THE EVOLUTION OF A SYSTEM: A TALE OF TWO TRADITIONALLY AFRICAN-AMERICAN STATE PARKS IN TENNESSEE

by

KATHARINE C. BLOOM

(Under the Direction of David H. Newman and Craig A. Miller)

ABSTRACT

Tennessee's State Park system was created in the late 1930s to provide recreation areas for the state. Four parks were initially brought into the system in 1937 in order to provide a basis for this system. Among these first four parks were two that were created specifically as "parks for Negroes" under the Jim Crow mandate of the time. These parks, T.O. Fuller and Booker T. Washington State Parks, were created as part of a proposed system of state parks for Negroes that were set to provide "separate but equal" recreational facilities across the state. The State Park System was officially desegregated in the early 1960s under an informal mandate from the Governor. Since then, these two state parks have operated under a de-facto policy of "a black manager for a black park" and have remained largely visited by African-Americans. This qualitative study seeks to examine the historical development and management of these two parks through the use of a descriptive approach. Through staff and visitor interviews and management document analysis, the study attempts to answer the following questions: (1) Are there differences in how these two parks were developed and managed due to their designations as "State Parks for Negroes?" (2) How has the historical designation effected the modern management and use of the parks? (3) How has visitation to these parks been affected by their history as "State Parks for Negroes?"

INDEX WORDS: State Parks, Management, Development, Visitation, Recreational History, Race, Tennessee, Norm Theory

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is lovingly dedicated

to my parents,

Marilyn and Peter Bloom

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Chapter 1

Introduction

The concept of "State Parks for Negroes" is one that was familiar throughout the South during the era of segregation. State park systems in Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Tennessee, and Kentucky all had parks that were developed under the Jim Crow laws of the time. From their development in the 1920s and 1930s until the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision desegregating schools in 1954, these park systems were operated under the guise of "separate but equal." However, the provision of separate state parks for African-Americans was anything but equal in most of these systems.

In Tennessee, the interpretations of this policy lead to the development of two "State Parks for Negroes": Booker T. Washington State Park in Chattanooga and T.O. Fuller State Park in Memphis. These parks were operated under different management guidelines and development strategies than the state parks that were developed for the use of white citizens. For instance, managers at these two state parks were required to be both African-American and have higher education levels than those at the parks for white citizens, while development funding and facilities at these two parks were also scaled down to approximately one-third the funding and size of the white parks. Tennessee's State Parks were officially desegregated in 1962; however, a history of inequitable management and development practices has followed these two state parks up until the present day.

This dissertation is concerned with analyzing the foundations of these inequitable practices. It lays out issues related to managerial requirements and minority hiring practices as well as developmental funding and associated facility development delays in an attempt to interpret the impact of the historical designation of these two state parks as "State Parks for Negroes." This study is based around the historical context of the park movement in America as well as the social context of segregation and the Jim Crow laws of the post-reconstruction era in the United States.

Historical Context

History of the Park Movement in America

The beginning of the public park movement in America owes its start to Massachusetts. In 1641, the Massachusetts Bay Colony passed an ordinance that called for the "Great Ponds," fresh water bodies larger than ten acres, to be conserved for the general public for the purpose of "fishing and fowling" (Nelson, 1930). Following this decree, a few cities attempted to provide citizens with open land but these attempts were fairly isolated. Official park developments did not receive much attention until the 1830's when Congress reserved Hot Springs, Arkansas as an area that was to be kept in public ownership (Ibid). In 1865, California established the first state park when it set aside Yosemite one year after President Abraham Lincoln signed a bill that granted Yosemite Valley and the Mariposa Grove of Giant Sequoias to the State of California as an inalienable public trust (Coleman, 1968, p.1; NPS, 2007). The land was transferred to California originally for the purpose of protection and providing public recreation because the federal government had no policy on outdoor recreation matters at the time (Sharpe et al., 1994, pg. 6). Congress followed this land transfer by declaring Yellowstone the country's first National Park in 1872 (Coleman, 1967; Sharpe et al., 1994, pg. 6).

The sentiment for public parks spread quickly following these two declarations. In 1885, Canada established a ten-square-mile reserve around the Banff hot springs in Alberta and named it Rocky Mountain National Park (later renamed Banff National Park) (Sharpe et al., 1994, pg. 13). New York, Minnesota, and New Jersey all established state reserves or parks in the time between the years 1885-1895. This movement continued and by the turn of the century, there were five national parks in the United States: Yellowstone, Sequoia, General Grant, Yosemite, and Mount Rainier (Sharpe et al., 1994, pg. 16).

Throughout the early 1900s, in both the United States and Canada, land was set aside for the purpose of further preserving significant natural areas as parks. In 1906, the Antiquities Act was passed by an act of Congress. This legislation was highly important in that it set the stage for the future preservation of public lands. The act gave the President authority "to declare by public proclamation historic landmarks, historic and prehistoric structures, and other objects of scientific interest that are situated upon the lands owned or controlled by the Government of the United States to be national monuments" (Kieley, 1940). The Antiquities Act further spurred the movement to preserve lands for the purpose of public recreation across the United States.

National Park Service

After the establishment of the first National Park at Yellowstone in 1872, there was no management agency to oversee its operation. As part of a promise undertaken to get the park established, no appropriation was asked for its management for several years (Sharpe et al., 1994, pg. 10). With the park established but without the funding to manage it, the park had no real basis. The first park superintendent, Nathaniel P. Langford, was assigned to manage the park without a salary. He was an absentee administrator and only visited the park twice in his five years on the job (Ibid, pg. 11). In 1877, the park received an appropriation of $10,000 but

because park personnel had no authority to make an arrest, punish, or evict anyone from the park, the money did not help much. A sense of lawlessness pervaded the park and eventually, the Secretary of the Interior was forced to contact the Secretary of War for assistance in managing the lands. From 1885-1918, the park was placed under the protection of the U.S. Army. The Army's cavalry and engineers successfully managed the park during this time, enforcing regulations and putting an end to the illegal uses that had taken hold within the bounds of the park such as squatting and wildlife poaching (Ibid, pg. 12).

Following some of the issues that occurred in Yellowstone and with the support of several citizens' groups, the U.S. government recognized the need to establish an agency to help manage the national parks. In 1916, the National Park Service was established to help manage and expand lands that were being preserved in the public interest (Ibid, pg. 16). The purpose of this agency was "...to promote and regulate the use of the...national parks...which purpose is to conserve the scenery and the natural and historic objects and the wild life therein and to provide for the enjoyment of the same in such manner and by such means as will leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations" (National Park Service Organic Act, 16 U.S.C.1**)**. The development of the National Park Service encouraged states to propose public lands for recognition as national parks. Most of these lands did not possess the character required for national park status; however, many of them had features worth protecting on a smaller state level (Sharpe et al., 1994, pg. 17).

State Park Systems

Following the development of the National Park Service in 1916, there was a renewed interest in protecting public lands. Many states, in an attempt to add lands to the national park system, created proposals in the hopes that those lands would be selected for addition to the

system. At the same time, it was clear that there was a need for individual park systems to be placed under state management.

In 1920, the National Park Service called together a number of state park enthusiasts in an attempt to create a movement for the setting aside of public recreation areas that were to be managed at a state level. This meeting was known as the National Conference on State Parks (Coleman, 1967, pg. 4). During this meeting, the National Park Service Director, Stephen T. Mather, encouraged the development of state recreation areas within each state comparable in purpose to the National Park Service (Sharpe et al., 1994, pg. 17). After this initial meeting, lobbying occurred throughout many states and, between 1920 and 1940; thirty-six states had established agencies for administering state park systems. By 1940, only Arizona had no agency officially designated as being responsible for the acquisition, development, and administration of state parks (Coleman, 1967, pg.7). Currently, every state has a state park system and there are more than 5,000 individual state park areas located within those systems.

The Development of the Tennessee State Parks System

At the time of the first National Conference on State Parks, Tennessee had no state parks or recreation areas (Coggins, 1982). The first mention of a state park in Tennessee, however, came two years prior to the National Conference in 1919 when Wilbur Nelson, the state geologist, suggested the setting aside of "wild tracts which man had not yet altered (if any are still untouched) that can be dedicated to the generations yet to come as state parks" (Coggins, 1982; Coleman, 1967; Nelson, 1919). Nelson specifically recommended that three tracts of land (Reelfoot Lake, Herbert Domain, Brushy Mountain) be reserved as state parks. While he spent much time campaigning nationally for the development of state park systems, Nelson did not see

his suggestions come to fruition until the mid-1920s, when a joint legislative commission of the Sixty-Fourth General Assembly was set up following the momentum created by the National Conference on State Parks to investigate the Great Smoky Mountains and other areas as possible sites for national or state parks (Coggins, 1982). This committee recommended the purchase of the Little River Lumber Company lands in the Smoky Mountains for the development of the national park as well as the establishment of a state park in the Cumberland Plateau region just north of Chattanooga (Ibid; Coleman, 1967). In 1925, at the suggestion of the joint legislative commission, the Tennessee General Assembly moved to officially establish the State Park and Forestry Commission (Ibid).

The State Park and Forestry Commission was the primary governmental body empowered to acquire properties for use as state parks and forests from 1925-1937. It was permitted to acquire land by purchase if and when the State Legislature made the same provisions. The Commission was also granted the power of eminent domain that allowed them, with the consent of the governor, to condemn and take land for park and forest purposes (Coggins, 1982). The main accomplishments of the Commission included acquiring much of the land for the Tennessee portion of the Great Smoky Mountains National Park as well as accepting a land donation which would become Pickett State Forest (and later State Park) (Ibid).

During the early 1930s, the National Park Service and various New Deal agencies worked to promote an interest in the development of state parks in Tennessee. Of these New Deal agencies, the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) played perhaps the most prominent role in the movement for state parks in Tennessee. The TVA, in the development of Tennessee's rivers as reservoirs, looked at recreational development as a large part of its mission (Coleman, 1967, pg. 38). As such, the development of recreational demonstration areas on TVA reservoirs was

meant to spur on the development of state agencies to further expand upon the management of these recreational use areas. In 1935, at the suggestion of the TVA, the Tennessee State Planning Commission (TSPC) was created to help further the overall development of the state. At the same time, the TVA and other federal agencies suggested that the State Park and Forestry Commission be abolished and replaced with an organization that would better suit the state's natural and recreational resource needs (Coggins, 1982). The TSPC, in utilizing the studies and advice of the TVA, then drafted a proposal for a reorganization act to revamp the executive branch of the state government (Coleman, 1967, pg.41). In 1937, the State Legislature passed such an act. This act, the Reorganization Act of 1937, created many new departments including the Department of Conservation with a Division of State Parks (Ibid; Tennessee Public Acts of 1937, Chapter No. 266, Sections 1 and 2).

Within the framework of the Reorganization Act, the term "park" was defined and the power and rights of the Division of State Parks were outlined. Under the Act, "the term 'park' shall mean and include any and all areas of land heretofore or hereafter acquired by the state, which by reason of having natural and historic features, scenic beauty or location, possess natural or potential physical, aesthetic, scientific, creative, social or other recreational values, and are dedicated to and forever reserved and administered by the State for the recreational and cultural use and enjoyment of the people" (Ibid).

The Division, as well as the Department, began operating in January 1937 with R.A. Livingston acting as its first director. The park system began the operation of four parks in 1938: (1) Cumberland Mountain, Crossville, deeded to the Tennessee Department of Conservation by the USDA Forest Service (USFS); (2) Harrison Bay, Chattanooga, leased from the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA); (3) Booker T. Washington State Park for Negroes, Chattanooga, leased

from TVA; and (4) Shelby Bluffs Negro State Park (now T.O. Fuller), Memphis, deeded to the state by Shelby County (Coleman, 1967). The Jim Crow laws of the time mandated that the Division provide "separate but equal" accommodations for African-Americans and, therefore, two of the state's first four parks were set aside for the use of black citizens.

During the time from 1938-1962, the management and use of the state parks system was segregated. African-Americans could only visit Booker T. Washington and T.O. Fuller State Parks while white citizens were allowed to visit Cumberland Mountain, Harrison Bay and eleven other parks that were developed during that time. Additionally, the management staffs at the two black parks were required to be African-American and of a college education, while the white management staffs at the other state parks only had to be 21 years old with a high school education and a year of conservation experience. This mandated segregation created the development of a unique structure within Tennessee State Parks that would impact the system throughout its history: the development of separate parks for African-American and white citizens.

Societal Context

Progressive Ideals vs. Repressive Notions

During this same time period in which state parks and public recreation systems were being established and progress was being made in terms of the conservation of our natural and cultural resources, a Repressive movement that encouraged the creation of a segregated society had been solidified in the southern states. This movement, also known as the Jim Crow era, would have great impact upon the development of state government as well as our state parks and public recreation systems.

The Repressive System

The Jim Crow era officially began during the Reconstruction period following the Civil War (1861-1865). The Reconstruction period marked a great time of change in Tennessee as well as other southern states (Lovett, 2005). Tennessee, as opposed to many states during this time period, was progressive in its treatment of the newly-freed African-Americans. This notion of progressivism would later belie both the future of civil rights in the United States as well as future racial relations in Tennessee.

A movement that had its start during 1864 in Tennessee directly challenged the pre-Civil War notion of slavery and the still-dominant notions of the white majority and was illustrative of the progressivism that would mark the state's approach to race relations. The movement sought to encourage the civil rights of African-Americans (Ibid, pg. xviii). Between 1864-1880, African-Americans in that state sought to gain equal rights and suffrage, obtain equal protections under the law and the right of due process. This notion challenged the still strongly-held beliefs in the inferiority of African-Americans across the southern states by the still dominant white community which began to call for a compulsory separation of the races (Woodward, 1974, pg. 23). In 1865, in response to this call by southern whites to separate the races, the then-provisional state governments began passing laws known as the Black Codes (Ibid, pg. 23). Three states, Mississippi, Florida, and Texas all passed laws that required the separation of races on railroads. While these laws were only on the books for a short time before being overturned by military governments or repealed by later legislative actions, the idea of denying African-Americans decent accommodations on the railroads remained and, in fact, grew nationally (Ibid, pg. 24).

During this time in Tennessee, African-Americans actually enjoyed a fair number of freedoms including the ability to establish schools, join the Union Army, and form associations to achieve social, economic and political goals (Lovett, 2005, pg. xix). The state of Tennessee voted in March 1865 to abolish slavery; nine months before the US Congress would do the same. In December 1865, the US Congress voted to abolish slavery with the Thirteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. Following this Amendment, the federal government granted citizenship, due process and the equal protection of the law in the Civil Rights Act of 1866 (Note: this act became the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution in 1868) (Ibid, pg. xix). The Tennessee General Assembly voted to grant African-Americans the right to vote in 1867, three years ahead of the federal government. Following this, African-Americans called for and received the integration of streetcars in Nashville and had great political power within the state (Ibid).

However, just as in the other states of the south following Reconstruction, the former Confederates gained a large amount of political power in both the Democratic and Republican parties in the late 1860s and early 1870s. In the post-Reconstruction era, these "Redeemers" took over the governments of several states including Tennessee in the name of white supremacy (Lovett, 2005, pg. xx; Woodward, 1974, pg. 31). In Tennessee, the "Redeemers" wrote a new constitution in 1870 which instituted a poll tax and allowed for racial oppression (Lovett, 2005, pg. xx). This activity was echoed in several of the old south states and, in response, the U.S. Congress passed the Civil Rights acts of 1870, 1871, and 1875 to both punish those whites using intimidation in interfering with the rights of African-Americans as well as to guarantee equal access to public accommodations including inns, transportation, theaters, and "other places of public amusement" (Ibid; Mack, 1999, pg. 384; Woodward, 1974, pg. 28). The Reconstruction

Act of 1877 was later passed to further ensure the political rights of African-Americans (Holland, 2002, pg. 114).

The public reaction to the Civil Rights Acts of the 1870s was not favorable in Tennessee or much of the Old South. In response to the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1875, the Tennessee state legislature, under the "Redeemer" replacement government, repealed a state law which allowed for equal rights to public accommodation and transportation (Mack, 1999, pg. 384; Tenn. Acts 1875, chap. 130). In 1881, in following up on its support of the Black Codes and in response to the Civil Rights Act of 1875, the Tennessee state legislature passed what is known as the first state law mandating railroad segregation (Mack, 1999, pg. 384).

The 1881 Tennessee railroad segregation law marked the start of the Jim Crow era and lead to numerous southern states enacting similar segregation legislation. The aim of these segregationist laws was to restrict blacks and their movements (Holland, 2002, pg. 119). Two of the more major legislative happenings of the time occurred in Mississippi and Louisiana. In 1888, Mississippi passed a law which provided that railroads had to provide separate but equal accommodations for black and white passengers and that those passengers had to use the separate accommodations. This law was taken in front of the U.S. Supreme Court in 1890 after several railroad companies refused to comply (Louisville, New Orleans, and Texas Railroad v. Mississippi) (Woodward, 1974, pg. 71). The U.S. Supreme Court ruled that the law was constitutional and could apply to both intrastate as well as interstate commerce (Folmsbee, 1949, pg. 244). Following this ruling, the 1890 Louisiana state legislature enacted legislation which required blacks to ride in separate railroad cars. Homére Plessy, an African-American, boarded a train in protest of this law and was arrested for sitting in a car reserved for whites. Upon the appeal of a lower court ruling, the U. S. Supreme Court upheld the previous court ruling in

Plessy v. Ferguson. According to the Court's decision, Plessy's rights were not denied him because the separate accommodations provided to blacks were equal to those provided whites. It also ruled that "separate but equal" accommodations did not stamp the "colored race with a badge of inferiority" (163 U.S. 537 (1896)**;** Folmsbee, 1949, pg. 245).

The rulings of the U.S. Supreme Court in the Mississippi and Louisiana cases, when combined with a litany of individual state laws providing for separate but equal accommodations including those in Tennessee, provided the impetus for the development of a number of public laws that encouraged the separation of black and white society and marked the beginning of the Jim Crow era.

How Jim Crow Laws Impacted Public Recreation

The Jim Crow laws effectively separated society into white and black branches. The impact of this separation affected all areas of life from housing, employment, education, and recreation. Separation between whites and blacks began to occur in the Reconstruction and post-Reconstruction periods after the official end of slavery. During this time, whites wanted generally little to do with blacks and set up a system that separated themselves from the black population. Blacks were not allowed adequate use of public or private recreation facilities, or were only allowed to use ones not adequately supplied with materials or management staff (Holland, 2002, pg. 120). Moreover, given their rural and segregated locations, blacks participated in many of the same activities as whites; however, within the context of the black community, and, in some cases, those activities developed different traits reflective of this context (Ibid). It was also during this post-Reconstruction period that, as blacks began to adjust to their new found freedoms, the white population (especially in the South) sought to limit those freedoms and thus began the Black Code or Jim Crow system (Ibid, pg. 119).

Under the Jim Crow system, black and white use of parks and public recreation facilities was separated into different areas. Because the pervasive feeling of whites at that time was that they did not want blacks in "their" playgrounds or parks, black use of public parks and playgrounds was limited (Ibid, pg. 138). In some locales, blacks were allowed to use some public parks developed for whites – an uncommon occurrence in the south – but their activities were restricted. In many designated white parks, blacks were often only allowed to sit, walk through, and enjoy the park sights, but not use the playgrounds or other equipment (Ibid).

The 1920s marked an interesting time in the development of scholarship in the provision of recreation systems for blacks. The earliest data reported regarding segregation in recreation facilities appeared during this time (Ibid, pg. 132). In 1927, Forrest Washington of the Atlanta School of Social Work conducted a study the first study of black recreation participation in 57 U.S. cities. He found that in the south, playgrounds, parks, recreation centers, bathing beaches, and swimming pools were completely segregated, whereas in the North, some facilities reported no or limited segregation in those same facilities (Ibid; Washington, 1928). Numerous studies also conducted during this time discussed the positive impacts that the provision of recreation facilities could have on the black population. In 1927, Dr. William H. Jones, a professor from Howard University conducted a study that revealed that in Washington, D.C. there were twenty-five playgrounds for blacks, but only one with a swimming pool. He suggested that inadequate recreation provision for blacks contributed to problems associated with community disorganization, prostitution, gambling, alcoholism, and hidden nightlife (Ibid, pg. 139). Dr. Charles Johnson, in 1928, found in a study of statistical data from the seventy-five cities with the largest black populations, that, even in the North, the provision of parks and playgrounds for blacks were inadequate (Ibid). He also found that in the South, the provision of these facilities

was very inadequate and, unless specifically designated for blacks, all recreation facilities were assumed to be for whites.

The provision of park and recreation facilities for blacks continually increased during the 1920s and 1930s in response to some of the previously mentioned studies. In 1938, 34 new playgrounds were constructed for the use of blacks, bringing the national total to 220. While this seems like a significant number, it was still well-below those designed for white use (Ibid, pg.141). However, given the increased understanding of the possible benefits of the provision of recreational facilities for blacks, it marked a turning point in the battle for the increased development of public park and recreation facilities for blacks. This change translated into greater provision of these facilities by both the federal government as well as state governments.

Impact of segregation on development of state park systems

Based upon this change in the social structure of the United States, when it came time to develop state park systems in the 1920s and 1930s, many states had already established Jim Crow laws which reflected those like the Tennessee public accommodations statute. These laws provided for the creation of what were in effect two separate park systems: one for blacks and one for whites. States throughout the south including Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Tennessee, and Kentucky saw the development of segregated park systems and generally featured a few "State Parks for Negroes" (Ceceleski, 2007; Dallas News, 1951; Mitchell, 1945; North Carolina State Parks, 2005; Townsend, 2001). The impetus of the development for these parks came under the "separate but equal" clause from the *Plessy v. Ferguson* court decision. While, the black parks were never equal to the white parks in number, facilities, or funding, the development of these parks offered a positive development in the provision of recreational services for blacks on a state level.

Park systems across the southern U.S. were segregated until approximately the early 1960s. The *Brown v. Board of Education* Supreme Court decision in 1955 allowing for the integration of public schools provided the impetus for the desegregation of public facilities. Following this decision and subsequently others relating to public facilities, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored Persons (NAACP) among other social organizations called for the integration of state facilities including parks.

Tennessee State Park System and Segregation

Tennessee had one of the first state park systems in the U.S. which included those deemed as "State Parks for Negroes." The Tennessee State Park system was officially created in 1937 with the expectation that every park "shall be preserved in a natural condition so far as may be consistent with its human use and safety and all improvements shall be of such character as not to lessen its inherent recreational value" (Tennessee Public Acts of 1937, Chapter No. 266, Section 2). Four parks were initially deemed appropriate for the system: Harrison Bay, Cove Lake, Booker T. Washington, and TO Fuller (then Shelby County). The latter of these two parks were set aside as "State Parks for Negroes."

These "State Parks for Negroes" were segregated both in terms of visitors as well as staff. The management staffs at these parks were required to be African-American males with college educations in land management or recreation (Chattanooga Times, 1948). The use of these parks was designated specifically for African-Americans citizens. Additional "State Parks for Negroes" were proposed for the Knoxville, Nashville, and New Johnsonville areas but were never developed due largely to pressure from white citizens and a lack of political will (Coleman, 1967, pg. 247).

In Tennessee, beginning in 1954, the NAACP continuously requested the desegregation of 13 white parks (Athens Post-Athenian, 1955; Bristol Tennessean, 1955; Chattanooga Times, 1955; Chattanooga Times Free Press, 1955; Coleman, 1967; Columbia Daily Herald, 1955, 1956; Johnson City Press Chronicle, 1956; Kingsport Times, 5 Knoxville News-Sentinel, 1955; Memphis Commercial Appeal, 1956; Nashville Banner, 1956; Nashville Tennessean, 1955). Responses to this request were delayed by the TSP system directors until 1962, when by the verbal order of Governor Frank Clement the park system was officially desegregated (Coleman, 1967, pg. 252).

Modern Context

A Changing Park System

Since 1962, the Tennessee State Park system has formally been desegregated. Initially, upon the desegregation of the park system, two major changes occurred. In terms of the management structure of the state parks, all potentially qualified men regardless of race could be employed as managers at any of the state parks while the educational requirements for managers at the black parks were dropped back to those defined in the Reorganization Act in 1937 for white managers (e.g., 21 years old, a high school education, and one year of experience in conservation work). In terms of visitation to the parks, every park was opened for the enjoyment of people of all races.

Current Management Structure of the Tennessee State Parks System

Many changes have occurred within the Tennessee State Parks System since its integration. These changes have helped guide Tennessee State Parks into the system that it is today. The Division of State Parks, as it is still called, currently exists under the structure of the

Department of Environment and Conservation. TDEC is overseen by a Commissioner, James Fyke, who was appointed by Governor Phil Bredesen. The Division of State Parks is split into a complex management structure. There are two main units within this structure: State Parks and Hospitality Services. The State Parks unit is headed by a Director who is also the Assistant Commissioner for Parks and Conservation, Mike Carlton. Mike Carlton is the first Tennessee State Parks Director to come from a management position within the Division. The Hospitality Services unit is headed by Assistant Commissioner Andy Lyon. The main focus of the State Parks unit is the management and development of the traditional state park operations (e.g. camping, fishing, hiking, recreational use). The State Parks unit also has two main support divisions within the Central Office: Natural and Cultural Resources Management and the Facilities Management units. Each of these units has various specialists who operate under individual directors. The Hospitality Services unit helps guide the operation of the park inns, conference centers, golf courses, cabins, and marinas through the employ of various specialists.

There are currently 54 state parks within the Tennessee State Park system. The park system operates under a regional system where there are four area managers (West Tennessee (1), Middle Tennessee (2), and East Tennessee (2)). These area managers help coordinate management, development, and budget related issues and strategies within their region. Individual park managers must operate under the guidance of these area managers.

The State Parks are managed under four main classifications that range in complexity from Small Park to Moderately Complex Park to Large Complex Park to Largest or Most Complex Park (Resort Parks) with inn, restaurant, and golf course. Accordingly, park manager titles are assigned based upon these complexity levels with a Small Park being directed by a Park Manager 1 while the Largest or Most Complex Parks are managed by a Park Manager 4. In

1986, the educational requirements were changed to include a Park Manager 1 needing a college degree and two years of experience (real experience can substitute for education on a yearly basis) while Park Managers in the 2-4 classifications needing a college education with four years of experience (again, real experience can substitute for education on a yearly basis). All but six of the state parks operate under the first three classifications (or non-resort parks).

The Study Areas

Two main state parks, Booker T. Washington and T.O. Fuller, are the focus of this study. These two state parks were the only ones that were developed and managed specifically for the black citizens of Tennessee during the Jim Crow era. In such, they have a rich management and development history as well as a traditional visitation base which carries on to modern times.

Booker T. Washington

Booker T. Washington State Park is located in southeastern Tennessee, about 7 miles north of downtown Chattanooga. The park is located on the shores of Lake Chickamauga, a reservoir managed by the Tennessee Valley Authority. Originally leased to the state by the TVA in 1938, the then-350 acre park was purchased by the state in 1950 for the sum of $1.00. The main recreational features within this park include a group camp, a group lodge, fishing piers, swimming pool, picnic shelters, and a boat ramp.

Chattanooga is located along the Tennessee River in Hamilton County and is surrounded by the Appalachian Mountains to the East and South and the Cumberland Plateau to the West. According to the 2000 Census, Hamilton County had 307,896 people residing within its boundaries. Slightly more than 76 percent of residents were white, while 20 percent were African-American and approximately four percent were of other racial/ethnic identities. The

racial breakdown among the citizens of Hamilton County is consistent with historical records dating to the 1940s.

T.O. Fuller State Park

T.O. Fuller State Park is located in southwestern Tennessee, within the city limits of Memphis. The now 1,138 acre park, originally known as Shelby Bluffs Negro State Park, was purchased from the City of Memphis in 1938. The park includes a golf course, swimming pool, campground, group camp, picnic shelters, and ball fields.

Memphis is located within Shelby County along the shoreline of the Mississippi River. According to the 2000 Census, Shelby County had 897,472 residents. The racial make-up of the county was approximately 49 percent African-American, 47 percent white, and four percent of other racial groups. African-Americans have historically been the primary minority group within Shelby County. Over the past nearly seventy years, African-Americans have made up approximately 39 percent of the total population.

Purpose of Study and Research Questions

While the Tennessee State Park system has expanded and changed throughout its more than 70 year history, positive and negative traditions relating to the development and management of the park system under segregation remain active within today's park system. In order to fully look at these traditions within Tennessee State Parks, it is important to know understand the historical context in which these parks were developed as well as how that context has affected the development of and visitation to these parks. A primary part of this study will seek to understand the management at these two traditionally African-American state parks (Booker T. Washington and T.O. Fuller). Has the management differed from that of other

Tennessee State Parks because of both the clientele and the management staff? Did the development of these two parks differ from the development of the other state parks because they were developed during times of segregation?

Given that these two state parks were developed as segregated parks, it is easy to assume that the initial visitor base was largely African-American. A second part to the study will seek to understand the past and current socio-demographics of the visitor base as well as their motivations and attitudes toward and perceptions of these parks and their management. How has the visitation to these parks differed from that of other state parks? In what context do the current visitors view these state parks? How does that context compare to past park visitors?

Organization of Study

This dissertation research consists of three case study articles. The purpose of the articles are to: (1) build a foundation that explains the differences in the management and development of these state parks that were apparent over their first seventy years of existence; (2) discuss past and current state park management staff views regarding the effect that the original designation of Booker T. Washington and TO Fuller as "State Parks for Negroes" has had on the modern management and use of these park; and (3) explain the effect of the original designation on historical park visitation and examine what impact that has had on modern visitation to these state parks.

Chapter 2 – The Historical Impact of Segregationist Era on Tennessee State Parks: A Study of Differences in the Management and Development of Two State Parks – focuses on the impact of segregationist era philosophies on the management and development of Booker T. Washington and TO Fuller State Parks. It is a historical study which utilizes archival data

including newspaper articles, park system plans, individual park management plans, public acts, as well as personal communication with past managers to develop a sense of how being created as “State Parks for Negroes” has impacted the management and development of these parks throughout the seventy year history of the parks. Where possible, comparisons were drawn with the two other state parks that were created as area parks for white citizens (Harrison Bay and Meeman-Shelby Forest) by using archival data, management requirements, and development funding to create a sense of the differences that segregation era policies wrought on black versus white parks.

Chapter 3 – The Impact of a Historical Designation on the Modern Management and Use of Two Tennessee State Parks – discusses the impacts that the original designation of Booker T. Washington and TO Fuller State Parks as “State Parks for Negroes” has had on the management structure of those state parks. Through interviews with past and current park management and system staff, it is possible to see how the original Tennessee State Park management requirement within these two segregated parks of a “Negro man with a college education in recreation or land management” has evolved into the de-facto management policy of “A black manager for a black park” which carries on into the present day.

Chapter 4 – The Impact of the “State Park for Negroes” Designation on Visitation to Booker T. Washington and TO Fuller State Parks – examines the history of visitation to these two formerly-segregated state parks. Through archival data, visitor observation strategies, and interviews, this research seeks to explain the impact of segregation on visitation to two state parks. It describes the past condition of these state park as being ones that are segregated and, as thus, visited primarily by African-Americans and discusses how that served to create a user base that still is largely reflective of that minority use.

Despite much attention in the literature to management strategies, and visitor use and park development frameworks, there has been a lack of attention to the role that segregation has played in the development of our public recreation facilities and how the institutional use histories of our public lands have impacted the current management and visitation situations at those facilities. The expected outcome of this research is that it furthers the understanding that the historical social and physical context has an impact on the management and development at, and the visitation to our public lands that is still evident in modern times.

Methods

This study utilized a descriptive research approach and used qualitative methods. The descriptive research approach is aimed largely at the qualitative researcher. It does not seek to measure phenomenon by looking at random or nonrandom variables, rather it seeks to describe situations and/or events and answer the question why that situation occurred. Qualitative methods such as interviewing, conducting historical archival research, and visitor observation were utilized. The research project was placed in a grounded theory framework to allow the researcher a more open approach for discovery.

Subjectivity

As a researcher, it is my goal to be as fair and objective as possible; however, I do have my biases. In terms of this study, my background as a park planner for Tennessee State Parks denotes that I have some history with the system and, as such, some preconceived notions about the development of these parks as well as the visitors and management. In that, there are strengths relating to a well-developed understanding of the political structure of Tennessee's government, the park system, its value to the state in an economical as well as social psychological and ecological manner, and some understanding of the state's capital building

fund. Weaknesses exist in the fact that I have some preconceived notions about the historical and future management of these two parks in particular as well as knowledge (some positive, some negative) about the parties involved in the management of these state parks. It is my goal to overcome these biases. I will attempt to set aside any personal feelings about the management of these parks as well as knowledge about the personalities with whom I will ultimately be interviewing.

Methods and Sample Selection

The methods involved in designing and conducting this mainly descriptive study include the following: (1) conducting archival research, (2) conducting management staff interviews and research, (3) conducting visitor interviews, and (4) analyzing and reporting the data. Sample selection and validity/reliability measures will be discussed within the appropriate frameworks.

Conducting Archival Research

Historical Tennessee State Park development records, management plans and budgets were reviewed to determine the timing and financing of the physical development of these parks. These records were obtained from the state archives in Nashville, the Chattanooga and Memphis public libraries, as well as the two parks. Information regarding the physical development (budgets, capital projects (the data through which we will find physical development records) and management plans) of these two parks was compared with that of two other regional state parks (Harrison Bay and Meeman-Shelby) that were created during this same time period to serve white constituents. This research involved numerous trips to Nashville, Chattanooga, and Memphis to retrieve the data. Scanned copies were made of any applicable documents while conducting this research in order to reliably code and check the data. To ensure validity and

reliability (i.e. confirmability) when coding and analyzing the data, data audits and member checks were performed to ensure that the data was being presented and coded correctly.

Management Staff Interviews and Research

Interviews with both past and current state park management staff including park managers, rangers, directors, interpreters, planners, and construction staff were conducted between May-August 2007. Current and former park system staff members were purposively selected for interviews based on the length of their service with the system, job title, and historical knowledge. Past park staff members were located to the best ability of the researcher (Note: Two African-American woman who were employed as secretaries with the park system from the 1970s-2000s refused to be interviewed for this study due to prior bad experiences with researchers). The interviews with current park system staff were conducted in a face-to-face manner, while those that were with past staff were conducted via phone. Consent forms were signed by each interviewee prior to the interview.

The primary focus of these interviews was the development of a historical perspective of the development and internal management of these two traditionally African-American state parks as well as an understanding of the current situation at these parks. These interviews were initially be based on a set of open-ended questions, developed and initially tested on a fellow graduate student in Natural Resources Recreation and Tourism program of the Warnell School of Forestry and Natural Resources to ensure the content validity and test-retest reliability of the questions. Each interview was tailored to include some questions about the interviewee's personal experience within the system. These semi-structured interviews were recorded and a transcript was developed.

Five interviews were conducted with current and past park system staff (directors and planners). Four interviews were conducted with current and past staff members at Booker T. Washington while five were conducted with current and past staff members at T.O. Fuller State Park.

To ensure validity and reliability in the collection of this data, several strategies were be employed. Each of the interviews was conducted by the main researcher to ensure inter-rater reliability. The verification strategy of representative sample selection was be used at the end of the interviews to ensure that the sample interviewed was the best possible sample and that there was nothing lacking in terms of missing data. Notes from the interviews were discussed with the interviewees at the end of the interviews and the transcripts from each interview were further corroborated with the participants to help enhance the credibility of the study. To further ensure credibility, transferability, and confirmability, data from each interview was compared with other interview data as well as against the archival data through the use of triangulation.

Visitor Interviews and Surveys

Interviews with citizens that have had a long involvement with the two parks were conducted to get a historical perspective on park visitation and a sense of the socio-demographics of the primary user groups. These interviews were conducted between May-July 2007. The first four park visitors (two at each park) were initially selected in a purposive manner based upon visitors who are known to the park management staff to have a history of involvement with the park as well as being frequent visitors to the park. Following those interviews, random citizens were interviewed to provide the modern context to this study. Interviews were conducted on three different occassions at each park and every sixth person was selected for an interview at the

various use areas within the parks. Initially, the visitors were asked if they felt comfortable being recorded during the interview. The first two manager-identified visitors agreed to be digitally recorded. After three of the next set of visitors said they were uncomfortable with being recorded, interviews were conducted long-hand with the researcher writing extensive notes. Each interview ranged from fifteen to sixty minutes.

Prior to the interviews, a set of open-ended questions were developed and initially tested on two fellow graduate students in the Warnell School of Forestry and Natural Resources Natural Resources Recreation and Tourism program to ensure the content validity and test-retest reliability of the questions. In ensuring validity and reliability in the collection of this data, several strategies were employed. In terms of the interviews, each interview was conducted by the main researcher to ensure interrater reliability. The verification strategy of representative sample selection was used at the end of the interviews to ensure that the sample interviewed was the best possible sample and that there are no holes in terms of missing data. Notes from the interviews were discussed with the interviewees at the end of the interviews and the transcripts from the first two interviews were later corroborated with the participant to help enhance the credibility of the study. To further ensure credibility, transferability, and confirmability, data from each interview were compared with other interview data as well as against the archival data through the use of triangulation.

Data Transcription and Analysis

Each recorded interview was transcribed by a fellow Warnell graduate student. The main researcher transcribed the notes from each of the long-hand interviews. The transcripts were then coded and entered into an excel spreadsheet for analysis purposes.

A variety of strategies will be used to ensure the validity and reliability of these transcription, coding, and analysis procedures. Member checks and participant verification were used in checking the trustworthiness of the interview transcripts. Coding will be subject to data audits to test the transferability and confirmability of the survey data. Verification strategies such as ensuring methodological coherence, sampling adequacy, and theory development will be used concurrently with data collection, coding and analysis.

