class Blacks and lower class Blacks, in that middle class Blacks will attend the performing arts, while the lower class Blacks will abstain from going. Other studies show that neither middle nor lower class Blacks will attend (Dimaggio and Ostrower, 1990).

Leisure Perception

During an investigation of Black social issues, Banner-Haley (1994) remarked that the Black middle-class exemplifies the model for Black lower class. Philipp (1999) suggests that if the Black middle class should perceive the existence of a racial discrimination in any given area or in any particular event that this perception would affect the lower Black class in the choices that they might make. Dimaggio and Ostrower (1990) note that while middle-class Blacks shifted their social life from the arena of the home to the community, protective measurement against racial prejudices became necessary to dodge and block the poisonous darts of racial slurs. What is

lacking in previous research is an examination into the interracial interaction of prejudice and discrimination, and the affects that this has on the choices made by the individual experiencing the biases. If the perception of an activity, whether that activity is a popular or high culture, denotes the presence of a prejudicial atmosphere, then that perception becomes the basis for the decision, which the individual would make. The influence of prejudice need not be based on race alone; its origin could spring from class, education, income, religion or on any other number of variables. From this persuasion, middle class Blacks affect the lower class Blacks' preferences in the type of leisure activities selected (Banner-Haley, 1994).

In a significant research performed by Steven F. Philipp, a panel of 18 graduate students compiled a list of 191 often-studied leisure activities from the population. This research used a random sample of 45 blocks, containing 421 single-family residences from a southern U.S.A metropolitan census tract, where the population consisted of Blacks with greater education, higher income, and living within a racially integrated neighborhood. From the 191 leisure activities, the panel selected twenty activities to include in a three-page questionnaire format. Philipp examined the question, "How welcome do you think most Blacks feel at twenty selected venues" (Philipp, 1999. p. 392). This perception of being welcome functioned as a measure of racial prejudice.

Middle-class Blacks and middle-class Whites display similar scores in the analysis performed by Philipp, indicating that both groups understood the situation where Blacks would be "perceived" as being welcome or not. The results of this survey indicated that Blacks rated "going to the country clubs" as the place where Blacks would feel very unwelcome. This finding proposes leisure activities possess a racial information system already known and agreed upon to say who is welcome and who is not, notwithstanding "colorblindness." Colorblindness that is used here, deals with the assumption of a white individual that all is equal, when in fact, it is not. Education is not

equal, which should give rise to equal opportunity in the work place, with equal opportunity for job advancement. One question is the question of where are all the Black females at the top of the corporate or academic ladder. Colorblindness will give only excuses for the disparity. It is important to note that Blacks do not feel as welcome in some activities as in others, which suggests that racial prejudice may serve as a constraint for middle-class Blacks in many leisure activities. If racial prejudice has lessened and the educational level of Blacks has increased—translating into a higher socioeconomic status—then the proportional participation between Blacks and Whites in leisure activity should show a pattern of conversancy. An interpretation of this proposition of unwelcomeness has led many Blacks to devalue many leisure activities. "Do middle-class African Americans believe the rewards or benefits of leisure are equally available to all in the United States, or do they believe racial discrimination causes them enough discomfort and racial self-awareness to prevent full happiness, spontaneity, and well-being in many leisure activities and places" (Philipp, 1999. p. 400)? Opera thus is a reflection of habitus as a product of the experience of ones upbringing, registering in the racial information system as something belonging to Whites. The embodied history, internalized as a second nature and so forgotten as history is the active presence of the whole past of which it is the product (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 56). Habitus, formulated by Bourdieu, is spontaneity without consciousness or will. In the manner of Levi-Strauss, the phonemic systems operate at the level of the unconscious thought. "It is because agents never know completely what they are doing that what they do has more sense than they know" (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 69). It is this unconscious thought of not quite understanding, but sensing that one is "out of place," or feeling unwelcome, that guides the actions of an individual.

CHAPTER 3: PERSPECTIVE THEORIES

Given the illusionary aspect of a racial ideology, the persistence of such a belief in an advanced society is perplexing. The term "illusion," that is, when it pertains to a racial ideology, is not phantasmagoric in nature. "This use of the term 'illusion' should not be taken to imply that ideologies are somehow unreal. On the contrary, many ideological illusions are all too real in their consequences for the oppressed" (Shelby, 2003, p. 168). The consequences are genuine, the results of a racial ideology are damaging, and the cause is in need of an elucidation to rectify the legacy of hate. While the legal system of Jim Crow lies buried beneath the judicial gravestones of the past, with separate rest rooms, eating facilities and residential areas now legally prohibited, many Blacks possess the uncanny ability to sense the presence of aversive racism. Overt prejudice and discrimination do not have to be blatant to cause a Black individual to pause for a moment to contemplate whether or not if they should enter a predominately-White locale. In her book, *Yearning: Race, gender, and cultural politics*, bell hooks (1991) relates a story, though she does not convey the story to enunciate spatial disparities, she does convey, nevertheless, the sense of separation of "them" and "us."

> At a dinner party I talked about trying to grapple with the significance of postmodernism for contemporary black experience. It was one of those social gatherings where only one other black person was present. The setting quickly became a field of contestation. I was told by the other black person that I was wasting my time, that 'this stuff does not relate in any way to what's happening with black people. Speaking in the presence of a group of white onlookers, *staring at us as though this encounter were staged for their benefit, we engaged in a passionate discussion about black experience* (hooks, [Project Muse, Online] 1990)

One explanation for racial prejudice persistence is the idealistic claim that the ideology is due to a misconception of the available facts. The idealist's solution is to encourage a multicultural education for the dominant and subdominant groups. They would learn together; and by doing so, they would come to know each other. Neo-Marxism, conversely, criticizes the idealist for neglecting the material condition that gave rise to the racial ideology. The assertion of historical materialism according to Marx is the correct avenue to the analysis of human history, in contrast to the idealist tradition of the German intellectuals, which fails to comprehend the forces of production and the people's relationship to production as the underlying power for the structure of society.

Another explanation for racial prejudice persistence is the Neo-Marxist paradigm that tries to explain the persistent racial consciousness in terms of a material explanation. According to Marx, the material processes of production and the social structures within which they operate best describe the false impression of social consciousness (Shelby, 2003). An understanding of a racial ideology must recognize the association with the material/economic state in which the participants are located. It is in this association of a self-serving ideology that racism has failed to crumble under critical examination. "The master narrative has rested on the power to label people to segregate them for economic and political purposes" (Valdez, Norberto and Janice, 1998. p. 382). During the period of early American slavery, slave owners had a stake in perpetuating a belief of African inferiority. This third belief, from which the cornerstone of racism was constructed, exploited the labor of African slaves. The force of economic self-sufficiency intertwined with race as the building block of a national structure. As America was defining itself, it was defining itself as a White culture.

The balancing of a social structure as construed by the functionalist, is in such a fashion that “Blacks cannot escape their subordinate status by converting to the dominant religion, or by excelling in the economic field or by intellectual achievement, no matter how many exceptions there are” (Shelby, 2003. p. 177). Blacks, as well as Whites, remained imprisoned within the walls of ideology. If this ideology is the case, then ethnic differences should diminish by the effects of modernization and inter-group interaction, and demonstrate a proportional equality in the participation in cultural leisure activities. The logic is as follows: As discrimination decreases and inter-group interaction increases, the cost to Blacks of cultural capital declines and the benefit of cultural capital ameliorates. As the educational level of Blacks rises, so too, should the rise of their economic status, with the results that cultural convergences should come about. If opera correlates to economics, then as Blacks move into the middle and upper middle socioeconomic level, more Blacks should attend the opera as well as go hiking and camping. The result is that the perception of place attachment diminishes as the activity of that place becomes accessible to all. The antithesis of this logic is that as the economic status increases for Blacks, so too, is there an increase in economic competition. An increase in economic competition causes a unifying action and mobilization of groups based on cultural symbolisms. This perpetuates and fortifies, creating a greater class or group solidarity, preventing consequently, the competing group from participating in a given activity by the assumption that the cost of participation would be too costly to bear, resulting in the exclamation of “That’s something only white boys like to do” (Thurman, 2001, online edition).

An increase of education in young Blacks should incur an increase in economic status, with a correlated increase in cultural capital; greater participation in those activities designated as the “elite art” is hypothesized. An interview with two African American campers (personal

interview, 2004), one male, the other female, both with a Master's in child psychology, while on the Appalachian Trail illustrates this possibility. The two campers related how their parents informed them that hiking and camping was something that White people do, adding that it might not be safe on the trail. The two Black campers viewed the wilderness no differently than any other hiker/camper. Nevertheless, by speaking with just these two Blacks should not lead to any conclusion. Future research in age differential is advisable. The older Black parents reflected the legacy of a racial ideology, while the younger couple transcended its restrains.

Another explanation for racial prejudice persistence pertains to the functionalists, who claim that without a change in the social relations of power, no matter the inexorable conclusion to the absurd, the social conscious will retain their present influences. The standard interpretation defines an "absurd result" as an outcome so contrary to perceived social values that it differs from the true intent. "So understood, the absurdity doctrine is merely a version of strong intentionalism" (Manning, 2003, p2390). Based on a false assessment of a textual intention, absurdity prevails contrary to common sense. "The common sense of man approves the judgment mentioned by Puffendorf, that the Bolognian law which enacted, that whoever drew blood in the streets should be punished with the utmost severity, did not extend to the surgeon who opened the vein of a person that fell down in the street in a fit" (Manning, 2003, p2390). Gramsci noted that 'common sense is not something rigid and immobile, but is continually transforming itself' (Gramsci, cited in Hall 1982: 73). With the study of a phenomenon comes the understanding of the phenomenon; "in other words, one learned these things in order to be oneself and to know oneself consciously" (Gramsci, translated by Joseph A. Buttigieg, 2002).

New ideologies will surface to rejuvenate an old belief that is threatened by new revelations. To give an example, it was once believed that Blacks were not intelligent enough to

go to school, much less graduate from college. Nonetheless, when Blacks began acquiring Ph.D's, news thoughts arose to hold on to old belief in the creation of the "exception to the rule." The transformation of social structures allows for the elimination of false beliefs and the irrational false consciousness that accompanies them (Bonilla-Silva, 2001). The alternative theory implies that because the phenomenon has structural consequences for the races, only by eliminating its systemic roots will society eliminate racism. Bonilla-Silva warns that whether this is accomplishable democratically or only through revolutionary means is a debatable question, the outcome of which depends on the racial structure of the society in which it occurs. "When we have *asked* ourselves seriously whether we really know anything at all, we are naturally led into an examination of knowing, in the hope of being able to distinguish trustworthy beliefs from such as are untrustworthy" (Source: Bertrand Russell for *The Encyclopedia Britannica*, 1926; http://www.threads.name/russell/theory_knowledge.html). With the study of a phenomenon comes the understanding of the phenomenon; "in other words, one learned these things in order to be oneself and to know oneself consciously" (Gramsci, 2002, p. 79).

Though Gramsci did not in particular address the issue of racism, as Stuart Hall noted, Gramsci's analysis is useful, nonetheless, in this investigation of racism by describing a number of crucial points (Hall, 1986):

1.) It is deluding to categorize racism in a generic mold because of the scope of the existence of racism. Its variation in the context in which it occurs ranges from the blatant display of a cross burning by the KKK, to the subtleties as Charles Gallagher described in his article on "Color-blindness"[3] (Gallagher, 2003).

[3] Color-blindness defined as a symptom of not recognizing differences in thought or action in the benefits of being "white," i.e. advantages for attaining higher education; discrepancies in mortgage rates; higher rates of pay; white

2.) Gramsci explained as Stuart Hall noted, racism is not about economic exploitation concerning the inter-relationship between class and race. In one instance, as will be shown later, race may have a direct effect whereas in another instance, race may have only an indirect effect on racial disparity in social spatiality.