Chapter 1

Introduction

The concept of "State Parks for Negroes" is one that was familiar throughout the South during the era of segregation. State park systems in Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Tennessee, and Kentucky all had parks that were developed under the Jim Crow laws of the time. From their development in the 1920s and 1930s until the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision desegregating schools in 1954, these park systems were operated under the guise of "separate but equal." However, the provision of separate state parks for African-Americans was anything but equal in most of these systems.

In Tennessee, the interpretations of this policy lead to the development of two "State Parks for Negroes": Booker T. Washington State Park in Chattanooga and T.O. Fuller State Park in Memphis. These parks were operated under different management guidelines and development strategies than the state parks that were developed for the use of white citizens. For instance, managers at these two state parks were required to be both African-American and have higher education levels than those at the parks for white citizens, while development funding and facilities at these two parks were also scaled down to approximately one-third the funding and size of the white parks. Tennessee's State Parks were officially desegregated in 1962; however, a history of inequitable management and development practices has followed these two state parks up until the present day.

This dissertation is concerned with analyzing the foundations of these inequitable practices. It lays out issues related to managerial requirements and minority hiring practices as well as developmental funding and associated facility development delays in an attempt to interpret the impact of the historical designation of these two state parks as "State Parks for Negroes." This study is based around the historical context of the park movement in America as well as the social context of segregation and the Jim Crow laws of the post-reconstruction era in the United States.

Historical Context

History of the Park Movement in America

The beginning of the public park movement in America owes its start to Massachusetts. In 1641, the Massachusetts Bay Colony passed an ordinance that called for the "Great Ponds," fresh water bodies larger than ten acres, to be conserved for the general public for the purpose of "fishing and fowling" (Nelson, 1930). Following this decree, a few cities attempted to provide citizens with open land but these attempts were fairly isolated. Official park developments did not receive much attention until the 1830's when Congress reserved Hot Springs, Arkansas as an area that was to be kept in public ownership (Ibid). In 1865, California established the first state park when it set aside Yosemite one year after President Abraham Lincoln signed a bill that granted Yosemite Valley and the Mariposa Grove of Giant Sequoias to the State of California as an inalienable public trust (Coleman, 1968, p.1; NPS, 2007). The land was transferred to California originally for the purpose of protection and providing public recreation because the federal government had no policy on outdoor recreation matters at the time (Sharpe et al., 1994, pg. 6). Congress followed this land transfer by declaring Yellowstone the country's first National Park in 1872 (Coleman, 1967; Sharpe et al., 1994, pg. 6).

The sentiment for public parks spread quickly following these two declarations. In 1885, Canada established a ten-square-mile reserve around the Banff hot springs in Alberta and named it Rocky Mountain National Park (later renamed Banff National Park) (Sharpe et al., 1994, pg. 13). New York, Minnesota, and New Jersey all established state reserves or parks in the time between the years 1885-1895. This movement continued and by the turn of the century, there were five national parks in the United States: Yellowstone, Sequoia, General Grant, Yosemite, and Mount Rainier (Sharpe et al., 1994, pg. 16).

Throughout the early 1900s, in both the United States and Canada, land was set aside for the purpose of further preserving significant natural areas as parks. In 1906, the Antiquities Act was passed by an act of Congress. This legislation was highly important in that it set the stage for the future preservation of public lands. The act gave the President authority "to declare by public proclamation historic landmarks, historic and prehistoric structures, and other objects of scientific interest that are situated upon the lands owned or controlled by the Government of the United States to be national monuments" (Kieley, 1940). The Antiquities Act further spurred the movement to preserve lands for the purpose of public recreation across the United States.

National Park Service

After the establishment of the first National Park at Yellowstone in 1872, there was no management agency to oversee its operation. As part of a promise undertaken to get the park established, no appropriation was asked for its management for several years (Sharpe et al., 1994, pg. 10). With the park established but without the funding to manage it, the park had no real basis. The first park superintendent, Nathaniel P. Langford, was assigned to manage the park without a salary. He was an absentee administrator and only visited the park twice in his five years on the job (Ibid, pg. 11). In 1877, the park received an appropriation of $10,000 but

because park personnel had no authority to make an arrest, punish, or evict anyone from the park, the money did not help much. A sense of lawlessness pervaded the park and eventually, the Secretary of the Interior was forced to contact the Secretary of War for assistance in managing the lands. From 1885-1918, the park was placed under the protection of the U.S. Army. The Army's cavalry and engineers successfully managed the park during this time, enforcing regulations and putting an end to the illegal uses that had taken hold within the bounds of the park such as squatting and wildlife poaching (Ibid, pg. 12).

Following some of the issues that occurred in Yellowstone and with the support of several citizens' groups, the U.S. government recognized the need to establish an agency to help manage the national parks. In 1916, the National Park Service was established to help manage and expand lands that were being preserved in the public interest (Ibid, pg. 16). The purpose of this agency was "...to promote and regulate the use of the...national parks...which purpose is to conserve the scenery and the natural and historic objects and the wild life therein and to provide for the enjoyment of the same in such manner and by such means as will leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations" (National Park Service Organic Act, 16 U.S.C.1**)**. The development of the National Park Service encouraged states to propose public lands for recognition as national parks. Most of these lands did not possess the character required for national park status; however, many of them had features worth protecting on a smaller state level (Sharpe et al., 1994, pg. 17).

State Park Systems

Following the development of the National Park Service in 1916, there was a renewed interest in protecting public lands. Many states, in an attempt to add lands to the national park system, created proposals in the hopes that those lands would be selected for addition to the

system. At the same time, it was clear that there was a need for individual park systems to be placed under state management.

In 1920, the National Park Service called together a number of state park enthusiasts in an attempt to create a movement for the setting aside of public recreation areas that were to be managed at a state level. This meeting was known as the National Conference on State Parks (Coleman, 1967, pg. 4). During this meeting, the National Park Service Director, Stephen T. Mather, encouraged the development of state recreation areas within each state comparable in purpose to the National Park Service (Sharpe et al., 1994, pg. 17). After this initial meeting, lobbying occurred throughout many states and, between 1920 and 1940; thirty-six states had established agencies for administering state park systems. By 1940, only Arizona had no agency officially designated as being responsible for the acquisition, development, and administration of state parks (Coleman, 1967, pg.7). Currently, every state has a state park system and there are more than 5,000 individual state park areas located within those systems.

The Development of the Tennessee State Parks System

At the time of the first National Conference on State Parks, Tennessee had no state parks or recreation areas (Coggins, 1982). The first mention of a state park in Tennessee, however, came two years prior to the National Conference in 1919 when Wilbur Nelson, the state geologist, suggested the setting aside of "wild tracts which man had not yet altered (if any are still untouched) that can be dedicated to the generations yet to come as state parks" (Coggins, 1982; Coleman, 1967; Nelson, 1919). Nelson specifically recommended that three tracts of land (Reelfoot Lake, Herbert Domain, Brushy Mountain) be reserved as state parks. While he spent much time campaigning nationally for the development of state park systems, Nelson did not see

his suggestions come to fruition until the mid-1920s, when a joint legislative commission of the Sixty-Fourth General Assembly was set up following the momentum created by the National Conference on State Parks to investigate the Great Smoky Mountains and other areas as possible sites for national or state parks (Coggins, 1982). This committee recommended the purchase of the Little River Lumber Company lands in the Smoky Mountains for the development of the national park as well as the establishment of a state park in the Cumberland Plateau region just north of Chattanooga (Ibid; Coleman, 1967). In 1925, at the suggestion of the joint legislative commission, the Tennessee General Assembly moved to officially establish the State Park and Forestry Commission (Ibid).

The State Park and Forestry Commission was the primary governmental body empowered to acquire properties for use as state parks and forests from 1925-1937. It was permitted to acquire land by purchase if and when the State Legislature made the same provisions. The Commission was also granted the power of eminent domain that allowed them, with the consent of the governor, to condemn and take land for park and forest purposes (Coggins, 1982). The main accomplishments of the Commission included acquiring much of the land for the Tennessee portion of the Great Smoky Mountains National Park as well as accepting a land donation which would become Pickett State Forest (and later State Park) (Ibid).

During the early 1930s, the National Park Service and various New Deal agencies worked to promote an interest in the development of state parks in Tennessee. Of these New Deal agencies, the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) played perhaps the most prominent role in the movement for state parks in Tennessee. The TVA, in the development of Tennessee's rivers as reservoirs, looked at recreational development as a large part of its mission (Coleman, 1967, pg. 38). As such, the development of recreational demonstration areas on TVA reservoirs was

meant to spur on the development of state agencies to further expand upon the management of these recreational use areas. In 1935, at the suggestion of the TVA, the Tennessee State Planning Commission (TSPC) was created to help further the overall development of the state. At the same time, the TVA and other federal agencies suggested that the State Park and Forestry Commission be abolished and replaced with an organization that would better suit the state's natural and recreational resource needs (Coggins, 1982). The TSPC, in utilizing the studies and advice of the TVA, then drafted a proposal for a reorganization act to revamp the executive branch of the state government (Coleman, 1967, pg.41). In 1937, the State Legislature passed such an act. This act, the Reorganization Act of 1937, created many new departments including the Department of Conservation with a Division of State Parks (Ibid; Tennessee Public Acts of 1937, Chapter No. 266, Sections 1 and 2).

Within the framework of the Reorganization Act, the term "park" was defined and the power and rights of the Division of State Parks were outlined. Under the Act, "the term 'park' shall mean and include any and all areas of land heretofore or hereafter acquired by the state, which by reason of having natural and historic features, scenic beauty or location, possess natural or potential physical, aesthetic, scientific, creative, social or other recreational values, and are dedicated to and forever reserved and administered by the State for the recreational and cultural use and enjoyment of the people" (Ibid).

The Division, as well as the Department, began operating in January 1937 with R.A. Livingston acting as its first director. The park system began the operation of four parks in 1938: (1) Cumberland Mountain, Crossville, deeded to the Tennessee Department of Conservation by the USDA Forest Service (USFS); (2) Harrison Bay, Chattanooga, leased from the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA); (3) Booker T. Washington State Park for Negroes, Chattanooga, leased

from TVA; and (4) Shelby Bluffs Negro State Park (now T.O. Fuller), Memphis, deeded to the state by Shelby County (Coleman, 1967). The Jim Crow laws of the time mandated that the Division provide "separate but equal" accommodations for African-Americans and, therefore, two of the state's first four parks were set aside for the use of black citizens.

During the time from 1938-1962, the management and use of the state parks system was segregated. African-Americans could only visit Booker T. Washington and T.O. Fuller State Parks while white citizens were allowed to visit Cumberland Mountain, Harrison Bay and eleven other parks that were developed during that time. Additionally, the management staffs at the two black parks were required to be African-American and of a college education, while the white management staffs at the other state parks only had to be 21 years old with a high school education and a year of conservation experience. This mandated segregation created the development of a unique structure within Tennessee State Parks that would impact the system throughout its history: the development of separate parks for African-American and white citizens.

Societal Context

Progressive Ideals vs. Repressive Notions

During this same time period in which state parks and public recreation systems were being established and progress was being made in terms of the conservation of our natural and cultural resources, a Repressive movement that encouraged the creation of a segregated society had been solidified in the southern states. This movement, also known as the Jim Crow era, would have great impact upon the development of state government as well as our state parks and public recreation systems.

The Repressive System

The Jim Crow era officially began during the Reconstruction period following the Civil War (1861-1865). The Reconstruction period marked a great time of change in Tennessee as well as other southern states (Lovett, 2005). Tennessee, as opposed to many states during this time period, was progressive in its treatment of the newly-freed African-Americans. This notion of progressivism would later belie both the future of civil rights in the United States as well as future racial relations in Tennessee.

A movement that had its start during 1864 in Tennessee directly challenged the pre-Civil War notion of slavery and the still-dominant notions of the white majority and was illustrative of the progressivism that would mark the state's approach to race relations. The movement sought to encourage the civil rights of African-Americans (Ibid, pg. xviii). Between 1864-1880, African-Americans in that state sought to gain equal rights and suffrage, obtain equal protections under the law and the right of due process. This notion challenged the still strongly-held beliefs in the inferiority of African-Americans across the southern states by the still dominant white community which began to call for a compulsory separation of the races (Woodward, 1974, pg. 23). In 1865, in response to this call by southern whites to separate the races, the then-provisional state governments began passing laws known as the Black Codes (Ibid, pg. 23). Three states, Mississippi, Florida, and Texas all passed laws that required the separation of races on railroads. While these laws were only on the books for a short time before being overturned by military governments or repealed by later legislative actions, the idea of denying African-Americans decent accommodations on the railroads remained and, in fact, grew nationally (Ibid, pg. 24).

During this time in Tennessee, African-Americans actually enjoyed a fair number of freedoms including the ability to establish schools, join the Union Army, and form associations to achieve social, economic and political goals (Lovett, 2005, pg. xix). The state of Tennessee voted in March 1865 to abolish slavery; nine months before the US Congress would do the same. In December 1865, the US Congress voted to abolish slavery with the Thirteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. Following this Amendment, the federal government granted citizenship, due process and the equal protection of the law in the Civil Rights Act of 1866 (Note: this act became the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution in 1868) (Ibid, pg. xix). The Tennessee General Assembly voted to grant African-Americans the right to vote in 1867, three years ahead of the federal government. Following this, African-Americans called for and received the integration of streetcars in Nashville and had great political power within the state (Ibid).

However, just as in the other states of the south following Reconstruction, the former Confederates gained a large amount of political power in both the Democratic and Republican parties in the late 1860s and early 1870s. In the post-Reconstruction era, these "Redeemers" took over the governments of several states including Tennessee in the name of white supremacy (Lovett, 2005, pg. xx; Woodward, 1974, pg. 31). In Tennessee, the "Redeemers" wrote a new constitution in 1870 which instituted a poll tax and allowed for racial oppression (Lovett, 2005, pg. xx). This activity was echoed in several of the old south states and, in response, the U.S. Congress passed the Civil Rights acts of 1870, 1871, and 1875 to both punish those whites using intimidation in interfering with the rights of African-Americans as well as to guarantee equal access to public accommodations including inns, transportation, theaters, and "other places of public amusement" (Ibid; Mack, 1999, pg. 384; Woodward, 1974, pg. 28). The Reconstruction

Act of 1877 was later passed to further ensure the political rights of African-Americans (Holland, 2002, pg. 114).

The public reaction to the Civil Rights Acts of the 1870s was not favorable in Tennessee or much of the Old South. In response to the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1875, the Tennessee state legislature, under the "Redeemer" replacement government, repealed a state law which allowed for equal rights to public accommodation and transportation (Mack, 1999, pg. 384; Tenn. Acts 1875, chap. 130). In 1881, in following up on its support of the Black Codes and in response to the Civil Rights Act of 1875, the Tennessee state legislature passed what is known as the first state law mandating railroad segregation (Mack, 1999, pg. 384).

The 1881 Tennessee railroad segregation law marked the start of the Jim Crow era and lead to numerous southern states enacting similar segregation legislation. The aim of these segregationist laws was to restrict blacks and their movements (Holland, 2002, pg. 119). Two of the more major legislative happenings of the time occurred in Mississippi and Louisiana. In 1888, Mississippi passed a law which provided that railroads had to provide separate but equal accommodations for black and white passengers and that those passengers had to use the separate accommodations. This law was taken in front of the U.S. Supreme Court in 1890 after several railroad companies refused to comply (Louisville, New Orleans, and Texas Railroad v. Mississippi) (Woodward, 1974, pg. 71). The U.S. Supreme Court ruled that the law was constitutional and could apply to both intrastate as well as interstate commerce (Folmsbee, 1949, pg. 244). Following this ruling, the 1890 Louisiana state legislature enacted legislation which required blacks to ride in separate railroad cars. Homére Plessy, an African-American, boarded a train in protest of this law and was arrested for sitting in a car reserved for whites. Upon the appeal of a lower court ruling, the U. S. Supreme Court upheld the previous court ruling in

Plessy v. Ferguson. According to the Court's decision, Plessy's rights were not denied him because the separate accommodations provided to blacks were equal to those provided whites. It also ruled that "separate but equal" accommodations did not stamp the "colored race with a badge of inferiority" (163 U.S. 537 (1896)**;** Folmsbee, 1949, pg. 245).

The rulings of the U.S. Supreme Court in the Mississippi and Louisiana cases, when combined with a litany of individual state laws providing for separate but equal accommodations including those in Tennessee, provided the impetus for the development of a number of public laws that encouraged the separation of black and white society and marked the beginning of the Jim Crow era.

How Jim Crow Laws Impacted Public Recreation

The Jim Crow laws effectively separated society into white and black branches. The impact of this separation affected all areas of life from housing, employment, education, and recreation. Separation between whites and blacks began to occur in the Reconstruction and post-Reconstruction periods after the official end of slavery. During this time, whites wanted generally little to do with blacks and set up a system that separated themselves from the black population. Blacks were not allowed adequate use of public or private recreation facilities, or were only allowed to use ones not adequately supplied with materials or management staff (Holland, 2002, pg. 120). Moreover, given their rural and segregated locations, blacks participated in many of the same activities as whites; however, within the context of the black community, and, in some cases, those activities developed different traits reflective of this context (Ibid). It was also during this post-Reconstruction period that, as blacks began to adjust to their new found freedoms, the white population (especially in the South) sought to limit those freedoms and thus began the Black Code or Jim Crow system (Ibid, pg. 119).

Under the Jim Crow system, black and white use of parks and public recreation facilities was separated into different areas. Because the pervasive feeling of whites at that time was that they did not want blacks in "their" playgrounds or parks, black use of public parks and playgrounds was limited (Ibid, pg. 138). In some locales, blacks were allowed to use some public parks developed for whites – an uncommon occurrence in the south – but their activities were restricted. In many designated white parks, blacks were often only allowed to sit, walk through, and enjoy the park sights, but not use the playgrounds or other equipment (Ibid).

The 1920s marked an interesting time in the development of scholarship in the provision of recreation systems for blacks. The earliest data reported regarding segregation in recreation facilities appeared during this time (Ibid, pg. 132). In 1927, Forrest Washington of the Atlanta School of Social Work conducted a study the first study of black recreation participation in 57 U.S. cities. He found that in the south, playgrounds, parks, recreation centers, bathing beaches, and swimming pools were completely segregated, whereas in the North, some facilities reported no or limited segregation in those same facilities (Ibid; Washington, 1928). Numerous studies also conducted during this time discussed the positive impacts that the provision of recreation facilities could have on the black population. In 1927, Dr. William H. Jones, a professor from Howard University conducted a study that revealed that in Washington, D.C. there were twenty-five playgrounds for blacks, but only one with a swimming pool. He suggested that inadequate recreation provision for blacks contributed to problems associated with community disorganization, prostitution, gambling, alcoholism, and hidden nightlife (Ibid, pg. 139). Dr. Charles Johnson, in 1928, found in a study of statistical data from the seventy-five cities with the largest black populations, that, even in the North, the provision of parks and playgrounds for blacks were inadequate (Ibid). He also found that in the South, the provision of these facilities

was very inadequate and, unless specifically designated for blacks, all recreation facilities were assumed to be for whites.

The provision of park and recreation facilities for blacks continually increased during the 1920s and 1930s in response to some of the previously mentioned studies. In 1938, 34 new playgrounds were constructed for the use of blacks, bringing the national total to 220. While this seems like a significant number, it was still well-below those designed for white use (Ibid, pg.141). However, given the increased understanding of the possible benefits of the provision of recreational facilities for blacks, it marked a turning point in the battle for the increased development of public park and recreation facilities for blacks. This change translated into greater provision of these facilities by both the federal government as well as state governments.

Impact of segregation on development of state park systems

Based upon this change in the social structure of the United States, when it came time to develop state park systems in the 1920s and 1930s, many states had already established Jim Crow laws which reflected those like the Tennessee public accommodations statute. These laws provided for the creation of what were in effect two separate park systems: one for blacks and one for whites. States throughout the south including Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Tennessee, and Kentucky saw the development of segregated park systems and generally featured a few "State Parks for Negroes" (Ceceleski, 2007; Dallas News, 1951; Mitchell, 1945; North Carolina State Parks, 2005; Townsend, 2001). The impetus of the development for these parks came under the "separate but equal" clause from the *Plessy v. Ferguson* court decision. While, the black parks were never equal to the white parks in number, facilities, or funding, the development of these parks offered a positive development in the provision of recreational services for blacks on a state level.

Park systems across the southern U.S. were segregated until approximately the early 1960s. The *Brown v. Board of Education* Supreme Court decision in 1955 allowing for the integration of public schools provided the impetus for the desegregation of public facilities. Following this decision and subsequently others relating to public facilities, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored Persons (NAACP) among other social organizations called for the integration of state facilities including parks.

Tennessee State Park System and Segregation

Tennessee had one of the first state park systems in the U.S. which included those deemed as "State Parks for Negroes." The Tennessee State Park system was officially created in 1937 with the expectation that every park "shall be preserved in a natural condition so far as may be consistent with its human use and safety and all improvements shall be of such character as not to lessen its inherent recreational value" (Tennessee Public Acts of 1937, Chapter No. 266, Section 2). Four parks were initially deemed appropriate for the system: Harrison Bay, Cove Lake, Booker T. Washington, and TO Fuller (then Shelby County). The latter of these two parks were set aside as "State Parks for Negroes."

These "State Parks for Negroes" were segregated both in terms of visitors as well as staff. The management staffs at these parks were required to be African-American males with college educations in land management or recreation (Chattanooga Times, 1948). The use of these parks was designated specifically for African-Americans citizens. Additional "State Parks for Negroes" were proposed for the Knoxville, Nashville, and New Johnsonville areas but were never developed due largely to pressure from white citizens and a lack of political will (Coleman, 1967, pg. 247).

In Tennessee, beginning in 1954, the NAACP continuously requested the desegregation of 13 white parks (Athens Post-Athenian, 1955; Bristol Tennessean, 1955; Chattanooga Times, 1955; Chattanooga Times Free Press, 1955; Coleman, 1967; Columbia Daily Herald, 1955, 1956; Johnson City Press Chronicle, 1956; Kingsport Times, 5 Knoxville News-Sentinel, 1955; Memphis Commercial Appeal, 1956; Nashville Banner, 1956; Nashville Tennessean, 1955). Responses to this request were delayed by the TSP system directors until 1962, when by the verbal order of Governor Frank Clement the park system was officially desegregated (Coleman, 1967, pg. 252).

Modern Context

A Changing Park System

Since 1962, the Tennessee State Park system has formally been desegregated. Initially, upon the desegregation of the park system, two major changes occurred. In terms of the management structure of the state parks, all potentially qualified men regardless of race could be employed as managers at any of the state parks while the educational requirements for managers at the black parks were dropped back to those defined in the Reorganization Act in 1937 for white managers (e.g., 21 years old, a high school education, and one year of experience in conservation work). In terms of visitation to the parks, every park was opened for the enjoyment of people of all races.

Current Management Structure of the Tennessee State Parks System

Many changes have occurred within the Tennessee State Parks System since its integration. These changes have helped guide Tennessee State Parks into the system that it is today. The Division of State Parks, as it is still called, currently exists under the structure of the

Department of Environment and Conservation. TDEC is overseen by a Commissioner, James Fyke, who was appointed by Governor Phil Bredesen. The Division of State Parks is split into a complex management structure. There are two main units within this structure: State Parks and Hospitality Services. The State Parks unit is headed by a Director who is also the Assistant Commissioner for Parks and Conservation, Mike Carlton. Mike Carlton is the first Tennessee State Parks Director to come from a management position within the Division. The Hospitality Services unit is headed by Assistant Commissioner Andy Lyon. The main focus of the State Parks unit is the management and development of the traditional state park operations (e.g. camping, fishing, hiking, recreational use). The State Parks unit also has two main support divisions within the Central Office: Natural and Cultural Resources Management and the Facilities Management units. Each of these units has various specialists who operate under individual directors. The Hospitality Services unit helps guide the operation of the park inns, conference centers, golf courses, cabins, and marinas through the employ of various specialists.

There are currently 54 state parks within the Tennessee State Park system. The park system operates under a regional system where there are four area managers (West Tennessee (1), Middle Tennessee (2), and East Tennessee (2)). These area managers help coordinate management, development, and budget related issues and strategies within their region. Individual park managers must operate under the guidance of these area managers.

The State Parks are managed under four main classifications that range in complexity from Small Park to Moderately Complex Park to Large Complex Park to Largest or Most Complex Park (Resort Parks) with inn, restaurant, and golf course. Accordingly, park manager titles are assigned based upon these complexity levels with a Small Park being directed by a Park Manager 1 while the Largest or Most Complex Parks are managed by a Park Manager 4. In

1986, the educational requirements were changed to include a Park Manager 1 needing a college degree and two years of experience (real experience can substitute for education on a yearly basis) while Park Managers in the 2-4 classifications needing a college education with four years of experience (again, real experience can substitute for education on a yearly basis). All but six of the state parks operate under the first three classifications (or non-resort parks).

The Study Areas

Two main state parks, Booker T. Washington and T.O. Fuller, are the focus of this study. These two state parks were the only ones that were developed and managed specifically for the black citizens of Tennessee during the Jim Crow era. In such, they have a rich management and development history as well as a traditional visitation base which carries on to modern times.

Booker T. Washington

Booker T. Washington State Park is located in southeastern Tennessee, about 7 miles north of downtown Chattanooga. The park is located on the shores of Lake Chickamauga, a reservoir managed by the Tennessee Valley Authority. Originally leased to the state by the TVA in 1938, the then-350 acre park was purchased by the state in 1950 for the sum of $1.00. The main recreational features within this park include a group camp, a group lodge, fishing piers, swimming pool, picnic shelters, and a boat ramp.

Chattanooga is located along the Tennessee River in Hamilton County and is surrounded by the Appalachian Mountains to the East and South and the Cumberland Plateau to the West. According to the 2000 Census, Hamilton County had 307,896 people residing within its boundaries. Slightly more than 76 percent of residents were white, while 20 percent were African-American and approximately four percent were of other racial/ethnic identities. The

racial breakdown among the citizens of Hamilton County is consistent with historical records dating to the 1940s.

T.O. Fuller State Park

T.O. Fuller State Park is located in southwestern Tennessee, within the city limits of Memphis. The now 1,138 acre park, originally known as Shelby Bluffs Negro State Park, was purchased from the City of Memphis in 1938. The park includes a golf course, swimming pool, campground, group camp, picnic shelters, and ball fields.

Memphis is located within Shelby County along the shoreline of the Mississippi River. According to the 2000 Census, Shelby County had 897,472 residents. The racial make-up of the county was approximately 49 percent African-American, 47 percent white, and four percent of other racial groups. African-Americans have historically been the primary minority group within Shelby County. Over the past nearly seventy years, African-Americans have made up approximately 39 percent of the total population.

Purpose of Study and Research Questions

While the Tennessee State Park system has expanded and changed throughout its more than 70 year history, positive and negative traditions relating to the development and management of the park system under segregation remain active within today's park system. In order to fully look at these traditions within Tennessee State Parks, it is important to know understand the historical context in which these parks were developed as well as how that context has affected the development of and visitation to these parks. A primary part of this study will seek to understand the management at these two traditionally African-American state parks (Booker T. Washington and T.O. Fuller). Has the management differed from that of other

Tennessee State Parks because of both the clientele and the management staff? Did the development of these two parks differ from the development of the other state parks because they were developed during times of segregation?

Given that these two state parks were developed as segregated parks, it is easy to assume that the initial visitor base was largely African-American. A second part to the study will seek to understand the past and current socio-demographics of the visitor base as well as their motivations and attitudes toward and perceptions of these parks and their management. How has the visitation to these parks differed from that of other state parks? In what context do the current visitors view these state parks? How does that context compare to past park visitors?

Organization of Study

This dissertation research consists of three case study articles. The purpose of the articles are to: (1) build a foundation that explains the differences in the management and development of these state parks that were apparent over their first seventy years of existence; (2) discuss past and current state park management staff views regarding the effect that the original designation of Booker T. Washington and TO Fuller as "State Parks for Negroes" has had on the modern management and use of these park; and (3) explain the effect of the original designation on historical park visitation and examine what impact that has had on modern visitation to these state parks.

Chapter 2 – The Historical Impact of Segregationist Era on Tennessee State Parks: A Study of Differences in the Management and Development of Two State Parks – focuses on the impact of segregationist era philosophies on the management and development of Booker T. Washington and TO Fuller State Parks. It is a historical study which utilizes archival data

including newspaper articles, park system plans, individual park management plans, public acts, as well as personal communication with past managers to develop a sense of how being created as “State Parks for Negroes” has impacted the management and development of these parks throughout the seventy year history of the parks. Where possible, comparisons were drawn with the two other state parks that were created as area parks for white citizens (Harrison Bay and Meeman-Shelby Forest) by using archival data, management requirements, and development funding to create a sense of the differences that segregation era policies wrought on black versus white parks.

Chapter 3 – The Impact of a Historical Designation on the Modern Management and Use of Two Tennessee State Parks – discusses the impacts that the original designation of Booker T. Washington and TO Fuller State Parks as “State Parks for Negroes” has had on the management structure of those state parks. Through interviews with past and current park management and system staff, it is possible to see how the original Tennessee State Park management requirement within these two segregated parks of a “Negro man with a college education in recreation or land management” has evolved into the de-facto management policy of “A black manager for a black park” which carries on into the present day.

Chapter 4 – The Impact of the “State Park for Negroes” Designation on Visitation to Booker T. Washington and TO Fuller State Parks – examines the history of visitation to these two formerly-segregated state parks. Through archival data, visitor observation strategies, and interviews, this research seeks to explain the impact of segregation on visitation to two state parks. It describes the past condition of these state park as being ones that are segregated and, as thus, visited primarily by African-Americans and discusses how that served to create a user base that still is largely reflective of that minority use.

Despite much attention in the literature to management strategies, and visitor use and park development frameworks, there has been a lack of attention to the role that segregation has played in the development of our public recreation facilities and how the institutional use histories of our public lands have impacted the current management and visitation situations at those facilities. The expected outcome of this research is that it furthers the understanding that the historical social and physical context has an impact on the management and development at, and the visitation to our public lands that is still evident in modern times.

Methods

This study utilized a descriptive research approach and used qualitative methods. The descriptive research approach is aimed largely at the qualitative researcher. It does not seek to measure phenomenon by looking at random or nonrandom variables, rather it seeks to describe situations and/or events and answer the question why that situation occurred. Qualitative methods such as interviewing, conducting historical archival research, and visitor observation were utilized. The research project was placed in a grounded theory framework to allow the researcher a more open approach for discovery.

Subjectivity

As a researcher, it is my goal to be as fair and objective as possible; however, I do have my biases. In terms of this study, my background as a park planner for Tennessee State Parks denotes that I have some history with the system and, as such, some preconceived notions about the development of these parks as well as the visitors and management. In that, there are strengths relating to a well-developed understanding of the political structure of Tennessee's government, the park system, its value to the state in an economical as well as social psychological and ecological manner, and some understanding of the state's capital building

fund. Weaknesses exist in the fact that I have some preconceived notions about the historical and future management of these two parks in particular as well as knowledge (some positive, some negative) about the parties involved in the management of these state parks. It is my goal to overcome these biases. I will attempt to set aside any personal feelings about the management of these parks as well as knowledge about the personalities with whom I will ultimately be interviewing.

Methods and Sample Selection

The methods involved in designing and conducting this mainly descriptive study include the following: (1) conducting archival research, (2) conducting management staff interviews and research, (3) conducting visitor interviews, and (4) analyzing and reporting the data. Sample selection and validity/reliability measures will be discussed within the appropriate frameworks.

Conducting Archival Research

Historical Tennessee State Park development records, management plans and budgets were reviewed to determine the timing and financing of the physical development of these parks. These records were obtained from the state archives in Nashville, the Chattanooga and Memphis public libraries, as well as the two parks. Information regarding the physical development (budgets, capital projects (the data through which we will find physical development records) and management plans) of these two parks was compared with that of two other regional state parks (Harrison Bay and Meeman-Shelby) that were created during this same time period to serve white constituents. This research involved numerous trips to Nashville, Chattanooga, and Memphis to retrieve the data. Scanned copies were made of any applicable documents while conducting this research in order to reliably code and check the data. To ensure validity and

reliability (i.e. confirmability) when coding and analyzing the data, data audits and member checks were performed to ensure that the data was being presented and coded correctly.

Management Staff Interviews and Research

Interviews with both past and current state park management staff including park managers, rangers, directors, interpreters, planners, and construction staff were conducted between May-August 2007. Current and former park system staff members were purposively selected for interviews based on the length of their service with the system, job title, and historical knowledge. Past park staff members were located to the best ability of the researcher (Note: Two African-American woman who were employed as secretaries with the park system from the 1970s-2000s refused to be interviewed for this study due to prior bad experiences with researchers). The interviews with current park system staff were conducted in a face-to-face manner, while those that were with past staff were conducted via phone. Consent forms were signed by each interviewee prior to the interview.

The primary focus of these interviews was the development of a historical perspective of the development and internal management of these two traditionally African-American state parks as well as an understanding of the current situation at these parks. These interviews were initially be based on a set of open-ended questions, developed and initially tested on a fellow graduate student in Natural Resources Recreation and Tourism program of the Warnell School of Forestry and Natural Resources to ensure the content validity and test-retest reliability of the questions. Each interview was tailored to include some questions about the interviewee's personal experience within the system. These semi-structured interviews were recorded and a transcript was developed.

Five interviews were conducted with current and past park system staff (directors and planners). Four interviews were conducted with current and past staff members at Booker T. Washington while five were conducted with current and past staff members at T.O. Fuller State Park.

To ensure validity and reliability in the collection of this data, several strategies were be employed. Each of the interviews was conducted by the main researcher to ensure inter-rater reliability. The verification strategy of representative sample selection was be used at the end of the interviews to ensure that the sample interviewed was the best possible sample and that there was nothing lacking in terms of missing data. Notes from the interviews were discussed with the interviewees at the end of the interviews and the transcripts from each interview were further corroborated with the participants to help enhance the credibility of the study. To further ensure credibility, transferability, and confirmability, data from each interview was compared with other interview data as well as against the archival data through the use of triangulation.

Visitor Interviews and Surveys

Interviews with citizens that have had a long involvement with the two parks were conducted to get a historical perspective on park visitation and a sense of the socio-demographics of the primary user groups. These interviews were conducted between May-July 2007. The first four park visitors (two at each park) were initially selected in a purposive manner based upon visitors who are known to the park management staff to have a history of involvement with the park as well as being frequent visitors to the park. Following those interviews, random citizens were interviewed to provide the modern context to this study. Interviews were conducted on three different occassions at each park and every sixth person was selected for an interview at the

various use areas within the parks. Initially, the visitors were asked if they felt comfortable being recorded during the interview. The first two manager-identified visitors agreed to be digitally recorded. After three of the next set of visitors said they were uncomfortable with being recorded, interviews were conducted long-hand with the researcher writing extensive notes. Each interview ranged from fifteen to sixty minutes.

Prior to the interviews, a set of open-ended questions were developed and initially tested on two fellow graduate students in the Warnell School of Forestry and Natural Resources Natural Resources Recreation and Tourism program to ensure the content validity and test-retest reliability of the questions. In ensuring validity and reliability in the collection of this data, several strategies were employed. In terms of the interviews, each interview was conducted by the main researcher to ensure interrater reliability. The verification strategy of representative sample selection was used at the end of the interviews to ensure that the sample interviewed was the best possible sample and that there are no holes in terms of missing data. Notes from the interviews were discussed with the interviewees at the end of the interviews and the transcripts from the first two interviews were later corroborated with the participant to help enhance the credibility of the study. To further ensure credibility, transferability, and confirmability, data from each interview were compared with other interview data as well as against the archival data through the use of triangulation.

Data Transcription and Analysis

Each recorded interview was transcribed by a fellow Warnell graduate student. The main researcher transcribed the notes from each of the long-hand interviews. The transcripts were then coded and entered into an excel spreadsheet for analysis purposes.

A variety of strategies will be used to ensure the validity and reliability of these transcription, coding, and analysis procedures. Member checks and participant verification were used in checking the trustworthiness of the interview transcripts. Coding will be subject to data audits to test the transferability and confirmability of the survey data. Verification strategies such as ensuring methodological coherence, sampling adequacy, and theory development will be used concurrently with data collection, coding and analysis.

Chapter 2

Review of the Literature

In this chapter, I will review literature related to the questions presented in chapter one. The literature is separated into two main areas: management related research and visitor related research. Under the management related research section, I will discuss pertinent literature related to minority employment particularly in the field of natural resources management as a transition into the theory is a focus of chapter four: discrimination. Under the visitor related research section, I will review literature related to public lands visitation as well as the relevant theories which are the foci of chapter five including social norms, constraints, preferences, and place attachment.

Management Related Research

Minority Employment

One subject related to increasing minority involvement in outdoor recreation that has received relatively little attention is minority involvement in outdoor recreation careers. Hibbler (2004) states, "Research has shown that the group (minorities) is significantly under-represented at all levels in the recreation profession and within academia. There is tremendous need for qualified minority park and recreation professionals to serve various communities across the United States."

A basic premise of minority employment-related research has been that in order to develop and maintain a diverse clientele, an agency must represent that diversity within its own organization. Kivel, Samdahl, and Jacobson (1994), in citing Murphy (1970) and Williamson (1975), reflect that there is a continuing lack of minority representation in natural resource-based careers and that there is very little documentation of programs to recruit minorities to the field. These very attitudes towards both natural resources and towards employment impact the involvement of minorities in these professions and thus hinder their representation. Hibbler (2004) maintains "Various researchers have concluded that many black professionals perceive that they are under-represented in the field, particularly at the upper administrative level. The diminishing number of minority students who selected public parks and recreation as their academic major further exacerbates this notion.

Due to future staffing needs and the changing demographics, the hiring base utilized by public leisure service agencies must be expanded to include more under-represented groups, including Hispanics, Asian Americans and people of African descent. Clearly, alternative recruiting strategies need to be explored to successfully attract and retain minorities to the field."