3.) In relation to race and class, the idea of coercion, needs to be combined with "leading." This combination of coercion happens at the level of the state (political society), and "leading" happens at the level of civil society. The civil society is that area defined as schooling, religion, family, and so on. In unison, the state and civil society perform an integral part in forming, sustaining and reproducing the various racial structures found in different societies.

4.) In order for any society or ruling class to dominate, there must exist a system of ideologies: beliefs that people have that enables them to feel connected to the society in which they live. The belief may exist of "Life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," but below the obvious, there exists a belief that "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" does not belong to all.

Perception of an Ideology

In the function of collective memory, the history of the subordinate group will generate a different space-time-line than the history belonging to the dominant group. Even though both groups may participate in the same event, different traces of the past will construct a different mental map. For the southern Blacks, traces of the past permeated every fiber of their existence. These traces had their origin in the late 1890's when the Supreme Court ruled in

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home sub-division higher in appreciation: these are some of the advantages of being white but not acknowledged as such.

Plessy vs. Ferguson to uphold the separate but equal language of the laws of the state, which in reality was not equal at all. In addition, the Federal Government rebuffed the idea of passing anti-lynching laws. By the early 1900's, the southern Blacks, living behind the veil, avoided the White dominant group as much as possible. Black institutions and social groups sprung to serve the Black community with social clubs, support groups, and assistance to withstand the degradation perpetrated by the Whites.

In 1964 and 1965, Congress passed the Civil Rights Act and the Voting Rights Act, signaling the death knell to the legalized separation and the disenfranchisement of the Black people. Racism did not die with the demise of Jim Crow; traces of a racial ideology continue to exist within the minds and hearts of many (Sears et al., 1997). Within the memory reside the traces of past events. "Cognitive psychologists can indeed acknowledge, without prejudice to their premises, that the memories of people in different cultures will vary because their mental maps are different" (Connerton, 1989, p. 28). The semantic code of mnemonic coding accumulates and acclimates into a unified scheme of an overall understanding of the inter-relational aspect of the world. The semantic code engendered from the earliest of recollection is socially associated with the cultural group from which an individual is a member.

The memory paradigm postulates that informational traces from experiences are stored in certain areas of the brain. Every second millions of sensory stimuli bombard the senses that lead directly to the mind. Each stimulus is critiqued, judged, amalgamated, or discarded within a fraction of a second. The accepted stimulus becomes an integral part of the mental processes. Once the stimulus passes through the short-term memory to the long-term memory blocks, the memory is permanent. "To remember, then, is precisely not to recall events as isolated: it is to become capable of forming meaningful narrative sequences" (Connerton,

1989, p. 26). In the recollection of a given event, groups from different cultures with different backgrounds with different education, with different lifestyles, will possess a different interpretation of the given event. Once developed, the alteration of this schema becomes difficult to achieve.

The mechanism involved in the perpetuation of a stereotype pertains to the sensory input and the manner in which the perception confers structure to the schema. One astonishing early theoretical proponent of importance, F. C. Bartlett, who, in 1932 in his work, *Remembering: A Study in Experimental and Social Psychology*, dealt with the relationship between racial stereotypes and memory. He expounded upon the subject matter that memory reflects social attitudes. The conclusion of his research remains significant in contemporary times. Two important memory effects are: (1) individuals are more likely to forget schema-inconsistencies than schema-consistencies, and (2) when schema-inconsistencies contradict an already held belief, the individual tend to distort the evidence to conform, without relinquishing or reclassifying, an established held schema.

Maurice Halbwachs (1992) expounds upon the idea of social memory in that no matter how personal, no matter how secretive, no matter how trivial, every recollection exists as an essential ingredient in the unmitigated totality of the material and spiritual aspect of society. Memory of an individual functions only in the domain of the collective group; without that group, there can be no memory which can exist. Social alliances, classes and groups, provide the spatial structure from which each member of the group possesses the ability to acquire the recollection of a given memory. There is never an individual memory. “It is not because thoughts are similar that we can evoke them; it is rather because the same group is interested in those memories, and is able to evoke them, that they are assembled together in our minds”

(Connerton, 1989, p. 37). From the memory pool of a given group, the recollection of similar memories is possible. Recollection from the memory pool supplies the individual with support and strength, which in turn strengthens the principal attention of the social group. The individual will feed off the group, as the group will feed off the individual and each reciprocal feeding strengthens the fortitude of each. Because each group possesses different memory pools, different perceptions, based upon a different history, will evoke a different interpretation of an event; the past influences the perception of the present as the present influences the perception of the past.

Continuity of a racial ideology bases its claim of authenticity on those who originated the claim and not on facts that contradict belief of racial or class superiority. Values, morals, and mores stem from the function of society in the interpretation of the sensorially perceived, and in how that perception interacts within the mental domain of the individual. An individual in possession of an ideology cannot be expected to change without some type of modification to the inner-self. Only when society becomes exceedingly dissimilar from its prior constitution, can change to the structure of thought occur. Newer beliefs will oust outdated beliefs, when old beliefs are no longer useful. Society will then be obligated to adopt new values, that is, to rely on other traditions that are more closely in tune with present day needs and tendencies. “Principles can be replaced only by other principles, and traditions by other traditions” (Halbwachs, 1992, p. 185). Nevertheless, though newer beliefs may pervade society, there will always be those to whom past memories persist. There will be those who will hold fast to the belief of a racial ideology contrary to the evidence of the facts. These individuals are able to rationalize the discrepancies.

Racial Marginality

Marginal groups occupy an unequaled and disadvantaged socioeconomic position. The restrictions and limitation placed on racially marginalized groups impede the self-realization of an entire segment of the population. This position, occupied by the marginal group, must manage a tenuous identity to function in a society that restricts full development of their cultural capital. For centuries, Whites have perceived Blacks as being inferior, without the capacity to attain a higher education, lacking the ability to appreciate the elite arts and with an absence of an inner drive to attain the finer things in life (Valdez, Norberto and Janice, 1998). People have and still do, concentrate on the superficialities of another human being by such qualities as skin color, hair texture, gender, clothing and weight. Giving attention to the superficialities regulates the development of negative perceptions. Negative perception influences how an individual reacts to a marginalized group, whether the action is toward Blacks or to an individual extremely overweight. For those individuals capable of surmounting these mental obstacles, new cultural capital of resiliency arises. The mental biases manifest themselves in the constant economic and social threat affecting Blacks' usage of urban space, producing, thereby, residential and economic exclusion (Brodwin, 2003). The cultural processes that link urban neighborhood characteristics in conjunction with White exclusion create a separate environ called the ghetto: an enclave to keep Blacks from coming in contact with Whites. The defamation of the ghetto is inscribed first in the brute facts of its physical dilapidation and of the separateness and massive inferiority of its resident institutions, be they public schools, social agencies, municipal services, neighborhood associations, or financial and commercial outlets (Wacquant, 1993).

Racial marginality consists of a center, where opportunities and rewards belong to the elite, while the periphery of the circle denotes the concomitant areas where the 'others' or outsiders reside. The underlying concept of marginality is the exploitation of the labor resources of the periphery population. Power belongs in the hands of those defining which group receives the labels of a marginalized group; and power is the fundamental determinant in marginalization. The power of the elite to control dictates to whom the rewards and benefits descend. Poor education, menial work, and a lack of health care become the rewards for the ostracized. Socioeconomic status is one of the strongest known determinants of variations in health (Williams, 2003). Marginalized groups politically alienated and often overlooked dwell in enclaves of dilapidating homes, deteriorating neighborhoods, where education comes from the "streets" instead of quality education from the classrooms. To separate themselves from urban marginalized groups, Whites flee to the suburbs, taking quality education and economic growth with them. Harmony between the dominant and subordinate groups exists as long as the marginalized group refrains from intimidating the dominant group, socially or economically (Williams, 2003).

Marginal groups exist on the periphery of society with a "peculiar attitude that combines a state of apparent deculturation with a particularly self-deprecating discourse: "'we are less than nothing,' 'stinking,' 'ugly idiots'" (De Vidas, 2002, p. 209). These self-degradations do not imply a weak sense of belonging but justifies the marginality in which the marginalized people are located. "In this approach, the formation of ethnic groups was seen to be a function of the political, economic, or ideological domination of one group by another, and a constantly renewed codification of cultural differences between distinct social groups" (De Vidas, 2002, p. 210).

> "Marginal status may come from out-of-the-way geographic locations, being the site of illicit or disdained social activities, or being the Other pole to a great cultural center. In all cases, the type of geographic marginality … is a mark of being a social periphery. That is, the marginal places that are of interest are not necessarily on geographical peripheries but, first and foremost, they have been placed on the periphery of cultural systems of space in which places are ranked relative to one another" (Shield, 1991, p. 3)

Social marginality is not an outcome of cultural inferiority; but rather, perceived cultural inferiority is the consequences of social marginality. "The very concept of social dysfunction and dislocation rests on the false assumption that social behavior and negative consequences are directly and causally linked and detached from their wider socio-political context" (Bauder, 2002, p. 87). For example, the social behavior and attitudes of the homeless do not explain homelessness. It is the consequences of social marginality, which leads to the spatial marginalization of groups forced into segregated enclaves and ghettoes, where attitudes form. The exclusion of marginal groups from privileged social spaces often restricts the subordinate group to their own designated place; a place construed through collections of shared memories and tradition (Lefebvre, 1991). The attachment to a place interweaves on a set of threads woven through one's life . . . "even if only in the imagination" (Corcoran 2002, p.51). This ambiguity pertains to the physical existence of the place and the sentiment attached to it, which becomes an extension of self-identification. "Crucially, a threat posed to an individual's sense of place is also perceived as a threat to their self-identity" (Corcoran, 2002, p. 51). When the elite perceive an intrusion into their world by one who differs in dress and mannerism, the tendency is to ostracize the interloper.

The marginality theory of leisure behavior attributes a lack of minority participation in popular and cultural activities to a dearth of socioeconomic resources, caused by the racism that precipitated it. Alternately, the ethnicity theory differentiates social customs and practices of the dominant and subordinate groups. Washburne (1978, pp. 176-177) states:

> "The marginality perspective, suggesting that Blacks do not participate because of poverty and various consequences of socioeconomic discrimination, seems to be reflected in many correct programs that aim at overcoming barriers to Black participation. Thus, the general marginal position of Blacks in society (as concerns their access to various amenities commonly enjoyed by Whites) could have resulted in a life style constrained by unmet basic needs, poor transportation, and limited opportunities due to their urban ghetto residence."

The marginality theory fails in one very important area to account for the socioeconomic differentiation within ethnic minority groups. Marginality presupposes a class structure characterized by a rigidly fixed uniformity among Blacks. This hypothesis states that the higher the cost and the further removed leisure opportunities are from low-income groups, the less likely the recreational activity will be availed. "This essentially reduces marginality to a 'class-based' explanation of racial and ethnic variation, when the original discussion implied 'race-based' discrimination as a component of marginality" (Floyd, 1998, p. 6). The marginality hypothesis does not take into consideration the behavioral patterns of minorities in higher socioeconomic classes. If the participants of outdoor leisure as well as opera attendees are more educated with a higher level of income, then where are the middle and upper class Blacks in these venues?