Future research is definitely needed to address both the lack of minority employment in outdoor recreation and resource management careers as well as its possible impact on how minorities view outdoor recreation and the management of such areas.

Discrimination

Discrimination is important in recreation management research from both a management and visitation perspective. In terms of management, discrimination in the form of institutional discrimination/racism has played a key role in the lack of minorities in leadership positions in

recreation. It is also thought of as a main factor affecting visitation to our public lands by people of minority status. The discrimination research presented here will be divided into sections related to both management and visitation based on the premise of this study.

Discrimination in Management

The role that discrimination plays in the management of parks and recreation organizations is not clearly understood. Few, if any, research studies have looked into the concept of intra-organizational discrimination within the framework of a park system. Because little research has been done in this area, the scope of the literature review has expanded to encompass management and sport research as well as recreation management research.

Within an organizational context, there are two different forms of discriminatory practices that affect the workplace: access discrimination and treatment discrimination (Greenhaus et al., 1990; Sagas and Cunningham, 2004). Access discrimination is a form of discrimination which prevents members of a minority or subgroup from entering a job or organization (Ibid). Treatment discrimination occurs following a person's entrance into the workplace. In treatment discrimination, a member of a subgroup enters a job and then receives "fewer rewards, resources, or opportunities on the job than they legitimately deserve on the basis of job related criteria" (Greenhaus et al., 1990, pg. 64-65). Due to the fact that this study is examining management within an organization, treatment discrimination rather than access discrimination will be presented further.

As previously stated, treatment discrimination occurs when a member of a minority or subgroup enters into a job and then receives less opportunities than they deserve based on their subgroup membership rather than their on-the-job performance (Greenhaus et al., 1990; Levitin,

Quinn, & Staines, 1971). Employees of an organization who are experiencing this type of discrimination are subjected to issues within their organizations that are unfavorable to their careers on a much higher level than those who are not (Greenhaus et al., 1990; Sagas and Cunningham, 2004). Accordingly, when consistent over a given period of time, treatment discrimination often results in negative performance and development related outcomes including lost opportunities (Ilgen and Youtz, 1986; Sagas and Cunningham, 2004). Lost opportunities are those that a minority member receives while on the job – they may be less than or just different from those experienced by someone who is not affected by treatment discrimination (Ilgen and Youtz, 1986). The lost opportunities eventually compile and thus, over time, negatively impact the subgroup member in his/her job growth, experience, or influence levels and, are likely to, eventually affect their place within the organization and, ultimately, their level of success (Ilgen and Youtz, 1986; Sagas and Cunningham, 2004).

A number of research studies on treatment discrimination have examined the experiences of working women. There is great evidence of treatment discrimination in terms of lower compensation (Terborg & Ilgen, 1975), prospects for promotion (Olson & Becker, 1985), job assignments (Terborg & Ilgen, 1975), access to authority and responsibility (Harlan & Weiss, 1982), and opportunities to develop relationships with mentors, sponsors, and peers (Fernandez, 1981). Ilgen and Youtz (1986), in relating treatment discrimination to minority groups, found that minority members may experience treatment discrimination in a number of ways including those listed above for women. They suggested that these experiences would reduce job performance and career prospects since they would receive fewer opportunities to enhance their skills and develop relationships with coworkers.

Visitor Related Research

Discrimination in Visitation

Discrimination has recently begun to be thought of as a key factor affecting the leisure participation of ethnic and racial minorities and is thought to be both underreported and misunderstood (Johnson et al., 1997). Discrimination theory postulates that acts of perceived or actual discrimination are assumed to exert a negative influence on visitation to public lands/recreation areas and participation in leisure activities.

Several empirical studies have shown that discrimination in recreation or recreation areas acts as a constraint to minority participation. West (1989) found that African-Americans in the Detroit, MI area were less likely to use regional parks due to fears of discrimination or inter-racial conflict. Woodward (1988) and Blahna and Black (1993) reported that racism occurring both on- and off-site acted as a barrier for participation in leisure activities and visitation to park areas.

In more recent research, both institutional and interpersonal forms of racism have been found to impact the participation and visitation of minority groups to various outdoor recreation activities and areas. Discrimination is not just overt, rather it can result from park management lacking sensitivity or knowledge and inequities in the quality of park facilities, programs or services. In a 1993 study, Gobster and Delgado found that 10% of minority group users of Chicago's Lincoln Park felt that they had been victims of discrimination either by park users or police and that this discrimination caused a decrease in their level of satisfaction with the experience. Gobster noted, "Discrimination is a serious issue in park management that has begun to receive some attention." Lee et al. (2001) stated that, "In sum, we can predict that

minorities are less likely to participate in outdoor recreation than Anglos not only because many minority group members in the United States occupy lower socioeconomic status but also because of various cultural values (in response to racism and discrimination), fear of harassment, and patterns of institutional discrimination."

Social Norms

The basis for the use of the social norm approach to the study of behavior and conditions in outdoor recreation is in sociology and social psychology (Heywood and Murdock, 2002). Following initial research into the structures guiding social action by Durkheim and later Parsons, norms became viewed as shared beliefs about what behavior ought to be in a given situation (Heywood, 1996; Heywood and Murdock, 2002). Within these disciplines of sociology and social psychology, norms are often characterized by several distinguishing features, including that they are obligatory, they are enforced by sanctions, they guide behavior, and they are shared by social groups (Manning et al., 1999). In general terms, norms are the standards that allow individuals the ability to evaluate situations, environments, and decisions and guide an individual's ability to define behavior as being appropriate or inappropriate (Vaske et al.,1993). Norms are both individual and social in nature with some being more meaningful than others. According to Heywood, "the social power of a norm is a function of the interaction between the cognitive component (expectations about behavioral standards and/or obligations) and the emotional component (the costs or benefits of sanctions for the behavior)" (Heywood, 2002).

The study of social norms has constituted an important area of the outdoor recreation research that has contributed much to our understanding of recreationists' preferences and behaviors (Heywood, 2000; McDonald, 1996). Through adapting Jackson's (1966) Return Potential Model (RPM) of norms, outdoor recreation researchers have been able to apply this

construct to a variety of situations in outdoor recreation and has enabled researchers to develop an understanding user's preferences for regular patterns of behavior as well as allowing for the evaluation of management conditions ((Manning et al., 1996; McDonald, 1996; Shelby&Vaske, 1991). Research into norms in outdoor recreation has allowed for the adoption of an expansive view of norms which suggests that (1) recreation often involves emerging norms for which a strong sense of obligation and sanction has yet to fully evolve; (2) recreation-related norms can apply to social and resource conditions as well as behavior because such conditions are often a function of individual behavior; (3) recreation-related norms often regulate collective rather than individual behavior, and (4) research has documented some degree of consensus regarding a number of recreation-related norms (Manning, 1999; Shelby and Vaske 1991).

Much research utilizing the normative approach has dealt with crowding and encounter norms in backcountry recreational settings (Patterson & Hammit, 1990; Shelby, 1981; Vaske et al., 1986). Additional research has applied the normative approach to ecological impacts at wilderness campsites (Shelby et al., 1988), wildlife management practices (Vaske & Donnelly, 1988), recreational conflict (Gramann & Burdge, 1981), and depreciative behavior (Wellman et al., 1982). The normative approach has also been found useful in a number of recreation management frameworks including the Recreation Opportunity Spectrum (ROS), Limits of Acceptable Change (LAC), and Visitor Experience and Resource Protection (VERP) (McDonald, 1996).

Constraints

Constraints to leisure have been defined as "anything that inhibits people's ability to participate in leisure activities, to spend more time doing so, or to take advantage of leisure services, or to achieve a desired level of satisfaction" (Jackson and Henderson, 1995, p. 31). While being

acknowledged in the literature, there is relatively little work on the impact of constraints associated with racial stratification and the results of those studies have been mixed.

Race and its relationship to constraints have been established to be a worthwhile construct to study (Floyd, 1998). Washburne and Wall (1980) found that it was less likely to find African-Americans participating in many outdoor recreation activities than Whites. Factors including greater constraint related to transportation, safety problems, and poor area maintenance inhibited the participation of African-Americans in those activities. Woodard (1988) found that socioeconomic status and regionality were important factors when reviewing leisure behavior among African-Americans. He observed that fear of discrimination and racial prejudice lead African-Americans to choose more "domestic type pursuits" when choosing a leisure activity. Philipp (1995) found that African-Americans were more constrained than Whites because of a sense of being "uncomfortable" in activities including golfing, attending a country club, snow skiing and hunting. In a later study looking that the perceived "welcomeness" of several recreation activities, Philipp (1999) asked Whites and African-Americans how they thought African-Americans would feel about participating in numerous activities. It was found that while Whites felt that African-Americans would feel welcome, African-Americans were clearly constrained in participating in those activities by a feeling of "unwelcomeness." Henderson and Ainsworth (2001), in their study women of color and their leisure behavior, found that constraints including perceptions of physical activities, lack of time and space to participate, job demands, family expectations and needs, and economic factors, prevented them from pursuing various activities.

In contrast to the aforementioned studies, two studies looking at Chicago park users have found that Whites are actually more constrained than African-Americans in their choice of parks

(Arnold and Shinew, 1998; Shinew et al., 2004). Whites in these studies were constrained by the location of parks, maintenance of facilities, over-crowding, lighting of parks, lack of greenspace, landscaping and trees, lack of transportation, user conflicts, feeling unwelcome, and a fear of racial conflict. It is speculated that these constraints were noted by Whites because of different standards that more privileged people have towards their parks as well as a feeling that African-Americans are more accustomed to negotiating constraints and are therefore more likely to be able to overcome them (Shinew et al., 2004).

Despite the conflicting studies, it is obvious that constraints play a role in both leisure pursuits and the location of those pursuits. There are still a number of questions that require addressing before a better understanding of the impact of race on constraints. As Floyd (1998) stated, "perhaps the most critical issue facing the race and ethnic studies literature is the absence of viable frameworks" (p.4).

Preferences

The results of these studies can be further correlated with other studies that have examined user preferences and constraints. Dwyer (1994), in citing the U.S. Pleasure Travel Market Study conducted in 1989 by Longwoods Research Group Ltd., reported that, Whites and Hispanics were reported to be similar in their recreation-participation profiles, with both groups exhibiting higher rates of participation than African-Americans in activities that usually occur in wildland settings. Many other studies have also identified lower rates of participation by African-Americans as compared to Whites in wildland activities, such as camping and hiking, and higher participation in urban activities, like ball playing and picnicking (Dwyer & Gobster, 1997).

A large majority of studies in this field have identified lower rates of participation by African-Americans as compared to Whites in wildland activities such as camping and hiking and higher participation in urban activities like ball playing and picnicking (Dwyer & Gobster, 1997). A survey of outdoor recreation participation and preferences by Black and White Chicago households, found that African-Americans preferred more developed facilities while Whites preferred more natural areas (Dwyer and Hutchinson, 1990). In a 1993 study, Philipp reported that Blacks were less likely than Whites to prefer wildland recreation areas as tourist destinations largely due to a desire for increased social interaction while Whites focused on desired environments when selecting a tourist destination. Talbot and Kaplan (1993) reported that adolescent Blacks had a greater preference for settings that were carefully manicured and relatively open, while Whites preferred more heavily wooded areas with less evidence of human influence. A study of 1200 Black and White middle-and high-school students found that Whites rated wildland activities higher than Blacks, and that levels of fear of nature and desire for urban environments were related to preferences for non-wildland social activities (Floyd et al., 1995).

Several studies have also largely found that Blacks or African-Americans are less likely to participate in outdoor recreation in undeveloped primitive areas or in activities such as camping, hiking/backpacking, and hunting than whites (Washburne, 1980; Wahburne and Wall, 1980). Dwyer (1993) reported that Blacks tended to participate more in sports, but less in activities that take place in remote areas or undeveloped facilities than Whites. In a later study, Dwyer (1994) found significantly lower participation rates for African-Americans than for Whites in camping, hiking/backpacking, hunting, and the use of wildland and natural areas. Floyd et al. (1994) reported results consistent with earlier studies of Black-White variation in

leisure participation, including higher levels of Black involvement in team sports, fitness activities, and socializing

Reasons for the development of these different preferences seem to be related to socioeconomic status, structural barriers and, perhaps more simply, cultural identity. Johnson and Bowker (1999) note that there are three general factors that seem to distinguish African-American and White outdoor recreation participation including a tendency for African-Americans to enjoy more collective activities as opposed to White preferences for solitude, an African-American preference for more developed settings and White preference for natural areas, and more concern by African-Americans about safety in recreation settings.

Place Attachment

Place plays an important part in the understanding of recreation behavior and management. Leisure researchers have used the study of place to help refine our understanding of leisure behavior over the past three decades (Kyle et al., 2004; Moore & Graefe, 1994). As described in the literature, place encompasses the physical setting, as well as human experience and interpretation (Brandenburg and Carroll, 1995; Relph, 1976; Sack ,1997; Stedman, 2003; Tuan, 1977). The study of place places an emphasis on developing both an understanding of the physical elements that help define preferred recreational settings as well as the emotional bonds that occur between recreationists' and those preferred settings. Place attachment has emerged as a core concept out of this literature and seeks to examine the meaning places have for people and represents an emotional bond between a person and a particular place (Guiliani & Feldman, 1993; Kyle et al., 2004; Williams & Patterson, 1999). Place attachment has been described as "the emotional link formed by an individual to a physical site that has been given meaning through interaction" (Harmon et al., 2006; Milligan, 1998).

Place attachment has two main components: place identity and place dependence. Place identity describes how individuals associate themselves with places (Hunt, 2008). In such, individuals define themselves through their relations to physical settings and the meanings they attach to those settings (Hunt, 2008; Moore & Graefe, 1994; Stedman, 2002). It refers to "those dimensions of the self that define the individual's personal identity in relation to the physical environment by means of a complex pattern of conscious and unconscious ideas, beliefs, preferences, feelings, values, goals, and behaviorial tendencies and skills relevant to this environment" (Proshansky, 1978, p. 155). Place dependence is the more functional aspect of place attachment. It reflects the importance of a resource for providing amenities necessary for desired activities (Kyle et al., 2004; Stokols & Shumaker, 1981; Williams et al., 1992; Williams & Roggenbuck, 1989). Frequency of use has been found to be related to both place identity and place dependence. Moore and Graefe (1994) found that place dependence is related to the frequency of use. In a later study of recreationists' attachment to a park and a trail near Cleveland, Ohio, Moore and Scott (2003) found that place attachment and frequency of use were positively related in a uni-dimensional rather than multi-dimensional (place identity and place dependence) fashion based upon an individual's commitment to an activity. More recently, the use history of a recreational area has more recently been identified as an additional component of place attachment (Hailu et al., 2005; Hammit et al., 2004; Hunt, 2008). Use history refers to the past experience (e.f., visitation, years) that individuals have with particular recreational areas. These researchers have concluded that while it is unknown if place identity or place dependence increase use history, that there is a positive association between user history and place attachment (Hunt, 2008).

CHAPTER 3

THE HISTORICAL IMPACT OF THE SEGREGATIONIST ERA ON TENNESSEE STATE PARKS: A STUDY OF DIFFERENCES IN THE MANAGEMENT AND DEVELOPMENT OF TWO STATE PARKS[1]

[1] Bloom, Katharine C., Newman, David, and Craig A. Miller. To be submitted to The Journal of Southern History.

Introduction

The early 1900s were a time of great political and social change. Many exciting developments occurred during this time including the invention of the radio and movies, cars and a highway system which allowed for interstate travel, the development of airplanes and helicopters as well as many others that were designed to modernize lifestyles. Two notions that were especially apparent were representative of the both progressive social movements and regressive public institutions and laws occurring during this time: the development of public park systems including those at the national and state levels and segregation respectively.

Progressive Notions Encourage Park Development

The movement to create public parks in America had been around since the 1600s when Massachusetts was the first colony to declare its ponds as public entities (Nelson, 1930). Between the 1600s and the mid-1800s, the development of public use areas and parks were at the mercy of city directors and were not at the forefront of a developing country and society. During the mid-1830s, however, the public mindset began to change. The idea of land preservation emerged and resulted in the development of the first public reserve when Hot Springs, Arkansas was set aside for public use. Two exciting developments occurred in the years following this initial reserve when in 1865, following a land grant from the United States government, California established the first state park at Yosemite; and in 1872, when Congress set aside Yellowstone as the first National Park (NPS, 2007; Sharpe et al., 1994, pg. 6). After these two designations, the sentiment for public parks grew tremendously. Canada, New York, New Jersey, Minnesota all developed national or state parks respectively and the National Park System continued to grow. A law passed during the early 1900s also had significant ramifications on the growth of public lands when the Antiquities Act was passed by Congress.

This Act allowed the president to designate important lands as national monuments for the use of the public in perpetuity (Kieley, 1940). Since that time, the growth of public parks and monuments has been practically non-stop on a national level and this growth ultimately spurred the creation of the National Park Service in 1916 (Sharpe et al., 1994, pg. 16).

The creation of the National Park Service, in turn, spurred the development of the state park movement. In 1920, the National Park Service called for a meeting of state park enthusiasts. The National Conference on State Parks was held in Iowa in January, 1920. Sponsored and funded largely by Stephen T. Mather, the first director of the National Park Service, the conference encouraged the development of state parks similar in purpose to the national parks (Sharpe et al., 1994, pg. 17). The conference had representatives from over one half the states. As a result of the lobbying that occurred at both the federal and state levels following the conference, numerous states were implementing land conservation and recreation programs and developing agencies to oversee such programs. Between 1920 and 1940, thirty six states developed state park systems to preserve valuable natural and cultural areas as well as provide public recreation areas for the citizens of those states (Ibid).

Regressive Institutions Segregate Society

During this time of numerous progressive ideals including those that produced our public park systems, there was a regressive institution that was built around restricting the lifestyles of African-Americans. This regressive institution, or segregation, was formed around the Jim Crow laws of the late 1800s and early 1900s, created a society in which its black and white members were separated and, often times, not treated equally.

The original idea for a segregated emerged following the Reconstruction following the Civil War with the passage of the Black Codes. Southern legislatures passed these laws in an

attempt to inhibit the freedom of ex-slaves and maintain some form of white control (Woodward, 1974, pg. 23). Tennessee wrote one of the first of what was to be hundreds of individual state laws that enforced the segregation of blacks from whites when it passed a law requiring separate schools for black and white children in 1866 (Davis, 2002, pg.1). Following the withdrawal of federal troops from the south in the late 1870s, the Black Codes were followed up by a more universal system of segregation in the form of the Jim Crow laws (Woodward, 1974, pg. 6).

The 1881 Tennessee railroad segregation law marked the start of the Jim Crow era and lead to numerous southern states enacting similar segregation legislation. The aim of these segregationist laws was to restrict blacks and their movements (Holland, 2002, pg. 119). Two of the more major legislative happenings of the time occurred in Mississippi and Louisiana. In 1888, Mississippi passed a law which provided that railroads had to provide separate but equal accommodations for black and white passengers and that those passengers had to use the separate accommodations. This law was taken in front of the U.S. Supreme Court in 1890 after several railroad companies refused to comply (*Louisville, New Orleans, and Texas Railroad v. Mississippi*) (Woodward, 1974, pg. 71). The U.S. Supreme Court ruled that the law was constitutional and could apply to both intrastate as well as interstate commerce (Folmsbee, 1949, pg. 244). Following this ruling, the 1890 Louisiana state legislature enacted legislation which required blacks to ride in separate railroad cars. Homére Plessy, an African-American, boarded a train in protest of this law and was arrested for sitting in a car reserved for whites. Upon the appeal of a lower court ruling, the U. S. Supreme Court upheld the previous court ruling in *Plessy v. Ferguson*. According to the Court's decision, Plessy's rights were not denied him because the separate accommodations provided to blacks were equal to those provided whites. It

also ruled that "separate but equal" accommodations did not stamp the "colored race with a badge of inferiority" (163 U.S. 537 (1896)**;** Folmsbee, 1949, pg. 245).

From the time of the *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision to the mid-1950s, Jim Crow laws affected everything from public transportation to living accommodations to education and even to public recreation. These laws were accepted as a part of the social fabric of the country up until approximately the early 1950s. The Supreme Court ruled in 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* decision that segregation in schools was unconstitutional, with Supreme Court Chief Justice Earl Warren concluding that, “in the field of public education the doctrine of ‘separate but equal’ has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal” (Woodward, 1974, pg. 147). This decision marked the beginning of the end of the Jim Crow era.

A Park System Founded by Progressive Ideals under Regressive Institution

The 1930s marked a time of great change for Tennessee, one in which the progressive ideals of the early 1900s, in which the conservation and preservation of public lands gained national attention and lead to the development of the National Park Service, and the regressive institution of segregation and the Jim Crow laws, combined to produce a movement that would form one of the country’s first segregated state park systems.

The Tennessee State Park (TSP) system was initially established by the State Government Reorganization Act of 1937 (Tennessee Public Acts of 1937, Chapter No. 266, Sections 1 and 2; Tennessee State Parks, 1974). The Act initiated the Department of Conservation under which the divisions of forestry, geology, state parks, and educational services were formed. It defined the term “park” along with the outlining the power and rights of the Division of State Parks. Under the Act, “the term ‘park’ shall mean and include any and all areas of land heretofore or hereafter acquired by the state, which by reason of having natural and

historic features, scenic beauty or location, possess natural or potential physical, aesthetic, scientific, creative, social or other recreational values, and are dedicated to and forever reserved and administered by the State for the recreational and cultural use and enjoyment of the people" (Ibid, p.2).

Under the guise of the Jim Crow laws of the time, it was necessary for TSP to provide "separate but equal" facilities for the black and white citizens of the state. As such, the state park system was set up with four parks under development, two of which were developed as "State Parks for Negroes." The park system began the operation of four parks in 1938: (1) Cumberland Mountain, Crossville, deeded to the Tennessee Department of Conservation by the USDA Forest Service (USFS); (2) Harrison Bay, Chattanooga, leased from the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA); (3) Booker T. Washington State Park for Negroes, Chattanooga, leased from TVA; and (4) Shelby Bluffs Negro State Park (now T.O. Fuller), Memphis, deeded to the state by Shelby County (Coleman, 1968).

. The impetus for the development of the two "State Parks for Negroes" came from a combination of two sources: (1) the "separate but equal" Jim Crow-era policy and (2) a long struggle in the mid-1930s to develop a similar park in Knoxville. Given the fundamental policy of "separate but equal" which guided public developments within the state under Jim Crow, Knoxville area blacks were clamoring for the development of a nature park for their own use within the boundaries of this reservoir and were attempting to work with the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) to provide such a facility in the mid-1930s (McKinney, 2008). At the time, the TVA was developing reservoirs to provide electricity to the Tennessee Valley and also providing lake-side recreational areas. Among those recreational areas were two Norris Dam recreational

areas located on the Norris Reservoir just north of Knoxville. These sites were for the exclusive use of whites and no land was provided for a similar black park at the time.

Following much discussion within the black community about the desire for a park, leaders for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) decided to work with TVA on this matter. In correspondence between an African-American attorney and NAACP leader in Knoxville, Carl Cowan, and Charles H. Houston, the NAACP special counsel, Cowan noted that two parks in the Norris area were available for whites and that he had been "reliably and confidentially informed" that TVA was planning to build a separate recreation area for African-Americans. Concern in the black community about the acceptance of separate facilities spurred Cowan to seek Houston's counsel on whether local African-Americans should accept separate facilities at a federal site because of concerns that TVA would set a precedent if it established a segregated facility using federal funds: "There are those of us who feel that if TVA is allowed to establish a policy of park discrimination or segregation, it will be adopted for other national parks in the south [sic] such as the Great Smoky Mountains National Park" (Ibid).

Houston recommended that seeking a separate park would be a "set-back," however, Knoxville area African-Americans felt otherwise. Following this correspondence, there was much interplay between the TVA, NAACP, and Knoxville area leaders about a site for this park. A site was "pretty much" assured for the development of a park for blacks, however, the development of this park was suspended when the state Department of Conservation along with TVA elected to move the black park to Chattanooga (Ibid). The battle for the black park in Knoxville is suggestive of the later battles for black recreation areas throughout the state. They were unfairly constructed and the development of said facilities was a hot political topic until segregation was ended within the park system in 1962 (Coleman, 1967).

Purpose of Study

This study focuses on the developmental and managerial history of the two state parks that were originally developed as "State Parks for Negroes": Booker T. Washington and T.O. Fuller. These two parks, largely because of their initial designation, have been shaped by various forms of discriminatory behavior issuing from the TSP system. These discriminatory behaviors include a history of inequitable funding, facility development, and managerial issues that are vastly different from those that have occurred at the other state parks in the system. The study aims to answer the questions: (1) What was the impact of segregation era policies on the development and management of these two parks? (2) Did the development and management of these two parks differ from that of other state parks because they were developed during times of segregation? This study will use historical documents including newspaper articles, management plans, public acts, and personal communication with past and current management staff to address these questions regarding differences that occurred in the management and development of these two parks due to their initial designation. Where appropriate, the study will make comparisons between the two black parks and the area "white" parks (Harrison Bay and Meeman-Shelby).

Methods

The primary method used in the development of this paper was archival research and analysis.

Conducting Archival Research

Historical Tennessee State Park development records, management plans and budgets were reviewed to determine the timing and financing of the physical development of these parks.

These records were obtained from the state archives in Nashville, the Chattanooga and Memphis public libraries, as well as the two parks. Information regarding the physical development (budgets, capital projects (the data through which we will find physical development records) and management plans) of these two parks was compared with that of two other regional state parks (Harrison Bay and Meeman-Shelby) that were created during this same time period to serve white constituents. This research involved numerous trips to Nashville, Chattanooga, and Memphis to retrieve the data. Scanned copies were made of any applicable documents while conducting this research in order to reliably code and check the data. To ensure validity and reliability (confirmability) when coding and analyzing the data, data audits and member checks were performed to ensure that the data was being presented and coded correctly.

Developmental History

Differences in the development of the two black parks are apparent in several ways: (1) the Initial Park System Planning, (2) the number, types, and funding of proposed facilities, (3) the size of the parks and the time to build the proposed facilities, and (4) the marketing for these parks.

Initial System Planning

As noted in the introduction, the concept of "State Parks for Negroes" was controversial from the start (McKinney, 2008). Neither African-Americans nor whites in Tennessee were sure whether the development of segregated state parks was a positive and constructive idea (Ibid). However, it was decided that under the guise of the Jim Crow laws of the time, the Tennessee State Park system would indeed be a segregated system and would initially open two State Parks

for African-Americans: Booker T. Washington in Chattanooga and T.O. Fuller (then Shelby Bluffs) in Memphis.

Numerous studies and plans following the opening of these first parks encouraged the idea of setting aside more recreation areas for African-Americans; however, none of them came to fruition. Four studies in particular illustrate this idea: (1) the 1939 Park, Parkway and Recreational Area Study, (2) the 1950 master plan for state parks, (3) the 1952 program plan for state parks, and (4) the 1957 revised program plan for state parks. The following paragraphs summarize these studies and plans with respect to the "Negro" park ideal. It is important to highlight once again that these plans demonstrate a consistent understanding of the need to provide public recreation in the form of state parks to all citizens; however, the lack of follow through is demonstrative of the lack of support that the development of these black parks received throughout the early history of the park system.

In the 1939 Park, Parkway and Recreational Area Study, the Tennessee State Planning Commission (TSPC) and the National Park Service (NPS) recommended that, "three recreation areas of 2500 acres or more be established for white people," and "four recreational areas of 1,000 acres or more be established for Negroes" (TSPC, 1939, pgs. 5 and 14) The three areas for whites were proposed for Northeastern Tennessee, near Chattanooga, and near Nashville. The four areas for Negroes would be near Memphis, Chattanooga, Nashville, and near Jackson (Coleman, 1967, 70). It is important to note that the four areas for African-Americans already included the areas where two parks (Chattanooga and Memphis) had been established – at acreages far less than recommended in the study – but were yet to be open to the public.

In 1950, the TSPC with the cooperation of TSP prepared a master plan for state parks. This plan brought forward a concept that has carried through to modern times: that there should be one state park within 50 miles of every citizen and within 25-30 miles of the majority of citizens. This policy was clearly stated as being for the white population. By "noting that the Negro population was 'quite scant' in the Cumberland Plateau and in the 'Wayne-Lewis-Perry County section of the state,' the report concluded that 'in view of this irregular distribution of Negro population it is not necessary that all portions of the state lie within fifty miles of a state park in order to have a system that would reasonably serve the majority of this racial group" (Coleman, 1967, pg. 91-92). This master plan also called for five smaller parks for Negroes to be located in the Nashville, Kentucky Lake, Jackson, Upper East Tennessee, and Knoxville areas.

In 1952, the park master plan was revised into a program plan, "State Parks: A Proposed Program for Tennessee," by the TSPC. This plan called for two additional parks for white citizens (17 were in existence at that time with two being added between 1950 & 1952) and four smaller ones for African-Americans in Nashville, Jackson, Upper East Tennessee, and Knoxville (TSPC, 1952, pg. 1). The call for additional African-American parks was changed from five in the 1950 plan to four in the 1952 plan because a plan to add a Negro park on Kentucky Lake, while approved by the state, failed due to "conflicting needs of TVA" (Coleman, 1967, pg. 100). Included in this plan were separate maps which illustrated the location of the population centers for whites and blacks as well as circles drawn around the population centers to represent the 50-mile radius the park system used to meet its new policy of a park within 50 miles of every citizen (TSPC, 1952, maps).

The "State Park System for White Patrons" map is much fuller and more detailed than the "Negro State Park System" map and seems to suggest that because the white population is larger and more dispersed that they are in need of more parks. The plan goes on to state that it is "not necessary that all portions of the state lie within fifty miles of a state park in order to have a system which would reasonably serve the majority of this racial group. The task of selecting and getting public acceptance of sites for Negro parks is exceedingly difficult, for there are always some who will object regardless of how badly needed and how very suitable a chosen site may be." It also states, "at present, Negroes have no access to the many recreational opportunities available at Kentucky Lake, neither do they have overnight or vacation facilities available to them in the state parks" (TSPC, 1952, pg. 14). A review of the Nashville, Chickasaw, Upper East Tennessee, and Knoxville regions was conducted for the placement of future Negro parks. This plan also called for parks to be a minimum of 500 acres – both Booker T. Washington (350) and T.O. Fuller (384) were beneath that standard.

The TSPC issued another revised program plan in 1957 entitled "A Proposed State Parks and Recreation Program for Tennessee." This report followed up the 1952 plan, which while accepted as an official program of action, had not yet been realized. The plan sought to further the development of the TSP system via a classification system that would determine the services provided at each park level. The four major classifications included the following:

1. State parks – "areas preserved in their natural state. These areas should represent various types of natural landscapes found in Tennessee. The preservation and protection of natural features should take precedence over all other features including outdoor recreation pursuits."
2. State Recreation Areas – "areas specifically designed and developed to provide outdoor recreation needs. The types of recreation provided should be the most beneficial possible for the people of Tennessee and these areas should be planned for maximum recreation potential."

3. State Monuments – “areas of state-wide and nation-wide historic, scientific, and cultural importance.”

4. State Reservoir Access Areas – “areas that should preserve and protect the right of public access to the ‘great public reservoir systems in Tennessee’” (Coleman, 1967, pgs. 108-110).

The plan further discussed the positive and negative point of the TSP system at the time. It considered a high priority to be the “proposal to construct park and recreation facilities to serve the large concentrations of Negro population” (Ibid, pg 119). The Nashville area, Haywood-Madison Counties area, and Knoxville and Tri-cities area of East Tennessee were deemed particularly pressing needs. African-American developments were also to be classified as recreation areas so that they would not “require the vast land acquisitions to meet the size requirements of state parks” (Ibid, pg. 120). Recreation areas needed to be only 500 acres versus state parks which had to be 1000 acres.

The Number, Type, and Funding for Proposed Facilities

From the start, it was evident that the black parks were not going to be built or funded to the same scale as the white parks. Shortly after their designation as members of the state park system, the white parks were funded and their development began while the black parks faced various delays. The development of Harrison Bay, as the sister white park to Booker T. Washington in the Chattanooga area, began almost immediately in 1938. The park was ultimately opened in 1941 (Tennessee State Parks, Harrison Bay Strategic Management Plan, 1989, pg. 4). Booker T. Washington’s development however was started in 1939 with the clearing of brush in and around the shoreline of what was to become the Chickamauga reservoir (Terral, 1939). However, further development of Booker T. Washington did not occur until the late 1940s due to a lack of funding and lack of materials because of the start of World War II (Tennessee State Parks, 1989). The park was not officially opened until 1950, after it was sold to

TSP with Harrison Bay for the sum of $1 each (Ibid). Meeman-Shelby Forest, the sister white park to T.O. Fuller in the Memphis area, was developed by the National Park Service (NPS) in the early 1940s as a Recreation Demonstration Area (Coleman, 1967). The park was officially deeded to TSP in 1944 in a minimally developed state. T.O. Fuller's initial development began in 1939; however, it soon was put to a halt when significant Native American Burial Mounds were discovered at the site of the proposed swimming area. Following this discover, TSP deeded 300 acres of the park to the University of Memphis for a museum and initial recreational development resumed. The park was opened for limited visitation in 1941 when it had two picnic areas and a ball-field as its main facilities (Memphis Press-Scimitar, 6/17/1941).

Initial development plans for the two black parks called for both recreational and maintenance related facilities. When compared with the white parks, it is evident that the scales of the facilities as well as the funding for these parks were dramatically different (see Table 3.1). By looking at the proposed facilities, it is also apparent that the white parks were going to have much more recreational development than the black parks. For instance, it was proposed that Booker T. Washington would have a boat house and dock. Harrison Bay would get a boat harbor in an 18 acre inlet with space for 400 boats (Terral, 1939; Chattanooga Free Press, 1943). Similarly, in West Tennessee, T.O. Fuller was proposed to have a fishing and swimming lake, whereas, Meeman-Shelby Forest would receive two lakes (50 and 62 acres respectively) for boating, fishing and swimming (Coleman, 1967). This is a pattern that can be clearly viewed when looking at proposed development plans and construction funds from 1948, 1952, and 1968.

In 1948, the state conservation commission approved a $5 million, 5-year development program for TSP (Memphis Press-Scimitar, 1948). This plan, occurring just after the lull in development after World War II during which materials and personnel were scarce, demonstrates

the vast differences in the proposed number and scale of the facilities that were proposed for the four parks (See Table 3.2). When comparing Booker T. Washington with Harrison Bay, it is possible to see dramatic differences in the scope of the park projects. For instance, Booker T. Washington was to receive the following facilities: Group Lodge; Swimming Beach; Bathhouses; Boat Docks; Picnic Lodge/Concession Area; Picnic Area; Playfields; and Personnel Quarters. Harrison Bay at the same time would see the following: Group Lodge; Picnic Area; Completion of Group Camp; Completion of Swimming Pool; Bathhouses; Vacation Cabins (20); Playfield Area; Housing for Personnel; and a Service Area (Chattanooga Times, 10/10/1948). While some facilities are the same, there are some that stand out as being quite different such as a "swimming beach" at Booker T. Washington versus the "completion of a swimming pool" at Harrison Bay; the addition of 20 vacation cabins at Harrison Bay; and the addition of "personnel quarters" at Booker T. Washington (a dorm-like structure) versus "housing for personnel" at Harrison Bay (actual houses). Between T.O. Fuller and Meeman-Shelby, the story is much the same although it is more related to the scale of facility development. For example, proposed facilities at T.O. Fuller included: Group Lodge; Enlarged Group Camp; Bathhouse and Swimming Pool; Picnic Grounds and Shelters; and Playfield; while at Meeman-Shelby, the proposed facilities included: Group Lodge; Nature Museum; Swimming Pool and Bathhouse; Saddle Horses and Barns; Picnic Grounds and Shelters; and a Playfield (Memphis Commercial Appeal, 06/01/48). While T.O. Fuller was just set to get basic facilities, Meeman-Shelby was set to have a museum in addition to the basics. At this time, it is interesting to note that while Meeman-Shelby was getting saddle horses and barns, the then "ranger" at T.O. Fuller, Albert Harris, had a horse for patrol rather than a car like most parks but no barn to house the animal (Frank Alston, personal communication). In 1949, it was also noted by State Park Director, S.C.

Taylor, that park conditions were “poor” at T.O. Fuller and “very good” at Meeman-Shelby (Memphis Commercial Appeal, 06/18/1949).

Another area of difference in terms of the development of these parks is in the area of funding for the proposed facilities. The funding for facilities at the black parks was far less than at the white parks. Booker T. Washington was slated to receive just over $100,000 while Harrison Bay was to get nearly $400,000. T.O. Fuller was proposed to have just under $150,000 in development funding while Meeman-Shelby would receive just over $200,000 (Chattanooga Times, 10/10/48). This obvious funding disparity between the black parks and white parks was the start of a pattern that was to become more pronounced over time. In fact, the then Director of State Parks, B.R. Allison, stated, “the smaller amount for the Washington Park is because it is smaller and because the Negro population of Hamilton County is roughly one third the white population” (Ibid). While this statement is true with the black population of Hamilton County equaling approximately 27 percent of the white population according to the 1940 and 1950 U.S. Census data, the logic that helped initiate this funding policy was false when both applied to Shelby County in West Tennessee and then when compared with the larger context of society at the time. When examining Shelby County, the black population there approximated 70 percent of the white population, yet, the history of facility development funding at TO Fuller would not ever approach that percentage of funding.