From a study by Deborah Rohm Young et al. (1998), their conclusion stated that many Blacks, both male and female, did not participate in a regular leisure-time physical activity. Those who did participate in a regular leisure-time physical activity reported that brisk walking was their preferred choice. In descending order, brisk walking, basketball/football, calisthenics, weightlifting, jogging/running, strolling, and walking were the activities in which Black men were most likely to participate. For women, brisk walking, aerobics/jazz dancing, strolling/walking, and cycling, and calisthenics were the preferred leisure activities. Young et al. defines regular leisure-time activity as the participation in large muscle group physical activities that are rhythmic and aerobic in nature that last at least 30 minutes, five days per week (Rohm et al., 1998). Data from the Behavioral Risk Factor Surveillance Survey (BRFSS) (Rohm et al., 1998) indicated that walking was prevalent in the low socioeconomic status and minority groups. Rohm et al., suggest that Blacks may be more active at work (Rohm et al., 1998), notwithstanding a lower economic level, which might explain the less physical activities by Blacks. While there is not a statistical significant level between Blacks and Whites who like or dislike opera, it has been suggested that because of the money requirement to attend the opera, the economic factor could be another reason for the lack of Black attendance. However, from the survey of the National Endowment of the Arts, 2002, statistics show that 6.1% of Whites, who earn more than $75,000 a year, attend the opera. Statistics, likewise, show that 3.2% of Blacks, who earn more than $75,000 a year, attend the opera, which is approximately half that of Whites. The middle and upper class Blacks, as discussed later, will frequent a place less often because of the perception of space and the meanings attached to the place. Re-echoing Alice Green remarks, “If you don’t see people of color, you sort of get the impression it’s not for you” (Wechsler, Alan and Brown, 2001, online edition).

From a 1993 General Social Survey, I performed a statistical analysis to display leisure preferences as reported by Blacks and Whites, verifying previously, mentioned leisure activities. As indicated in the table 1 below, there are no statistically significant differences between Blacks and Whites in their preference for opera. However, there is a statistical significance in who attends an opera performance, as well as a preference for camping with an F value of 86.189.

Table 1
Leisure Preference by Race

			Blacks		White	
Leisure Preferences	F value		Yes	No	Yes	No
Like Opera	.891	Percent	31.5%	68.5%	27.5%	72.5%
		Count	40	87	267	704
Attended Opera Performance	10.917**	Percent	7.4%	92.6%	17.1%	82.9%
		Count	13	163	228	1109
Visited Art Museum	15.415***	Percent	26.7%	73.3%	42.1%	57.9%
		Count	47	129	563	775
Make Art or Craft Object	23.691***	Percent	23.9%	76.1%	42.9%	57.1%
		Count	42	134	574	764
Play a Musical Instrument	5.377*	Percent	16.5%	83.5%	24.3%	75.7%
		Count	29	147	325	1010
Camping	86.189***	Percent	10.2%	89.8%	46.0%	54.0%
		Count	633	881	615	723
Attended Sport's Event	8.089**	Percent	44.1%	55.9%	55.4%	44.6%
		Count	78	99	741	598
Attend Auto Racing	1.50	Percent	12.5%	87.5%	16.1%	83.9%
		Count	22	154	215	1123
Attend Dance Performance	.091	Percent	18.2%	81.8%	19.1%	80.9%
		Count	32	144	256	1082
Played Sports Last year	11.971**	Percent	44.3%	55.7%	58.0%	42.0%
		Count	78	98	777	562
Worked in a Garden	41.583***	Percent	39.2%	60.8%	64.1%	35.9%
		Count	69	107	858	481
Performed in Music or Dance	.293	Percent	10.8%	89.2%	9.5%	90.5%
		Count	19	157	127	1208
Seen Movie last year	4.618*	Percent	62.5%	37.5%	70.4%	29.6%
		Count	110	66	943	396
Used VCR	.967	Percent	56.3%	43.8%	60.1%	39.9%
		Count	99	77	805	534

White and Black Leisure Style

With a paucity of interracial contact in predominantly residential areas, the social intermingling between Blacks and Whites should reflect similar choices of leisure activities. As interracial contact increases, the greater the probability of observing similar leisure selection that are made between Blacks and Whites. The results from a study conducted by Floyd and Shinew (1999) indicated that Black and White respondents with high interracial contact reported similar leisure choices. Interesting enough, for Blacks, there was little similarity between those individuals with high interracial contact and those with low interracial contact in leisure preferences, whereas with Whites, there was a high similarity between those individuals with high interracial contact and those with low interracial contact in leisure preferences. The findings of Floyd and Shinew (1999) indicated that 72% of Blacks never had contact with Whites in their homes. Sixty percent of Black respondents claimed a lack of interracial contact with Whites in the churches, neighborhoods or at the parks. Leisure preferences, likewise, reflected a difference in activities chosen between Blacks and Whites. The findings indicate that Blacks with low interracial contact, exhibited preferences for shopping and going to church. Whites, with low interracial contact, prefer activities dealing with visits with friends, hiking, swimming, going for a walk, visits to the state parks and forest preserves, and camping (Floyd and Shinew, 1999). The analysis from their study indicated no statistically significant difference between Blacks and Whites in such activities as playing baseball/softball, basketball, jogging, listening to music, relaxing, picnics, attending sporting events, visiting family and fishing.

When the status changes from a low interracial contact to a high interracial contact, there is less of a disparity in leisure choices. For example, going for a walk is no longer significantly different between Blacks and Whites. However, Blacks still prefer going to church and shopping

more so than do Whites. With a higher interracial contact, higher SES and education, Blacks prefer traveling and going on vacation, and visiting family more so than do Whites. Whites, who have a higher interracial contact, continue to prefer hiking and swimming more than Blacks do, though Whites prefer camping more so than Blacks, this leisure preference is no longer statistically significant. The results of the survey analyzed by Floyd and Shinew indicate that Blacks and Whites with high interracial contact display similar leisure preferences to Blacks and Whites with low levels of interracial contact. Assuming that middle class status provides opportunities for interracial contact between Whites and Blacks in work and non-work activities, then "a reasonable conjecture, in light of status group dynamics and cultural capital, concerning 'convergence/divergence' suggests that Blacks are not merely choosing to assimilate, but may be amassing cultural and symbolic resources that convey power and prestige less attainable through other means (Floyd and Shinew, 1999, p. 380)." While Whites, in general, possess the privileges of Whiteness from birth, Blacks have to amass the same rewards that Whites possess just because of the color of their skin (e.g., ascribed status). Lack of education and jobs and the resources incurred thereof, limits the availability of certain leisure activities and the exposure to a given activity that only money can supply.

The ethnicity theory attributes differences in minority recreation behavior to unique cultural value systems that influence minorities' recreation behavior. Recent studies suggest social psychological factors such as place meaning are important in understanding a lack of Black participation. Besides the physical attributes of a place, socially constructed definitions arise from the historical interaction of a setting to a particular group. A recreational area may not hold the same meaning for every person. "Starving Rock" in Illinois for one group may signify a place of beauty, for another group, the place may denote an area of commercialism, and for

another group, the place may speak of death rather than life. "This leaves open the possibility of 'side effect' discrimination. The side effect model recognizes that discriminatory practices in one institution have negative impacts because they are linked to discrimination in another sphere" (Floyd, 1998, p. 9). This side effect, or place identification, is very important in understanding the reluctances in a subordinate group's choice of leisure participation including both popular and cultural activities. William L. Yancey and Jane Snell (1971) suggest in their "Parks as Aspects of Leisure in the Inner City: An Exploratory Investigation," that in addition to the general relationship between differences in kinds of leisure activities associated with different social classes, both Black and White urban poor are predominantly concerned with housing, food, clothing and secondarily with recreation and leisure activities.

Social class is the determining factor of leisure activity more so than racial status. Yancey and Snell (1971) suggest the opposite from the previous study of Rhome et al. that Whites do not participate in sports as frequently as Blacks do. The data generated for the study of Yancey and Snell was by means of a questionnaire survey taken in the spring of 1971. The sample consisted of 301 adults, half of whom were White (149) and half were Black (152). Respondents were "head of the households" systematically selected to have an approximately equal number of Blacks and Whites in three roughly defined status groups—lower, working, and middle class. With this sample, Yancey and Snell investigated racial difference in leisure activities, while controlling for social and economic status. Among Blacks, sports participation is more frequent and more widely distributed across the social stratus.

The problem becomes more complex when comparing Black subgroups. Leisure preferences between the lower educated Black women and higher educated Black women are not significantly associated, according to a study conducted by Kimberly Shinew et al. (1996), where

she investigated the class polarization and leisure activity preferences of African Americans in an intragroup comparison. While both groups of Black women reported that team sports were a favorite activity, fine arts and games were reported more frequently by higher educated Black women and association-sociability activities (dances and parties, visiting friends and participating in church activities) were reported more frequently by the lower educated Black women (Shinew et al., 1996). Moreover, Black men in the different education categories report similar leisure activity, but the lower educated Black men reported their preference for hunting-fishing and popular art, while among educated Black men exercise-health activities were preferred. The study by Shinew et al., involved a national random telephone survey regarding the leisure preferences of adults between the ages of 21 and 65. The sample was stratified by counties according to size and systematically drawn from an array of working telephone blocks. From 2,148 contacts, 1,711 interviews were completed, resulting in a 70.8% completion rate. Leisure preferences were measured by asking respondents, “What is your favorite leisure or free-time activity?”

Place Attachment

The place, whether the place is an urban-abandoned, makeshift-corner-lot basketball court located in the scantiest part of the ghetto, or an ornate Royal box located above the arena seating area within the Royal Albert Hall in London, a geographic space possesses value and meaning to the people who identify with it. The sense of place, whether the place is “the turf” of an inner city block claimed by rival neighborhood street gangs, or an environ of sight and sound of an opera performance claimed by the patrons of the arts, describes the way the owner of the situation feels about their place. Place meanings are the icons,

symbols, feelings, and sensations that the place evokes in people in creating a sense of place. Place attachment expresses the attachment, the bonds, and the connection that an individual experiences when a value forms to a place. Researchers have identified two types of place attachment: place dependence and place identity. "Place dependence develops when an individual values a place because she can use the place for a certain activity. Place identity, on the other hand, develops when an individual values a place because he feels an emotional or symbolic connection with the place" (Presley, 2003, p. 24). This identity has its basis on the preference for a place, such as a city park or the Appalachian Trail to what that place may offer, or by the activity that the place provides. Places incorporate various meanings for different groups of people. According to Williams and Patterson (Williams and Patterson, cited in Presley, 2003) the meanings assigned to natural places fall into certain categories: inherent/aesthetic, instrumental/goal-directed, cultural/symbolic, and individual/expressive. Symbolic and expressive meanings possess the emotional charge creating the most heated conflicts, such as the claim of two rival street gangs laying claim on the same real estate. A less violent procession involves or could involve the patron of the arts and their attachment to their cherished activity (Dimaggio and Useem, 1978).

A place in space is not some object that possess an inherent meaning. The creation of place is social in nature, and if social, language is central in its formation. If the creation of a place occurs only after the utilization of language (Stokowski, 2001), then the understanding of the place is paramount in understanding the politics that develops through the social development of the place. "The prevailing discourses of leisure—formed around notions of freedom, self-expression, and personal enjoyment—served to encourage individualism, but these also simultaneously camouflage the political agenda and orientations of participants, managers,

and legislating bodies" (Stokowski, 2001, p. 375). If the perception of a place differs between groups, the usage of a given space becomes a contention of the various fractions. Power politics ensues between the combatants to determine the designation of the contentious place. In the final analysis, the dominant group determines the designation of a place. If the subordinate group becomes powerful enough, the subordinate group may override the dominant group, or even become the dominant group itself with their own habitus, who then can change the meaning of the place to suit their own group identity.

Lincoln Park in Chicago demonstrates the degree of "place ownership" by certain city park users, and the actions of certain individuals manifest the power of place attachment in the form of discrimination by other park users, which include verbal harassment, physical assaults, and nonverbal messages resulting in a feeling of discomfort. In the Lincoln Park survey, personal safety among non-participants was the only constraint for which race was statistically significant and positive. A few users reported interethnic conflicts from crossing racial/ethnic group boundaries (Gobster, 2002).