The 1952 Proposed 5-year Development program was developed following the successful implementation of the 1948 plan. As previously discussed, this plan called for two additional parks for white citizens (17 were in existence at that time with two being added between 1950 & 1952) and four smaller ones for Negroes in Nashville, Jackson, Upper East Tennessee, and Knoxville, along with a number of park improvements (TSPC, 1952, p.1). Differences in the

number and type of proposed facilities as well as the funding for said facilities are again obvious and along the pattern noted in the 1948 plan. Facilities proposed for the black parks again seem more basic and utilitarian than those at the white parks (see Table 3.3). Booker T. Washington was proposed to receive the following facilities: Landscaping; Service Area; Picnic Tables (10); Recreational Equipment; Group Camp; Filter Plant & Water System; Boat Dock & Fishing Pier; Office Building; and Cabins (5). These facilities were largely to encourage the day use of the park and to provide for the basic needs of the black visitors. At Harrison Bay, the facilities were more of a posh nature – indeed, the facilities were meant for people to have longer, more comfortable stays at the park as well as providing the staff with generous housing. The proposed facilities for Harrison Bay included: Remodel Supt.'s Residence; Ranger's Residence; Picnic Areas; Complete Group Camp; Group Lodge; Recreation Area & Equipment; Trailer Park; Water Distribution System; Concessions Building; Cabins (20); and Restaurant. The story at T.O. Fuller and Meeman-Shelby was much the same with T.O. Fuller receiving more basic, utilitarian facilities of the two. In this plan, T.O. Fuller was to receive: Staff Quarters; Group Camp Sleeping Quarters; Combination Recreation House, Washhouse & Restrooms; Water Storage Tank & Chlorinator; Infirmary; and a Swimming Pool & Bathhouse. Meeman-Shelby was to receive: Grading of Roads; Parking Areas (3); Lighting System; Complete Water & Sewerage Systems; Boat Dock; Beach & Bathhouse; Pavilion & Restaurant; and Cabins (20).

Along with the black parks receiving the more basic of the facilities came the continuation of the same funding principle described in 1948 by the then State Park Director. That principle of black parks receiving one-third the funding of the white parks was very evident in this proposed plan. In fact, in east Tennessee, Booker T. Washington was slated to receive about $120,000 while Harrison Bay received about $330,000. While in west Tennessee, T.O.

Fuller was deemed to receive just under $250,000 while Meeman-Shelby got just under $520,000.

In 1968, the Parks Bond Construction Fund program illustrates another continuation of the facilities and funding policies incorporated in the 1948 and 1952 plan (See Table 3.4). In terms of facilities, Booker T. Washington was slated to receive: a visitor center, group lodge, road work, and croquet courts and horseshoe pits; while Harrison Bay was to receive: a new tent and trailer area, sewage project, road work, 25 additional boat slips, croquet court and horseshoe pits, and garbage collection equipment and 1 incinerator. T.O. Fuller was to receive: a superintendent's residence, picnic & day use area, tent camping area, road work, and a softball field, croquet court, and horseshoe pits; while Meeman-Shelby would receive: an office building, 2 ranger's residences, road work, a 50 site campground, boat dock, picnic area, and croquet courts and horseshoe pits. In terms of funding, Booker T. Washington was set to receive just under $160,000 while Harrison Bay would have approximately $315,000 made available for facilities development. T.O. Fuller would receive just over $70,000 while Meeman-Shelby had over $435,000 designated for its use (Department of Conservation, 1968).

The facility development and funding patterns illustrated in the 1948 and 1952 proposed development plans and the 1968 construction fund program continued up until the early 1980s (Note: during the 1970s, Tennessee had some funding issues so there were not many major developments or improvements within TSP). It was only then that the black parks received special legislative appropriations that were meant to help renovate and re-establish these two parks after years of suffering from a lack of funding and development (Gaines, 1983; Tennessee State Government, 1981; Tennessee State Parks, 1989).

Size of Parks and Time to Build Proposed Facilities

Other areas where there were differences in park development were in the initial acreages of the parks and in the time that it took to develop the facilities. Harrison Bay, Booker T. Washington, and T.O. Fuller were three of the first four parks in the TSP system after being made available for lease/purchase by the TVA and the State respectively in 1938 and 1939. Meeman-Shelby was originally developed as a recreational demonstration area under the National Park Service in the late 1930s/early 1940s. Its management was transferred to TSP in1944 (Coleman, 1967). While these parks all were initiated at approximately the same point in time, their initial development as parks within the TSP system were quite different with the white parks being much larger, and developed earlier and more fully than the black parks. This section looks at the first half of the parks' existence from 1938-1968 in part because a large majority of the facilities at these parks were built during this time but also because it illustrates the differences in overall park development that were apparent during segregation and the time shortly thereafter. It is split into two subsections (East Tennessee and West Tennessee) for the purpose of more fully discussing the differences between the eastern parks (Harrison Bay and Booker T. Washington) and western parks (Meeman-Shelby and TO Fuller) within the context of the regional management.

East Tennessee

As two of the first four parks, Harrison Bay and Booker T. Washington were originally leased from TVA by the Tennessee Department of Conservation in 1938. From that time forward, there were dramatic differences in how these parks were developed with Booker T.

Washington seemingly getting the shorter end of the stick in terms of acreage, development time, and facility developments.

Initially, the differences between these two parks were evident in the acreage and the development timeframe. These two parks lay approximately 6 miles from each other on the shores of Lake Chickamauga just outside of Chattanooga, however, that is where the similarities end. Harrison Bay was brought into the TSP system with a land-base of 1,199 acres (TSP History, 1989, pg7). Booker T. Washington was brought into the system at 350 acres. No reasoning has been found in the historical records as to why there was this discrepancy but it could be suggested that the size differential was a result of a combination of factors including the social climate of the time, the formation of Booker T. Washington as a "State Park for Negroes," and the previously discussed notion that the "Negro population of Hamilton County is roughly one third the white population."

In terms of development, the two parks were clearly developed on different timetables and scales. While both parks were brought into the park system within a few months of each other along with a proclamation by the then-Conservation Commissioner J. Charles Poe stating that "construction will begin almost immediately," however, Harrison Bay was developed much quicker and with a larger facility base than Booker T. Washington (Nashville Tennessean, 4/10/1939). A newspaper article from August, described the large amount of development that was occurring at Harrison Bay (Chattanooga Times, 08/30/1939). The article states,

> "Harrison Bay State Park is beginning to take form out of its acres of woodland, so that the visitor can get an outline picture of what this biggest of Chattanooga's recreational centers is going to be. Two and a half miles of roadway have been built. The boat harbor in an 18 acre inlet is almost ready for water from the lake that is scheduled to start filling behind the Tennessee Valley Authority's Chickamauga dam in Feb. A storage tank for the drinking water supply has been constructed. The large

> parking area and picnic grounds have been cleared off. The first of two buildings which will be combination repair shops, garages, and storage sheds has been constructed. Construction of the swimming pool and cabins will be started next spring. By next summer, the park will be ready for use, although the official opening date may not be earlier than the spring or summer of 1941 after the entire job has been completed. The park is being developed through the combined efforts of the TVA, CCC, NPS, and TDC. The work is being done by 200 enrollees in a CCC camp at the park. When the park is completed, it will be turned over to the state department of conservation. The CCC has been at work in the Harrison Bay State Park for about a year…The swimming pool to be constructed at Harrison Bay State Park will be 480 feet long and with a width varying from 80-200 feet. The cabins will be rented by the day, week or month. It is expected that several of them will be ready for occupancy next summer."

The same article stated that work at Booker T. Washington was just beginning a year after it began at Harrison Bay (Ibid). While the article discussed the diversity of the facilities that were going to be offered at Harrison Bay, it was sparse on the details regarding development at Booker T. Washington. The article stated,

> "A Negro CCC camp had just set up about a mile from Bartlebaugh to develop a Negro park in conjunction with Harrison Bay. About 175 boys are in the camp. They are at present engaged in sloping the banks and cutting out the stumps in the harbor. The Negro park will have a group camp building, a small boat harbor, picnic grounds and a swimming pool" (Ibid).

Harrison Bay was officially open to the public in 1941 (Coleman, 1967, pg.258). At that time, the park had facilities for picnicking, boating, swimming, fishing, boat docking, and boat repairs. Following World War II, plans were made for facilities such as vacation cabins, inn, public lodge, restaurant, athletic fields, museum, boathouse, group camps, amphitheatre, concession house, superintendent's residence, staff quarters, and stables. By 1947, Harrison Bay also had a marina with docking for four hundred boats and a boat rental facility (Ibid, pg. 259). In 1950, the park was officially deeded to TSP for the sum of $1 (Tennessee State Parks, 1989). It had the following facilities: parking areas, playgrounds, swimming pool (completed and repaired), bathhouse, picnic areas, and roads. By the mid-1950s, the park also had a new boat dock and a superintendent's residence. A tent-camping facility with over 100 sites, a group

camp site and a lake-shore swimming beach were added by 1962. The 1968 Parks Bond Construction Fund saw the following facilities added to the park: a new tent and trailer area, sewage project, road work, 25 additional boat slips, croquet court and horseshoe pits, and garbage collection equipment and 1 incinerator. The park was becoming an incredible draw for its camping and boating facilities.

While work was originally started on Booker T. Washington in 1939, the park did not open to the public until 1949 (its official dedication was held in 1950) (Nashville Tennessean, 1939; Terral, 1939; Tennessee State Parks, 1989). Development had been further delayed at the park during the run up to U.S. involvement in World War II (Coleman, 1967). Initially, the recommended facilities included a recreation lodge which would also be used for storage and personnel living quarters, play fields, a picnic area, a dam to raise the water level of the swimming area above the lake level, boating facilities, summer vacation cabins, and a group camp area (Coleman, 1967, pg. 265). Between 1948-50, the swimming area dam, bathhouses, picnic tables, and a shelter with concession area were constructed which added to the fishing facilities, tent camping area, and playfields already in place (Ibid, pg. 266). After the park was deeded to TSP in 1950, three additional tracks of land were added to the park to bring its acreage to 353. By 1962, the park's main facilities included a swimming pool, group camp, marina, a 20-site tent camping area, and picnic areas and playfields. The 1968 Park Bond Construction Fund further added to the park by calling for the development of a visitor center, group lodge, road work, and croquet courts and horseshoe pits.

West Tennessee

The story behind the initial development of T.O. Fuller and Meeman-Shelby State Parks is similar to that of the East Tennessee parks with the black park being much smaller, facing many more delays in development and receiving fewer facilities than the white park.

In terms of acreage, Meeman-Shelby is and always has been the larger of the two parks. Developed on the north end of Memphis in the mid-1930s, the park was initially deeded to the TSP system in 1944 after being developed as a National Park Service Recreation Demonstration Area (Coleman, 1967). At that time, the park contained 12,467 acres (TSP History, 1980, pg.7). The park has largely retained that acreage over the last 64 years. In comparison, when the State purchased the land for T.O. Fuller from a private landowner (Dover Barrett), the initial land-base of the park was set at 510 acres (Tennessee State Parks, 1989). Located in the south end of Memphis, this land-base was reduced after Native American burial mounds were found during the excavation of the site for recreational purposes (Ibid). Nearly 200 acres were removed from the park lands and given to Memphis State University for the operation of a museum at the site. Subsequent purchases in the 1940s and 50s brought the land area for the park up to approximately 1,000 acres (Coleman, 1967). Much like in East Tennessee, no reason was ever given for the discrepancy in the land-base for these two parks, however, much of it could be ascribed to the same reasons discussed previously such as the social climate of the times, the development of T.O. Fuller as a "State Park for Negroes," and the size of the Negro population versus the white population in Memphis.

Differences in the development time-frame and scale are apparent between the two parks. With Meeman-Shelby being originally developed by the National Park Service, the initial plans

were large in scale and construction began on the park almost immediately in 1935. While not all proposed facilities were built on the park, the original plans set the stage for large scale future developments including large lakes, boating facilities, camping areas, vacation cabins, and swimming facilities. Despite being one of the initial four parks, TO Fuller did not get the facility development that its sister Memphis-area park received. In fact, while opening within four years of its initial purchase, this "State Park for Negroes" received very basic facilities consisting only of ball fields and picnic grounds. The park, upon opening, had no available drinking water and very few trees. The park remains one with relatively few facilities. The differences in the development time-frame and scale at these two parks are highlighted in the following paragraphs.

The original idea for Meeman-Shelby came about in 1933 when Edward Meeman, editor of the Memphis Press-Scimitar, proposed the development of a community forest for Shelby County to other prominent members of the community as well as the then state forester (Coleman, 1967, pg. 344). Upon publishing the initial plans for the area in the newspaper, the National Park Service (NPS) took an interest in the project and declared it suitable for development as a recreation demonstration area (Ibid). The Shelby Forest Recreation Demonstration Area was developed with the use of Works Progress Administration (WPA) labor beginning in 1935. Original plans for the park called for the following facilities: a group camp, two lakes of fifty and sixty-two acres with boating, fishing, and swimming facilities, eighteen cabins, a cafeteria, picnic areas and nature trails. By 1938, the camping, fishing, swimming and picnicking facilities were developed. By 1941, the picnic and playground areas had been enlarged, and shelters and a public lodge had been built. The park was open in the summers with the NPS/WPA providing recreation supervisors. Three areas were available for fishing and

boating: Grassy Lake (50 acres), Eagle Lake (20 acres), and Round Pond (10 acres). Extensive plans for the park including two more lakes, a swimming pool, campground, vacation cabins, a museum, and a horse barn with riding trails were proposed in 1941 but not completed due to the start of the war (Coleman, 1967, pg. 346). It was deeded to the state in 1944 for use as a state park and later renamed Meeman-Shelby Forest State Park after Edward Meeman. Following the war, the state sought to complete some of the facilities proposed by the NPS in 1941. In the 1948 proposed 5-year development program, the TSP leadership sought to add a group lodge; nature museum; swimming pool and bathhouse; saddle horses and barns; picnic grounds and shelters; and a playfield to the park (Memphis Commercial Appeal, 06/01/48). In 1949, it was noted by the State Park Director, S.C. Taylor, that conditions at the park were "very good" (Memphis Press-Scimitar, 12/15/1949). By the mid 1950s, the park also had opened a restaurant, a 125 acre lake (Popular Tree Lake) for boating and fishing (Coleman, 1967, pg. 348). By 1962, the facilities at Meeman-Shelby included fishing and boating on five park lakes and the Mississippi River, a 140-person capacity group camp, a horse barn and trails, a swimming pool and bathhouse, a museum, picnic areas and a playground, nature trails, a restaurant, six vacation cabins, and a tent campground (Ibid). A park office building, 2 ranger's residences, road work, a 50 site campground, boat dock, picnic area, and croquet courts and horseshoe pits were all added to the park in 1968.

The development at T.O. Fuller was both on a much slower time frame as well as of a much smaller scale than the development at Meeman-Shelby. It was originally developed to serve a large concentration of Negroes and, therefore, it was sited because of its proximity to Memphis rather than for any scenic or historical features (Ibid, pg. 365). The original master plan for the park called for a group camp, swimming, picnicking, and playgrounds (The Regional

Review, 1938, pg. 42). Work began on this property in late 1938 by the CCC and was delayed for about two years when the previously-mentioned Native American burial mounds were uncovered during excavation at the park. In 1941, construction of park facilities was restarted with the development of ball diamonds, the erection of picnic shelters in two areas. A swimming pool was still in the plans at that time as was the planting of several thousand trees. The park opened that summer to limited Sunday and holiday outings with church or social groups. Park users had to carry in their own water for drinking (Memphis Press-Scimitar, 6/17/1941). In 1948, the TSP system put forth a 5-year park development program in which TO Fuller was proposed to get a group camp, swimming pool, bathhouse, picnic grounds, and trails (Memphis Press-Scimitar, 11/22/1948). By 1950, facilities at the park included a tent camping area, a concession building, and a large picnic area. A group camp was in the process of being built (Coleman, 1967, pg. 363). In 1954, a swimming pool and bath house were being developed (Twardzik, 1954). In 1956, the City of Memphis leased a large swath of land in the middle of the park for the development of a golf course for Negroes. The city took over the operation of the golf course on a 99-year lease (Lewis, 1956). By 1976, the City had handed the operation of the course back to the state park system in return for their initial investment (Tennessee State Parks, 1989). By 1962, the park contained the following facilities: athletic field, group camp, concession stand, playground, picnic area, golf course, and a swimming pool and bathhouse (Coleman, 1967, pg. 363). In 1968, a superintendent's residence, picnic & day use area, tent camping area, road work, and a softball field, croquet court, and horseshoe pits were to be added to the park (Department of Conservation, 1968).

Marketing of State Parks

Another area where it is apparent that there are major differences in how the black parks were developed is in the promotion of the parks. Initially, marketing for the two "State Parks for Negroes" was practically non-existent. During the early years of the park system, the staff promoted the parks through articles put out in The Tennessee Conservationist magazine and The Tennessee Planner journal. These articles discussed the system and its development and goals while promoting each park individually, however, little if any mention was given to Booker T. Washington and TO Fuller State Parks. Three articles in particular highlight this lack of promotion: (1) the March-April 1947 edition of the Tennessee Conservationist, (2) The April 1953 Tennessee Conservationist, and (3) the August 1954 edition of the Tennessee Planner.

The 1947 edition of the Tennessee Conservationist was dedicated to promoting the state park system. The issue began describing the purpose of state parks and the history of State Parks in the United States. It further describes the history of the state park system. The article described the state park system as consisting of sixteen parks at that time. No mention at all was made of the two "State Parks for Negroes" despite them being two of the initial four state parks. All other state parks had an average description consisting of four paragraphs. The "yacht harbor" at Harrison Bay was described in detail as "one of the largest and best inland yacht harbors in the United States. This harbor embraces about 50 acres and will accommodate 400 motor boats" (Tennessee Conservationist, 1947, pg. 7). Meeman-Shelby Forest had a section devoted to it (9 paragraphs) that described both its natural environment as well as its facilities.

In the 1953 edition of the Tennessee Conservationist, a large attempt was made to promote outdoor recreation in Tennessee and discuss the recreational opportunities available in

Tennessee State Parks. This edition of the magazine again describes the history of the state park system and includes a special section on fishing in the state. Every state park is once again given a separate section which discusses its location, facilities, and natural environment. These sections averaged two-four paragraphs in length. Meeman- Shelby Forest had four paragraphs which described its natural environment, a nature trail "that is famous throughout the southeast," and the availability of its lodge, dining hall, and group camping facilities for use by conventions (Tennessee Conservationist, 1953, pg. 10). Harrison Bay had two paragraphs devoted largely to its water-based facilities. The promotion of the two "Parks for Negroes" was limited to one combined paragraph. This paragraph stated that "both have excellent group camps and all standard recreational facilities" (Ibid).

The August 1954 edition of the Tennessee Planner contained an article entitled, "Tennessee Vacations," by Louis Twardzik, a recreational consultant with the Division of State Parks, which described the role and history of the Tennessee State Park system from its inception until the present day. It also discussed the vastly different types of recreational opportunities and facilities that the TSP system provided at the time from cabins to new park inns and restaurants to groups camps and swimming pools. The parks were broken down by section (East, Middle, and West) and summarized in one-three paragraph statements. In the East Tennessee section, both Harrison Bay and Booker T. Washington State Parks were given one paragraph summaries. Meeman-Shelby Forest and TO Fuller State Parks also had one paragraph summaries in the West Tennessee section. The differences in the promotion of the two "Parks for Negroes," lies not in the length of the description but in the verbiage that was used. While the descriptions of the white parks tried to play up some of their attributes, the wording of the descriptions for the black parks was much simpler and focused on the principle that these two parks were for the Negro

citizen without much discussion of the facilities the parks provided. For example, the wording of the Booker T. Washington paragraph was as follows:

> "Consisting of 350 acres, Booker T. Washington State Park is near Chattanooga and is for the use of the Negro citizens of Tennessee. It is on the beautiful TVA Chickamauga Lake and includes a large swimming pool, bathhouse and the usual recreation facilities" (11).

The following paragraphs show two of the descriptions for white parks in East Tennessee including Cove Lake and Harrison Bay (2 of the four original state parks):

> "The 210-acre lake at Cove Lake State Park provides some of the best game fishing in the Southeast. There are fighting bass that weigh as much as eight pounds and crappie galore.
>
> This park is not only ideal for fishermen but it is an excellent stopping point for those who want to make excursions to Cumberland Gap, the Great Smoky Mountains, Oak Ridge and some of the TVA lakes. A group of beautiful cabins and an ultra-modern restaurant overlook the lake. A pleasing new swimming pool and two-story bathhouse are chief attractions of the park.
>
> Located near Chattanooga, the 1,500 acre Harrison Bay State Park is primarily a waterfront park on Chickamauga Lake. The dock, bathhouse and swimming pool are excellent and this park is principally a day-use area for picnickers, swimmers and fishermen" (10-11).

The description of TO Fuller State Park is much the same in West Tennessee. While Meeman-Shelby Forest's natural areas, wildlife, and great facilities are highlighted, TO Fuller's description is focused on the fact that it is for Negroes and is located outside of Memphis. The descriptions are as follows:

> "On the banks of the Mississippi River just north of Memphis is Shelby Forest State Park. It is a beautifully wooded area and has a nature trail that is famous throughout the Southeast. It is also famous for its wildlife, including deer and wild turkeys. Reasonably priced swimming (adults 50 cents, children 25 cents) is available. Because of the lodge, dining hall and group camping facilities, it has become a favorite place for conventions.
>
> TO Fuller State Park has been established for the Negro population of West Tennessee and is located a few miles outside of Memphis. Consisting of 1,000 acres, the

park includes a tent camping area for Negro youths and a new modern swimming pool is under construction" (16).

These three articles provide examples of the little effort that was put forth on the part of the two black parks and are representative of the social climate of the State of Tennessee at that time. Other promotional materials including newspaper articles also reflect the fact that more emphasis was placed on the development of the white parks. While plans continually touted the notion of needing more "Parks for Negroes," in reality, the system was not looking to promote that cause and therefore minimized the opportunities available at those parks.

Management History

Differences in the management of these two black parks have been apparent in three main ways: (1) the initial management requirements and titles; (2) a history of minority management; and (3) issues resulting from a history of segregation within the TSP system.

Initial Management Requirements and Titles

Initially, the black parks were under much stricter management requirements than the other Tennessee State Parks. Set up specifically as segregated parks, the management requirements and titles for these parks reflected that philosophy. Management requirements for Booker T. Washington and TO Fuller State Parks, as stated by then-State Parks Director B.R. Allison, included being a "Negro man trained in college in land management and recreation" (Chattanooga Times, 03/07/1948). This qualification was the strongest in the state and occurred at a time where similar white managers were not expected to be college educated. In fact, according to the Organic Act of 1937, the qualifications for the employment of (white) park superintendents and rangers had the following qualifications: (1) "be at least twenty-one (21) years of age; (2) Have at least a high school education or the equivalent thereof; and (3) Have at

least one year's experience in park, forestry, conservation or other related activities" (Organic Act, 1937, 11-307).

In the beginning, black managers, unlike those at the other State Parks, were to be called "rangers." The managers at the other parks were referred to by the title of "superintendent" (Chattanooga Times, 03/07/948; Organic Act, 1937, 11-307). The use of this terminology reflects the impact of Jim Crow philosophies within TSP. The term "ranger" generally refers to a lower staff member who is actively involved in the management of the parks, whereas, the term "superintendent" implies being the administrative manager of a park under whom the "rangers' work. By implying that the administrative managers of Booker T. Washington and TO Fuller State Parks were rangers, the system was implying that these black managers were of lesser status than white managers despite their greater qualifications for the same job. There would not be parity in titles for these well-qualified Negro managers until the mid-1950s.

Minority management history

The managers at these two parks have traditionally been African-American males (Note: in the 1980s, this was briefly changed within the system when Erle Gooding, an African-American male, was brought into manage Red Clay State Historic Park from 1980-82, and when Randy Smalley and Doyle Bryant, two white males, were brought into manage TO Fuller (see Modern Management section)). This tradition has resulted in an unwritten policy known as "a black manager for a black park" which began in the 1940s when the TSP system was expanding their operations and the two black parks were fully operational under the Jim Crow laws of the time and has continued into the modern era despite the ending of segregation in the south.

Early Management (1940s-1979)

It wasn't until the mid-1940s that these parks had managers on site. Given the initial managerial criteria of a "Negro man with a college education in land management or recreation," it was quite difficult to find an individual to manage either of these two "State Parks for Negroes." The first African-American man hired into this position was Albert Harris at T.O. Fuller State Park. He served as the manager of the park from 1946 until his retirement in 1984 (Commercial Appeal, 8/15/71). The first manager at Booker T. Washington was another African-American male, William Bell, who served as manger from 1948-1979 (Chattanooga Times, 1948; Bell, 1979). These two men never served at another park during their tenure with Tennessee State Parks, and, to this day, have been among the longest serving park managers in the system and have the among the longest two tenures at any one state park in the history of the system. During their tenure, these parks went from being segregated and of few facilities to being open, facility dependent operations. This transition forced these managers to meet increasingly difficult challenges related to both personnel and funding issues, as well as dealing with the lingering impact of segregation.

Modern Management (1980-2008)

Beginning in 1980 with the retirements of William Bell at Booker T. Washington and followed by that of Albert Harris at TO Fuller in 1984, there was the first turn-over in the management of these two black parks. The TSP system, being well-removed from the segregation era by this time, reverted back to the original Organic Act policy of a person only needing a high school education, being 21 years of age, and having one year of related experience (Jack Gilpin, personal communication). William Bell, the long-term manager at

Booker T. Washington, retired as of December 31, 1979. Frank White, a high school educated, African-American ranger under William Bell, was promoted into that manager position. White was the only manager after the original two at these parks to not carry on the tradition of having a college degree. Following Albert Harris' retirement in 1984, Randy Smalley, a white, college-educated ranger at Meeman-Shelby Forest State Park, was promoted to the manager position. Smalley was the first white manager at one of the two black parks and one of the only two during the entire history of the TSP system.

Since the mid-80s, there have been two college-educated African-American managers hired on at Booker T. Washington. Erle Gooding acted as manager from 1990-2000 and was followed by LeVan Gardner who has been at the park since that time. At T.O. Fuller, the managerial situation has been more racially mixed with greater staff turn-over. Randy Smalley managed from 1984-1988, when he was promoted to the manager position at Meeman-Shelby Forest (Randy Smalley, personal communication). After his promotion, the state selected Doyle Bryant, a white manager at Fort Pillow State Park, to take over for Smalley at TO Fuller. This move was apparently made as a "punishment" for Bryant for personal misconduct at Fort Pillow (Multiple interviews). Upon Bryant being transferred to another state park in 1996, the State Park system hired in Reggie Tiller, a college educated African-American from Chattanooga, to serve as manager of TO Fuller. He served from 1996 – 1998 when he was hired into the National Park Service. Markee Tate, a college educated African-American, was then promoted to manager at TO Fuller from his position as a ranger at the Bicentenial Mall Capitol State Park. After Tate left the State Park System in 2006, the State Park system took 18 months to replace him (Note: the 18 month time-table was brought on by personnel issues occurring at TO Fuller (an African-American male harassed a female employee and, thereby, was not considered for

promotion) and a voiced announcement that the administration could wind up in a federal lawsuit if an African-American wasn't hired to manage the park). Calvin Robinson, a retired African-American manager from Mississippi State Parks, began his service at TO Fuller in July, 2007.

These two parks, with the exception of Red Clay which had a black manager from 1980-82, are the only ones out of a system of 54 state parks that have ever had a black manager. Up until this time, only six state parks in Tennessee have had black rangers. The first black female ranger was hired into the system in 2005 and was placed at TO Fuller State Park (Mike Carlton, personal communications). The de-facto policy of a "black manager for a black park" still is seemingly in effect throughout the TSP system.

Impact of Segregation on the System

For the first twenty-five plus years of the state park system, the system operated under a segregationist philosophy. This philosophy meant that black employees and visitors were separated from white ones and that the park system, in effect, ran two different systems (one for whites, one for blacks). While more than five other areas were proposed as possible sites for additional black parks, none beyond the first two came to fruition. This created a park system that was largely unavailable to a large group of the state's population as well as one that has had numerous internal issues which have carried on into the modern era. These internal issues included those dealing with personnel and funding.

Lack of staff

These two parks have perpetually suffered from a lack of staffing. Beginning with their being fully-functional as park units in the late 1940s, these parks have always carried fewer staff then is ideal. In the late 1940s, these parks each had a single employee – the managers. These

managers were expected to do everything at the park from greeting the visitors to maintenance to performing administrative duties (Albert Harris article). In fiscal year 1951-52, Booker T. Washington still only had one person on staff while TO Fuller had four (including one open un-filled position) (Division of State Parks Program Plan, 1952, pg.14-15). By the 1970s, these parks had received more park employees with Booker T. Washington having five full-time and nine seasonal employees and TO Fuller having seven full-time and twelve seasonal employees respectively. In 1981, the number of employees had risen to seven full-time and eleven seasonal employees at Booker T. Washington while TO Fuller had twelve full-time and fifteen seasonal. In the 1989 Strategic Management Plans for each of these parks, it states that at Booker T. Washington, "It is obvious that staffing patterns at Booker T. Washington State Park is inadequate from all viewpoints"…with the most critical inefficiencies being found in the "law enforcement, clerical, maintenance and swimming pool personnel staffing pattern," while at T.O. Fuller, "The park is very much understaffed. If it were not for the inmate labor, which the state correction system is providing at the present time, the vast maintenance operation of the golf course and other park facilities could not be met" (Booker T. Washington Strategic Management Plan, 1989, pg. 39-40; T.O. Fuller Strategic Management Plan, 1989, pg.52). At that time, Booker T. Washington had nine full and full part-time position and eleven seasonal positions while T.O. Fuller had fourteen full and full part-time positions and fifteen seasonal positions. These numbers have not changed since that time.

It is interesting to note that the majority of employees at these two parks have also traditionally been African-American. The entire staff at Booker T. Washington up until about the 2000 was African-American (Oma Palmer, personal communication). In 2000, they had a white female ranger and, currently have two white male rangers. The manager, secretary, and

maintenance staff remain African-American. At T.O. Fuller, the same tradition held true up until the 1980s when they had two consecutive white managers and a white ranger on the staff. Since that time, however, they have had three consecutive African-American managers and still currently have an all African-American secretarial and maintenance staff. The ranger staff has consistently had one white ranger while the golf course manager has also been a white male.

USDI EEO Findings

The United States Department of the Interior, as the director of the Land and Water Conservation Fund (LWCF), must conduct reviews of all programs receiving federal funding under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. In the 1970s and 1980s, the USDI conducted these reviews and uncovered possible discriminatory actions that were occurring throughout the state including within the TSP system.

In a letter dated November 2, 1978, Edward Shelton, director of the USDI Office of Equal Opportunity, wrote the Commissioner of the Department of Conservation, B.R. Allison, that the "Title VI compliance officers did not find any evidence of discrimination in the city (Nashville) or State park recreation areas; however, as was pointed out during the exit interview with you and your staff, maintenance problems exist at all city parks but were more prevalent in areas frequently used by minorities; specifically, McFarrin and East Parks." The letter continued with recommendations including adding minority members to the Tennessee Conservation Commission (none existed at the time); establish a system for processing discrimination complaints in services and benefits; adding a nondiscrimination statement on pertinent publications issued for the general public; and to continue renovating facilities for handicap accessibility (Shelton, 1978). The Department of Conservation followed up on these

recommendations by placing nondiscrimination notices in all rooms in State Park facilities and in future publications (Charpio, 1979).

In 1984, the USDI conducted a follow-up review based upon a previous review conducted in 1981 (Shelton, 1984). This review was primarily focused on Department of Conservation actions in terms of LWCF rating committees and administrative practices, use of nondiscrimination notices, and State Park staffing practices. The review found the following: (1) In terms of the LWCF, the review found that no minorities were represented on the Priority Rating System Committee, the group responsible for developing the scoring criteria for the Tennessee LWCF Priority Rating System. The USDI urged adding the appointment of qualified minorities when vacancies occur. The report also found that places within the state with significant minority populations also benefited less from LWCF assistance versus places having large white populations. It stated that:

> "…as of September 30, 1983, counties that were 15% or less minority received a per capita amount of $11.82 in LWCF assistance; counties that were from 16-29% minority received a per capita amount of $8.40; and those that were 30% or more minority received a per capita amount of $7.73. Several counties that have the largest minority populations in the state have never participated in the State's LWCF program. These counties are as follows: Fayette (51% minority), Haywood (51% minority), Trousdale (15% minority) (sic)."

It recommended that the Department of Conservation work to increase the number of applications from these places as well as addressing through the State Comprehensive Outdoor Recreation Plan and the State Park System the supply of recreation projects in areas with high concentrations of minorities and whose needs are not served or underserved by local governments. (2) In terms of nondiscrimination notices, the program brochures published by the Tennessee State Parks did not contain an appropriate nondiscrimination policy statement while neither did news releases published to announce the availability of LWCF grants. (3) The report

found that in terms of TSP staffing practices, “personnel within Tennessee’s State Park System were delivering services along racial lines. At the time of our review, all whites were employed at forty-six (46) of the State’s forty-nine (49) parks, while the staffs at three (3) other State Parks were predominantly black. This staffing pattern stems from an era in which the State maintained separate parks for black and white clientele. For example, we found that all blacks were employed at the Booker T. Washington State Park, a facility which once served blacks exclusively.” It suggested the elimination of this staffing pattern through employing blacks and whites in areas that have been previously all of one race. A follow-up action plan to this report was to have been filed within 30 days of receipt, however, none was found during this research.

Conclusion

The impact of segregationist-era laws and philosophies on the development and management of the Tennessee State Park system are still evident today. Under the Jim Crow laws of the late 1800s through mid 1900s, the Tennessee State Park system was set up to provide “separate but equal” recreational opportunities for its black and white citizens; however, this system was anything but equal. From development issues including politically motivated park planning efforts, and inequitable funding and facilities development, to management issues including different titles and requirements, educational differences, and a de-facto policy, the impact of segregation-era policies on the park system were and have been and continue to be visible at Booker T. Washington and TO Fuller State Parks as well as within the park system as a whole.

Facility developments within a state park system are generally driven by park management plans. Planning in Tennessee, or in any state, however, is and always has been a

political enterprise. Park planning and facility development within Tennessee has a long history of being driven by the politics of the time whether in the call for resort-like facilities or in terms of the physical placement of parks within the state. In terms of planning, park system planning efforts during the segregation era in state parks (1937-1962) demonstrate the Tennessee State Park system's desire to provide public recreational areas for the black citizens of the state; however, these efforts fell far short of promoting that desire. Park system plans from 1939, 1950, 1952, and 1957, all demonstrate an acknowledgement of the need to provide these parks. In such, they named locations under consideration for such areas and provided maps which detailed the need for those parks based upon the demographics of the local communities. However, while there was an acknowledgement of the need to provide these facilities, it was evident that there was no desire to follow-thru with the development of more parks. Coleman, in his dissertation on the History of State Parks in Tennessee (1967), states that, "The right of the Negro to have access to publicly supported park facilities was never denied or questioned as a matter of policy. But providing facilities for the colored citizens of the state was not promoted as ardently as the proposals would seem to indicate" (pg. 243). In fact, other than the initial two "State Parks for Negroes," none of the other planned parks ever were initiated. Much of the reasoning for the lack of follow-thru on these park developments falls to politics.

Funding and park facility development was another area where the segregationist-era management philosophies within the TSP system obviously impacted the development of these two black parks. The 1948 statement by the director of TSP, B.R. Allison, that "the smaller amount for the Washington Park is because it is smaller and because the Negro population of Hamilton County is roughly one third the white population," demonstrates an attitude that again shows that the development of TSP parks were not equitable (Chattanooga Times, 10/10/48).

This attitude affected the parks in that funding and facility developments at these two parks were not adequate to develop a decent recreational program and help support the mission of the state park system in the era of "separate but equal." The funding history of the two black parks, when compared with the area white parks (Harrison Bay and Meeman-Shelby) consistently show a major discrepancy in the amount of money that was spent for facility development at the parks (as illustrated in Tables 3.2-3.4). This discrepancy was apparent within the system until approximately 1980 when the two black parks received special legislative appropriations of $200,000 each to repair some of the facilities at the parks. However, appropriation aside, the lack of funding early on in the systems history hurt these parks in that they were not given adequate support for "equal" facility development and, as a result, have remained behind the other parks in the system in terms of both visitation and revenue collections (a newer park system measure of the value of the park to the system).

Jim Crow-era management philosophies and practices have also impacted the development of these two parks as well as the system. Because these two parks were for black clientele, the initial belief in Tennessee State Parks was that they needed to be managed by African-Americans. In 1948, the initial requirement of "being a Negro man trained in college in land management and recreation" was publicized by the then-TSP director B.R. Allison (Chattanooga Times, 03/07/1948). These "Negro" managers would also be called "rangers." This requirement was a statement for the system in that it reflected the thought that while blacks could manage at these two parks, they had to be more qualified than the equal white managers who were only required to be twenty-one, have a high school education, and have one year of pertinent experience and they also weren't to have the same title as the white "superintendents." While, black managers were eventually called superintendents, these initial qualifications, in

fact, marked the starting point for the development of a system of traditional differences between black and white managers including in the areas different management requirements and education levels which has impacted the management of these two parks in both positive and negative ways and have lead to a de-facto policy of a “black manager for a black park” that continues today.

Beginning with this requirement in 1948, the educational level, and thus the qualifications, of the black manager have often been greater within the system than those of the white manager. The college education requirement for black managers, as well as the “Negro man” requirement, officially ended with the desegregation of the system in 1962 (when requirements officially reverted back to those of the white manager). However, since this time, the majority of managers at these two parks has been both black and college-educated and among the most qualified within the system. The only managers that did not have a college degree at either Booker T. Washington or TO Fuller were Frank White (Booker T. Washington, 1980-90), Doyle Bryant (TO Fuller, 1987-96), and Calvin Robinson (TO Fuller, 2007-Present). This management practice is quite different from the experience at other Tennessee State Parks due to the minimal requirements that were originally expressed for white management. While some managers, especially those hired from the mid-1970s onward, have had college degrees, it is rare that the history of management at any particular park reflects that high a level of educational qualification. Both Harrison Bay and Meeman-Shelby, for example, have had managers that never achieved an educational level beyond high school.

The initial management requirement at Booker T. Washington and TO Fuller State Parks has also lead to a de-facto policy of “a black manager for a black park” which is still evident today. The first managers at these two parks, William Bell and Albert Harris respectively,

remained at the parks for over thirty years, an unusually long tenure for a manager at any one state park. They were initially placed at these two parks based around their meeting the requirement of a "Negro man trained in college in land management or recreation." They were at these parks in both the segregation and post-segregation eras and were the only two African-American managers within the system during that time. Since that time, Booker T. Washington has had three straight African-Americans as manager. The situation changed slightly at TO Fuller when, for the first twelve years following Albert Harris' retirement, the park had two white managers. However, beginning in 1996, this situation has reverted back to reflect the old philosophy and the park has since had three African-American managers. The most recent hire is especially demonstrative of the continuation of this policy as the TSP upper management waited over eighteen months to hire someone to manage the park due to some personnel issues and a resulting fear that they would wind up in a federal lawsuit if they did not hire an African-American. The resulting hire was an African-American man with a high school education who had recently retired from another state park system. In doing such, the upper management at TSP felt that the best move was to continue the "black manager for a black park" standard.

Developmental and managerial policies and their resulting decisions that were initially developed during the segregation era have impacted and continue to impact these two state parks as well as the system as a whole. Booker T. Washington and TO Fuller were not fully developed as state parks in the beginning and this has continued to affect them in modern times. Differences in the park system's development and management of these two state parks over the last seventy years are rather obvious in that these parks have experienced both a lack of funding and development as well as having had increased managerial requirements which have singled them

out from the other state parks. “Separate but equal” was and never has been a notion that existed within the Tennessee State Park system.

Table 3.1: Proposed Initial Facilities

Park	Booker T. Washington	Harrison Bay	T.O. Fuller	Meeman-Shelby Forest
Initial Facilities	Utility Buildings; Superintendent's Residence; Cabins (10); Swimming Pool & Bathhouse; Recreation Lodge & Group Camp; Boathouse & Dock; Day Use Area (3) & Amphitheater	2.5 miles Road; Boat Harbor (18 acre inlet); Storage tank (drinking water); Large Parking Area; Picnic Grounds; Utility Buildings; Swimming Pool & Bathhouse; Cabins (20)	Utility Buildings; Staff Quarters; Fishing and Swimming Lake; Recreation Lodge & Group Camp; Park Office	Group Camp; Two Lakes (50-62 acres); Boating, Fishing, and Swimming Facilities; Cabins (18); Cafeteria; Picnic Areas

Table 3.2: 1948 5-year Development Program

Park	Booker T. Washington	Harrison Bay	T.O. Fuller	Meeman-Shelby Forest
Facilities	Group Lodge; Swimming Beach; Bathhouses; Boat Docks; Picnic Lodge/Concession Area; Picnic Area; Playfields; Personnel Quarters	Group Lodge; Picnic Area; Completion of Group Camp; Completion of Swimming Pool; Bathhouses; Vacation Cabins (20); Playfield Area; Housing for Personnel; Service Area	Group Lodge; Enlarged Group Camp; Bathhouse and Swimming Pool; Picnic Grounds and Shelters; Playfield	Group Lodge; Nature Museum; Swimming Pool and Bathhouse; Saddle Horses and Barns; Picnic Grounds and Shelters; Playfield
Funding	$101, 275	$382,350	$146,625	$203,600

Table 3.3: 1952 Revised 5-year Development Program

Park	Booker T. Washington	Harrison Bay	T.O. Fuller	Meeman-Shelby Forest
Facilities	Landscaping; Service Area; Picnic Tables (10); Recreational Equipment; Group Camp; Filter Plant & Water System; Boat Dock & Fishing Pier; Office Building; Cabins (5)	Remodel Supt.'s Residence; Ranger's Residence; Picnic Areas; Complete Group Camp; Group Lodge; Recreation Area & Equipment; Trailer Park; Water Distribution System; Concessions Building; Cabins (20); Restaurant	Staff Quarters; Group Camp Sleeping Quarters; Combination Recreation House, Washhouse & Restrooms; Water Storage Tank & Chlorinator; Infirmary; Swimming Pool & Bathhouse	Grading of Roads; Parking Areas (3); Lighting System; Complete Water & Sewerage Systems; Boat Dock; Beach & Bathhouse; Pavilion & Restaurant; Cabins (20)
Funding	$119,500	$329,000	$247,500	$515,000

Table 3.4: 1968 Parks Bond Construction Fund

Park	Booker T. Washington	Harrison Bay	T.O. Fuller	Meeman-Shelby Forest
Facilities	a visitor center; group lodge; road work; and croquet courts and horseshoe pits	a new tent and trailer area; sewage project; road work; 25 additional boat slips; croquet court and horseshoe pits; and garbage collection equipment and 1 incinerator	a superintendent's residence; picnic & day use area; tent camping area; road work; a softball field, croquet court, and horseshoe pits	an office building; 2 ranger's residences; road work; a 50 site campground; boat dock; picnic area, and croquet courts and horseshoe pits
Funding	$158,829	$313,057	$71,060	$435,886

Figure 3.1 State of Tennessee Overview

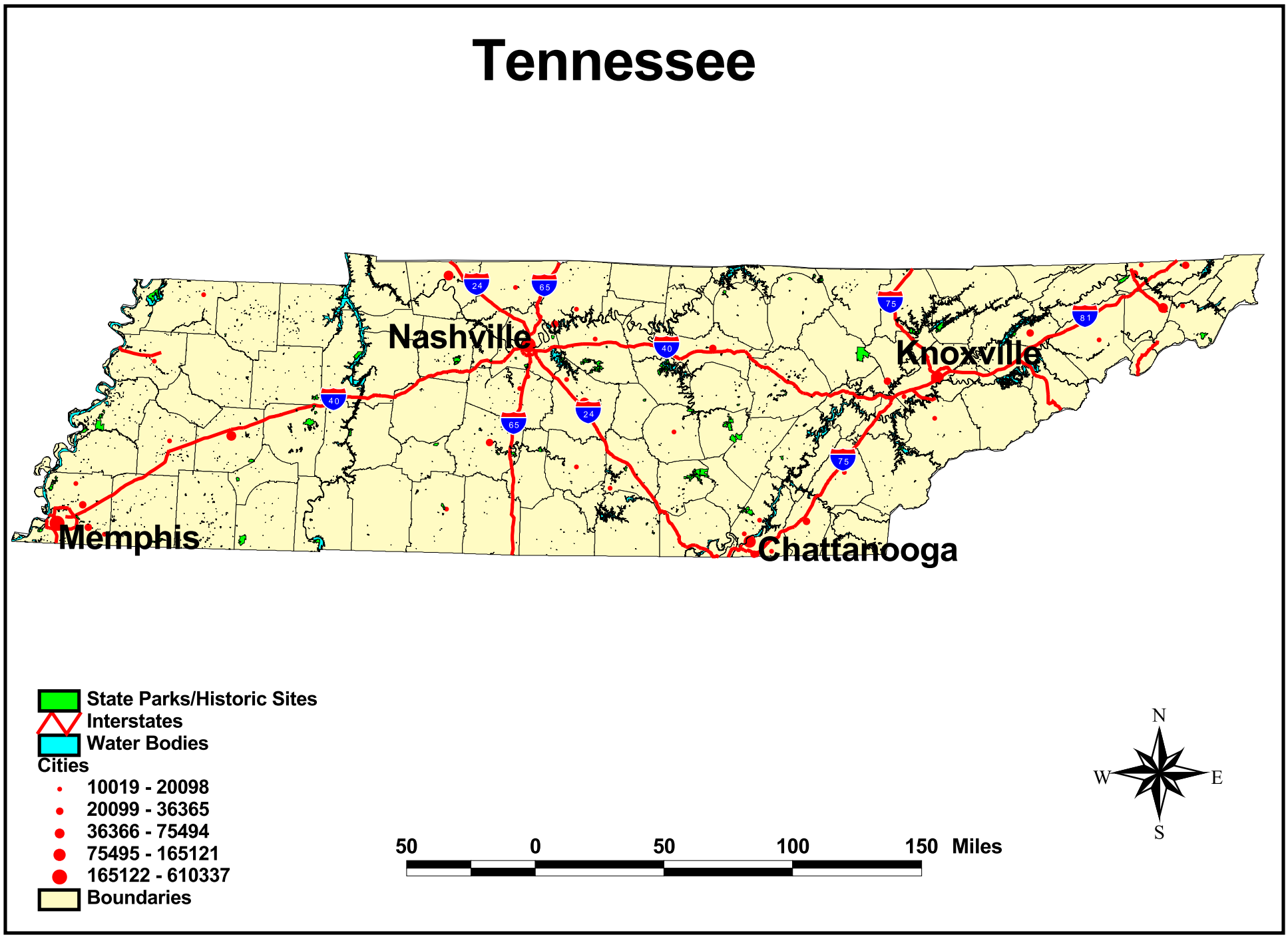


Figure 3.2: Booker T. Washington and Harrison Bay Overview

East Tennessee Parks

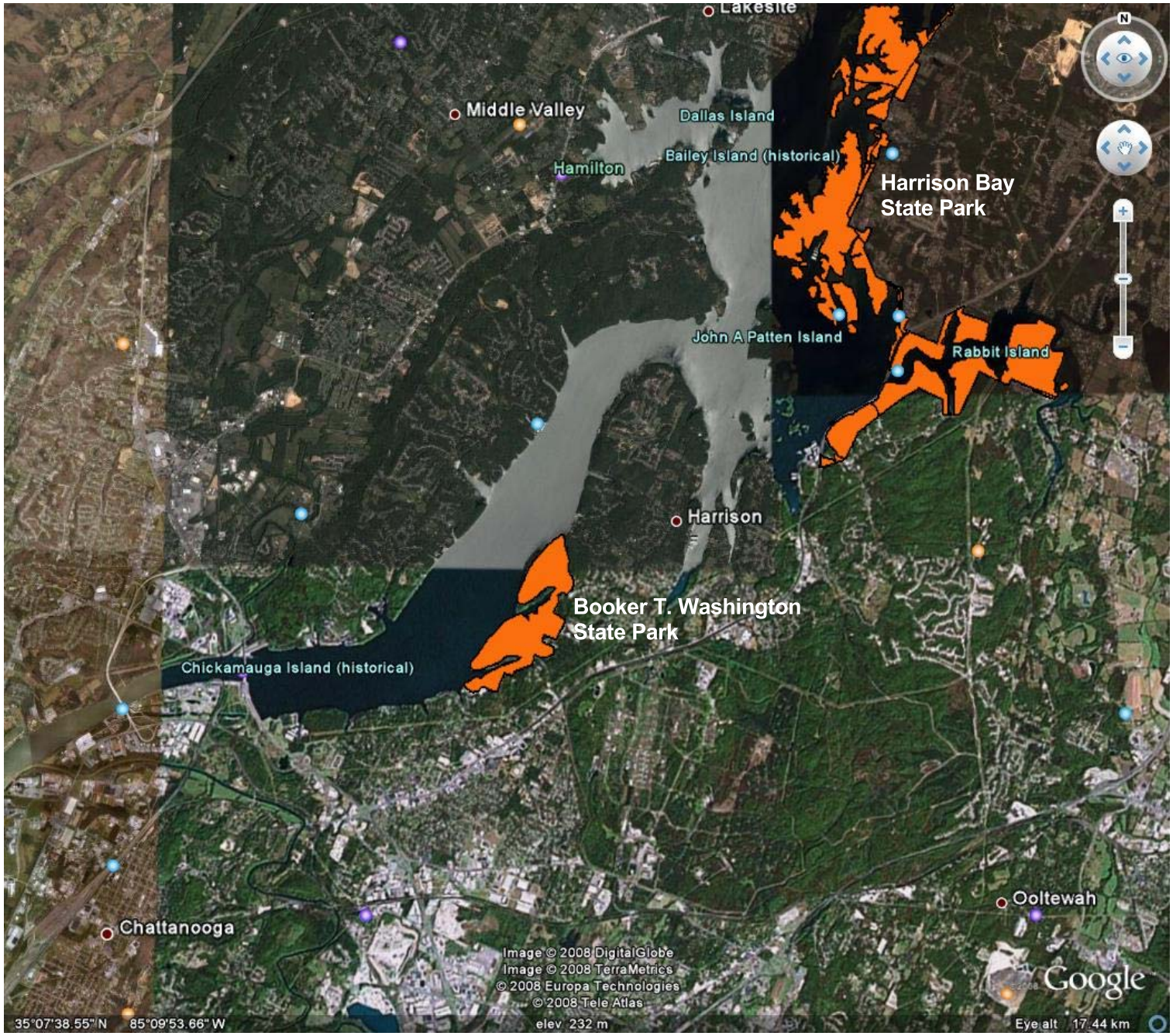


Figure 3.3: Booker T. Washington Overview

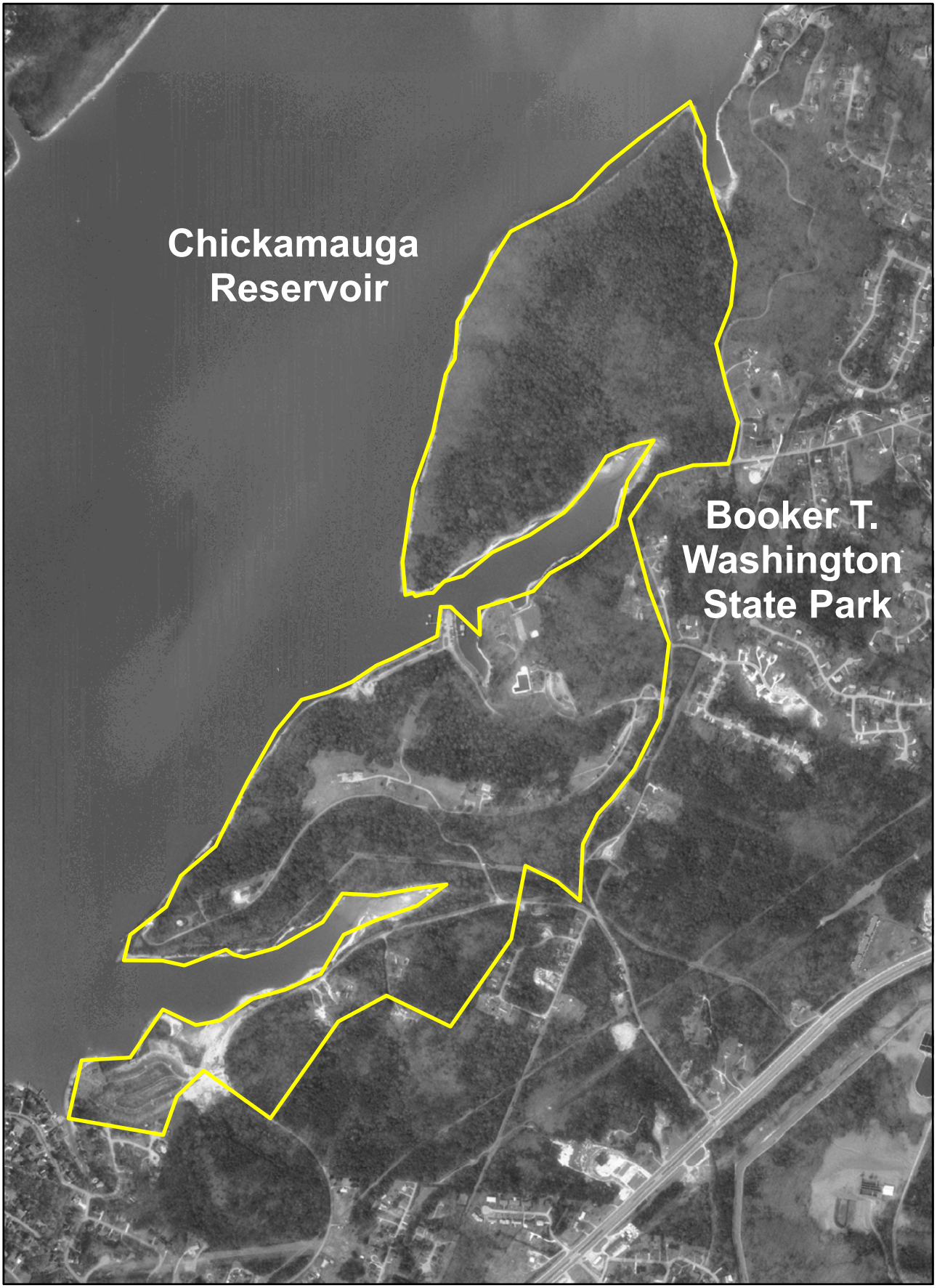
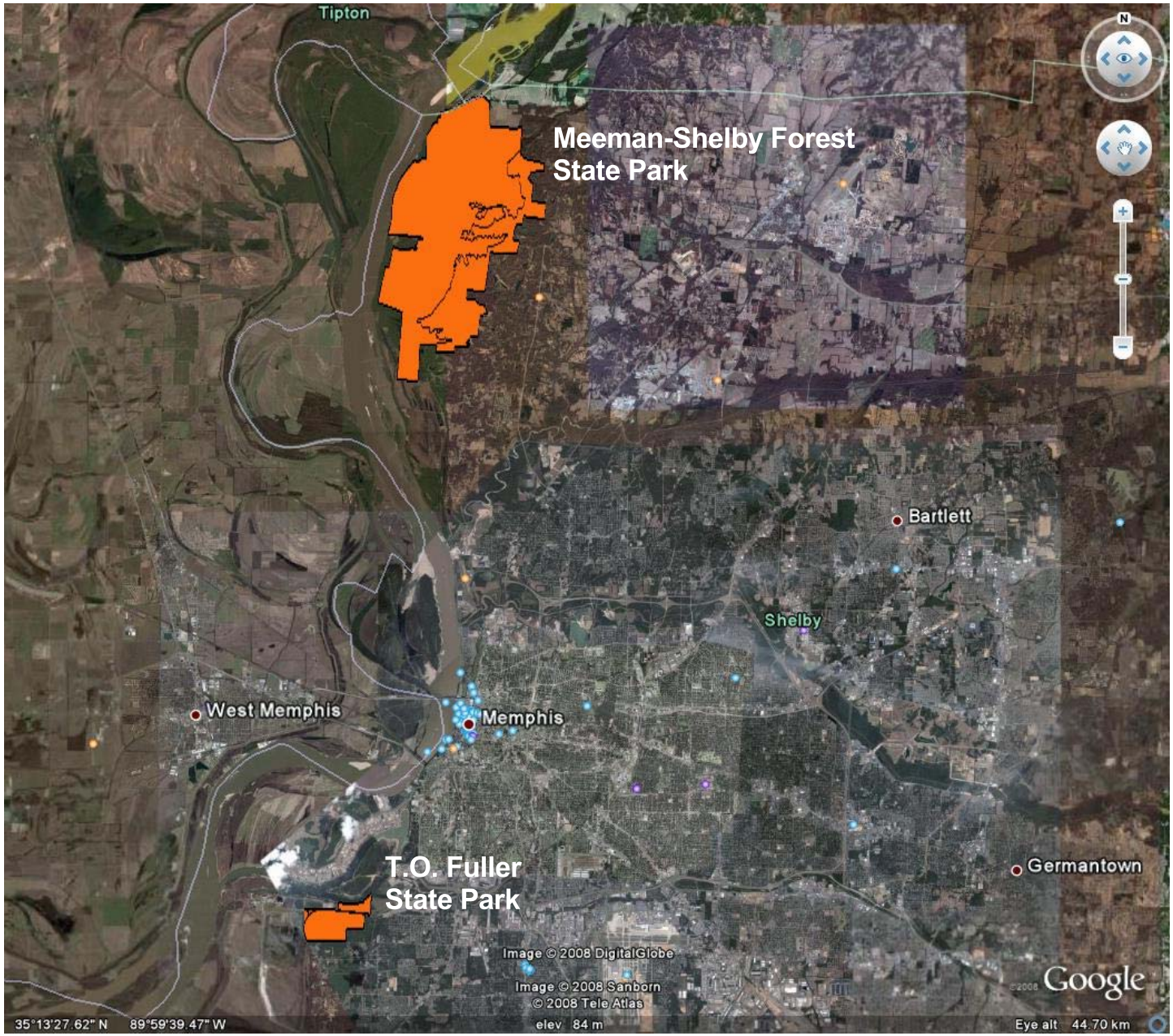


Figure 3.4: T.O. Fuller and Meeman-Shelby Forest Overview

West Tennessee Parks



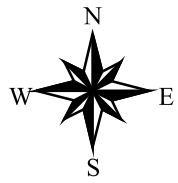


Figure 3.5: T.O. Fuller State Park Overview

CHAPTER 4

THE IMPACT OF A HISTORICAL DESIGNATION ON THE MODERN MANAGEMENT AND USE OF TWO TENNESSEE STATE PARKS[1]

[1] Bloom, Katharine C.; Neman, David H.; and Craig A. Miller. To be submitted to the Journal of Park and Recreation Administration.

Introduction

Most research in the recreation arena focuses on the visitors, managers, or facilities at various parks, forests, or community centers with little regard for the history of these areas. With every recreation area managed by some sort of institution whether it be a federal or state government body, a non-profit organization, or a commercial entity, little research has ever looked into the role that the original designation of an area has played on the management and use of that area. This study asks the question: how has the original designation of two Tennessee State Parks affected the modern mangement and use of those parks? The Tennessee State Park (TSP) system was created in the late 1930s as a segregated park system. Two of the first four parks (Booker T. Washington and T.O. Fuller) were created specifically "to serve the Negro citizens of the state" (Coleman, 1967). This study will focus on how the historical designation of these two parks as "State parks for Negroes" has impacted their development, management and use up until the current time.

Historical Context

At the time the Tennessee State Park system was being developed in the 1930s, American society exhibited conflicting notions. While the progressive notions of park development and land conservation from the late 1800s and early 1900s were still influencing government and the public in general, there were also regressive notions such as segregation which had control over the norms of society at that time. The interplay between the progressive notions and regressive actions of government helped create a situation in which public park systems were being developed but only largely for one group of society – the white citizens.

Impact of Segregation on Parks and Rcreation

The Jim Crow laws effectively separated society into white and black branches. The impact of this separation affected all areas of life from housing, employment, education, and recreation. Separation between whites and blacks began to occur in the Reconstruction and post-Reconstruction periods after the official end of slavery. During this time, whites wanted generally little to do with blacks and set up a system that separated themselves from the black population. Blacks were not allowed adequate use of public or private recreation facilities, or were only allowed to use ones not adequately supplied with materials or management staff (Holland, 2002, pg. 120). Also, given their rural and segregated locations, blacks participated in many of the same activities as whites; however, within the context of the black community, and, in some cases, those activities developed different traits reflective of this context (Ibid). It was also during this post-Reconstruction period that, as blacks began to adjust to their new found freedoms, the white population, especially in the South, sought to limit those freedoms and, thus, began the Black Code or Jim Crow system (Ibid, pg. 119).

Under the Jim Crow system, as can be expected, black and white use of parks and public recreation facilities was separated into different areas. Because the pervasive feeling of whites at that time was that they did not want blacks in "their" playgrounds or parks, black use of public parks and playgrounds was limited (Ibid, pg. 138). In some locales, blacks were allowed to use some public parks developed for whites – an uncommon occurrence in the south – but their activities were restricted. In many designated white parks, blacks were often only allowed to sit, walk through, and enjoy the park sights, but not use the playgrounds or other equipment (Ibid).

White disapproval of black use of "their" park facilities eventually lead to the development of "separate" park areas for blacks. The provision of park and recreation facilities for blacks continually increased during the 1920s and 1930s. Following the increased provision of facilities at a local level, there was a greater provision of park facilities for black use by both the federal government as well as state governments. One example of the greater federal and state government involvement in the provision of segregated park facilities came through the development of segregated state park systems. States throughout the south including Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Tennessee, and Kentucky saw the development of segregated park systems and generally featured a few "State Parks for Negroes" (Ceceleski, 2007; Dallas News, 1951; Mitchell, 1945; North Carolina State Parks, 2005; Townsend, 2001). The impetus of the development for these parks came under the "separate but equal" clause from the *Plessy v. Ferguson* court decision. While, the black parks were never equal to the white parks in number, facilities, or funding, the development of these parks offered a positive development in the provision of recreational services for blacks on a state level.

Segregation and the Development of the Tennessee State Park System

The Tennessee State Park system was officially created in 1937 with the expectation that every park "shall be preserved in a natural condition so far as may be consistent with its human use and safety and all improvements shall be of such character as not to lessen its inherent recreational value" (Tennessee Public Acts of 1937, Chapter No. 266, Section 2). Four parks were initially deemed appropriate for the system: Harrison Bay, Cove Lake, Booker T. Washington, and TO Fuller (then Shelby County). The latter of these two parks were set aside specifically as "State Parks for Negroes." Additional "State Parks for Negroes" were proposed for the Knoxville, Nashville, and New Johnsonville areas but were never developed due largely

to pressure from white citizens and a lack of political will (Coleman, 1967, pg. 247). The state park system was segregated from its beginning until 1962 when, by verbal order of the governor, the system was desegregated.

Purpose of Study

Jim Crow laws had many impacts on the state park system including: inequitable funding and facility development, segregated visitors and different management requirements. As discussed in the previous chapter, funding and facility development for the two black parks had a history of being one-third to one-half the level of that at the white parks, while the management requirements at the black parks were much higher and the initial title was that of a lower rank for black managers. The purpose of this study is to discuss the impacts a history as segregated parks has had on the management structure of those state parks. In particular, this study seeks to answer the questions: (1) What impacts have the original designation of Booker T. Washington and TO Fuller as "State Parks for Negroes" had on the management and use of these parks? (2) What is the current situation with regard to the management of these two state parks? This study will use historical documents as well as management interviews to address these questions.

Review of Literature

In reviewing the literature on recreation management in the context of two formerly African-American state parks, it is important to look at both factors impacting management by people of minority status as well as discussing the importance of minority involvement in the management of our agencies.

Minority Employment

One subject related to increasing minority involvement in outdoor recreation that has received relatively little attention is minority involvement in outdoor recreation careers. Hibbler (2004) states, "Research has shown that the group (minorities) is significantly under-represented at all levels in the recreation profession and within academia. There is tremendous need for qualified minority park and recreation professionals to serve various communities across the United States."

A basic premise of minority employment-related research has been that in order to develop and maintain a diverse clientele, an agency must represent that diversity within it's own organization. Kivel, Samdahl, and Jacobson (1994), in citing Murphy (1970) and Williamson (1975), reflect that there is a continuing lack of minority representation in natural resource-based careers and that there is very little documentation of programs to recruit minorities to the field. These very attitudes towards both natural resources and towards employment impact the involvement of minorities in these professions and thus hinder their representation. Hibbler (2004) maintains "Various researchers have concluded that many black professionals perceive that they are under-represented in the field, particularly at the upper administrative level. The diminishing number of minority students who selected public parks and recreation as their academic major further exacerbates this notion.

Due to future staffing needs and the changing demographics, the hiring base utilized by public leisure service agencies must be expanded to include more under-represented groups, including Hispanics, Asian Americans and people of African descent. Clearly, alternative recruiting strategies need to be explored to successfully attract and retain minorities to the field."

Future research is definitely needed to address both the lack of minority employment in outdoor recreation and resource management careers as well as its possible impact on how minorities view outdoor recreation and the management of such areas.

Discrimination

Discrimination is important in recreation management research from both a management and visitation perspective. In terms of management, discrimination in the form of institutional discrimination/racism has played a key role in the lack of minorities in leadership positions in recreation. It is also thought of as a main factor affecting visitation to our public lands by people of minority status. The discrimination research presented here will be divided into sections related to both management and visitation based on the premise of this study.

Discrimination in Management

The role that discrimination plays in the management of parks and recreation organizations is not clearly understood. Few, if any, research studies have looked into the concept of intra-organizational discrimination within the framework of a park system. Because little research has been done in this area, the scope of the literature review has expanded to encompass management and sport research as well as recreation management research.

Within an organizational context, there are two different forms of discriminatory practices that affect the workplace: access discrimination and treatment discrimination (Greenhaus et al., 1990; Sagas and Cunningham, 2004). Access discrimination is a form of discrimination which prevents members of a minority or subgroup from entering a job or organization (Ibid). Treatment discrimination occurs following a person's entrance into the workplace. In treatment discrimination, a member of a subgroup enters a job and then receives

"fewer rewards, resources, or opportunities on the job than they legitimately deserve on the basis of job related criteria" (Greenhaus et al., 1990, pg. 64-65). Due to the fact that this study is examining management within an organization, treatment discrimination rather than access discrimination will be presented further.

As previously stated, treatment discrimination occurs when a member of a minority or subgroup enters into a job and then receives less opportunities than they deserve based on their subgroup membership rather than their on-the-job performance (Greenhaus et al., 1990; Levitin, Quinn, & Staines, 1971). Employees of an organization who are experiencing this type of discrimination are subjected to issues within their organizations that are unfavorable to their careers on a much higher level than those who are not (Greenhaus et al., 1990; Sagas and Cunningham, 2004). Accordingly, when consistent over a given period of time, treatment discrimination often results in negative performance and development related outcomes including lost opportunities (Ilgen and Youtz, 1986; Sagas and Cunningham, 2004). Lost opportunities are those that a minority member receives while on the job – they may be less than or just different from those experienced by someone who is not affected by treatment discrimination (Ilgen and Youtz, 1986). The lost opportunities eventually compile and thus, over time, negatively impact the subgroup member in his/her job growth, experience, or influence levels and, are likely to, eventually affect their place within the organization and, ultimately, their level of success (Ilgen and Youtz, 1986; Sagas and Cunningham, 2004).

A number of research studies on treatment discrimination have examined the experiences of working women. There is great evidence of treatment discrimination in terms of lower compensation (Terborg & Ilgen, 1975), prospects for promotion (Olson & Becker, 1985), job assignments (Terborg & Ilgen, 1975), access to authority and responsibility (Harlan & Weiss,

1982), and opportunities to develop relationships with mentors, sponsors, and peers (Fernandez, 1981). Ilgen and Youtz (1986), in relating treatment discrimination to minority groups, found that minority members may experience treatment discrimination in a number of ways including those listed above for women. They suggested that these experiences would reduce job performance and career prospects since they would receive fewer opportunities to enhance their skills and develop relationships with coworkers.

Discrimination in Visitation

Discrimination has recently begun to be thought of as a key factor affecting the leisure participation of ethnic and racial minorities and is thought to be both underreported and misunderstood (Johnson et al., 1997). In terms of public use, discrimination theory postulates that acts of perceived or actual discrimination are assumed to exert a negative influence on visitation to public lands/recreation areas and participation in leisure activities (Ibid).

Several empirical studies have shown that discrimination in recreation or recreation areas acts as a constraint to minority participation. West (1989) found that African-Americans in the Detroit, MI areawere less likely to use regional parks due to fears of discrimination or inter-racial conflict. Woodward (1988) and Blahna and Black (1993) reported that racism occurring both on- and off-site acted as a barrier for participation in leisure activities and visitation to park areas.

In more recent research, both institutional and interpersonal forms of racism have been found to impact the participation and visitation of minority groups to various outdoor recreation activities and areas. Discrimination is not just overt, rather it can result from park management lacking sensitivity or knowledge and inequities in the quality of park facilities, programs or

services. In a 1993 study, Gobster and Delgado found that 10% of minority group users of Chicago's Lincoln Park felt that they had been victims of discrimination either by park users or police and that this discrimination caused a decrease in their level of satisfaction with the experience. Gobster noted, "Discrimination is a serious issue in park management that has begun to receive some attention." Lee et al. (2001) stated that, "In sum, we can predict that minorities are less likely to participate in outdoor recreation than Anglos not only because many minority group members in the United States occupy lower socioeconomic status but also because of various cultural values (in response to racism and discrimination), fear of harassment, and patterns of institutional discrimination."

Constraints to Visitation

Constraints to leisure have been defined as "anything that inhibits people's ability to participate in leisure activities, to spend more time doing so, or to take advantage of leisure services, or to achieve a desired level of satisfaction" (Jackson and Henderson, 1995, p. 31). While being acknowledged in the literature, there is relatively little work on the impact of constraints associated with racial stratification and the results of those studies have been mixed.

Race and its relationship to constraints have been established to be a worthwhile construct to study (Floyd, 1998). Washburne and Wall (1980) found that it was less likely to find African-Americans participating in many outdoor recreation activities than Whites. Factors including greater constraint related to transportation, safety problems, and poor area maintenance inhibited the participation of African-Americans in those activities. Woodard (1988) found that socioeconomic status and regionality were important factors when reviewing leisure behavior among African-Americans. He observed that fear of discrimination and racial prejudice lead

African-Americans to choose more “domestic type pursuits” when choosing a leisure activity. Philipp (1995) found that African-Americans were more constrained than Whites because of a sense of being “uncomfortable” in activities including golfing, attending a country club, snow skiing and hunting. In a later study looking that the perceived “welcomeness” of several recreation activities, Philipp (1999) asked Whites and African-Americans how they thought African-Americans would feel about participating in numerous activities. It was found that while Whites felt that African-Americans would feel welcome, African-Americans were clearly constrained in participating in those activities by a feeling of “unwelcomeness.” Henderson and Ainsworth (2001), in their study women of color and their leisure behavior, found that constraints including perceptions of physical activities, lack of time and space to participate, job demands, family expectations and needs, and economic factors, prevented them from pursuing various activities.

In contrast to the aforementioned studies, two studies looking at Chicago park users have found that Whites are actually more constrained than African-Americans in their choice of parks (Arnold and Shinew, 1998; Shinew et al., 2004). Whites in these studies were constrained by the location of parks, maintenance of facilities, over-crowding, lighting of parks, lack of greenspace, landscaping and trees, lack of transportation, user conflicts, feeling unwelcome, and a fear of racial conflict. It is speculated that these constraints were noted by Whites because of different standards that more privileged people have towards their parks as well as a feeling that African-Americans are more accustomed to negotiating constraints and are therefore more likely to be able to overcome them (Shinew et al., 2004).

Despite the conflicting studies, it is obvious that constraints play a role in both leisure pursuits and the location of those pursuits. There are still a number of questions that require

addressing before a better understanding of the impact of race on constraints. As Floyd (1998) stated, “perhaps the most critical issue facing the race and ethnic studies literature is the absence of viable frameworks” (p.4).

Study Area

Tennessee has 54 state parks. Booker T. Washington State Park is located in southeastern Tennessee, about 7 miles north of downtown Chattanooga. The park is located on the shores of Lake Chickamauga, a reservoir managed by the Tennessee Valley Authority. Originally leased to the state by the TVA in 1938, the then-350 acre park was purchased by the state in 1950 for the sum of $1.00. The main recreational features within this park include a group camp, a group lodge, fishing piers, swimming pool, picnic shelters, and a boat ramp. T.O. Fuller State Park is located in southwestern Tennessee, within the city limits of Memphis. The now 1,138 acre park, originally known as Shelby Bluffs Negro State Park, was purchased from the City of Memphis in 1938. The park includes a golf course, swimming pool, campground, group camp, picnic shelters, and ball fields. (See Figures 4.1-4.5).

Methods

We used two main methods to attempt to gain an understanding about the impact of segregation on the modern management and use of these two state parks: historical data analysis and visitor interviews. First, we looked at historical documents including newspaper articles, plans, visitation data and the like to be able to develop an understanding at factors influecing park management at Booker T. Washington and TO Fuller State Parks. We also analyzed data gathered through in-depth interviews with 14 past and present members of the TSP system management staff (5 from Central Office, 5 from TO Fuller, and 4 from Booker T. Washington)

to gain insight into the historic and present management issues at these two state parks. This study was conducted by one investigator who had previously been employed as a planner with the TSP system. This experience allowed the researcher greater cooperation from and access to the management staff and allowed for better insight into the management structure of TSP and a better rapport with study participants.

Data Collection and Analysis

Historical Documents

Historical newspaper articles, correspondence, management plans, and visitor study records were collected and reviewed in order to gain an understanding of past management related issues and visitor use of the parks. These records were obtained from the state archives in Nashville, the Tennessee State Parks central office in Nashville, as well as at the two parks. To ensure validity and reliability (confirmability) when coding and analyzing the data, data audits and member checks were performed to ensure that the data was being presented and coded correctly.

Management Interviews

The management staff members who participated in this study were initially selcted from a list of past and present managers at these two parks as well as central office staff who had a long history of involvement with the parks. Interviews were conducted between May 2007 and August 2007. The criterion for being included in this study was based upon a staff member's length of their service with the system, job title, and historical knowledge.

Participants were selected using purposive and snowball sampling methods. They were initially contacted through the existing connections of the first author. Subsequently, the

emerging theory and progressing understanding of the subject guided the selection of the participants. As new concerns became apparent, participants who were likely to improve our understanding of those concerns were selected.

Participants included two females (1 African-American, 1 White) and twelve males (6 African-Americans, 6 White). Their ages ranged from 26 to 72, and their length of employ with the state park system ranged from three years to forty three years. Participants represented a variety of job descriptions within the park system: ranger, manager, historian, lands administrator, Facility Design coordinator, Assistant Commissioner, Regional Manager, and State Naturalist. All participants were given pseudonyms for the purpose of this study. Each interview lasted between 60 minutes and 3 hours. The interviews were conducted by the first author in a face-to-face manner with the current park staff members either at the Nashville office or in the state parks. Interviews with past state park employees were conducted via phone. During each interview, participants were asked a set of open-ended questions. The first seven questions were the same for each participant. Follow-up questions were based upon the participants personal experience with the parks as well as their job position. The primary focus of these interviews were based around gaining an understanding of the historical development and internal management of these two traditionally black state parks as well as an understanding of the current situation at these parks.