> "Three weeks ago I was knocked off my bike because seven White guys said I was in the 'wrong area'. When there's a group of us picnicking here, people observe 'us' in a way that makes us feel uncomfortable" (Gobster, 2002, p. 155).

At intense levels, anger and physical violence can ensue. Feelings of discomfort often deter individuals or groups from using a particular recreational area tacitly believed as belonging to another group. The incorporation of a place, into ones possession, resembles the street gang and their claim upon their turf. Any intrusion from an outsider into their

space leads to confrontation and violence. The street gangs will wear their colors in the clothes they wear. The African American, the Native American, the White Anglo-Saxon, each wear their colors upon their skin. While skin color bears no relation to leisure choices, phenotypic characteristics do separate social interaction. Phenotype conveys meanings about social standings and behavioral expectation created by society. Historically, racial ascription assigned by the elite maintains the stratification of the races to preserve status differences.

What part racism plays in the disparity between Blacks' and Whites' participation in visiting National Parks has not been resolved, though American's obsession with colorblindness has ignored the evidence of it. Robert Taylor, the first African American to thru-hike both the Appalachian Trail and the PCT (Pacific Continental Trail), exclaimed in an interview. "I had to face down a cougar and a bear…. But my problems were mainly with people. In towns, people yelled racist threats at me in just about every state I went through. They'd say, 'We don't like you,' and 'You're a N---er.' Once when I stopped at a mail drop, the postmaster said, 'Boy, get out of here. We got no mail drop for you'" (Farrell, 2000, online edition).

Yosef Salaam, a Black writer from New York City, remarks that he steps into the ditch when he hears a car coming from behind as he strolls along a country road, explained, "I felt very self-conscious. As a black man, I always keep my self-preservation in mind" (Wechsler et al., 2001, online edition). William Pinkney, the first African-American to complete a solo circumnavigation of the earth via its five southernmost capes, responded when asked by Eddy L. Harris (1997) concerning the absence of Black faces in the wilderness, "If blacks seem largely invisible in this particular universe, it's because Whites don't want to see us. It's all a numbers game. In the outdoors you're dealing with a small proportion of the population anyway, and of course the numbers are going to be small."

When Mr. Harris poised the question to William Pinkney to name someone else "out there" Pinkney could not reply. "The question dangled there uneasily" (Harris, 1997, online edition).

Eddy L. Harris recounted an experience during a canoe trip of the Mississippi while camping on the riverbanks for the night:

> "Then out of the woods came the bad dream. On the edge of the darkness, where the light from my campfire faded into shadows, stood the figures that must haunt the imagination of every black American who has heard the old stories about Emmet Till and James Earl Chaney and Willie Edwards. Two greasy-haired, camo-wearing white hunters materialized out of the forest lining the river and aimed their shotguns at me. 'Hey, one of them said, 'look what we got here.' 'And I haven't shot at anything all day,' the other one said (Harris, 1997, online edition)."

"It is not the sky or the trees or the creeks that have harmed us," wrote Black writer Evelyn C. White, "but rather the people we have encountered along the way" (Harris, 1997, online edition). Historically, bad things have happened to Blacks in the great outdoors, from being chased, lynched, or hunted down by sheet covered villainy of the KKK … not so long ago, Blacks were routinely attacked and killed for no other reason than just being 'in the wrong place at the wrong time. "It is because agents never know completely what they are doing that what they do has more sense than they know" (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 69). "If there are barriers to the natural world for the African-Americans," Harris stated, "But they exist in our minds, in the fears and misperceptions that continue to keep us suspended in our separate

limbos, unable to come together, even in a place as universally inviting as the world outside our doors" (Harris, 1997, online edition).

Van Hill, President of the Georgia Appalachian Trail Club, responded during a personal interview, "I wish I could tell you there are many hikers and wildlife photographers from diverse backgrounds in our organization. However, I cannot. We have few members in our Club who are not White, middle class, native English speakers. I think this is probably true of most outdoor recreation organizations" (Personal Interview, 2001).

Phil Brown, editor of 'The Adirondack Explorer,' remarked during a personal interview, "There has not been a lot written on the subject. There has been written, however, articles in this magazine depicting the scarcity of black hikers in the Adirondacks" (Personal Interview, 2001).

Van Hill exclaimed, "We must begin to reach out to non traditional natural resource users. More kids from diverse backgrounds and inner cities need to be exposed to the beauty and pleasures of the mountains and the outdoors" (Personal interview, 2001).

David Barker, co-founder of the Silverback Wilderneers, an African-American Backpacking group, proclaimed in an interview, "Whites simply have far more exposure to backpacking than do African-Americans. Once people are taught that there are woods to explore … they will find a way to get back there" (Personal interview 2001.) However, at present there is a dearth of Black personages extolling not only the beauty and pleasures of the outdoors, but also caving, kayaking, scuba diving, surfing, hang-gliding and bird watching as well as to the enjoyment of opera.

Literature Review in Summation

Popular Culture: During the 1960s, the Civil Rights movement culminated in the dismantling of institutional barriers to political participation and public accommodations, including specific actions targeted at public parks and recreation areas (Floyd, 1998; Philipp,

1999). Researchers from that time have tried to explain the ethnic patterns in leisure participation. In 1978, Randal Washburne articulated a conceptual basis of marginality and ethnicity for recognizing race and ethnic effects in leisure participation. Discrimination is a serious issue in park management, and receives in depth examination by leisure researchers (Blahna and Black, 1993; Chavez, 1993; Floyd and Gramann, 1995; West, 1989).

High Culture: NEA-sponsored research shows that demographic variable such as age, income and education are significantly better in predicting whether an individual attends an opera performance than race (Nichols, 2002; Peterson et al., 2003; Dimaggio and Ostrower, 1990). In an explanation, Pierre Bourdieu uses the concept of *habitus* to depict how an individual incorporates their socioeconomic status to express the class position in the cultural choices (Bourdieu, 1980). Some studies show a difference by race in arts attendance among middle class and not the lower class, while other studies show just the reverse (Dimaggio and Ostrower, 1990).

CHAPTER 4: DATA ANALYSIS

The General Social Survey is a nationally representative, cross-sectional survey that serves as a means for collecting data on demographics, beliefs, attitudes, and the participation within the social life by the residents of the United States. Data from the GSS is collected by the National Opinion Research Center (NORC) and distributed by the Roper Public Opinion Research Center. The function of the GSS is to serve as a social indicator that usually takes 30-45 minutes to complete. The collected information ranges from attitudes on religion, race to what type of music is enjoyed. The survey began in 1972 and continued every year up to 1994 where it has been conducted every other year thereafter.

In choosing my variables, I wanted to probe the possible causes for the racial disparity in social spatiality. What are the different factors that might affect social interaction? Is it possible that income will have an effect? After all, the cost of admission to the opera entails much more than just the cost of a ticket. There is the cost of transportation; the cost of gasoline, the cost of parking: all are problematic to the low-income family. Nevertheless, overall, is there a discrepancy by race relating to income that would prohibit opera attendance? Will the middle and upper income brackets have the same percentage of Blacks and Whites who choose to go to the opera? Does gender enter into the equation as a reason why certain types of people choose the types of leisure activities that they do? Is age a predictive variable that explains a person choice of one leisure activity over another? It is assumed that the teenager would choose another venue besides the grand opera on which to spend their money, but without an examination, this, too, cannot be accepted as such. Is age equally important in the determination of who attends an opera performance? In the selection of hiking as a

leisure activity, is there a certain age that a person reaches that determines that romping though the forest is no longer desirable, but settling on cushion seats to watch a matinee performance of an opera is more enjoyable? Is being married, single, divorced or widowed important in the determination of leisure selection? Are "City Folks" more likely than "Country Folks" to go hiking and camping or would they more likely spend time at the opera? It would be expected that those living in the city or suburbs would be more likely to attend the opera than those living in the rural part of the state, but until an examination occurs; this can be accepted as such. Furthermore, in discussing racial disparity in social spatiality could there be more than the socioeconomic factors at play in determining the leisure activity that is chosen? Could prejudicial behavior contribute to the paucity of Black attendance at the opera, or the lack of Black hikers upon the Appalachian Trail? If the Black population in the United States is approximately 13%, should not there be a 13% Black participation? These chosen variables will be utilized in the exploration of the complexities surrounding the racial disparity in social spatiality with the hope of understanding the mechanism involved in its ongoing operation.

Contrary to various studies, a cross-tabulation from the General Social Survey of 1993 reveals an interesting phenomenon in high-art music appreciation, in which the designation of race as the controlled variable occurs. Transforming the original variable into a dummy variable, by combining "like" and "like very much" into one category and "dislike" and "dislike it very much," into another while ignoring "mixed feelings,"[4] and calculating a column percentage to determine what percentage of each group likes or dislikes opera music, a new insight occurs (table 2). Thirty-one and half percentage of Blacks claim they like opera, compared with 27.5% of Whites. Though a slightly greater percentage of Blacks claim to enjoy opera than Whites, the chi-square test evidences no statistical significant at the .05 alpha level.

[4] 24.% of Whites, 20.4% of Blacks responded that they had mixed feelings.

Table 2
Opera Enjoyment by Race (1993)

		White	Black
Like	Percentage	27.5%	31.5%
	Count	267	40
Dislike	Percentage	72.5%	68.5%
	Count	704	87
Total	Percentage	100%	100%
	Count	971	127

Contrasting the above findings with a crosstabulation of those who claim to have attended the opera/symphony displays a different effect. Table 3 displays the results of the cross-tabulation of symphony/opera attendees. The column percentage by race, indicate that 17.1% of Whites claim to have attended the opera/symphony last year, whereas only 7.4% of Blacks said that they had attended such performances. The difference of percentages in the chi-square test evidences a statistically significant at the .05 alpha level. A greater percentage of Whites claim to have gone to the opera/symphony than Blacks.

Table 3
Classical/Opera Attendance Crosstabulation (1993)

		Whites	Blacks
Attended	Percentage	17.1%	7.4%
	Count	228	13
Not Attended	Percentage	82.9%	92.6%
	Count	1109	163
Total	Percentage	100%	100%
	Count	1337	176

From table 2, there is no evidence to distinguish by race who likes or who dislikes opera, although interestingly enough Blacks show a higher percentage of “likes” in the sample. It is obvious, however, that most people, Blacks and Whites, dislike opera. The percentage of those who do like opera is nearly equal. If the percentages of the two groups who do like opera are nearly equal, then the basic question of why is there such a difference between Black and White in opera attendance. The explanation to that question is the basis of this paper. Briefly, in sum, the attendance of a Mozart Opera or Verdi’s La Traviata is mostly White. Nonetheless, if the opera should have a Black theme with Black performers, i.e. George Gershwin’s “Porgy and Bess,” by far the most popular American opera, then from observation, the composition of the audience changes dramatically. There are a far greater number of Blacks in attendance. “Summertime,” “I Got Plenty O’ Nothing’,” and “Bess, You is My Woman Now” are renowned in the music repertoire. Many African American operatic and concert singers include Leontyne Price, Jessye Norman, Shirley Verrett, Grace Bumbry, Gwendolyn Bradley, Denyce Graves, Kathleen Battle, and then there is Willard White, Barbara Hendricks, Robert McFerrin, Mattiwilda Dobbs, Clara Rushing, Martina Arroyo, Reri Grist, George Shirley, Betty Lou Allen, William Warfield, Ray M. Wade Jr. Marie Hadley Robinson, and the following, Alvy Powell and Marquita Lister, with Cedric Cannon, Mary Elizabeth Williams and Chauncey Packer are merely a few African Americans who populate the operatic stage in the performance of “white music.”