All interviews were digitally recorded. The interviews were later transcribed verbatim. Two people who were not involved in the study were later asked to review the transcripts to ensure the quality of the interview data was captured. The data analysis process was inductive and data-led. The analysis process was adapted from techniques developed by Taylor and Bogdan (1984) and Glaser (1978). The data analysis process included iterative reading of the transcripts, the

identification of themes and developing concepts, coding data based upon those thematic areas, and understanding the data in the context in which they were collected. Every transcript was read several times and common themes and ideas were noted. Categories were developed based upon: (1) reflecting the overall aims of the study; (b) have integratability (i.e., present the broad picture); (c) be exhaustive; and (d) be mutually exclusive (Patton, 1990).

To ensure validity and reliability in the collection of this data, several strategies were employed. Each of the interviews were conducted by the main researcher to ensure interrater reliability. The verification strategy of representative sample selection will be used at the end of the interviews to ensure that the sample interviewed was the best possible sample and that there are no holes in terms of missing data. Notes from the interviews were discussed with the participants at the end of the interviews and the transcripts from each interview were further corroborated with a random sample of selected participants to help enhance the credibility of the study. To further ensure credibility, transferability, and confirmability, data from each interview were compared with other interview data as well as against the archival data through the use of triangulation. To ensure the confidentiality of the subjects, code names were given to each of the participants.

Results

The analysis of the historical documents provides a context from which questions for management staff were formulated as well as providing background material. The analysis of the staff interviews provided insight into their views regarding how the historical designation of these two parks has affected the modern management and use of the parks. Tennessee State Park management staff was asked five main questions which were formulated based upon the

historical context. This section is set up as follows: (1) the question asked of park staff, (2) a statement summarizing the answers received and the resulting themes, (3) the appropriate historical context (where necessary) based upon the theme, and (4) pertinant quotes from the interviews.

As a long serving parks employee, what are your impressions or thoughts on the history of the system with regard to the segregation and desegregation of parks?

Responses to this question were divided along racial lines. White staff responses generally viewed segregation as a historical issue. African-American staff generally felt that the park system is still segregated to a degree.

Three main themes arose from these interviews: historical impact, visitors are still segregated, and segregation is still felt in park management.

Historical impact. The Tennessee State Park system was originally created as a segregated system under the Jim Crow laws of the time. The parks remained segregated for approximately the first 30 years of their existence. Beginning in 1954, with the developments surrounding the *Brown v. Board of Education* Supreme Court decision, park systems across the country began to desegregate. This was not the case in Tennessee or in much of the south. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) began requesting the desegregation in 1954 of the Tennessee State Park system. For the next two years, the NAACP frequently petitioned the governor about their cause only to be set aside for other "pressing matters" (Athens Post-Athenian, 1955; Bristol Tennessean, 1955; Chattanooga Times, 1955; Chattanooga Times Free Press, 1955; Coleman, 1967; Columbia Daily Herald, 1955, 1956; Johnson City Press Chronicle, 1956; Kingsport Times, 5 Knoxville News-Sentinel, 1955; Memphis Commercial Appeal, 1956; Nashville Banner, 1956; Nashville Tennessean, 1955). In

1962, by an informal proclamation of Governor Frank G. Clement, the Tennessee State Park System was formally desegregated (Coleman, 1967).

Four white staff (4/6) members responded that segregation left an indelible impression on the park system and these parks in particular. They believed that the initial managers had a rough time during the first years after the park system was created and that the parks were probably considered "outsiders" from the rest of the system. These respondents also believe that now the system is focused on hiring quality people.

> TO2: I don't know. I mean, I started working with State Parks in 1981. Segregation, desegregation that was all done with. And the thing is, I don't know what happened back then, I can only say now, working with TO Fuller and knowin' Reggie and Markee and LeVan and Mr. White. Um, I didn't know Mr. White anymore than I knew Mr. Harris, but I met them. Uh, I always thought that you know, when I first started, and I'm thinkin', "Geez, there's only like 5, 4 or 5 black guys that work with the department." And I'm thinkin', I mean just based on history, I was thinkin', you know and they'd been long-term. And I knew life was probably hard for them. But that was just my line of thinkin', based on you know, that color thing anyway. But you know, when I finally went to TO Fuller, I realized that you know, why maybe outside this community things were bad, inside these communities, these, these gentlemen held some clout. 'Cuz they were manager of a park, everybody loved that park, they had a job that was a good job and made pretty good money. And so these gentlemen in those parks had, they had some clout in those neighborhoods, uh, which was probably more clout than you would find in some managers that are historically white parks, if you will… Now, uh, I think you find the best people for the job, you know, yeah, tell you like I told you earlier, I'm 50 years old, you know, let's forget about color man, because what can you do? What can you do, what can you bring to the table? What can you bring to that park?

> CO4: Okay, my, and I've, my, my suspicion is, is that those parks, those two parks were isolated from, from the rest of the State Park system, they were outsiders. Um, the desegregation of it, I think has made it where TO Fuller nor Booker T, do I view them as outsiders. I view them as part of the system, and then, and I think you're uh, naïve if you go into a park and you divorce yourself from the history of the park. You can't do that anymore at Radner Lake, and talk about the friends of Radner Lake, than you could go in and say, here's the history of TO Fuller. It is what it is, and you must, you gotta' give that fair treatment. But I do think that they're less isolated than they used to be.

Visitors are still segregated. Segregation, despite being done away with in 1962, still impacts the park system today in that visitation patterns initiated during the early years of the parks are still current. Upon opening, Booker T. Washington and TO Fuller were segregated state parks, and, therefore, had a visitation base of primarily black users. The tradition of use by black citizens continues at these parks. Based on visitor observation data gathered in 2007 (see Chapter 4), approximately 71 percent of visitors at Booker T. Washington are black. This figure is actually higher at TO Fuller where 88 percent of the visitation is black. These figures are vastly different at the comparison parks. For instance, at Harrison Bay, a mere seven miles up the road from Booker T. Washington, 99 percent of the visitors are white; while at Meeman-Shelby, the visitation is approximately 90 percent white.

Two white staff members felt that visitors to State Parks and especially those at Booker T. Washington and T.O. Fuller are still somewhat segregated. Each of them related this to the historic use of the parks while one went to further explain that much of state park visitation comes from the surrounding communities and that, because of this, TO Fuller and Booker T. Washington receive greater minority use than other state parks.

> BT1: Uh, it should apply to the parks. But you know, I mean, and like I said about Booker T, um, during the week you have people all around that neighborhood comin' in there fishing. It doesn't matter what color or anything. But now on the weekends, uh, 99 point whatever percent, um, colored folks comin' in there and havin' their picnics and family reunions and I mean they were all. And it, and it stays back out on the weekends most of the time. Um, but you know I hate to see it segregated like that, but people get it in there head it's like that and it's just the way it is. Not a whole lot anybody can do to change it, other than hopefully make sure it's opened up to everybody and not just a select few.
>
> CO1: Well, I think just by reality uh, just by how people are, you know, you're gonna' have certain parks with more blacks, more whites and so forth. And I can see that, definitely that's the case at TO Fuller and Booker T. I think especially with Booker T,

> you go to TO Fuller and you see a mix. Like on the golf course you'll see uh, blacks and whites equally there. But uh, again I think that's tied with your, where you live, your geographic area. Generally you're gonna' go to the park that's closest to you. And I think that's what we see most of the time. I think there's a whole lot less, unless you're a Fall Creek Falls uh, park, or a Paris Landing or something like that, where you have these resort type facilities and you can draw people in from different parts of the state. Uh, most people don't do that. I think, you know, you're, you're like at ……..Landing, you're gonna' serve your local people there, primarily. I think that's gonna' be 90%, 85, 90% of your visitation.

Segregation is still felt in park management. The majority of the managers in the Tennessee State Park system today are white (52/54). This figure is important in that it reflects the history of management in state parks. Traditionally, the two African-American parks were the only ones to have a minority manager. Since the early 1980s, there's been some change in terms of the number of women acting as managers, however, the women that have been promoted into management have been white. Minorities have not yet been given a chance to manage at some of the more marquis (resort/large recreation parks) parks in the system, in fact, as of today they have only managed at 3 of 54 state parks and only acted as rangers in approximately six parks.

4/4 African-American staff members believe that the park system is still segregated today They all agree that segregation was probably felt more in the early days of the system but that the lingering effects of segregation and now hidden racism are still concerns. It's also been noted that there's been a lack of a coordinated, multi-pronged approached to recruiting minorities into the park system.

> BT4: Um, that goes back to the overall mentality of parks system. You know segregation was, I don't wanna', that's part of history, and desegregation that's same thing. But, I can put it on paper all day that we're desegregated, but until I actually believe or work on it, we still segregated. Um, until, actually we have people in places that can make decisions on who get what money, and how much money goes to what park, and this. And actually bring people to the table, they're still segregated. Um, yeah, but I mean, we had to write down one, this one ……. have to again, with who gets hired

and who gets fired. You know, you still, when the numbers are how many parks …….And you just had one that has a say in who gets hired and who gets fired. So we still segregated. We still segregated, I mean, all, is the relationship better? Yes. Are we still segregated? Yes. Any time a person can't hire and fire, you gon', it's segregation, it's, I mean, at, in, that's nothin', that might be racist and it might not because and, and I might be wrong, but if, if two people are sittin' in front of me and both of 'em are qualified people, and the only difference bein' one is white and one is black. Who am I gonna' hire? (KB: Probably the black guy).A'ight. Same thing. If there's two people sittin' in front of me and I'm white, and both, one is white and one is black, but I'm white and everything is the same.Who am I probably gonna' hire? But, it's not unfortunately, that is just the way it is. And, and, and, and especially if I can look at the one dude and say, "Oh I got to be, that guys' already workin' for me." Or, "I got one black guy workin' for me already." If I can justify like that and both of 'em the same, I can't probably hire him. And there's really no, I don't have no problems with that, my problem is, if the black guy is qualified better, and you hire the white guy because he's white. Which is, it, it happens all the time. It happens all the time, but when, when a black guy get a job because he's black, per se, or that we think that's the reason he got it, it's all over the paper, how he's under-qualified, he shouldn'ta got the job. I mean, so, I say that, so do we, do I think we're segregated? Yes. Is desegregation bein' worked on? Yes. Have we ever, have we achieved desegregation? No.

TO1: Mmm, you know, the park system is, you know, I actually talked about how many minorities are there, you know, the parks, the visitation of both parks, we talked about the visitation across the board of other parks. The park is still, I'll say, somewhat segmented. It's, it's, the only difference uh, now than when it originally opened and the course of the, over the 40 years is, there is still a majority African-American based um, at TO Fuller, there's still a majority of at TO Fuller and Booker T, there's still a majority of non African-Americans goin' to the other park systems. And there's still a majority of African-Americans running um, Booker T and TO Fuller. And still a majority of, or there's still a non-existence of minorities in Central Office.

So, it's not much of a, the only, only, only change is, is, is budgeting of funding, and that's because inflation rates went up. And that, and so, it is not much change as far as segregation and desegregation of the parks, over the course of, not, not along that, there's not the same racism is probably the only difference as it was years ago in the park. But that's probably one of the only differences, otherwise it's somewhat very, very the same, the same, not exact, but very close. Can take away the, the, I'll say take away the, how should I put this, take away the, what is, what is the word, and I'm talking about racism, take away the blatant racism. Yeah, yeah. And, and, and I, I say, and in addition to that is, you take away, in, in uh, funding for example. We're not givin' TO Fuller this, or Booker T this, uh back in the, back in the 30's and 40's because they're an African-

American park, and now you can just say uh, well, they're not getting it. And not even, and you don't even know what's going on. And, and, and yeah. That's why I say it's hidden racism now, hidden racism.

And if you look at it across and the park administrators now are actually pushing for to get more African-Americans in the park system as far as park rangers and park managers. Um, and, and LeVan may mention this to, at um, we kind of LeVan, myself and who else was it? Brendell was a park ranger at Bicentennial Mall, and a couple of others, actually spearheaded um, an African-American recruitment of, of park rangers. And, and where uh, we target different colleges and universities, mainly, predominantly African-American universities and recruit for rangers there. 'Scuse me, and uh that's gonna' take an effect too, 'cuz we visited several colleges over the course of last year, 2 or 3 at least to recruit for rangers. But it also starts in the seasonal ranger program too, 'cuz, 'cuz the state parks really emphasizes hirin' from the seasonal ranger staff, so they need more minorities or African-Americans in the seasonal ranger staff.

BT3: Race relations are poor because of them continuing to maintain that mentality. And who, who they are, I don't know, I don't know who sits behind the door. You would think with a change in leadership with governors and commissioners and directors that you would see some cracks in that. That just hasn't happened. That just hasn't happened.

And I, I, I don't, that's why you, you picked a wonderful subject, you picked a wonderful subject. Because it, it speaks to what I think is the heart of the race relation problem in America. I mean, sensible people don't talk about it, and the only people that do talk about it are people on both ends of the extreme. I mean they're talkin' the loudest, and so that's what I come home at 6 o'clock and see the news, and that's what I see about race relations. When in actuality Walter Butler and Reggie Tiller are good friends, you know and, and then, and Walter thinks the world of Reggie and he thinks the same thing about Walter, but the system doesn't feel that way. You know, it doesn't feel that way, and when people like Walter try to make those changes because they recognize that here's somebody who's kinda' like Dale tellin' me, did you know John LeCroy is white (1991). No, you big dummy……just like that, no I didn't know, and don't care.

And then they end up sendin' that idiot, um, what was that boy's name? His dad was an attorney and made me hire him, um, god, he wore glasses…Oh, he was an idiot, his dad was an attorney, legal attorney, and they made me hire him, and I reluctantly agreed to hire him. And he gave me more trouble, and I …….I was gonna' kick his butt, and his dad's too. He said, "I'm gonna' tell my dad what you said." So the next day he came back and said, "My father said perhaps I need to transfer to another park." And I said, "Perhaps you do, 'cuz you and your dad." Oh, he was terrible…

I think my main thing in the system's that it just doesn't help race relations, in the state and in general. In general, I think it speaks to, to the climate of the state of Tennessee, you know, I really do, and I think it isn't just in parks, it's across the board. You don't see it as, I don't think it's as clear, but I think it's there. I think it's there, and that's sad. It's sad for the children, that's, that's, that's who's hurt by it. And, old people like me, you know, all we have are memories, it's, it's the kids that you know, 'cuz if I'm confused and baffled by it, just think what these kids must be feelin' when they're in an environment where, shoot, none o' that makes any difference. My kids don't even care if you're gay, let alone what the color of your skin is. They, they wouldn't care about gay marriage and stuff, what's wrong with you daddy? You not tolerant, blah blah blah blah blah, yes I am. You know I said, but there's certain things I feel about certain things. So I think the kids suffer more than anyone else because they continue to maintain this system. And they see it, they see it, they can't help but see it. If they visit the parks, if they camp in them, you know, if they grow up in 'em like a lotta' these kids do. A lot of 'em that live in these rural areas, and these communities, and they don't see any diversity, they don't see anybody of color comin' from the community, goin' into the parks. Yeah, it does a disservice to them, it really does.

TO2: Well, ya' know, history is what it is. I mean, we, we know that there's been tremendous change over the last hundred, hundred years. Uh, and I'm only looking at ya' know, 1900 to 2007. And, when we look at the, the 20's, the 30's, the 40's and 50's, each decade there was some type of change that was going on. However, I do have, uh, a higher level of, uh, expectations from, uh, a state government to that change happened more rapidly than what happened in society. And um, it, it's too bad that Tennessee State Parks continues to use the excuse that they cannot find people, uh, of color, or any race to work in remote areas. Because the National Park Service has been using that same excuse, and, uh, they're succeeding. And uh, it, and that's because they have focused their efforts not on just schools inside of certain regions. But across the entire United States. Ya' know if, if you can't find candidates from your home institutions in the state of Tennessee, go outside the state… to continue to use that as an excuse is, ya' know, just another political ploy to, to tell folks that, "We can't find people. And so, we don't try."

How did minority-based management staffs influence the management and development of these parks?

In terms of interview response, the results can be separated under racial lines. Overall, the majority of African-American staff (5) felt that having minority-based management staffs at these parks largely hurt the management structure and development of these parks. They seemed

to feel that it was because they were minorities that the parks were overlooked in terms of staffing, facility development, and other park management necessities. One African-American staff person felt like the result of minority management was mixed – helpful in someways, harmful in others – while another was not sure. Whites were more mixed in their sentiments with 2 feeling that it hurt, 2 felt that it helped, and 1 was not sure.

Six main themes arose from these interviews: long-term management has not been good for the park; lack of educated managers; long length of time to get the necessary staff/funding issues for development; upper management bias/lack of political clout; good staff is diversifying visitation; ability to relate to visitors.

Long term management has not been good for the park. Initially, both of these parks were under much stricter management requirements then the other Tennessee State Parks. Management requirements included being a "Negro man trained in college in land management and recreation" (Chattanooga Times, 1948). These Negro managers, unlike those at the other State Parks, were to be called "rangers." The first manager for T.O. Fuller State Park was an African-American man, Albert Harris, with a college degree from Lane College. He served as manager from 1946-1984. The first manager at Booker T. Washington was another African-American man, William Bell, who served as manger from 1948-1980. These two men never served at another park during their tenure with Tennessee State Parks, and, to this day, have been among the longest serving park managers in the system and have the longest two tenures at any one state park in the history of the system. During their tenure, these parks went from being segregated and of few facilities to being open, facility dependent operations.

One of the respondents (white) expressed that this long term management was not a benefit for these state parks nor would it be for any state parks. He expressed that there was quite a bit of complacency after such a long management term and that, instead of striving for better facilities, that the management staffs were just happy with what they had at the time.

> TO2: I don't know, I think if you look at both parks you will, you will see that from the time the parks were built, that uh, you've had very few managers at these parks. As far as the management, there's very little turn-over. And I would say that would be true as far as ranger positions too, not just park managers. Uh, I believe that creates the same, in my opinion, I think it creates the same problem that we have in any park that we have where you have long-term management, um, or long-term manager without a change of um, ideas. Um, think people get complacent, um, they're probably not as uh, motivated to come up with new ideas, they, they pretty much like status quo. And I think in the case of TO Fuller when I went there, I took over after Mr. Harris bein' there for almost 40 years. And there were very few things, um, when I got there that I was accustomed to because it was, it was an older style management. Um, wasn't really interested in anything new, or promoting anything new, just happy with what they had. It was, didn't ask for anything, didn't really want anything. So, I, I think in that case, it's not so much um, it's not so much that the park didn't want to evolve, it was the fact that managers were complacent. And that happens whether it's, you know, historically black park, or a historically white park in Memphis, or, or in east Tennessee. Long-term management um, a lotta' times is not good for the park itself.

Lack of Educated Managers. Initially, as previously stated, these two parks had a qualification for manager that included being "a Negro man trained in college in land management and recreation." This qualification was the strongest in the state and occurred at a time where similar white managers were not expected to be college educated (see Chapter 2). However, when the park system desegregated, the qualifications for all park managers reflected the lesser qualifications that had previously been required of white park managers. The first time that this affected a black park occurred when, during the first turn-over in management at Booker T. Washington SP in 1980, Frank White, a high school educated, African-American long-term ranger under William Bell, was promoted into the manager position (he served until 1990).

Since then, the African-American managers hired on at Booker T. Washington SP (Erle Gooding ,1990-2000; LeVan Gardner, 2000-Present) have been college educated. At T.O. Fuller, there have been two management hires out of a total of five which have not had college degrees: Doyle Bryan (1987-96) and Calvin Robinson (2007-Present).

Two respondents (one White, one African-American) both brought up the idea that, in more recent years (1990s-Present), the park system has not put the best educated or qualified individuals into these parks as managers. There was a sense that the park directors were seeking to hire solely any African-American as manager at these parks and that it was the wrong approach. This represents a drastic change visible from the time the parks were first created, when the African-American managers were under the toughest requirements in the state, until the present and one that is not necessarily representative of management hires within the park system, but rather could be related to Tennessee's more recent history (1980s-90s) of making political decisions regarding the management of the parks.

> BT1: It's hurt these parks, 'cuz you have people placed in these parks that don't, that don't have the experience and they don't have uh, there's been people placed in there that have just been put in there just simply because of their race, and that's wrong. Or least that's my belief, that's not necessarily the belief of everybody in the system, but that's my belief and it uh, shouldn't have been done that way, but that's the way it is. And that's why I say the whole administration as far as state parks goes is uh, kind of backwards, and um, good ol' boys system and doesn't necessarily play by uh, knowledge, book smarts, um, number of years in service and eligibility to do the job, they just go by whoever they can put in there. That's gonna' fit the bill I guess. And to an extent that's fine, but to another extent it's like you're lettin' that park sit there and spin the wheels, because you don't have somebody in there that's educated and wants to carry on as far as, uh, bringin' the park to its fullest potential.
>
> TO5: Well, I definitely think that whomever the park director was or the commissioner felt probably more comfortable in placing a minority in a leadership role at these two

> parks because of their history and not necessarily because of a skill set. I think when I went there I was probably the only minority that applied for the position from outside of the parks. I know there was some consideration for Erle to go down to TO Fuller as well as a couple o' rangers that they had in mind. But when I was selected, they didn't know what my skill set and background truly was except what was on a piece of paper…. I truly think senior management looked at having African-American management at both of the parks.

Long Length of Time to get Necessary Staff/Funding for Development. Both of these two state parks began with two staff members – the managers (Albert Harris at T.O. Fuller and William Bell at Booker T. Washington). Booker T. Washington was officially opened to the public in 1949 (though it had been in the planning/work stages since 1937) while T.O. Fuller was opened in 1941. In the 1952 progress report for state parks, William Bell was listed as the only park employee (Tennessee State Parks, 1952). At the same time, Harrison Bay State Park (white park) had six employees. During this time, T.O. Fuller had four employee positions (1 empty), while Meeman-Shelby had four as well (Tennesse State Parks, 1952).

Facility development as well as development funding were definitely delayed at these "parks for Negroes." T.O. Fuller was initially purchased by Shelby County in 1937 and then deeded to the state for the development of a state park. Five hundred and ten acres were originally purchased for the park. This purchase alone was well under the initial park policy of a 1000 acre minimum acquisition (Coleman, 1967). The park, then known as Shelby Negro State Park, was then beginning development when Native American burial mounds were discovered. Three hundred acres were taken over for a state archaeological site to be managed separately from the park. Another 400 acres were then acquired for the park. The park initially opened to the public in 1941 for "limited outings" (Memphis Press-Scimitar, 1941). No water was provided at the park at that time. In the plans at this time were a swimming pool, fishing lake, and a nature study program among other facilities (see Chapter 3). In reality, the only facilities

developed at the park were the picnic accomodations and a graded ball field (Memphis Press-Scimitar, 1941). Note that in 1949, the then Director of Tennessee State Parks, S.C. Taylor, deemed the park to be in "poor" condition and planned for some improvements including bleachers at the ball field, more picnic tables, seats, fire pits, and water fountains (Memphis Commercial Appeal, 1949). Two facilities really highlight the delays felt by this park: the swimming pool and the fishing lake. Both of these facilities were in the initial park plans, however, the swimming pool was only developed after a 13 year delay and much political manipulation, while the fishing lake has never been developed though it is continuously discussed by park staff (Brandi Caldwell, personal communication; Markee Tate, personal communication; Memphis Commercial Appeal, 1940, 1949, 1950; Memphis Press-Scimitar 1941, 1949, 1953). Booker T. Washington State Park has a similar history. The park was originally leased from the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) in 1938. For nearly ten years, the park went largely undeveloped despite the efforts of the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) in sloping the river banks and cutting stumps along what was to become the Chickamauga Reservoir. It was only after the state sought to purchase the park from the TVA in the late 1940s that they began to consider how to develop the park. The first developments considered at the park included: marking the route to the park and setting it aside as a Negro recreational area, picnic grounds and playing fields to be constructed, water supplies and toilet facilities to be added, a confectionary stand and fishing boats (Chattanooga Times, 1948).

Along with facility development, funding was similarly delayed at these two parks. The proposed development plans from 1948 and 1952 and the 1968 Parks Bond Construction Fund serve to highlight both delays in facility development as well as inequities in development funding between these two parks and the ones that were developed as recreation areas for white

people within the same area (Harrison Bay and Meeman-Shelby Forest) (See Chapter 3). The then-current State Parks Director, B.R. Allison, stated that in 1948, " the smaller amount for the Washington Park is because it is smaller and because the Negro population of Hamilton County is roughly one third the white population" (Chattanooga Times, 1948). This statement set the course for development at these two parks up until the late 1970s (See Chapter 3).

Three African-American's responded that they felt that the staffing and development funding for these two parks weren't adequate at the beginning and have since retained some of those inadequacies.

> BT4: Why did two black parks, historically black parks to say, do I think you get, they get the money? Like I said, no. You can look at the development from Booker T and Harrison Bay, 6 miles away from each other. There's a drastic change, I mean drastic difference. I mean even far as the natural resources, far as the land, to the, to the facilities on the land. I'm not, I, what I'm sayin', I'm not sayin' that, that Harrison Bay is bigger and got more stuff that makes it better, no. And I'm not sayin' that we're smaller and we're a nature park, makes it better. I'm just comparin' the two that were established close to the same time. And they have totally two different, I mean, looks to 'em. And even with the natural resources. For us the land size. Harrison Bay is 3, 4 times bigger than us.
>
> TO4: It took a while for them to get the amount of staff people that they really needed. And then they had to really bother 'em for what they wanted, ya' know. Of lettin' it be known that they need somebody else or they need some more equipment or this. And they did a pretty good job, of course they, mighta' got it, ya' know it mighta' taken a while for them to get it. But they did get it.
>
> CO3: I think that it's quite evident and see if we pull the budget for these parks, and pull the budget for the adjoining parks. Let's take uh, Meeman-Shelby, for instance and TO Fuller, they all in Shelby County. If you pull the yearly budget for how much money was spent at Meeman-Shelby, and how much money was spent at TO Fuller, you find out that it's not parallel at all. For that reason, the staff on there, probably were all demoralized, knowing that doesn't matter what they do, nobody's gonna' care about it anyway, because of racism. So I think for that reason, people have not really put out a good effort to make the park worthwhile. And certainly, they've put a manager there before, which was uh, supposed to be a punishment for them. I don't understand why that could be a

> punishment, because if you're enlightened and knowledgeable about what life's all about, and what America is all about, you realize that we're all the same people. And we protect, and this nation is one nation. But, that's not how state parks have been. So the morale of the parks, both parks, I think is very low. And has been low for a long time. Maybe it's a little bit better now than in the past, but it's still got a long way to go. I think uh, it limits the minority staff by growth, and it's probably purposely designed that way. So that somebody comes in, if they're not, if they're a minority, the only hope they have is to become a park manager is TO Fuller or Booker T. There's no other hope.

Upper Management Bias/Lack of Political Clout. Tennessee State Parks has always been a politically-oriented organization both within the structure of state parks and within the overall governmental framework. In the early years of the park system, the system was managed via a regional system. There were between three and nine regions (depending on the time period and director) in which each region had a regional manager who was in charge of the operations of the parks within that area. The regional manager was known to have a great deal of power at times and, if the regional manager didn't like a manager, then that manager often didn't get what was needed (Jack Gilpin, personal communication). The park system, as one without a dedicated funding source, is also one that has to maintain a political orientation in order to maintain its funding levels and positions within government. The park director and upper management staff had to be in frequent contact with the legislature in order to ensure the protection of the park system within the guise of governmental funding. At times, the park system has suffered a great deal due to its political nature.

One African-American park manager stated that he had heard stories where the regional manager (a White) over his current park (Booker T. Washington) had treated the then-park manager (an African-American) poorly through not allowing him to have the equipment he needed to run the park while Harrison Bay received the same equipment that had been requested.

Another African-American park manager stated that he felt like part of the reason for the lack of development in the two parks is the lack of political support for what are still known as the African-American parks. Other stories were told to me during the course of my interviews which corroborate that there is some truth in the notion of a racial bias.

> BT4: Okay, well, probably, I used to hear, when I was a seasonal, the stories how Mr. White used to ask for equipment and, I don't know if it's true or not, but this you know that, I heard him tell me, in a conversation talkin' with Mr. Sledge. And how he used to ask for equipment and the guy would pull up, 'cuz they used to drop the equipment off to you. And ask for directions to Harrison Bay, and Harrison Bay used to get the equipment. So, so he was askin' for things, and they would tell 'im that, that he couldn't have it, it wasn't in the budget, but then send it by here and stop, just because him and Mr. Beatty didn't get along. And so, so that, that was, ya' know, I don't know if it has anything to do with bein' management, I mean, bein' a racial thing, bein' that we were considered black parks or white parks. Or just because Mr. Beatty was an arrogant manager and him and Mr. White didn't get along.
>
> TO1: Mmm, you know, um, looking at, working at TO Fuller and looking at it over the past um, uh, 40 or 50 years, if you look at the park 40 years ago, and look at the park today, it's somewhat very, very similar. And there hasn't been a lot of um, um I'll say um, there hasn't been a lot development at the park, like I think it should have been. And that could have been because management, it could have been because various reasons, um, funding, um, you name it it could have been because. State Parks system is a very, very political, uh political arena. And the more, I'll say, oh I'll say, the more, the more you know about the system and, and how to get the things that the park needs, and, and, and play politics, uh the more you can get for your park. And breaking that down, being an African-American park originally and, and looking over the past years, of course we did not have the political clout to get some of the things other parks have gotten.

Good Staff is Diversifying Visitation. This response is related to more recent times. Essentially, the respondent is stating that it is his belief that by having qualified park managers at these places, they've been able to enhance the facilities at the parks and thus attract new visitors.

Visitation has slowing been diversifying at these two parks. While having good staff is certainly part of the equation for this change, the other half is providing good facilities and having a good outreach program to bring in new user groups. The staffs at these two parks as well as the upper management have, in recent years, worked to rehabilitate the park facilities so that they could provide better services to their visitors. For example, at T.O. Fuller, the golf course and the campground have both been rehabilitated in the last 10 years to provide for more modern needs. The staff has also worked to improve the picnicking and playground areas for day use visitors. The golf course and the campground are largely where the visitor diversity can be found at the park. The day use area is still largely used by the core African-American visitor group. As stated by one interviewee, "Yes, I really do. I think we have a lot of black people that do go to the right, go to the golf course. But you're numbers are higher for blacks goin' to the left and whites goin' to the right. Our numbers are, I don't believe have gone up in over forty years for whites comin' to the left, ya' know, comin' to the day use area, usin' the day use area." Based on visitor observation numbers as well as research on user preferences and constraints, this idea can be verified (See Chapter 5).

Another factor that must be taken into account when looking at visitor diversity is that about 80% of any Tennessee State Park's visitation comes from the local area (Terry Bonham, personal communication). The local area surrounding Booker T. Washington State Park in Chattanooga has been undergoing a gentrification. The area has gone from being a primarily African-American locale to a more mixed region This change has impacted visitation through providing a different user base.

> CO4: I do not think it has been negative, it has, I think when you look at um, Reggie Tiller's tenure at TO Fuller and Markee Tate's, I think you will, you, if you were to take those years prior to and after their being there, I think you would see TO Fuller be a

> much more diverse park than it used to be. Because they accentuated things that diversified that park. I mean the golf course prior to Reggie getting there was known as being a goat patch. And Reggie took the golf course serious and made it a good play, it attracted more visitors and it diversified its park because it was a decent golf course. Um, I think you would find that there are a larger percentage of non-minority visitors that go to the golf course than the picnic area. But I still think you're getting some trickle down effect from that. I think um, LeVan Gardner um, you know, if you, if you look at um, years gone by, you only had really minority candidates, they'd go to ranger positions at Booker T. Um, that's no longer true and interestingly, uh you know, the impression you got was that if there was a white ranger there, he was there bein' punished, or he was there just to get his foot in the door and he was gonna' get outta' there. And now we've got rangers down there that absolutely love working on that park. So I think even though we've had minority management at TO Fuller and at Booker T, I think certainly at least in recent years, um, the fact that they are more, they try and, they're tryin' to be good park managers. They're not tryin' to be a good black park manager, they're just tryin' to be good park managers. And I think the side effect is that their parks are diversifying.

Ability to Relate to Visitors. Previous research has found that minorities are more likely to feel comfortable in a recreation setting if they see another minority in command (Kivel et al., 1994). This is likely for several reasons in that given the history of segregation in the state, there is likely inherent mistrust of White authority figures. Given the park's history as a segregated park with an initial all minority management staff, this was likely to be true in the past. Visitor interviews that were conducted during the course of this study indicate that the race of the park manager and staff does not really matter as long as they are qualified and sensitive to the primary user groups.

Two interviewees responded that this ability to relate to the primary visitor groups of these two parks is a positive skill that is pretty much based upon a certain sense of comfort achieved by people when they are among people of their own race.

> BT2: Uh, I think um, with that minority, um, management staff, um, uh, probably relate um, the management can relate to the visitor, um, a little bit better than, you know if it was somethin' else. Just because they're um, you know you have that, um, the same

influences, um, so I think um, you know I think that is important in relating to the majority of the folks um, that visit the park.

TO1: It has influenced it uh, greatly. For one, being, being um, um, um, a mainly um, park visited by minorities, and a minority ran the park, park management understood what the public actually wanted at the park, and what the public uh, perceived the park to be. So they could relate to the visitorship. Which was a real positive aspect.

In the past, there's been a de-facto policy of a black manager for a black park. Did that policy or thought still exist when you were hired? Is it a good thing for the parks and the system?

Responses to this question overwhelmingly found that TSP staff believed that this policy/thought existed upon their initial employ into the system (9/11). Again, there is a split along racial lines in terms of whether the policy is still in existence. White respondents (3/5) largely felt that the policy existed in some form but is no longer the case, whereas, African-American (4/6) respondents largely felt that the policy still does guide upper management's selection of management staff at these two parks. Four of the respondents (2 White/2 African-American) felt that the parks should hire the best qualified people regardless of race.

Four main themes arose from these interviews including: policy has political implications; policy is alive within the system; policy existed historically but is not current; and the manager should always be the best qualified person.

Policy has political implications. This response is related to the fact that Tennessee State Parks has traditionally been a very political organization. In general, many of the guiding decisions have been made through consultation with various legislators and/or the governor without necessarily seeking approval through central office and field staff.

This respondent is saying that a member of the State House of Representatives in the Chattanooga District feels that because Booker T. Washington has traditionally been a "black

park," that it should always have an African-American at the helm. Because of this belief, there is some political pressure put on the TSP Director to ensure the continuation of this policy.

> BT4: Um, I think we touched that on earlier what I said that you know, I don't know what was the system, the mentality a black park manager for a black park, I can't say that, I know Representative Powell had a lot to say about that. She, she feels like this, this is a black park and it should always be managed by a black woman, black man, black manager, be it male or female, she doesn't, that doesn't bother her, just long as she, black and, and uh, and I think her, well I don't know why she say that, so I can' speak for that, but I know that's her feeling.

Policy is alive within the system. Four African-Americans and one White responded that they believe the system is still carrying out this policy. One African-American stated that he believed they attempted to change the policy once in the early 1980s when he was briefly the manager at a "non-black" park but that since that time, there really hasn't been an effort to change how the system looks at these parks. This statement could be corroborated with the idea that during the 1980s, the park system attempted to change this policy by having two White managers at TO Fuller. However, since that time, there have been three consecutive African-Americans hired on to manage TO Fuller and two at Booker T. Washington. The last hire at TO Fuller, a retired African-American manager from another state park system, occurred in July 2007 after an 18 month wait. One White ranger with over ten years experience felt that she had been overlooked to manage at one of these parks in recent years due to this policy.

> TO5: Mm, no, I, I think that it should be the most qualified person that uh, that can um, deliver the mission, the message of the, of uh Tennessee State Parks. And if that person's purple, fine. Female, fine. If it's African-American, fine. Um, ya' know when I went to TO Fuller, I didn't um, know the history when I first got there. I didn't realize that it was a park that was developed for African-Americans. It was only after I got there and talked to staff and started delving into the history, that I found that out. Um, I thought that when I went to my interview, that um, ya' know, I was one of, ya' know, several candidates that was vying for the position. And when I was chosen, I was very lucky to get it. Um, but after getting there I realized that I might be the only candidate,

other than a few internal people that were African-American. And, I had known that, I don't know if I would've thrown my hat in the ring. Because I'm not about making, um, uh, statements for, uh, a state system.

CO3: Because the department has not figured out yet, you know, they've not figured out that that's really not what diversity is all about. The department thinks that uh, the stereotype of being black, I'll give an example. When I was in college at UT in Knoxville, there were, I was probably the only black person in my class. And we're doin' uh, the homestead study over in east Nashville, which is predominantly a black area, uh, what do you call it? It was predominantly a black area, and everybody's design came through, they had barricades, barriers, walls like prisons. I took offense to that, and I said, wait a minute, just because it's a black neighborhood, doesn't mean you should design it like prisons. That's the concept of state parks, that there's a fear. There's a natural fear of white and black, that you know, most, the management of state park cannot get beyond that. And they let that dictate to them what needs to be done at these parks. If we really are not afraid of each other, and said that we're gonna' treat this just like mine, we're gonna' have a problem. So I'm taking that concept and I apply it to state parks. And I think there's that same fear, that oh, I cannot deal with the black people in this area, I better get a black person who can be accepted by the black people. That's not true, I've seen a lot of white people who are accepted by black people and do a good job.

TO1: Well, you know, I, I'll go back on what I said previously, uh, you need, you need somebody that can relate uh, to the community, you need somebody that can relate uh, to the park visitors. And more often than not that's gonna' be an African-American. Uh, is there a non African-American that can run that park? Yeah, of course, it is. But more than, more than none it's gonna' be an African-American that really can relate to the park. On the same token, there could be a, I mean an African-American come in there, and, and be one of the worst managers that ever been there too. I'm not to say that, but yeah, I mean it should be somewhat of the make-up of the community, make-up of the park visitorship, and mainly someone that can relate uh, to, to the community and the park visitors.

BT3: Well of course it…it couldn't, it, well, I don't wanna' say that. It didn't exist because the fact they made me the manager at Red Clay. You know so that was a change, if there was a policy, that was a change in it, by hirin' me. You know so, I don't know if it would be fair to say that they did have a policy. Well they did have it, it's just, they tried to change it in 1980. In, and from what I know, that hasn't happened since. So the experiment didn't work. I mean it's clear that they wanted to still maintain the segregated system. Unbelievable isn't it?