Questions, arising from the observations of opera attendance and camping/hiking enthusiasts, are posed in an attempt to understand the nature and the scope of the racial disparity in social spatiality. Six research questions are investigated to ascertain the relationship between various independent variables and the type of leisure activity chosen.

Research Questions

1.) How does income relate to the type of leisure activity chosen?

2.) How does education relate to the type of leisure activity chosen?

3.) How does race relate to the type of leisure activity chosen?

4.) How does sex relate to the type of leisure activity chosen?

5.) How do residential areas relate the type of leisure activity chosen?

6.) How do discriminational attitudes relate to the type of leisure activity chosen?

Hypotheses

H1: People with higher incomes will more often use the services of popular culture activities.

H2: People with higher incomes will more often attend high culture activities.

H3: People who live in the city will more often use the services of popular culture activities.

H4: People who live in the city will more often attend high culture activities.

H5: People with higher education will more often use the services of popular culture activities.

H6: People with higher education will more often attend high culture activities.

H7: People who are White will more often use the services of popular culture activities.

H8: People who are White will more often attend high culture activities.

Prejudice Hypotheses

H9: Racial Prejudice is more likely to affect the use of popular culture activities.

H10: Class *(income and education)* Prejudice is more likely to affect attendance of high culture activities.

Quantitative Research Design

To test the hypotheses I use the 1993 General Social Survey, a representative national probability sample of 1606 adults age 18 and over. The 1993 GSS is the only year that provides questions to both leisure activities as well as racial prejudicial attitudes. In 2002, the Survey of Public Participation in the Arts (SPPA) marks the fifth National Endowment for the Arts survey of the arts participation in the past 20 years. This survey consisted of 17,135 adult participants with over 500 variables included. In addressing the issue of race, the SPPA indicated that caution must be used when looking at race as a predictive variable in opera attendance, that other variables, i.e. income, education, were better predictors. The shortcoming of the SPPA for my purpose is in the absence of racial discriminational variables; hence, the reason for using the 1993 General Social Survey. The sample size for the multivariate logistic regression decreased from 1606 to 864 by not using the method of "excluding cases listwise." From a 1993 General Social Survey, a question asked was "how often did you go camping or hiking last year." Of the valid respondents, 41.7% answered that they went camping last year. The other key question from the 1993 General Social Survey was the question of how often did you attend classical or opera performances last year. Of the valid respondents, only 16.0% answered they had gone to the opera or to a classical performance last year. To determine the effects of a racial discriminational/prejudicial attitude on outdoor recreation and opera attendance, a logistic regression is performed using the 1993 data from the General Social Survey (GSS) to measure the effects demographic and discriminational variables might have on the usage of public space.

The logistic regression is a technique used in making predictions when the dependent variable is dichotomous, and the independent variables are continuous and/or discrete to ascertain the percent of variance in the dependent variable that is explainable by the

independent variables, in addition to ranking the relative importance of independent variables. The selection of a logistic regression to analyze this data instead of a linear regression supports the assumption that in a linear regression, the predicted values will become greater than one and less than zero if moved far enough on the X-axis. Another assumption in an OLS is that the variance of Y is constant across the values of X (homoscedasticity). This cannot be the case with a binary variable, because of the variance is PQ, which means that the mean of a binary distribution is denoted as P, designated as a proportion of 1's, with Q denoted as the proportion of 0's (1-P). Additionally, the significance of the *b* weights relies on the assumption that the errors of prediction (Y-Y') are normally distributed. Since Y obtains the values of 0 and 1, the assessment of the regression weights are in doubt if a linear regression utilizes a binary dependent variable. Furthermore, logistic regression employs a maximum likelihood estimation after transforming the dependent into a logit variable, with the results that the logistic regression estimates the probability of a certain event occurring. Unlike OLS regression, logistic regression does not assume linearity of relationship between the independent variables and the dependent variable, nor does it require a normal distributed variable. It does, however, require that observations are independent, and that the "logit" (logit is defined as the log base e (log) of the odds) of the independent variables is linearly related to the dependent variable. Logistic regression utilizes the proportions (PQ) as a function of the independent variables to ascertain which variables are important, to determine whether other measurements are related to the presence of some characteristic, in this study, whether a discriminational/prejudicial are predictive of opera attendance and on camping/hiking controlling for race.

DEPENDENT VARIABLES (LABELS):

1) HIKING/CAMPING

2) ATTENDING THE OPERA

INDEPENDENT DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES (LABELS):

1) SEX

2) AGE OF RESPONDENT

3) MARITAL STATUS

4) HIGHEST EDUCATION DEGREE

5) TYPE OF RESIDENCE AT AGE 16

6) FAMILY INCOME

7) RACE

8) REGION OF RESIDENCE

INDEPENDENT ATTITUDINAL VARIABLES (LABELS):

1) VOTE FOR BLACK PRESIDENT

2) DIFFERENCES DUE TO DISCRIMINATION

3) DIFFERENCES DUE TO INBORN DISABILITY

4) DIFFERENCES DUE TO LACK OF EDUCATION

5) DIFFERENCES DUE TO LACK OF WILL.

Explanation of Dependent Variables

Before the presentation of the statistical analysis, questions of the 1993 General Social Survey are presented in addition to any recoding of variables that might have occurred.

CAMPING WENT CAMPING IN LST YR

Text of this Question or Item

473. Next I'd like to ask about some leisure or recreational activities that people do during their free time. As I read each activity, can you tell me if it is something you have done in the past twelve months? Let's begin with attending an amateur or professional sports event. Did you do that within the past twelve months?

E. Go camping, hiking, or canoeing.

% Valid	% All	N	Value	Label
41.7	1.4	664	1	YES
58.3	2.0	929	2	NO
	0.0	1	8	DK
	0.0	12	9	NA
	96.5	44,904	.	(No Data)
100.0	100.0	46,510		Total

The variable “CAMPING’ is recoded as a dummy variable with “1” as went camping/hiking and “2” as not having gone camping/hiking.

GOMUSIC ATTENDED CLASSICAL OR OPERA IN LST YR

Text of this Question or Item

473. Next I'd like to ask about some leisure or recreational activities that people do during their free time. As I read each activity, can you tell me if it is something you have done in the past twelve months? Let's begin with attending an amateur or professional sports event. Did you do that within the past twelve months?

H. Go to a classical music or opera performance, not including school performances.

% Valid	% All	N	Value	Label
17.0	2.1	980	1	YES
83.0	10.3	4,785	2	NO
	0.0	16	8	DK
	0.1	35	9	NA
	87.5	40,694	.	(No Data)
100.0	100.0	46,510		Total

The variable “GOMUSIC” is recoded “ATTENDED OPERA” as a dummy variable with “1” as attended opera and “2” as not having attended opera.

Explanation of Independent variables

SEX RESPONDENTS SEX

Text of this Question or Item

CODE RESPONDENT'S SEX

% Valid	% All	N	Value	Label
43.9	43.9	20,436	1	MALE
56.1	56.1	26,074	2	FEMALE
100.0	100.0	46,510		Total

“SEX” is recoded as a dummy variable with “1” as female and “0” as male.

RACE RACE OF RESPONDENT

Text of this Question or Item

24. CODE WITHOUT ASKING ONLY IF THERE IS NO DOUBT IN YOUR MIND. What race do you consider yourself? RECORD VERBATIM AND CODE.

% Valid	% All	N	Value	Label
82.7	82.7	38,480	1	WHITE
13.8	13.8	6,399	2	BLACK
3.5	3.5	1,631	3	OTHER
100.0	100.0	46,510		Total

The variable “RACE” is recoded as a dummy variable with “0” as White and “1” as Black.

MARITAL MARITAL STATUS

Text of this Question or Item

4. Are you currently--married, widowed, divorced, separated, or have you never been married?

% Valid	% All	N	Value	Label
55.5	55.5	25,828	1	MARRIED
10.0	10.0	4,666	2	WIDOWED
11.6	11.6	5,399	3	DIVORCED
3.5	3.5	1,625	4	SEPARATED
19.3	19.3	8,984	5	NEVER MARRIED
	0.0	8	9	NA
100.0	100.0	46,510		Total

“MARITAL” is recoded as a series of dummy variables: “NEVERMARRIED” with “1” as never married and “0” as other status; “MARRIED” WITH “1” as married and “0” as other status; “DIVORCE/SEPARATED AS “1” as divorce or separated and “0” as other status; and “WIDOWED with “1” as widowed and “0” as other status.

AGE	AGE OF RESPONDENT			
% Valid	% All	N	Value	Label
0.3	0.3	159	18	
1.4	1.4	655	19	
1.5	1.5	697	20	
1.7	1.7	791	21	
1.8	1.8	821	22	
2.1	2.1	962	23	
2.1	2.1	956	24	
2.3	2.3	1,052	25	
2.2	2.2	1,034	26	
2.3	2.3	1,056	27	
2.4	2.4	1,123	28	
2.1	2.1	994	29	
2.4	2.3	1,091	30	
2.2	2.2	1,009	31	
2.4	2.3	1,092	32	
2.2	2.2	1,033	33	
2.3	2.3	1,065	34	
2.3	2.2	1,046	35	
2.2	2.2	1,017	36	
2.1	2.1	993	37	
2.2	2.2	1,021	38	
1.9	1.9	882	39	
2.1	2.1	954	40	
1.9	1.9	884	41	
1.9	1.9	872	42	
1.9	1.9	901	43	
1.8	1.8	835	44	
1.7	1.7	808	45	
1.7	1.7	797	46	
1.6	1.6	752	47	
1.7	1.7	777	48	
1.7	1.7	785	49	
1.5	1.5	699	50	
1.6	1.6	734	51	
1.5	1.5	708	52	
1.5	1.4	674	53	
1.4	1.4	655	54	
1.3	1.3	583	55	

1.5	1.5	681	56	
1.3	1.3	601	57	
1.4	1.4	642	58	
1.3	1.3	594	59	
1.3	1.3	609	60	
1.2	1.2	552	61	
1.2	1.2	579	62	
1.2	1.2	570	63	
1.1	1.1	500	64	
1.2	1.2	557	65	
1.1	1.1	516	66	
1.2	1.2	551	67	
1.1	1.1	526	68	
1.0	1.0	474	69	
1.1	1.1	507	70	
0.9	0.9	437	71	
1.0	1.0	448	72	
0.9	0.9	420	73	
0.9	0.9	427	74	
0.8	0.8	353	75	
0.8	0.8	357	76	
0.7	0.7	336	77	
0.6	0.6	300	78	
0.6	0.6	264	79	
0.5	0.5	215	80	
0.5	0.5	225	81	
0.4	0.4	192	82	
0.4	0.4	175	83	
0.3	0.3	143	84	
0.3	0.3	136	85	
0.2	0.2	111	86	
0.2	0.2	99	87	
0.2	0.2	71	88	
0.5	0.4	209	89	
	0.0	1	98	DK
	0.4	165	99	NA
100.0	100.0	46,510		Total

DEGREE RS HIGHEST DEGREE

Text of this Question or Item

D. Do you (Does [he/she]) have any college degrees? (IF YES: What degree or degrees?) CODE HIGHEST DEGREE EARNED.

% Valid	% All	N	Value	Label
23.9	23.8	11,086	0	LT HIGH SCHOOL
51.9	51.7	24,034	1	HIGH SCHOOL
4.8	4.8	2,224	2	JUNIOR COLLEGE
13.3	13.2	6,155	3	BACHELOR
6.1	6.1	2,850	4	GRADUATE
	0.1	29	8	DK
	0.3	132	9	NA
100.0	100.0	46,510		Total

RES16 TYPE OF PLACE LIVED IN WHEN 16 YRS OLD

Text of this Question or Item

25. Which of the categories on this card comes closest to the type of place you were living in when you were 16 years old?

% Valid	% All	N	Value	Label
10.9	10.9	5,070	1	COUNTRY, NONFARM
17.1	17.1	7,956	2	FARM
31.4	31.4	14,584	3	TOWN LT 50000
14.7	14.7	6,816	4	50000 TO 250000
10.3	10.3	4,786	5	BIG-CITY SUBURB
15.5	15.5	7,204	6	CITY GT 250000
	0.1	30	8	DK
	0.1	64	9	NA
100.0	100.0	46,510		Total

"RES16" is recoded as a series of dummy variables as follow. "RURAL" is coded as "1" as living in a rural area (incorporating country, nonfarm and farm designations), and "0" as living elsewhere. "SUBURB" is coded as "1" for living in the suburbs with population up to 250,000 people, and "0" as living elsewhere. "CITY" is coded as "1" as living in the city and "0" as living elsewhere.

REG16 REGION OF RESIDENCE, AGE 16

Text of this Question or Item

26. In what state or foreign country were you living when you were 16 years old?

% Valid	% All	N	Value	Label
0.4	0.4	194	0	FOREIGN
5.0	4.8	2,215	1	NEW ENGLAND
16.8	16.0	7,425	2	MIDDLE ATLANTIC
20.7	19.8	9,188	3	E. NOR. CENTRAL
9.1	8.7	4,026	4	W. NOR. CENTRAL
16.4	15.6	7,263	5	SOUTH ATLANTIC
8.2	7.8	3,638	6	E. SOU. CENTRAL
9.5	9.1	4,213	7	W. SOU. CENTRAL
4.5	4.3	1,978	8	MOUNTAIN
9.4	9.0	4,178	9	PACIFIC
	4.7	2,192	.	(No Data)
100.0	100.0	46,510		Total

"REG16" is recoded as "LIVEINTHESOUTH," a dummy variable, with "1" as living in the south and "0" as living outside the south.

Explanation of Independent Discriminational/Prejudicial Variables

RACPRES WOULD VOTE FOR BLACK PRESIDENT

Text of this Question or Item

135. If your party nominated a (Negro/Black/African-American) for President, would you vote for him?

% Valid	% All	N	Value	Label
85.3	37.6	17,497	1	YES
14.7	6.5	3,005	2	NO
	1.9	903	8	DK
	0.2	101	9	NA
	53.8	25,004	.	(No Data)
100.0	100.0	46,510		Total

"RACPREC" is recoded as "RACPRESIDENT," a dummy variables recoded with "1" as would vote for a Black President and "0" as would not vote for a Black President.

RACDIF1 DIFFERENCES DUE TO DISCRIMINATION

Text of this Question or Item

266. On the average (Negroes/Blacks/African-Americans) have worse jobs, income, and housing than white people. Do you think these differences are . . .

A. Mainly due to discrimination?

% Valid	% All	N	Value	Label
41.0	16.1	7,507	1	YES
59.0	23.2	10,789	2	NO
	2.0	943	8	DK
	0.2	88	9	NA
	58.4	27,183	.	(No Data)
100.0	100.0	46,510		Total

"RACDIF1" recoded as "DISCRIMINATION," a dummy variable recoded with "1" as differences are due to discrimination and "0" as not due to discrimination.

RACDIF2 DIFFERENCES DUE TO INBORN DISABILITY

Text of this Question or Item

266. On the average (Negroes/Blacks/African-Americans) have worse jobs, income, and housing than white people. Do you think these differences are . . .

B. Because most (Negroes/Blacks/African-Americans) have less in-born ability to learn?

% Valid	% All	N	Value	Label
15.4	6.1	2,852	1	YES
84.6	33.7	15,676	2	NO
	1.5	718	8	DK
	0.2	81	9	NA
	58.4	27,183	.	(No Data)
100.0	100.0	46,510		Total

"RACDIF2" recoded as "INBORNDISABILITY," a dummy variable recoded with "1" as differences are due to inborn disability and "0" as not due to inborn disability.

RACDIF3 DIFFERENCES DUE TO LACK OF EDUCATION

Text of this Question or Item

266. On the average (Negroes/Blacks/African-Americans) have worse jobs, income, and housing than white people. Do you think these differences are . . .

C. Because most (Negroes/Blacks/African-Americans) don't have the chance for education that it takes to rise out of poverty?

% Valid	% All	N	Value	Label
50.1	20.0	9,311	1	YES
49.9	19.9	9,272	2	NO
	1.4	663	8	DK
	0.2	81	9	NA
	58.4	27,183	.	(No Data)
100.0	100.0	46,510		Total

“RACDIF3” recoded as “DISCRIMINATION,” a dummy variable recoded with “1” as differences are due to discrimination and “0” as not due to discrimination.

RACDIF4 DIFFERENCES DUE TO LACK OF WILL

Text of this Question or Item

266. On the average (Negroes/Blacks/African-Americans) have worse jobs, income, and housing than white people. Do you think these differences are . . .

D. Because most (Negroes/Blacks/African-Americans) just don't have the motivation or will power to pull themselves up out of poverty?

% Valid	% All	N	Value	Label
54.8	21.3	9,906	1	YES
45.2	17.6	8,168	2	NO
	2.5	1,140	8	DK
	0.2	113	9	NA
	58.4	27,183	.	(No Data)
100.0	100.0	46,510		Total

“RACDIF4” recoded as “LACKOFWILL,” a dummy variable recoded with “1” as differences are due to a lack of will and “0” as not due to a lack of will.

The analysis will entail using the logistic regression in comparing the results of the dependent variables, camp/hiking and opera attendance, when utilizing the same independent variables. There will be four models. Two models will each have their respective dependent variable with the same independent variables excluding the discriminational/prejudicial variables. The two other models will likewise include their respective dependent variable with the same independent variables including the discriminational/prejudicial variables to measure what effect the independent prejudicial variables will have on the dependent variables, as well as on the other independent variables. For illumination purposes, crosstabulations are performed.

The independent variable, sex, was recoded with males as zero and females as one to be used as a dummy variable. Race was recoded as a dumpy variable with "0" as White and "1" as Black. Marital status recoded to indicate four dummy variables with NEVERMARRIED as the reference category: married, divorce/separated, and widowed. Age remains unrecorded as a discrete independent variable. Likewise, Degree remained unrecorded. The variable of "type of residence" was recoded as a series of dummy variables of rural and city with the suburb as the reference category. Household income was used instead of the respondent income so that non-wage earning respondents can be included in the analysis. The variable, region of residence, was recoded into South and Non-south, with south as the reference category to be used as a dummy variable.

The five discriminational/prejudicial independent variables—WOULD YOU VOTE FOR BLACK PRESIDENT, DIFFERENCES DUE TO DISCRIMINATION, DIFFERENCES DUE TO INBORN DISABILITY, DIFFERENCES DUE TO LACK OF EDUCATION, AND DIFFERENCES DUE TO LACK OF WILL—will test the effects of a racial attitude on the dependent variables, opera attendance and going hiking/camping. The variable of "would vote for Black President" was recoded as a dummy variable with "1" as would vote for a Black President and

"0" as would not vote for a Black President. The variable "differences due to discrimination" was recoded as a dummy variable. The variable of "differences due to inborn disability" was recoded as a dummy variable with "1" as differences are due to inborn disability and "0" as not due to inborn disability. The variables of "differences due to lack of education" and "differences due to lack of will" were recoded as dummy variables.

In the first logistic regression model of each dependent variable of a logistic regression, the test will examine the effect without the inclusion of the discriminational/prejudicial variables. With the addition of the discriminational/prejudicial variables, the second model will examine the effects that these variables might have on race, which pertains to each of the dependent variables. In comparison, analyzing the effects of the independent variables on opera attendance and on camping/hiking, the findings will examine if there is a correlation between opera attendance and camping/hiking with race controlling for the discriminational/prejudicial variables.

Results

The analysis begins by first looking at the frequencies concerning the composition of the audience at a classical/operatic performance. According to the 2000 U.S. census, non-Hispanic Whites make up only 69.1 percent of the US population. From the 1993 GSS as indicated from table 4, of those attending a classical/opera performance, 94.6% are White, 5.4% are Black. The same low representational figures reflect the same conclusion in table 5 to those who went camping/hiking last year: 97.2% of those who went camping/hiking last year were White, 2.8% were Black. With Blacks, composing nearly 13 percent of the population of the United States, the low visible presence of camping/hiking and classical/opera participants does not reflect the general population of Blacks in the United States.

Table 4
Classical/Opera Attendance by Race

	Whites	Blacks
Count	228	13
Percentage	94.6%	5.4%

Table 5
Went Camping/Hiking by Race

	Whites	Blacks
Count	615	18
Percentage	97.2%	2.8%

From the logistic regression in table 6 on camp/hiking, sex indicates that females are found to be more than two-third less likely to go camp/hiking than males. The odds of camp/hiking will decrease by a factor of 0.034 with each additional year of age, while controlling for the other variables. The odds of camp/hiking will decrease by a factor of 0.857 for Blacks in reference to Whites, while controlling for the other variables. The odds of camp/hiking will increase by a factor of .246 with each additional degree of education, while controlling for the other variables. The odds of camp/hiking will increase by a factor of .090 with each additional increase of income, while controlling for the other variables. The odds of camp/hiking will decrease by a factor of 0.461 by those living inside the south, while controlling for the other variables. The results confirmed the findings of previous research on camp/hiking. Whites, who are better educated, live outside of the south, has a higher income will tend to go hiking/camping.

In table 7 for classical/opera attendance, sex, race degree, income, along with not being married or divorce/separated and not living in a rural area, are statistically significant in determining who attends a classical/opera performance. In contrast with camp/hiking, the odds of opera attendance for females increase by a factor of .906 *(rather than decreasing with camp/hiking)* in reference to males while controlling for other variables. What should be noted

at this point is the absence of Black females from going camping/hiking. From table 8, a crosstabulation shows that 92.7% of Black females responded that they had not gone camping/hiking last year. Contrasting this to the 41% of White females, who responded that they went camping/hiking last year. Comparing this to the males, 52.3% of White males responded that they went camping/hiking, whereas 14.9% of Black males responded that they went camping/hiking last year. Black Males were twice as likely to go camping/hiking as Black females, whereas for Whites, White males were only about 10% more likely to go camping/hiking than White females.

Continuing, the odds of going to the opera will decrease by a factor of 0.481 for Blacks in reference to Whites with a significant level of 0.048 while controlling for other variables. The odds of going to the opera will increase by a factor of .922 (which is greater than the .246 increase for camp/hiking) with each additional degree of education, while controlling for the other variables. The odds of going to the opera will increase by a factor of .289 with each additional increase of income, while controlling for the other variables. The odds of going to the opera will decrease by a factor of .455 for rural residency in reference to the city, while controlling for the other variables. Unlike the results for camp/hiking where region residency was statistically significant, region of residency is not significant when determining the probability of going to the opera. Rural area, however, is significant in reference to the suburbs, in the probability of not going to the opera, which will decrease by a factor of .455 for rural residency in reference to the suburbs, while controlling for the other variables. The odds of classical/opera attendance will increase by a factor of 1.120 for responding yes to the question of “Would you vote for a Black President,” while controlling for the other variables. Though not statistically significant, no other variable has such a degree of odds as that as of

"Would you vote for a Black President." In sum, the average classical/opera attendee will be a single white, older female who possesses a higher degree of education than those who do not attend the opera. The average classical/opera attendee will have a higher income and not live in the rural section of the state.

Table 6
Camp/hiking without racial discriminational variables.