BT1: Actually it did, because I uh, I tried to get manager at Booker T and that didn't happen.
KB: No?
BT1: Nope.
KB: Did they even interview you?
BT1: Um, no.
KB: And you had, about 10 years of experience by that time? More than that?
BT1: Oh, at least yeah, at least 10 years, probably more than that.
KB: Okay, was there a reason why you weren't interviewed?
BT1: Um, I don't remember what they said.
KB: Okay. Why do you suppose that this policy still sort of exists?
BT1: Oh, well, you know I mean, we can speculate about all kinds of things, and I'm sure they'd say, "Oh well nobody was interested." Or, "We interviewed everybody." Or whatever, but you know, it all boils down to um, uh, what I even heard was if this person didn't get that job the NAACP was gonna' be notified.

Policy existed historically but is not current. Three Whites and one African-American stated their belief that the policy most likely existed at one time but is no longer the case. However, there seems to be some mixed messages in terms of how this philosophy is construed by staff. Two Whites rephrased the philosophy that if these two historically black parks must have black managers, then the other parks should have whites. They emphatically stated that they didn't believe that logic. However, while one did go on to state that putting a minority in a park just for the sake of diversity is wrong, the other suggested that minorities should look at a couple other sites which have ties to African-American history but that they want to go to parks in more urban settings. The third White stated that the policy doesn't really exist but went on to acknowledge his feeling that if a park has a black constituency, then it would be proper to hire a black manager if that person is qualified. He questioned the fact that the park system had lost a couple of qualified African-American staff members in recent years and was curious as to why they weren't promoted. The African-American stated that he felt the current administration was not operating under this policy, however, he had acknowledged that politically the policy was

still alive and that it probably helped him in terms of being hired as manager and that it would probably remain as the status quo.

TO2: Well, you know, I kinda' look at it this, I, I hate, I know it's developed as a, you know, as a, as a park Negroes ……. And that's the term that's used many years ago, but I like to be a realist. If that's the case, then, you know, every other Tennessee State Park should always have white managers, if those two parks are gonna' have white managers. I think what you have to do is, I think you have to incorporate, you have to find someone that is, meets the qualifications that, that is interested in goin' there and makin' a difference. If they're brown, black, green, white, yellow, it should make no difference. The park is what's important. That's the reason that our, you know, our ancestors set forth, or set back these pieces of property, to be able to give people an opportunity to participate. They didn't say you gotta' be black to participate, they didn't say gotta' be white to participate. They said we want this land set aside, and yeah it is for blacks, because at that time everything was either for blacks or whites, there was no mix.

Today, we've, hopefully we've seen why that was goofy to have to go through. And so, it doesn't make any difference. The idea is it's parks people, it's a parks manager, it's not your idea of what, what racial mix-up is coming to your park. It's what service can you provide Tennessee, or visitors from other states or other nations or countries. What can we provide that person, how can we protect that resource? Protectin' that resource whether you're black or white. Visitor service is no different whether you're black or white. Now in the cultural thing, is there a cultural difference in the way maybe a black manager may run that park as a white, sure it is. Just like it would be different for uh, someone that runs a park in Louisiana different than the way we run a park in Tennessee. Those are just cultural differences, I don't see them as black and white, they're just cultural differences. So, how do break that monotony, how do you get things different? I call it new blood, you get new blood into an area, you're gonna' have a spark. And I think that's where we gotta' look at at all our parks. You know, would I like to have a, a, you know, black manager at Meeman-Shelby? Yeah. Uh, at Fort Pillow, yeah. At Pinson Mounds archaeology, er historic site, you betcha'. But, we gotta' have little help. We, we just can't, you know, we gotta' have people that truly have that sincere interest. Just puttin' a white guy at TO Fuller, or a black guy at Fort Pillow just to say we put diversity in there, is completely wrong. We're not doin' this, we're not doin' the park any good and we're not doin' the service any good. And bottom line, we're doin' those employees any good.

CO4: Well, then you could also argue that there's been a de-facto policy of white managers for white parks. And I would offer the answer to that is, neither, is, is no on both counts. But what I would say is, is that for example, I look at Fort Pillow as, as uh, a park whose um, whose story that it tells is steeped with African-American history.

There were 200 black soldiers that died at Fort Pillow, and yet we've never had a black applicant for Fort Pillow. Um, and the answer to that is why. I mean I, I don't know um, I have talked to our men that are minority rangers and offered, you really oughta' consider this. Because in my mind, that's a slam dunk, that oughta' be, you know, there were 200 black Union soldiers killed there, you oughta' be interpreting that site. And it makes perfect sense, or Alex Haley Home, which is an historic site. And I can't convince them to get outta' that.

What I would offer is that it goes back to the institutional, the institutionalized view of what a park is about. And parks that our minority candidates go, go, gravitate towards are in urban settings. Bicentennial Mall, TO Fuller, Chattanooga, Booker T Washington. You, you, you diversify where you can. If you've got a candidate to um, that's interested in becoming a manager and they're a minority, when you recognize that you're, you're tryin' to do, to diversify your system, you're gonna' take it where you can get it. And that's, and that's really the only place, I mean if I, to be honest if all things were equal and you have a minority candidate that's got these credentials and you've got a white candidate that's got these credentials, and they're the same. I probably will choose to try and diversify because it's so rare, the opportunity to try and diversify your system. And if it means that they still gravitate towards traditionally minority parks then you just, that's what you live with. But do I think that uh, if LeVan Gardner were to leave Booker T Washington that the next manager at Booker T Washington is gonna' be a minority – I think there's a really good chance that we may not have that there. Because I think LeVan's done a really good job of removing that race barrier there.

CO5: I don't believe it does, although it's still, it's still titular, it's still tryin' to keep to that, um, I'm not sure whether they can and I guess that's the reason that they've tried to find a well-qualified person to be a black manager, and uh, I would think it would be insulting if I were um, and as I said I live in a black community, if we didn't have a black representative for a black community I would feel insulted, even though I'm white because I don't think they would represent the majority of us. Um, I think it, it's an ideal and I hope they gonna' find the right person to be that black person, uh, black manager in a black neighborhood for a black constituency. But if they don't find it, then they need to find the next best thing they can which is either a black ranger with that charisma and psychological equipment to do the right job, uh, to be the assistant or um, better to have a black manager and a white ranger so that you do have a balance. I think it's good to have a balance, but at the same time it's, it's just as important to have the balance at some o' the other parks. And we had that at ……we've had some good black uh, staff down there, the sad thing is we can't seem to keep 'em. And I think there's something to be said about that, that needs to be looked into, why can't we keep people? Why can't we promote people and reward them with enough perks to keep them uh, as career people.

> And if we aren't keepin' 'em, why aren't we keepin' 'em? And, and why not? That's the question that bugs me.
>
> BT4: Um, far as, has it ever been said to me, far as the administration above? No. Uh, when I was hired, did that come to play, probably so, that I was here, I worked here before, I'm part of the community, I'm black. Um, didn't hurt that I went to Tuskeegee, which was named after you know, the park was named after the first president. Um, all those things came to play. Um, the, does the administration now believe that? Um, probably not, um, they'll probably keep it black, to keep it, least keep the status quo goin'. Um, to say that, you know, that it, that it had been ……. minority managers, um, have I ever been asked to manage another park besides here at TO Fuller? Yes. So, do I think it still exists? No, not really.

It's about being qualified. Four respondents stated their belief that manager at these two parks should be the best qualified person regardless of race. One white respondent stated a desire to see more black managers across the system. One African-American respondent, a fairly recent hire into the system (2005), felt that these parks are not black parks and therefore should be open for all.

> TO2: Well, you know, I kinda' look at it this, I, I hate, I know it's developed as a, you know, as a, as a park Negroes ……. And that's the term that's used many years ago, but I like to be a realist. If that's the case, then, you know, every other Tennessee State Park should always have white managers, if those two parks are gonna' have white managers. I think what you have to do is, I think you have to incorporate, you have to find someone that is, meets the qualifications that, that is interested in goin' there and makin' a difference. If they're brown, black, green, white, yellow, it should make no difference. The park is what's important. That's the reason that our, you know, our ancestors set forth, or set back these pieces of property, to be able to give people an opportunity to participate. They didn't say you gotta' be black to participate, they didn't say gotta' be white to participate. They said we want this land set aside, and yeah it is for blacks, because at that time everything was either for blacks or whites, there was no mix. Today, we've, hopefully we've seen why that was goofy to have to go through. And so, it doesn't make any difference. The idea is it's parks people, it's a parks manager, it's not your idea of what, what racial mix-up is coming to your park. It's what service can you provide Tennessee, or visitors from other states or other nations or countries. What can we provide that person, how can we protect that resource? Protectin' that resource whether you're black or white. Visitor service is no different whether you're black or white. Now in the cultural thing, is there a cultural difference in the way maybe a black

manager may run that park as a white, sure it is. Just like it would be different for uh, someone that runs a park in Louisiana different than the way we run a park in Tennessee. Those are just cultural differences, I don't see them as black and white, they're just cultural differences. So, how do break that monotony, how do you get things different? I call it new blood, you get new blood into an area, you're gonna' have a spark. And I think that's where we gotta' look at at all our parks. You know, would I like to have a, a, you know, black manager at Meeman-Shelby? Yeah. Uh, at Fort Pillow, yeah. At Pinson Mounds archaeology, er historic site, you betcha'. But, we gotta' have little help. We, we just can't, you know, we gotta' have people that truly have that sincere interest. Just puttin' a white guy at TO Fuller, or a black guy at Fort Pillow just to say we put diversity in there, is completely wrong. We're not doin' this, we're not doin' the park any good and we're not doin' the service any good. And bottom line, we're doin' those employees any good.

CO1: No, as a matter of fact, I'd like to see, I'd like to see more black managers across the system. You know, I think there's, there's definitely a need for 'em, and I'd like to see uh, them spread out to other parks. Uh, and as far as you know, if there's a, I've never had a problem with a white manager at either one o' those parks. It's being, uh I think, who's the most qualified person, whoever can do the best job is the way they ought to go. And as far as uh, marketing this parks, are, now are on just management, or this was overall.

TO3: It's not a black park, it's a park, so I think that it should be whoever is qualified for the position.

TO5: Mm, no, I, I think that it should be the most qualified person that uh, that can um, deliver the mission, the message of the, of uh Tennessee State Parks. And if that person's purple, fine. Female, fine. If it's African-American, fine.

In 1984, there was a United States Department of the Interior Equal Employment Opportunity report in which it was stated that quote "personnel is separated under racial lines and that it needs to be eliminated." And that was largely talking to the situations and management for Booker T and TO Fuller, how do you feel that has been addressed within the system?

As a result of the passage of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, states were required by the federal government to keep tract of the numbers of minority hires. Since that time, there

has been a pattern of discrimination evident within the management of Tennessee State Park system as well as throughout the State government.

In 1974, an affirmative action memorandum sent to all supervisory staff stated that the minority work force in the then-Department of Conservation (now Environment and Conservation and where Tennessee State Parks is housed) only made up 4.7% of the total Departmental workforce and that the department would need to add 2.5% minorities on an annual basis to exceed the 13.2% statewide average (Commissioner of Conservation, 1974). This letter was followed by one in 1978 from the US Department of the Interior's Office of Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) Director, Edward Shelton, to the then Commissioner of the Department of Conservation, B.R. Allison, requesting that a minority representative (none existed) be added to the Tennessee Conservation Commission (public advisory group to the Department of Conservation) and stating that a letter would be sent to the Governor, as appointing authority, suggesting such an action. It was also recommended that a nondiscrimination statement be included on all Department publications (Shelton, 1978).

In April, 1981 and again in September, 1984, the USDI's EEO office sent letters stating Departmental and State Park deficiencies in compliance with 43 CFR 17 (Note: This Code of Federal Regulations chapter responds to the anti-discrimination clause for federally funded programs) (See Appendix 1 for details). One of the main findings of this letter was that "A review of TDC records showed that personnel within Tennessee's State Parks System were delivering services along racial lines. At the time of our review, all whites were employed at forty-six (46) of the state's forty-nine (49) parks, while the staffs at three (3) other State parks were predominantly black. This staffing pattern stems from an era in which the State maintained separate parks for black and white clientele. For example, we found that all blacks were

employed at the Booker T. Washington State Park, a facility which once served blacks exclusively. We suggest that you review and eliminate this racial staffing pattern" (Shelton, 1984).

Respondents to this question mainly felt that the findings of the EEO report have not been addressed within the park system (9/12). Three White staff members felt that it had not been addressed while all six African-American respondents felt the same way. The remaining White staff members (3) gave various answers ranging from "I don't know;" to "there is no mandate on affirmative action;" to "the state park system isn't segregated." These answers were classified under the recruitment and retention issues theme as they primarily felt those issues were the strongest when looking at a lack of minorities in the Tennessee State Park system.

Three themes arose from these interviews including: recruitment and retention issues; maintenance of status quo; and total ignorance.

Recruitment and retention issues. Four respondents (2 African-Americans and 3 White) stated a belief that part of the issue related to a lack of minorities in the park system is based around problems with recruitment and retention. One problem that was repeatedly mentioned in terms of retention was that of lack of pay. Each of the five respondents stated that pay was a major issue when looking at retaining a qualified workforce. Qualified minority staff members often are able to make more money in another field and lack the incentives to stay and climb up the ranks of TSP. The second primary issue was the lack of outreach done by Tennessee State Parks to garner a diverse, qualified workforce. Two respondents mentioned that state parks has never had an organized outreach program to reach out into the city schools and develop both a following as well as to develop the relationships necessary to recruit people into the system while the third respondent mentioned that a former director added the personal touch in

recruiting him to the system. The fourth respondent also mentioned that while Tennessee State Parks has no mandate to hire minorities, the system needs to recognize the importance of diversity within the workforce and increase outreach in various ways including by adding a personal touch.

> CO2: Not at all, I guess. Aren't they, uh, I think they're still the same. Are they not? I mean we do have some white guys workin' at the black parks, but I don't think at both of 'em, I, I think the staff and everybody is, except for England, is black at TO Fuller. I don't know, I, it's not…One thing we don't pay very well, if you're a, a well spoken minority person, you could do better than you can do at state parks. I mean you gotta' really, really wanna' be a state park ranger, Tiller being a great example. I mean, we just, Tiller could command any kinda' salary he wanted, so we really couldn't keep 'im. I mean, there was no way we could. So, 'n I don't know, the great outdoors doesn't seem to draw minorities. I mean the, our park users, you don't see a lot of uh, a huge influx of Hispanic people, you don't see a lot of Hispanic people camping and walkin' the, the back trails at Fall Creek. You see 'em having picnics at, uh, Long Hunter and other parks that are near urban areas. And we've never had a large black audience for Fall Creek, Falls and other those other hikin', campin' oriented type places. 'N I don't know why, well, well I do know why. One o' the reasons is that we're not getting enough outreach into, to city schools and the whatnot, to change thinking that uh, I guess had been perpetuated forever. I mean there's no bears, ya' know.
>
> TO1: Mmm, it hasn't been addressed, it's been talked about, but it hasn't been addressed. Um, I mean, just look at the numbers, that'll just tell you it hasn't been addressed, look at Central Office, it hasn't been addressed, look at the field, it hasn't been addressed at all. And, and, you know, every year I would get a um, Affirmative Action report on how many minorities versus non minorities are in certain positions, and I look at the report every year. And I see, um, two um, African-American rangers, I've seen, uh, 5 or 6, 7, 8, 9 uh women rangers, and a couple of female park, park managers. And look on the other side and you see um, 48, 49, or how many ever are left that are, are male, white. And today it's the same way. And I look at those same reports, I'm sure the commissioner looked at those same reports, and you see those same reports year-in and year-out, and you have the 1984, um, incident that you just mentioned, and you look at it today and it's still the same way so there's nothing really done about it, and, and all I can say, uh the current administration is highly looking at getting more minorities in that field. That's a good thing, but it's gonna' take, take some time! It's just, I mean, when ya' don't look at stuff like that, over the past years, and that actually, um, Walter Butler was very influential for bringing some, some support to the entire park system, including

um, uh, taking out the favoritism with funding, taking out the neglection of the state park system as it relates to Booker T and TO Fuller. He was probably one of the ones that I knew of, that, that kind of spearheaded uh, some equality uh, in park funding and park employees, that's the main reason I was brought on board. Walter called me, I'd known him for several years, he called me and, "What do you think about being a park ranger?" And you can ask him, I gave him a funny look when he, I saw him at a football game, I gave him a funny look when he said that, 'cuz I think, but a couple years ago we talked about that. I said, "A park ranger, nah. I'm gettin' a business degree, I don't, I'm not gonna' be a park ranger." I was sayin' that to myself, but of course I became a park ranger, I saw a wonderful opportunity ahead of me. And I planned to actually work in the park system for a few years, and from workin' in the park system for a few years, said, hey this is a nice place to work, I'm gonna' stay here for a little while. And then becoming a park manager for, for the, after the, within the first two years, I thought this was it. But when you measure, this is actually relating to getting more African-Americans in the system too. When you look at, and this is not state government as a whole, but I'm just only looking at, at State Parks, when you look at comin' in at a certain salary, and, and 8 or 9 or 10 years later you're making about 8 or 9,000 dollars more, and this is something I guess for everybody, not just African-Americans. You're not makin' much money in State Parks, so that's one of the reasons that it's gonna' be tough for recruiting more African-Americans. Because the salary outlook of, of being a park ranger, or being a park manager of course is a lot better than bein' a park, park uh, park ranger. But that's, that's one of the issues, it's one of the issues for, I mean that transcends along racial barriers.

BT4: Uh, well you still got, you still don't have no um, white, you still don't have any black managers besides the ones that mighta' been at TO Fuller and Booker T Washington State Park. So those, I mean, those lines are there. 'N I tell, like I said, you get a black manager at Fall Creek Falls and T, and um, …….. and all those other parks, it will always be that, that stigma's gonna' ring true. Um, far as addressing, yeah, like I said, been, I been …….. to go to uh, a historically white park that had been managed by a white manager. Um, like I said, I'm not, my first time, first two years …… been fully staffed, I'm, I'm, I'm kinda' enjoyin' this. Right, when I came here, John …… was here, he transferred. We was hirin' Erin Medly, and I didn't want her to work the summer without bein' um, a commissioned officer, so I had to send her to the academy. Durin' the summer, so I was the only one here. Yeah, I was the only one here, plus we had a new maintenance staff 'n, 'n we had issues in, 'n things. And then at one point in time I had two …….. and myself. You know, which one was Jessie, he would come here af, when he gotta' off o' work, from …… And then my high school coach, he would come 'n cut grass, that's all he did, cut grass, and then um, David White was workin' at

Harrison Bay, as um, seasonal, and he came up and volunteered the latter part o' the summer and worked. And then we eventually got 'im hired on full-time. So, so, I, I'm pretty much, I'm still enjoyin' this. You know, when I was manager, cuttin' grass, weed eatin', cleanin' up toilets, pickin' up trash, you know, I was fully staffed. You know they, they joke and laugh now, they say, "You don't pick up nothin' no more." I say, "I got y'all now." You know, but that's, you know, they know that's you know, they need me, I do do, but that's not gonna' be on the record. And so you know, I'm, I'm not gonna' lie, I'm kinda', I am enjoyin' it.

So, so do uh, like I said earlier, 'til we get the whole …… departmentals, over the whole department with a mind change. Yeah, and I'm, when I said department, I mean all the way down from in the, the east Tennessee maintenance areas, the fiscal areas. To the, to office administration, to, to the park level. I mean, you cannot tell me that it's not a minority that likes huntin', fishin', campin', it be smaller times. Be more rural times, you can't tell me that. And if you find a minority and someone that does that, it doesn't take much to, to get him hooked on state parks. Yeah, he might have some hang-ups. Uh, yeah, he might not say or do everything quite like you think he should. But does that mean he can't do the job initial, I mean, over, after a period of time? No. That's just cultural differences that's gotta' be overcome. But until you actively have someone reachin' out to the, that, we're gonna' still be in the same sit, situation we are. When I say same, there's a, a good thing, you re-start uh, hired a lotta' white. And uh, and that helped a lot. But on the same token, you got, we don't wanna', when I grew, when I graduated, when I graduated, when I came out to school and I was comin' home and I was lookin' at Mr. White, Mr. Sledge …….. I wouldn't mind doin' this, I like, I kinda' like doin' this. I like that I get to deal with kids and still get to be outside, I ain't gotta' be in the classroom. And this and that, and I get the meals here, and so, and gettin' to save a lotta' money and then gettin' to do these things. So when it came up that, all I makin' was 900 and some dollars a month, it didn't bother me as bad. So, but when you tell someone that's graduatin' from college now, that all you gonna' make is 5, 1800 or 2000 dollars a month. They don't look at all these other things that they're not havin' to pay for. They lookin' at, uh, I ain't gonna' make nothin' but 19, 12,000 dollars a year, 24 at the most. And so until everybody can paint that picture for the people, we gonna' be in the same situation.

CO4: Well I don't think we have an affirmative action mandate. What I would offer is though, is that if you truly recognize the importance of diversifying the system, you recognize that you're gonna' have to work harder to get minority candidates. You're gonna' have to make a special effort to get minority candidates. You're gonna' have to come up with more creative solutions. And we don't have a quota, or percentage target, or anything like that. But we certainly rec, I mean, think about this, Brandi Caldwell in my recollection is the first woman, African-American uniformed officer we've ever had.

And that was 2 years ago. I mean that's the first one and it's 2005, it was 2005. Yeah. I mean that's, that speaks volumes to the difficulty in recruiting, and it's, and she is, um, only the second African-American woman I've ever interviewed. Uh, but by the same token, you know, if you were to go back, that's not um, just you need to um, uh, ……. minorities, but it also can be gender related. I mean when you come in, when I came into State Parks in 2003, there was one woman manager in the system. I think there's 7 now, 6 or 7 now. When I started in the State Parks system there were 3 or 4 women rangers in the entire system. And now we have 45 or so. It, it's, and we still struggle to try and diversify a little bit because this is an outdoor profession, this is, and I think, you know, it, it, you gotta' break the mold to get certain people to come in.

My hope is, is that as you try and, even though you don't shoot for an affirmative action type mindset, if you make it where minorities feel more comfortable working in it, if, if women are more comfortable working in management roles, if, if, if minority, blacks are more interested in working in um, in the system, then we'll be able to attract more of 'em. But you know I guess a perfect example is, we hired what I think was our first Hispanic ranger, um, a year and a half ago. We got her in a ranger slot, we did everything we possibly could, I mean you, man, she'd already gone through the academy, she's not, she's not a good biology background, but she met all the qualifications. We had to whatever it takes, I mean we, we did an emergency appointment, the whole ……. Just to get this woman into this position. A month later she quit to work at Jack in the Box. Because she got a $2,000 a year raise bein' a secretary at Jack in the Box headquarters. And, and you know what that, I don't know what it tells you, but what it tells me is, one is, was I bein' in too big a hurry just to diversify. So that I was willin' to take anybody, any individual that was a minority, just to, just to fit that quote, that, that affirmative action kinda' mindset. Or was it that, you know, we have a system where we try and rear our young, you know, you're a naturalist and then you're, you know, you're a ranger, and then you're manager. I mean you know, you're really tryin' to bring people in so that when they get in with us they're here for a, for a career, yet she jumped straight to the head of the string because she was a Hispanic woman. You know, so she had nothin' left. She, she didn't have nothing invested except for she showed up and she got special treatment because we were trying to diversify so hard. And so we hurt ourselves in the long run because really, she loved her job, but for $2,000 extra a year she went to another job? What, what did that mean, what did that tell you about what, what her driving force…Some folks driving force is, I'll be a park ranger, and I'll do it for free. And yet, she goes, "I'll be a park ranger, but if you give m $2,000 more I'll be a secretary and sit behind a desk." It hurt. I think it, I, I, you know, I look at it this way, you know, that some, did she ever have a role model that says, "This is what I wanna' do."? Or did she just happen to go, "Oh that might be kinda' cool to do." And then you go out there, you know, "It's all right, but I could do something else and make more money." You know I mean, how many people that are park rangers today do you know, or park

managers today, that if they really wanted to they could make a lot more money doin' other things, but they do it because they love it.

BT2: Uh, I really don't think the system is segregated, I, I think um, it's um, I think there's a lot of things that, that influence um, you know, the fact that uh, there's fewer minorities in um, State Parks. You know, one o' the, one o' the biggest things that um, that I think every park manager and most park rangers have a gripe with is just the fact that we're all under paid. Um, you know, if you, when you can go get a part-time job workin' somewhere else makin' the same amount of money that you work full-time here, then you know, for a lotta' people that's um, you know, that's a reason not to become a park ranger or park manager. Um, uh, course there's a whole lot more to it than, than money. Um, and I think that's one o' the reasons you have a lot of good people, you know, still stickin' around. Um, just because the work environment, workin' with a lot of professionals side-by-side, um, workin' in the outdoors. Um, but uh, the money thing is important, and you know, it's, it's not really been addressed adequately, I feel. Um, especially when you can, when you consider that somebody doin' the same job I'm doin' um, in a different agency makes triple or more money a year than what I make, it's um, it's kinda' sad.

Maintenance of the status quo. Four respondents (2 African-American/2 White) felt that the 1984 report has not been addressed largely because there is comfort in maintaining the system as it has been. Two of the respondents (1 African-American, 1 White) stated the belief that the only way these parks have been diversified is when people are hired in and have to go where there is an opening. Two other respondents felt that the political structure of the organization has hindered any attempts to overcome the findings of this report. They believe that because the director's position is politically appointed and the core upper management has been stagnant for many years that the system does not seek change.

BT1: Ha ha ha. You know I'm lookin' back on that and um, apparently not very good. Because the only staff, as office personnel were, um, black. 2 black secretaries, uh, one male, one female, black park manager always. Um, and every once in a while you know uh, I mean for the most part let's, you'd, you'd have white uh, rangers, um, but mainly that's because uh people get hired in, they'll go wherever you want them to. Um, I know that for a while they couldn't even find a park manager for TO Fuller. Uh, and they were

just gonna' hand it to uh, the first black person that wanted it. Even though there might've been a couple of white rangers in the system that were actually going to go ahead and put in for it. Um, I understood that the NAACP was gonna' jump in on that one too, so what're you gonna' do?

CO5: I don't think it's been adequately addressed. I think it's better, but uh, we're not outta' the, I don't think we're outta' the woods yet on that. I don't feel that the parity is there to attract the top people. Um, I wish I could say it was just race, but I, I think unfortunately Tennessee is still a little backwater state and we, we act like it sometimes. We're playin' footsy right now with puttin' guns in state parks, my god that's about as dangerous as anything I heard in a long time. And this Knoxville representative, uh, senator representative comes outta' the woodwork with this, and uh, our commissioner at least has taken it on as a no-no. And I'm grateful to him for takin' a strong stance against it. But that shows you how pitiful we are, you know, it, it's, it's the inequality and the racial profile and the gender profile which we're remedying a little bit. We've put more women in lately, in managerial situations than I've seen in a long time. Um, we just put another woman at Red Clay, I wish we'd put an Indian there. 'Cuz it's the one park where you need a racial uh, partisan, sadly just like at Chucalissa. But um, at least we've got a woman there, and she's got potential from what I can see, so that's good. The other one has sort of gradually sat down and molded her, but uh, had been enthusiastic when she started. Lois, yeah, she was a go-getter. And we, we're now, I don't, I don't, I think the '84 report is still a serious matter. And I've been amazed that in this day and age that a state agency could get by with what we've been doing with no more women and no more uh, minorities. And I've, I've pricked our people about this year after year, to no end. And I don't know if it's because uh, they just can't seem to find those right minorities, or uh, whatever we wanna' call people. But uh, I think it's, it's, there's still in all candor, too much o' the good ol' boy club in this outfit. And I think this is, I've watched um, in the interface with people in this building, as well as in the field, and I see there's a small clique of good ol' boys who are, we are the ones that swing with big sticks, and the rest of 'em are all, to be blunt about it, on the high ……

TO5: I don't think it's been addressed. I think that on paper, I mean, just like I talked to Jack Gilpin a couple weeks ago, and he's working on Title, what was the title? Yeah, Title 6, and for him to be working on Title 6 in 2007, is basically the answer to that question. It is, it is the ignoring of what's going on in, in society in general, with Tennessee State Parks, it's almost like it's in a vacuum. We're gonna', we're gonna' only, we're gonna' deal with certain legislators that likes us, that's on the appropriations committee for us, and we're just gonna' make sure that we got our 44 point whatever million. Hopefully it's more than that now. But I remember, um, specifically that State Parks for, like, a 10-year period had only received 44 million dollars to operate all parks. And, and that's atrocious. And they're waiting for the legislature to figure out how to

manage parks, and it's not their job. And so, uh, the director's position should not be a political-appointed position, nor the assistant commissioner, only the commissioner's position should be, uh, an elected position. That's, that's uh, politically, because without that continuity, the organization cannot change. Because every time there's someone new that comes in, there's too many people tellin' them, "Well we've never done it that way before, we've always done it this way." And instead of them changing the system, they actually conform to, uh, an old system that's broken.

TO3: I don't, I don't really think it's, I don't know. I can't tell you if it has or hasn't because, um, dependin' on what time of year or what's goin' on, and the state hires you as a ranger, you don't get a choice. You know, you don't get a choice on where you go, it's where they need you. And it was just, just so happened that I came in at the time when they needed a ranger here, and this is where I wanted to be. Ya' know so and, and I kinda' almost put my foot down, and be like, "If you're not gonna' let me go to TO, I don't want a job." So, I mean it's, I can't say they've done anything about it or they haven't, I think that uh, if they can send you, they're gonna' send you where they need you, plain and simple. And if it's one of the two supposedly black parks that they need you at, then that's where they need you.

Total Ignorance. Two African-American respondents felt that the park system has made no effort to address the issues brought forth in the 1984 EEO report. One felt that the only attempt that had been made at resolving the issue was based around sending him to a couple of historically-black universities for career day programs. He felt like upper management was not concerned with this report. The other respondent stated that upper management continues to use the excuse that they cannot find quality minorities interested in careers with state parks.

BT3: Totally ignored. I saw, I think 1984 would've had me at Montgomery Bell. I saw no, whatever attempt, if there was any attempt made, it was still me to go speak to crews at Tennessee State, to go to MTSU for career day programs. That was whatever small attempt they made to do somethin' about it. That was it. But as far as the culture changin', no, nothin' was done. Nothin' was done, I think it was just totally ignored. No one paid any attention on the legislative level or management level.

CO3: It's never been addressed, and it's because, it's never been addressed because it's intentionally never been addressed. And the excuse that they'll give is, we've tried to find minorities, we can't find any. They've not tried hard enough. So, that's the way I

> feel about that. It puts us out there to see the stereotypes that we have. Because when you say bring a minority in, the mindset of the cronies is, okay, we'll put, we have black park up here, so we've made the rules. And it's compete nonsense. Makes some of the inn managers minorities, resort, get some minorities that's, how many people do we have in resort management? In the hotels? In the kitchens?

How do you feel the original designation of Booker T and TO Fuller as "State Parks for Negroes" has affected their development over time, as well as their management and place within the system?

There was a strong racial split found among the 10 respondents to this question as well. Black staff members felt that, on the whole, the traditionally black parks were still lacking in facility development as well as staff. One staff member stated that he thought the black parks were like "stepchildren" to the rest of the system – there but clearly not equal to the others. The white staff respondents mainly felt that the impact of the original designation was stronger in the earlier years of the park system and that the original designation created for an institutional view of these parks as being largely for minorities.

Two main themes arose from the responses: (1) early impact of the designation was greater; and (2) parks are largely treated the same as before.

Early impact was greater. 4/10 (3 whites/1 black) respondents felt that the impact of this designation was better felt in the earlier days of the park system. These respondents felt that because they were segregated parks, they probably only received minimal facilities because politics were, at that time, dictating what these parks received. Two respondents also felt that the decades of use these parks received by their core visitation groups have helped define where they are at today. There was also some discussion that these parks are now evolving into something

"greater" than they've been before – there user base is diversifying as is the mission of each of these parks.

> TO2: Uh, maybe early on, I think it probably did, just because of the, you know, the races and all that went on during the 40's, 50's and 60's, and some say it still goes on. But um, but I think it probably did, I think that the only thing that legislature was probably willin' to do is give, is put the um, some minimum facilities. But you know the thing is, is TO Fuller and Booker T too, you have to remember those things started out as federal programs. So I think the federal government a the time, I mean when you go, when you look at TO Fuller and you look at Booker T, I mean um, the facilities are still standing from that time, I mean, they were well-constructed facilities. And they, both TO Fuller and uh, Booker T, suffered over the, you know, 60's, 70's and 80's basically with the same thing everybody else suffered with. And that was no maintenance money to upkeep these facilities. Um, so, I won't say that, you know like I said, I didn't live back in there, all I can do is a give a educated guess. I would say that at the time these things were built, these parks were built, um, I would like to think the federal government wasn't lookin' at this as a black park or white park, I'm sure they did. But I think when you look at it, they all have basically the same basic, you know um, development in 'em as most any other park.

Largely the same. 6/10 (1 white/5 blacks) respondents felt that these parks are largely treated the same as they were when they were originally created. One theme that emerged in two of the interviews was that these parks are treated as "step children" or outsiders to the other parks in the system. They feel that they were created under unfair circumstances and that they still really haven't caught up development-wise to the rest of the parks in the system. Two others felt that there has been some stagnation and/or neglect on the part of management to get these parks up to par. This sentiment was echoed by one of the white respondents who felt the early impact was greater but that from the 1960s-80s, these parks suffered along with everyone else in terms of lack of funding, maintenance projects, and key management initiatives.

BT4: A'ight, um, I actually feel like they might be step childs. TO Fuller might be in a better location because it's in a predominantly black community, or city, that has a strong, uh, political, um, following or backing. But do they get everything they should get? No. Um, do we get everything we should get? No. Um, can other parks say that? Yes. But not many of 'em can say probably because they was, they was black parks, uh, historically for blacks. I've heard this story couple o' times and one o' the participants tells it to me. That um, he came in and he was over the ADA. And, when he started, they was askin' him about spendin' money and he looked and saw Booker T and TO Fuller.He said, "Oh, these parks need a whole lot, so I'm not gonna' just bid 'em, but I'm gonna' fix that. We're gonna' try to go ahead and get them ADA compliant, and get them some o' the things that they might need to bring 'em up a little bit." And one o' the chief people, person in, person in Nashville came to Nashville, "What do you think, spendin' all your money at the black parks?" This happened in the late 80's, early 90's. A'ight, so, and, they response was, "I didn't know we had quote black and white parks anymore." But they let you know, we still have black and white parks. And so, do I believe that that has affected us, and the development? Yeah, of course.

TO1: Okay. I think it was a big reason for it opening because there was separation in parks, and separation in our society. So, African-Americans needed a place to go and have, you know, enjoy the outdoors and recreation, and that's what they were created for. If you go forward 40 some odd, 50 some odd years, and you look at the park visitorship of the parks, they're somewhat the same. They've changed drastically, but they're, somewhat you've got the base of the African-Americans using those parks. I have a real good impression of the initial process of the parks being created. But as throughout the management of the entire system, there was some neglection, uh, throughout the years.

Conclusion

It is apparent that the legacy of Jim Crow is still being felt within the confines of the Tennessee State Park system. Booker T. Washington and T.O. Fuller State Parks were among the first four parks in the system; however, one label has separated their development, management, and use for the more than 70 years of the park service's existence. That label, "State Parks for Negroes," marked the initial segregation of the Tennessee State Park system during a time in which "separate but equal" was the law. The placement of this label on the two state parks was a result of the segregation that was common place in society at that time. As

expected, the initial development and management of these two parks were impacted by segregationist laws largely because of the attitudes of the time. Impacts including slower development times, less money for development, less promotional marketing, and higher managerial requirements but lower titles, were felt by these two state parks (see Chapter 3).

Although the park system was officially desegregated in 1962, the impacts of the segregation era have been felt throughout the history of those two parks as well the system. The developmental issues that occurred at these two parks as a result of Jim Crow-era beliefs and management have affected the parks' development over time. By not initially providing adequate public use facilities, it has taken these two parks a long time to gain the facilities that were once common place at the white parks (see Chapter 3). The management structure under segregation also still remains apparent today. For instance, the manager at Booker T. Washington has consistently been an African-American; while at T.O. Fuller, management has been a little more racially-mixed but recently has seen the hiring of the three consecutive African-Americans (Note: after the retirement of Albert Harris, two white males were the declared the manager at the park. One considered it a promotion, but, for the other, it was a "punishment" for misconduct at another park). Only one other park (Red Clay) has had an African-American as manager to this day. That manager was at the park from 1980-82 when he was transferred as a ranger to another park. Also, only six parks out of the fifty-four in existence have had an African-American as a ranger as of the present time.

While the impact of the historical designation of Booker T. Washington and T.O. Fuller State Parks on the modern management and use of the parks can be hard to trace, visitor observation data and management interviews conducted for this dissertation research detail the current situation at these parks as well as throughout the park system. Visitor observation data

demonstrates that trends in park visitation that were apparent during segregation are still reflected in the visitation to these parks today. The data included in Table 3 in Chapter 3 illustrates this notion. Observations conducted in 2007 show that 71 percent of visitors to Booker T. Washington is African-American, while, in comparison, 99 percent of visitors to Harrison Bay (the former white park in the region) is white. The comparison between T.O. Fuller and Meeman-Shelby in Memphis show the same pattern; T.O. Fuller's visitor base is 88 percent African-American, while Meeman-Shelby's is 90 percent white. One of the main themes present in management interviews also reflects the sentiment that segregation still impacts visitor use of the parks. Several interviewees discussed the notion that they feel visitor use of the parks is still traditionally African-American. One interviewee attributed this use to the location of the parks rather than the history. He stated, "…But uh, again I think that's tied with where you live, your geographic area. Generally you're gonna' go to the park that's closest to you. And I think that's what we see most of the time." Another interviewee explained that there is segregation in facility use at T.O. Fuller. She described the campground and golf course as the two main use areas in which white visitors can generally be found, while the day use area with the swimming pool, picnic areas, and ball fields is generally visited by African-Americans. She stated, "I think we have a lot of black people that do go to the right, go to the golf course. But you're numbers are higher for blacks goin' to the left and whites goin' to the right. Our numbers are, I don't believe have gone up in over forty years for whites comin' to the left, ya' know, comin' to the day use area, usin' the day use area."