	B	S.E.	WALD	SIG	EXP (B)	ODD CHANGES
SEX	-.377	.121	9.678	.002	.686	-.314
AGE	-.035	.000	63.116	.000	.966	-.034
RACE	-1.943	.267	52.784	.000	.143	-.857
DEGREE	.200	.054	16.395	.000	1.246	.246
INCOME	.086	.028	9.482	.002	1.090	.090
MARRIED	.133	.175	.575	.448	1.142	.142
DIVORCE/SEPARATED	.260	.206	1.595	.207	1.298	.298
WIDOWED	-.164	.331	.245	.621	.849	-.151
LIVE IN THE SOUTH	-.618	.128	23.244	.000	.539	-.461
RURAL RESIDENCY	.083	.146	.323	.570	1.087	.087
CITY	.115	.144	.637	.425	1.122	.122

Table 7
Opera Attendance without racial discriminational variables.

	B	S.E.	WALD	SIG	EXP (B)	ODD CHANGES
SEX	.645	.167	14.866	.000	1.906	.906
AGE	.011	.006	3.366	.067	1.011	.011
RACE	-.656	.332	3.907	.048	.519	-.481
DEGREE	.654	.068	93.585	.000	1.922	.922
INCOME	.254	.058	19.185	.000	1.289	.289
MARRIED	-.851	.222	14.641	.000	.427	-.573
DIVORCE/SEPARATED	-.609	.282	4.655	.031	.544	-.456
WIDOWED	-.340	.398	.729	.393	.712	-.288
LIVE IN THE SOUTH	-.132	.174	.574	.449	.876	-.124
RURAL RESIDENCY	-.607	.223	7.383	.007	.545	-.455
CITY	.041	.177	.053	.818	1.042	.042

Table 8
Camping by Race controlling for Sex

			Camping/hiking	
			NO	YES
MALE	WHITES	Count	280	307
		%	47.7%	52.3%
	BLACKS	Count	57	10
		%	85.1%	14.9%
FEMALE	WHITE	Count	443	308
		%	59.0%	41.0%
	BLACK	Count	101	8
		%	92.7%	7.3%

The “enter” method was used to estimate the models using block entry of variables instead of any of the other stepwise methods. The logistic regression was conducted to determine which independent variables are predictors of the dependent variables (camp/hiking or classical/opera attendance). Several statistics of the logistic regression test for the overall model fit. The -2 Log Likelihood provides an index of a perfect model fit. With the -2ll having such a high value of 590.598, there is doubt that the model will fit the perfect model. A statistical non-significance is desirable to indicate that the model does not differ from the perfect model. Though SPSS does not give a chi-square test, by looking in a chi-square table, the critical value can be obtainable. With -2ll having 808 degrees of freedom, the results remain suspect. From a chi-square table, a degree of freedom of 100 at the .05 level has a critical value of 124.34, which is well below the 2ll value of 590.598. Nonetheless, the degree of freedom at the 200 degrees of freedom has a critical value of 233.99, and a degree of freedom of 500 has a critical value of 553.13. There are no indications of a chi-square table of a 800 degrees of freedom, but with the increase from 100 degrees to 200 to 500, at the 800 degrees of freedom, the critical value could very well be greater than the -2ll value, indicating that the model does not vary from the perfect model. Hosmer and Lemeshow statistics

indicate a chi-square value of 3.282 with a significant value of .915. We want a non-significant chi-square to indicate that the model fits the predicted scores as compared to the observed values. In this case, we do not reject the null hypothesis that our predicted and observed probabilities are equal. From the classification statistics, the regression model with discriminational/prejudicial variables predicts correctly 85% of those who attend and who does not attend the classical/opera performances. The largest statistical significant odds ratio of these variables for classical/opera attendance is education. The odds of classical/opera attendance will change by a factor of 1.813 with each additional educational degree, controlling for all the other variables in the model. The odds of classical/opera attendance will increase by approximately 81.3 percent for every additional educational degree controlling fo the other variables. For camping/hiking, the largest odds rations of these variables was race with a --0.819, which indicates that a decrease of .819 of camping/hiking if Black.

In summary, hypotheses 1 and 2 confirmed that income is significant in the probability that people with a higher income will go camp/hiking or attend an operatic performance. Hypotheses 3 did not find that living in the city to be statistically significant in camp/hiking. However, living in a rural area of the state was significant in classical/opera attendance with people more likely not to attend. Hypotheses 5 and 6, degree of education, were statistically significant in that an increase of degree of education gave a higher probability of camp/hiking and classical/opera attendance. Hypotheses 7 and 8 confirmed race as a significant influence on camp/hiking and classical/opera attendance. Nonetheless, with the introduction of the discriminational/prejudicial variables in classical/opera, race became spurious, reflecting once again the conclusion of the NEA in admonishing caution when using race to predict opera attendance. These findings merely confirm past research. What information is new from my investigation is the number of Blacks who claim to

enjoy listening to operatic music. If there is that great number of Blacks who enjoy operatic music, then why does this not translate to a greater Black attendance at the opera? In looking at the higher levels of income above $75,000 for Blacks there is still a low percentage, compared to Whites in the same economic category, of opera attendance. If higher income is not a deterrent in going to the opera, then there is another reason for this deterrent. This paper suggest that place attachment prohibits opera attendance of designated groups.

The original focus of this study was to determine whether racial discrimination had an influence on camp/hiking or on classical/ opera attendance. This paper posited that with the addition of racial discriminational variables in the logistic regression camp/hiking model, race would continue to be statistically significant, verifying the results of past studies (Blahna and Black, 1993; Chavez, 1993; Floyd and Gramann, 1995; West, 1989). In addition, this paper asserted that with the presence of the discriminational/prejudicial variables in the model of classical/opera attendants, race would be suppressed and no longer be statistically significant.

Using the NEA 2002 Survey to measure family income on opera attendance, table 9 displays the results of a cross-tabulation. Blacks and Whites exhibit a low level of attendance as expected. Table 9 displays the results for all income levels. The findings indicate that only 0.9% of Blacks surveyed responded by saying they went to the opera last year. Whites also displayed a low percentage of 3.2%, but still, a greater percentage than Blacks, of opera attendance. In Table 10, family income over $75000 was selected to run the same type of crosstabulation comparison; but this time, there was a slightly different result. Black attendance increased to one-half of Whites' attendance. In a simple logistic regression measuring income over $75,000 and race on the dependent variable of "going to the opera," the independent variables, "race" and "family income," continue to be statistically significant as seen in table 11.

Table 9
Opera Attendance (all income levels)

	Whites	Blacks
	475	14
Yes	3.2%	0.9%
	14196	1536
No	96.8%	99.1%
	14671	1550
Total	100%	100%

Table 10
Opera Attendance (income above $75000)

	Whites	Blacks
	197	5
Yes	6.1%	3.2%
	3018	151
No	93.9%	96.8%
	3215	156
Total	100%	100%

Table 11
NEA Regression on opera attendance (income above $75,000)

	B	S.E.	Wald	Sig.	Exp(B)	O.C.
RACE	-1.018	.274	13.803	.000	.361	-0.639
Family Income	1.018	.098	108.612	.000	2.768	1.768

Race in the NEA regression still displays a significant value for income above $75,000. Even at the higher income level, social spatiality, once having acquired a given meaning, dictates who may or who may not participate within the boundaries of that spatiality. Indicated earlier, Blacks affiliated more with Gershwin's "Porgy and Bess," an opera that possesses a Black theme, than with a Mozart opera, even though Black singers have performed in Mozart's operas. Within the dimension of spatiality is the posited assumption of "color-blindness" influencing the decision of Blacks, as well as Whites, in their decision of where to go or what to do with an unconscious reference to race or ethnicity. If Blacks perceive an activity or a place as predominately White affiliated, then there is less likelihood of that Black actually participating is that ascribed White event, no matter the education or income. Socioeconomic status, exemplified by education and income, dominates the main effect on opera attendance (Nichols, 2002; Peterson et al., 2003; Katz-Gerro, 2002). For further studies, the examination of the relationship between "color-blindness" and social spatiality is suggested. An individual may possess a color-blind inclination without consciously being aware of the influence of color-blindness i.e. this trail is my trail, not your trail.

The frequency distribution (table 12) on the question of differences due to discrimination has 43.4% responding with a yes that the differences are due to discrimination. When these figures are broken down by race as indicated in table 13, the distribution has 82.6% of Blacks saying that yes, the differences are due to discrimination, whereas only 37.1% of Whites responded by saying the differences are due to discrimination *(Could Gallagher's Color-blindness play a part?)*. Table 14 (logistic regression on camp/hiking) and table 15 (logistic regression on opera) display a somewhat different pattern when the

discriminational/prejudicial variables are included. With the inclusion of the variable DISCRIMINATION in the camp/hiking regression, coded as one for yes, zero for no, there is a negative coefficient of .065 (though not significant) indicates a belief that differences are not (believed) due to discrimination. For the opera regression, a positive coefficient of .290 reflects a view that the differences are due to discrimination. There is also contrasting views between camping/hiking and classical/opera attendance on the results of "Lack of Education" and Lack of Will." The view that differences are due to a lack of education displays a positive Beta of .226 for camp/hiking, while for opera attendance, the Beta is a negative .126. Concerning differences due to a "lack of will," for camp/hiking the Beta displays a negative .042. For opera attendance, the Beta is positive with a .046.

Continuing the comparison between camp/hiking and opera, 80.7% of Blacks responded no, and 88.3% of Whites responded no that the differences are due to an inborn ability as indicated in table 16. Interestingly, in the analysis of lack of will, from table 17, 54.1% of Whites responded that the differences are due to a lack of will, while 60.7% of Blacks responded that differences are not due to a lack of will. With the variable of "lack of will" coded as one for yes and zero for no, the respondents who attend the opera responded with a yes, that the differences are due to a lack of will with a coefficient of .046. For those who camp/hike, the response was no that the differences are not due to a lack of will with a negative coefficient of .042. The telling variable of the influence of the discrimination variables is in the race variable itself.

Comparing the camp/hiking logistic regression with and without the discriminational/prejudicial variables, (tables 6 and 14) the tables demonstrate that race, as a variable, remains statistically significant. In the regression on classical/opera attendance, race

is no longer statistically significant when the discriminational/prejudicial variables are included in the logistic regression (tables 7 and 15). From the NEA logistic regression (table 11), the evidence suggest that economic factors (with income greater than $75,000) are not the cause for Blacks staying away from operatic performances. To reiterate, in sum, it is the contentions of this author that the main reason for the lack of Black attendance is the belief in the Black community: "That's something white boys do."

Hypothesis 1 states that people with higher incomes will more often use the services of popular culture activities. Without taking into account the racial prejudicial variables, hypothesis 1 cannot be rejected. However, when the racial prejudicial variables are included, hypothesis 1 can be rejected in that higher income people will not more often use the services of popular culture activities.

Hypothesis 2 states that people with higher incomes will more often attend high culture activities. This hypothesis cannot be rejected, with or without the prejudicial variables; people with higher incomes will more often attend high culture activities.

Hypothesis 3 states that people who live in the city will more often use the services of popular culture activities. This hypothesis can be rejected, with or without the prejudicial variables; people who live in the city will not more often use the services of popular culture activities.

Hypothesis 4 states that people who live in the city will more often attend high culture activities. Hypothesis 4 can be rejected, with or without the prejudicial variables; people who live in the city will not more often attend high culture activities.

Hypothesis five states people with higher education will more often use the services of popular culture activities. Hypothesis 5 cannot be reject, with or without the prejudicial variables; people with higher education will more often use the services of popular culture activities.

Hypothesis six states people with higher education will more often attend high culture activities. Hypothesis 6 cannot be rejected, with or without the prejudicial variables; people with higher education will more often attend high culture activities.

Hypothesis seven states people who are White will more often use the services of popular culture activities. Hypothesis 7 cannot be rejected, with or without the prejudicial variables; people who are white will more often use the services of popular culture activities.

Hypothesis eight states people who are white will more often attend high culture activities. Like hypothesis 1, there is a dichotomy. Without taking into account the racial prejudicial variables, hypothesis 8 cannot be rejected. However, when the racial prejudicial variables are included, hypothesis 8 can be rejected in that people who are white will not more often attend high culture activities.

Hypothesis 9 states that racial prejudice is more likely to affect the use of popular culture activities. Though the racial prejudicial variables are of themselves not statistically significant, the inclusion of the prejudicial variables has had an effect on the model:

> Without the prejudicial variables, income is not statistically significant
> with the prejudicial variables; income is statistically significant with an Odd Change of .090 for each incremental change in income (more on this later).

Hypothesis 10 states that Class Prejudice is more likely to affect attendance of high culture activities. Hypothesis 10 cannot be rejected, with or without the prejudicial variables; income and educational degree evidence a larger income and higher degree of people who attends high culture activities.

Table 12
Differences due to discrimination

	Frequency	Valid Percent
YES	444	43.4%
NO	580	56.6%
Total	1024	100.0%

Table 13
Differences due to discrimination by race

	YES	NO
WHITES		
COUNT	320	542
PERCENT	37.1	62.9%
BLACKS		
COUNT	90	19
PERCENT	82.6%	17.4%
COUNT		
TOTAL	254	1338
PERCENT	100%	100%
TOTAL COUNT		1592

Table 14
Logistic regression results for camp/hiking with racial discriminational/prejudicial variables.

PERSONAL VARIABLES	B	S.E.	WALD	SIG	EXP (B)	ODD CHANGES
SEX	-.488	.159	9.367	.002	.964	-.386
AGE	-.037	.006	38.523	.000	.968	-.036
RACE	-1.708	.316	29.281	.000	.181	-.819
DEGREE	.228	.073	9.680	.002	1.256	.256
INCOME	.022	.016	1.752	.186	1.022	.022
MARRIED	.175	.228	.588	.443	1.191	.191
DIVORCE/SEPARATED	.496	.271	3.346	.067	1.643	.643
WIDOWED	.336	.443	.602	.438	1.399	.399
LIVE IN THE SOUTH	-.412	.169	5.976	.015	.662	-.338
RURAL RESIDENCY	.155	.195	.631	.427	1.167	.167
CITY RESIDENCY	.154	.189	.670	.413	1.167	.167
DISCRIMINATION	-.065	.179	.132	.716	.937	-.063
LACK OF EDUCATION	.226	.175	1.672	.196	1.254	.254
LACK OF WILL	-.042	.177	.057	.811	.811	-.189
INBORN DISABILITY	-.054	.271	.039	.843	.948	-.052
VOTE BLACK PRESIDENT	.195	.273	.510	.475	.747	-.253

Table 15
Logistic regression results for classical or opera attendance with racial discriminational variables.

PERSONAL VARIABLES	B	S.E.	WALD	SIG	EXP (B)	ODD CHANGES
SEX	.378	.220	2.966	.085	1.460	.460
AGE	.016	.008	3.890	.049	1.016	.016
RACE	-.658	.434	2.299	.129	.518	-.482
DEGREE	.595	.093	40.988	.000	1.813	.813
INCOME	.241	.078	9.551	.002	1.273	.273
MARRIED	-.712	.296	5.766	.016	.491	-.509
DIVORCE/SEPARATED	-.810	.406	3.969	.046	.445	-.555
WIDOWED	.195	.531	.134	.714	1.215	.215
LIVE IN THE SOUTH	.137	.235	.338	.561	1.147	.147
RURAL RESIDENCY	-.195	.289	.454	.500	.823	-.177
CITY RESIDENCY	.146	.241	.369	.544	1.158	.158
DISCRIMINATION	.290	.244	1.422	.233	1.337	.337
LACKOFEDUCATION	-.126	.238	.278	.598	.882	-.118
LACK OF WILL	.046	.238	.037	.848	1.047	.047
INBORN DISABILITY	-.493	.445	1.229	.268	.611	-.389
VOTE BLACK PRESIDENT	.751	.511	2.160	.142	2.120	1.120

Table 16
Differences due to inborn disability by race

	YES	NO
WHITES		
COUNT	103	778
PERCENT	11.7%	88.3%
BLACKS		
COUNT	21	88
PERCENT	19.3%	80.7%
COUNT		
TOTAL	254	1338
PERCENT	100%	100%
TOTAL COUNT	1592	

Table 17
Differences due to lack of will by race

	YES	NO
WHITES		
COUNT	456	387
PERCENT	54.1%	45.9%
BLACKS		
COUNT	42	65
PERCENT	39.3%	60.7%
COUNT		
TOTAL	498	452
PERCENT	100%	100%
TOTAL COUNT	950	

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION

At the outset of this study, the inclination of this research concentrated its effort on the violent aspect of racism—especially in its most blatant, physically abusive form—as the cause for the racial disparity in social spatiality. Evidence abounded to the legacy of hate, which manifested itself in the physical violence perpetrated on others all in the name of different skin tones. June 7, 1998, (CNN) James Byrd, Jr. of Jasper, Texas, was beaten and chained to the back of a pickup truck and dragged to his death on a dark country road. July 20, 2000, (CNN) two white teen-agers were charged with murdering 26-year-old Arthur Carl "J. R." Warren Jr., who police said was beaten to death. His body was dumped by a roadside and repeatedly run over with a car to disguise the killing as a hit-and-run accident. The FBI's Hate Crime Statistical Press Release exclaimed that in 2001, there were 12,020 victims of hate crimes. There is no shortage of victims to substantiate the existence of racism.

Centuries of slavery and fear of unequal treatment has created an acute sensitivity among Blacks to the influences of discrimination. Historically, "it wasn't so long ago that blacks were routinely attacked or killed for being 'in the wrong place'" (Thurman 2001, online edition). Yet, this "not so long ago" has not been long enough to transmogrify racial hatred into a relic of the past. Could evidence lend itself and give credence to this sensitivity as the cause for the racial disparity in leisure activities? Categorically, hiking upon a forest trail involves walking alone upon isolated pathways miles away from anywhere and from anyone. If an accident occurred, a sprained knee or a twisted ankle, help would not be forthcoming. Even the modern convenience of cell phones must have a tower to transmit its single. Could such lingering apprehension of specters of another age (due to the acute sensitivity) permeate the mind so strongly that it hinder Blacks from venturing into the woods, least the specters of the mind become manifested in flesh and blood? If this is the cause for the racial disparity in social

spatiality, how could such a symptom, this fear of specters past and present, explain the absence of Blacks from the opera houses through out the world?

This question became an obstacle to the progress of this paper. There should be a common theme running through both the popular and high culture leisure venue. The horizon of my sight broadened to new possibilities during a course that was taught by Professors Charles A. Gallagher. During this course, one topic of discussion focused on "Color-blindness" in relation to "whiteness" and racism. One phrase during this topic reverberated with my mind: "I am not a racist, but. . . ." Though the topic of "color-blindness" gave way to other topics, the discussion continued within my head. How could Whites be so oblivious to the privileges they possess? Nevertheless, was not I as oblivious as them? I had hiked the Appalachian Trail (in sections) for nearly two years before I questioned to the where about of African Americans hikers. In like manner, could those in their prestigious ornate sitting boxes that overlooked the opera stage be as oblivious to the absence of Blacks as I had been while hiking the Appalachian Trail? Though a huge section of this paper has been omitted, I began researching the entire historical development of racialization, which eventually led to this condensed tenet.

This paper has raised more questions than it has answered, if it has answered any, indeed. After running several models using the logic regression, I came away with questions dealing with the uncertainties of what does it mean when race as a factor is not statistically significant with the inclusion of the racial prejudicial variables; but race does become statistically significant without the inclusion of the prejudicial variables, with all the other variables remaining constant in opera attendance? What does it mean exactly when income as a factor is not statistically significant with the inclusion of the racial prejudicial variables, but is statistically significant without the inclusion of the racial prejudicial variables with all the other variables remaining constant in selecting hiking as a leisure activity? Why do these two

variables, race and income, differ depending on which dependent variable is being regressed? Why is there a difference between 3 of the 5 prejudicial variables when comparing the results between the opera regression and the camp/hiking regression? The “lack of will” variable, though not statistically significant in either regression have different signs depending on which regression is being studied. For the camp/hiking regression, the “lack of will” has a negative sign of -.189, which was to be expected, since a negative indicate that the answer is “no” to a lack of will being a cause for the problems of Blacks having it worse. However, for the regression dealing with opera attendance, a “lack of will” has a positive sign of .047, indicating an answer of yes on a lack of will being a cause for the problems of Blacks having it worse. The “lack of education” variable, though not statistically significant in either regression have different signs depending on which regression is being studied. For the camp/hiking regression, the “lack of education” has a positive sign of .254, which was to be expected, since a positive sign indicate that the answer is “yes” to a lack of education being a cause for the problems of Blacks having it worse. However, for the regression dealing with opera attendance, a “lack of education” has a negative sign of -.118, indicating an answer of no on a lack of education is not the cause for the problems of Blacks having it worse. The results from the opera regression of the variable of “lack of education” is surprising since the education level of the opera attendees are higher than average. Regression can address only the direct effect. What indirect effect is there with income on the two models? Is there some spurious relationship occurring? Is there “suppression” occurring? Further studies with path analysis or structural equation modeling would better address this question of an indirect effect. In addition, further studies need to assess the attitudes of the upper class and their racial views.

The findings of this study proposes leisure activities, both popular and high culture, possess a racial or class information system already known and agreed upon to say who is

welcome and who is not. The results of this study should illuminate, at the very least, the complexities in the understanding of how the perception of spatiality influences the type of leisure activity an individual chooses. Future research should look at this type of relation in other areas such as the work place, church attendance (which is the most segregated institution there is) as well as other leisure activities.

To understand the relation between self and place as transferred by memories and traditions, the foundation for the transformation of the individual and of the group can commence to bring down the invisible walls that separate. The existence of a racial marginalization reflects the patterns of an ethnic segregation. Education, health care, employment opportunities, and housing are unequal in the distribution between ethnic groups. Because of this inequality, the White ethnic group receives a greater share of the socioeconomic rewards than do other ethnic groups. A sizeable portion of Blacks lives in areas of intense poverty, materially as well as culturally, though a large Black middle class is growing. Marginalization withholds economic development, restricts improvement in the educational system, curtails cultural capital and limits public services to the groups labeled as marginal. If there is to be success in dismantling marginalization, race-consciousness must become a part of a public strategy in the elimination of racism. Though there is an absence of a blatant form of discrimination, the sense in which place attachment is developed, even subconsciously, and maintains a barrier to full participation in the social spatiality of America. An attitudes must not prevail in the belief that race is no longer an issue in modern society. From the “2001 Hate Crime Statistics” of the FBI Offices, there were 9,730 criminal incidences stemming from a “bias motivation.” Forty four percent of the incidences were racially motivated. Ten of the hate crime victims were murdered. This fact alone indicates that physical racial animosity is not an anachronism, but is an ever-present phenomenon in modern society. To be blind to this

fact is to be color-blind, and color-blindness “maintains White privilege by negating racial inequality” (Gallagher, 2003, p. 576). In discussing briefly the historical paradigms of the beginnings of a racial ideology, the mind opens to racial tolerance and acceptance. By looking to the past, we are able to change the shape of the future. In changing that future, there will be greater diversity of hikers on the Appalachian Trail, as well as a more diverse audience in the opera houses throughout the world.

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