Through the visitor observation data and the management interviews, it is possible to see that the history of these two state parks as "State Parks for Negroes" has impacted the modern management and use of these parks. The initial manager requirements for these two parks of "a

Negro man trained in college in land management or recreation" set up a segregationist atmosphere within the state park system by providing that the manager of these black parks be of that race. Over time, this idea of a "black manager for a black park" has remained in the mindset of the Tennessee State Park system. As one interviewee stated, "…you know, every year I would get a Affirmative Action report on how many minorities versus non minorities are in certain positions, and I looked at the report every year. And I'd see two African-American rangers, I'd see, uh, 5 or 6, 7, 8, 9 women rangers, and a couple of female park, park managers. And look on the other side and you see um, 48, 49, or how many ever are left that are, are male, white. And today it's the same way." With these parks initially being set aside for the use of the state's black citizens and run by African-American managers, a pattern of minority use and management emerged following the park system's 25 years of segregation and that pattern largely is visible today. Both the management and use of these two parks can be tied into current research into the impacts of discrimination as well as the resulting constraints felt by visitors at these parks.

The results of this study also demonstrate a divide among the perceptions of the Tennessee State Park system's black and white employees. Through analyzing the data that was collected during the management interviews, it is possible to note that while the white staff members view segregation and its impacts as something of the past, the black employees view it as something that still impacts them on a regular basis. More often than not, responses to the five sub-questions asked in regard to the overall question of "how has the original designation of two Tennessee State Parks affected the modern mangement and use of those parks?" found that while white state park employees view the system as being inclusive, African-American

employees view it as still being exclusive to some degree. This divide can be related to the literature regarding discrimination and institutional norms in management.

In relating the concepts of discrimination and institutional norms to the management of Tennessee State Parks, this study suggests that African-American managers throughout the history of the park system have, to some degree, felt the effects of both access and treatment discrimination as well as the impact of the development of institutional norms. The literature defines access discrimination as a form of discrimination which prevents members of a minority or subgroup from entering a job or organization (Greenhaus et al., 1990). Treatment discrimination occurs following a person's entrance into the workplace. In treatment discrimination, a member of a subgroup enters a job and then receives "fewer rewards, resources, or opportunities on the job than they legitimately deserve on the basis of job related criteria" (Ibid, pg. 64-65). Originally, African-Americans suffered from access discrimination related to the initial job requirements. Later, forms of treatment discrimination affected and still may affect those African-Americans who have been hired into the park system. The overriding impact of segregation on the development of institutional norms, however, may play a greater role in the development of the differing black and white perceptions of management within the Tennessee State Park system.

The initial job requirements for the manager position at Booker T. Washington and T.O. Fuller State Parks were stated by the director of Tennessee State Parks in 1948 as being "a Negro man trained in college in land management and education" (Chattanooga Times, 10/10/1948). Given that access discrimination occurs before the entrance into a job, the specifically stated level of education and emphasis area created a level of access that was not likely to be met by

most African-Americans at the time. By limiting the African-American man to work at only two possible parks, the State Park system was also limiting entrance into the organization.

Treatment discrimination has likely occurred in a number of ways throughout the history of the Booker T. Washington and T.O. Fuller State Parks as well as through the Tennessee State Park system. In terms of developmental issues, there was a history of smaller facility developments and smaller funding levels at the black parks (see Chapter 3). The parks also received a smaller number of staff members than the white parks. In summarizing the treatment the parks have received over the years, one interviewee hinted at this form of discrimination. He stated, "A'ight, I actually feel like they (the black parks) might be step childs (sic). TO Fuller might be in a better location because it's in a predominantly black community, or city, that has a strong political following or backing. But do they get everything they should get? No. Do we get everything we should get? No. Can other parks say that? Yes. But not many of 'em can say probably because they was black parks, uh, historically for blacks." In terms of managerial issues, the managers of these black parks as well as the African-American park rangers have never been promoted to another park within the system. As of the present, there was one two-year time period where an African-American acted as the manager at another park (Red Clay, 1980-82). Other than that, African-Americans have only managed at these two state parks and acted as park rangers at six other state parks. Without the possibility of promotion or other "rewards or opportunities" such as newer facility development or increased funding, treatment discrimination has likely occurred throughout the history of the park system and these two parks in particular.

Discrimination theory, as applied to recreation visitation, reflects the notion that acts of perceived or actual discrimination are assumed to exert a negative influence on visitation to

public lands/recreation areas and participation in leisure activities (Johnson et al., 1998). Visitation to Booker T. Washington and T.O. Fuller state parks demonstrate a history of use that developed from the discriminatory action of the segregation of these state parks. Through state law, black visitors were confined to visiting these two "State Parks for Negroes." The history of visitor use at these parks suggests that a tradition of black use at these state parks was developed during the first 25 years of the park system (when it was segregated) and has continued through to the modern times. 2007 visitor observation data shows that 71 and 88 percent of visitors to Booker T. Washington and T.O. Fuller State Parks are African-American respectively while the two former white parks, Harrison Bay and Meeman-Shelby, still have whites as 99 and 90 percent of their visitors respectively (see Chapter 3). The fact that these four parks have not seen much change in the diversity of their visitors could have to do with both the traditional use history of the parks as well as the development of visitor constraints which have resulted in a possible fear of racial conflict through minority attendance at traditionally white parks. The discriminatory use history somewhat echoes the situation that West (1989) studied in Detroit, Michigan. As found by West (1989), African-Americans in the Detroit, Mi area were less likely to use regional parks due to fears of discrimination or inter-racial conflict. The Detroit area has a history of segregation between the suburbs and the city which could compare to that which is seen in the Tennessee State Parks. More research is needed to determine the reasons for which visitor use is still segregated within these Tennessee State Parks. However, it is possible to view the history of the Tennessee State Parks as a constraint in minority visitation to the other parks within the system.

Constraints have been defined as "anything that inhibits people's ability to participate in leisure activities, to spend more time doing so, or to take advantage of leisure services, or to

achieve a desired level of satisfaction" (Jackson and Henderson, 1995, p. 31). In one study on leisure behavior among African-Americans, Woodard (1988) found that socioeconomic status and regionality were important factors. He observed that fear of discrimination and racial prejudice lead African-Americans to choose more "domestic type pursuits" when choosing a leisure activity.

In this context, it is possible to define discrimination as a constraint within the context of the development of the Tennessee State Park system. Discrimination was evident based on the premise of the "separate but equal" clause of the Jim Crow public accommodations laws of the early 1900s. These Jim Crow laws resulted in the designation of these two parks as "State Parks for Negroes." Because this designation was founded based upon the public laws of the time, it constrained African-Americans in their choice of recreational facilities for 25 years. Following this time period, the visitation pattern enforced by these segregationist laws became so entrenched in the local establishment that it remains active to this day.

Significance of This Study

Research into how segregation has impacted the visitation and management of a park system is virtually non-existent. This study is significant in that it attempts to take the historical context of visitation and management of two segregated state parks and modernize it to help explain the current management situation within a state park system. It is the author's hope that the study will help promote how a stronger understanding the history of a park system or recreational use area can help leisure researchers develop a larger understanding of the recreational picture as it relates to visitor use and management.

Figure 4.1 State of Tennessee Overview

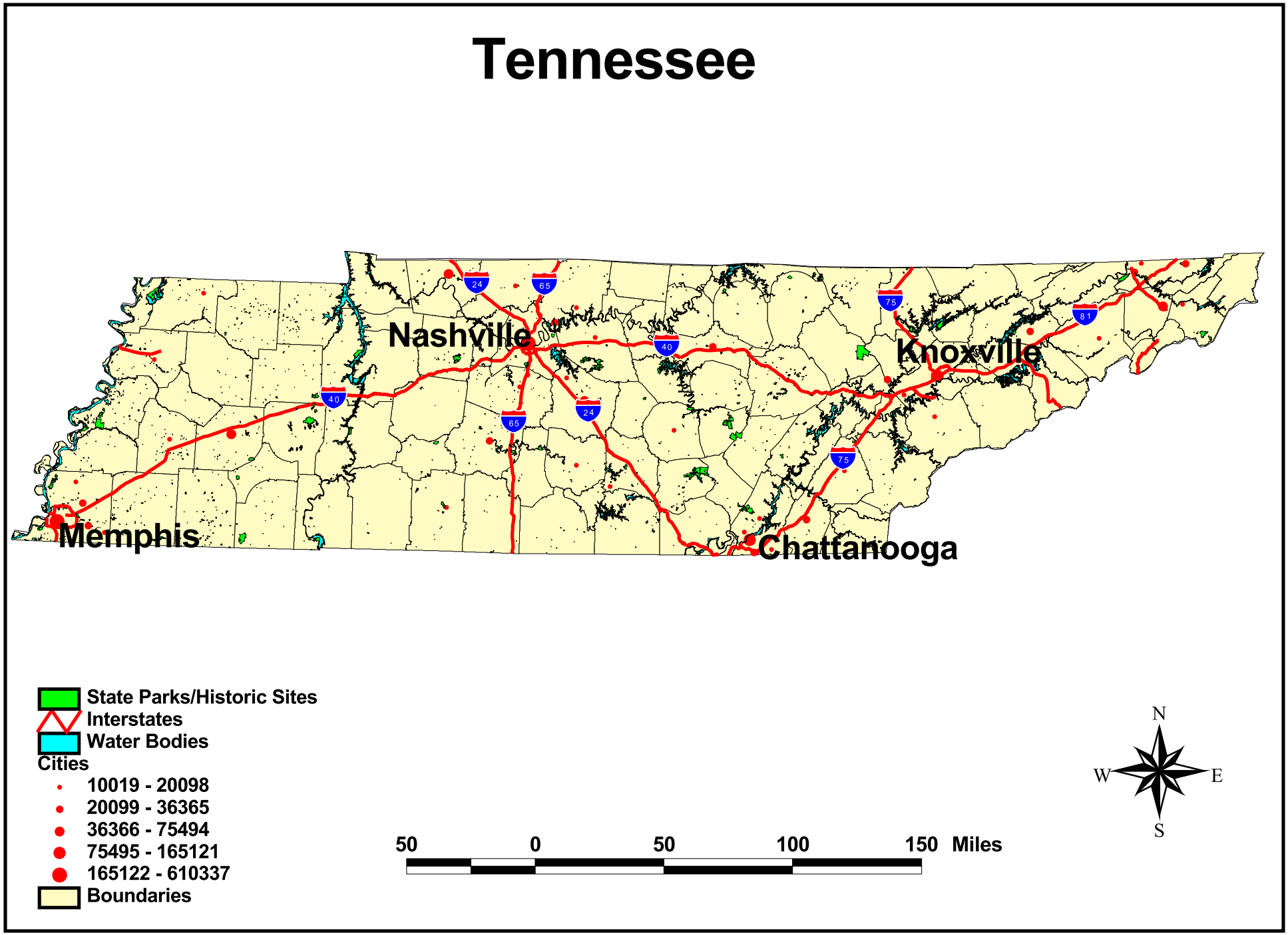


Figure 4.2: Booker T. Washington and Harrison Bay Overview

East Tennessee Parks

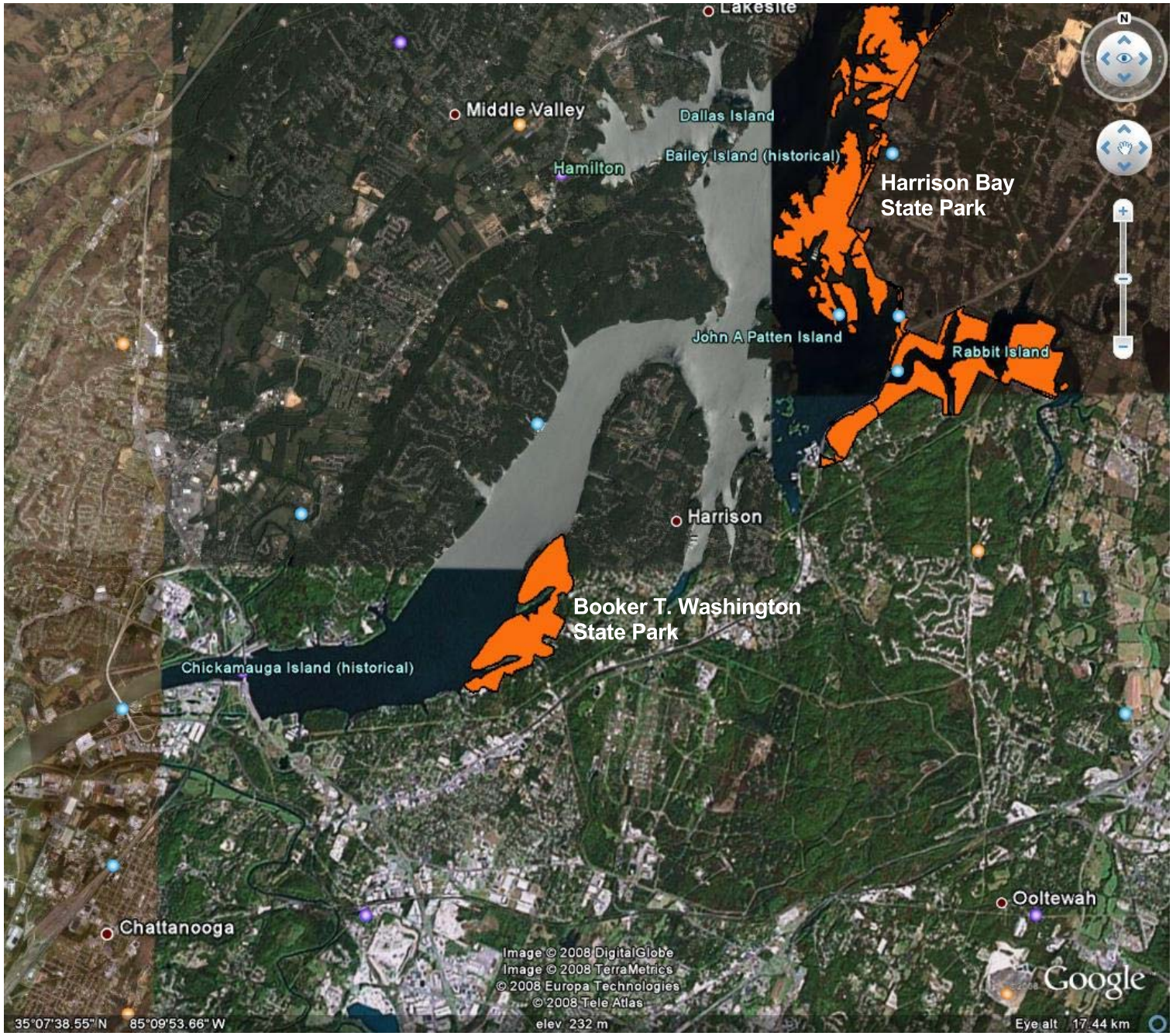


Figure 4.3: Booker T. Washington Overview

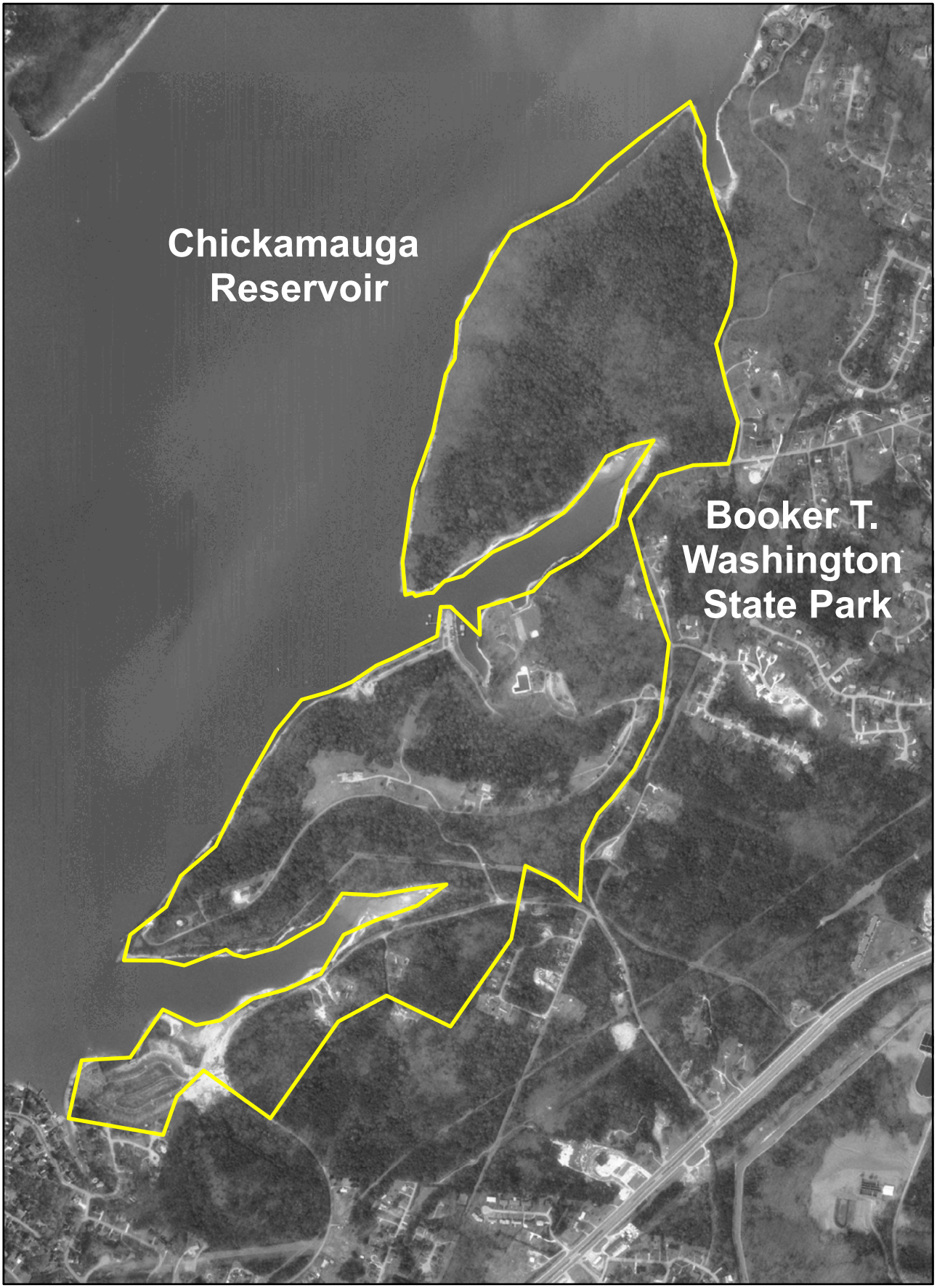
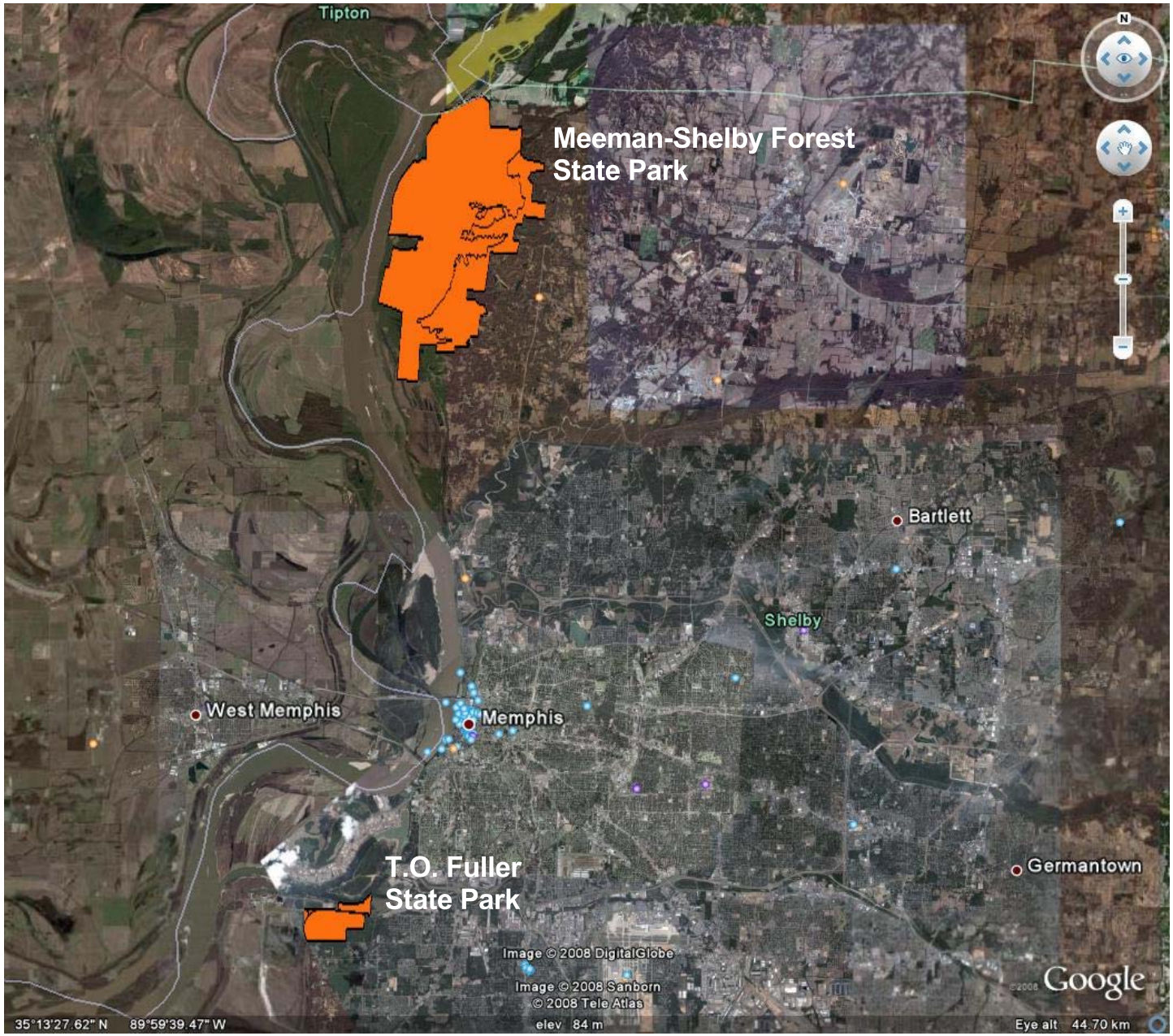


Figure 4.4: T.O. Fuller and Meeman-Shelby Forest Overview

West Tennessee Parks



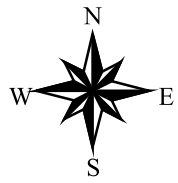
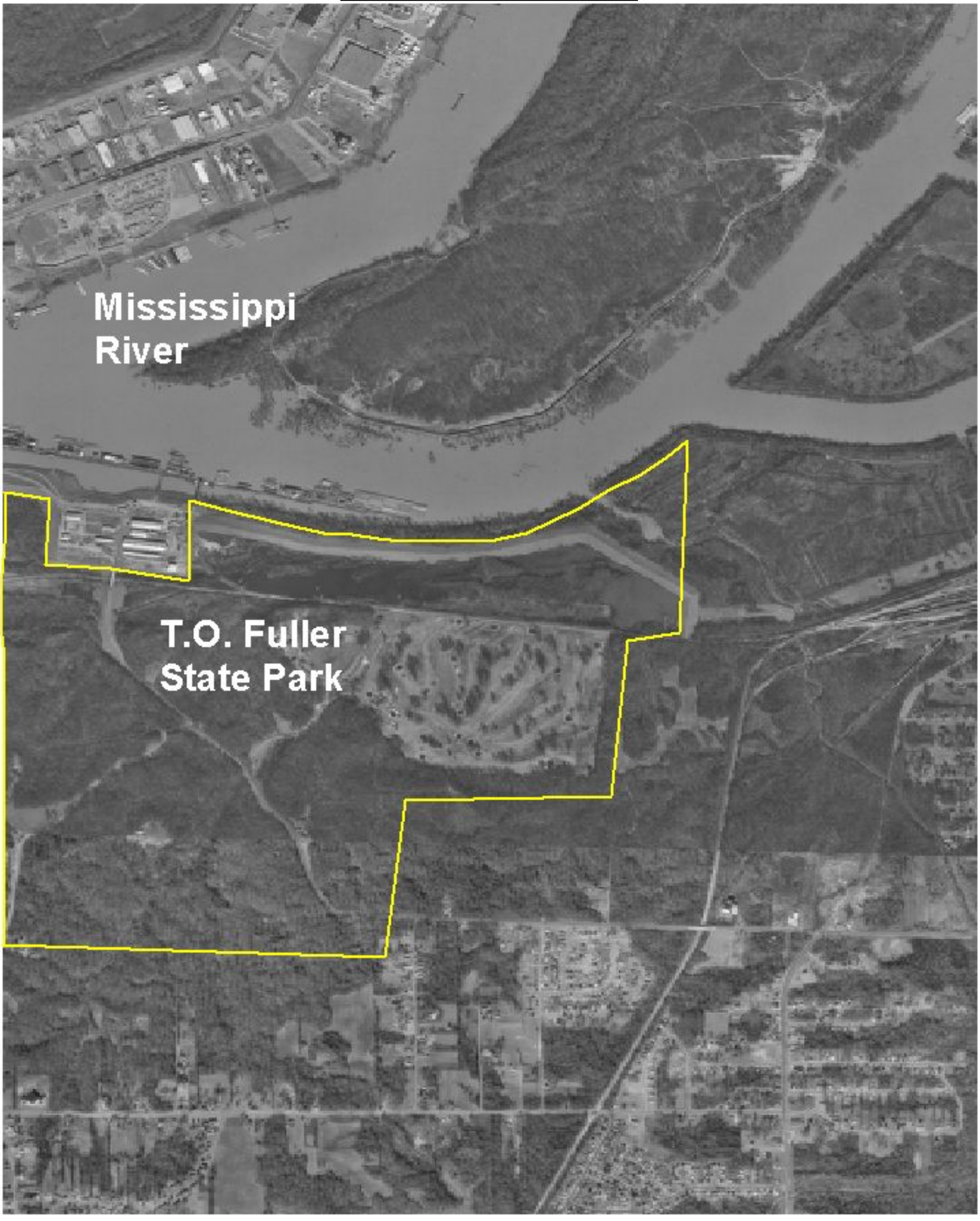


Figure 4.5: T.O. Fuller State Park Overview



CHAPTER 5

THE IMPACT OF THE "STATE PARK FOR NEGROES" DESIGNATION ON VISITATION TO BOOKER T. WASHINGTON AND T.O. FULLER STATE PARKS[1]

[1] Bloom, Katharine C.; Newman, David H.; and Craig A. Miller. To be submitted to the Journal of Park and Recreation Administration.

Introduction

Visitor studies are often conducted to understand participatory or non-participatory behaviors such as preferences or constraints; to gather user demographics; or examine onsite phenomena or behaviors (e.g. conflict, resource partitioning, or specialization); but few studies have ever attempted to investigate linkages between past management history of a property and its current user base. Moreover, it is largely past management of public lands that determines use of those properties by visitors both currently and historically. The purpose of this study is to determine how visitation at two Tennessee State Parks originally developed as "State Parks for Negroes" has been affected by that initial designation. The study was conducted under the context of social normative theory and the related concepts of user preferences and place attachment.

Historical Context

State Parks, the Segregated Society, and Tennessee

The original concept for state parks arose from the public parks movement of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century's when the first National Parks were created. In 1920, the National Park Service called together a number of state park enthusiasts in an attempt to create a movement for the setting aside of public recreation areas that were to be managed at a state level. This meeting was known as the National Conference on State Parks (Coleman, 1967, pg. 4). From this initial meeting, lobbying occurred throughout many states and, between 1920 and 1940, thirty-six states had established agencies for administering state park systems. By 1940, only Arizona had no agency officially designated as being responsible for the acquisition, development, and administration of state parks (Ibid, pg.7).

During this same time period in which state parks and public recreation systems were being established, a movement that encouraged the creation of a segregated society had been solidified in the Southern states. This movement, also known as the Jim Crow era, would have great impact upon the development of state parks and public recreation systems.

The Jim Crow era officially began in the Reconstruction period following the Civil War (1861-1865). The Reconstruction period marked a great time of change in Tennessee as well as the Southern states (Lovett, 2005). Tennessee, as opposed to many states during this time period, was progressive in its treatment of the newly-freed African-Americans. This notion of progressivism would later belie both the future of civil rights in the United States as well as future racial relations in Tennessee.

A movement that had its start during 1864 in Tennessee directly challenged the pre-Civil War notion of slavery and the still-dominant notions of the white majority and was illustrative of the progressivism that would mark the state's approach to race relations. The movement sought to encourage the civil rights of African-Americans (Ibid, pg. xviii). Between 1864-1880, African-Americans in that state sought to end slavery, gain equal rights and suffrage, obtain equal protections under the law and the right of due process. This notion challenged the still strongly held beliefs in the inferiority of African-Americans across the Southern states by the still dominant white community and members of that community began to call for a compulsory separation of the races (Woodward, 1974, pg. 23).

In 1865, in response to this call by southern whites to separate the races, the then-provisional state governments began passing laws known as the Black Codes (Ibid, pg. 23). Three states, Mississippi, Florida, and Texas all passed laws that required the separation of races

on railroads. While these laws were only on the books for a short time before being overturned by military governments or repealed by later legislative actions, the idea of denying African-Americans decent accommodations on the railroads remained and, in fact, grew nationally (Ibid, pg. 24).

During this time in Tennessee, African-Americans actually enjoyed a fair number of freedoms including the ability to establish schools, join the Union Army, and form associations to achieve social, economic and political goals (Lovett, 2005, pg. xix). The state of Tennessee voted in March 1865 to abolish slavery; nine months before the US Congress would do the same. In December 1865, the US Congress voted to abolish slavery with the Thirteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. Following this Amendment, the federal government granted citizenship, due process and the equal protection of the law in the Civil Rights Act of 1866 (Note: this act became the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution in 1868) (Ibid, pg. xix). The Tennessee General Assembly voted to grant African-Americans the right to vote in 1867, three years ahead of the federal government. Following this, African-Americans called for and received the integration of streetcars in Nashville and had great political power within the state (Ibid).

However, just as in the other states of the South following Reconstruction, the Confederates gained a large amount of political power in both the Democratic and Republican parties in the late 1860s and early 1870s. In the post-Reconstruction era, these "Redeemers" took over the governments of several states including Tennessee in the name of white supremacy (Lovett, 2005, pg. xx; Woodward, 1974, pg. 31). In Tennessee, the "Redeemers" wrote a new constitution in 1870 which instituted a poll tax and allowed for racial oppression (Lovett, 2005, pg. xx). This activity was echoed in several of the old south states and, in response, the U.S. Congress passed the Civil Rights acts of 1870, 1871, and 1875 to both punish those whites using

intimidation in interfering with the rights of African-Americans as well as to guarantee equal access to public accommodations including inns, transportation, theaters, and "other places of public amusement" (Ibid; Mack, 1999, pg. 384; Woodward, 1974, pg. 28). The Reconstruction Act of 1877 was later passed to further ensure the political rights of African-Americans (Holland, 2002, pg. 114).

The public reaction to the Civil Rights Acts of the 1870s was not favorable in Tennessee or much of the old south. In response to the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1875, the Tennessee state legislature, under the "Redeemer" replacement government, repealed a state law which allowed for equal rights to public accommodation and transportation (Mack, 1999, pg. 384; Tenn. Acts 1875, chap. 130). In 1881, in following up on its support of the Black Codes and in response to the Civil Rights Act of 1875, the Tennessee state legislature passed what is known as the first state law mandating railroad segregation (Mack, 1999, pg. 384).

The Tennessee railroad segregation law marked the start of the Jim Crow era and lead to numerous southern states enacting similar segregation legislation. The aim of these segregationist laws was to restrict blacks and their movements (Holland, 2002, pg. 119). Two of the more major legislative happenings of the time occurred in Mississippi and Louisiana. In 1888, Mississippi passed a law which provided that railroads had to provide separate but equal accommodations for black and white passengers and that those passengers had to use the separate accommodations. This law was taken in front of the U.S. Supreme Court in 1890 after several railroad companies refused to comply (*Louisville, New Orleans, and Texas Railroad v. Mississippi)* (Woodward, 1974, pg. 71). The U.S. Supreme Court ruled that the law was constitutional and could apply to both intrastate as well as interstate commerce (Folmsbee, 1949, pg. 244). Following this ruling, the 1890 Louisiana state legislature enacted legislation which

required blacks to ride in separate railroad cars. Homére Plessy, an African-American, boarded a train in protest of this law and was arrested for sitting in a car reserved for whites. Upon the appeal of a lower court ruling, the U. S. Supreme Court upheld the previous court ruling in *Plessy v. Ferguson*. According to the Court's decision, Plessy's rights were not denied him because the separate accommodations provided to blacks were equal to those provided whites. It also ruled that "separate but equal" accommodations did not stamp the "colored race with a badge of inferiority" (163 U.S. 537 (1896); Folmsbee, 1949, pg. 245).

Based upon this change in the social structure of the United States, when it came time to develop state park systems in the 1920s and 1930s, many states had already established Jim Crow laws which reflected those like the Tennessee public accommodations statute. These laws provided for the creation of what were in effect two separate park systems: one for blacks and one for whites. States throughout the South including Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Tennessee, and Kentucky saw the development of segregated park systems and generally featured a few "State Parks for Negroes" (Ceceleski, 2007; Dallas News, 1951; Mitchell, 1945; North Carolina State Parks, 2005; Townsend, 2001). The impetus of the development for these parks came under the "separate but equal" clause from the *Plessy v. Ferguson* court decision.

Tennessee had one of the first state park systems in the U.S. which included those deemed as "State Parks for Negroes." The Tennessee State Park system was officially created in 1937 with the expectation that every park "shall be preserved in a natural condition so far as may be consistent with its human use and safety and all improvements shall be of such character as not to lessen its inherent recreational value" (Tennessee Public Acts of 1937, Chapter No. 266, Section 2). Four parks were initially deemed appropriate for the system: Harrison Bay, Cove

Lake, Booker T. Washington, and T.O. Fuller (then Shelby County). The latter of these two parks were set aside specifically as "State Parks for Negroes." Additional "State Parks for Negroes" were proposed for the Knoxville, Nashville, and New Johnsonville areas but were never developed due largely to anti-development pressures from white citizens and a lack of political will (Coleman, 1967, pg. 247).

Park systems across the Southern U.S. were segregated up until approximately the early 1960s. The *Brown v. Board of Education* Supreme Court decision in 1955 allowing for the integration of public schools provided the impetus for the desegregation of public facilities. Following this decision and subsequent rulings related to public facilities, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored Persons (NAACP) among other social organizations called for the integration of state facilities including parks. In Tennessee, beginning in 1954, the NAACP continuously requested the desegregation of 13 white parks (Athens Post-Athenian, 1955; Bristol Tennessean, 1955; Chattanooga Times, 1955; Chattanooga Times Free Press, 1955; Coleman, 1967; Columbia Daily Herald, 1955, 1956; Johnson City Press Chronicle, 1956; Kingsport Times, 5 Knoxville News-Sentinel, 1955; Memphis Commercial Appeal, 1956; Nashville Banner, 1956; Nashville Tennessean, 1955). Responses to this request were delayed by the TSP system directors up until 1962, when by the verbal order of Governor Frank Clement, the park system was officially desegregated (Coleman, 1967, pg. 252).

By the time the desegregation of the state park systems had occurred, most of these "State Parks for Negroes" had years of institutional use and had developed a core visitor group of black citizens. By using three research strategies including an archival review of visitation data, participant observation, and visitor interviews, this study attempts to develop a sense of how TSP's past as a segregated system has impacted the current use of the park.

Review of Literature

In reviewing the literature on the impact that the historical designation "State Park for Negroes" had on visitation to two Tennessee State Parks, it is important to recognize that the institutional use and management of a property over a long period of time often leads to the development of social norms. Social norms, in turn, impact the visitation to, preferences, and sense of attachment that members of the public feel for that property. We will discuss these impacts in the following section. Note: Virtually no research currently exists on the visitation to historically segregated parks or the continuing impact of segregation on public recreation in the years following integration.

Social Norms

The basis for the use of the social norm approach to the study of behavior and conditions in outdoor recreation is in sociology and social psychology (Heywood and Murdock, 2002). Following initial research into the structures guiding social action by Durkheim and later Parsons, norms became viewed as shared beliefs about what behavior ought to be in a given situation (Heywood, 1996; Heywood and Murdock, 2002). Within these disciplines of sociology and social psychology, norms are often characterized by several distinguishing features, including that they are obligatory, they are enforced by sanctions, they guide behavior, and they are shared by social groups (Manning et al., 1999). In general terms, norms are the standards that allow individuals the ability to evaluate situations, environments, and decisions and guide an individual's ability to define behavior as being appropriate or inappropriate (Vaske et al.,1993). Norms are both individual and social in nature with some being more meaningful than others. According to Heywood, "the social power of a norm is a function of the interaction between the

cognitive component (expectations about behavioral standards and/or obligations) and the emotional component (the costs or benefits of sanctions for the behavior)" (Heywood, 2002).

The study of social norms has constituted an important area of the outdoor recreation research that has contributed much to our understanding of recreationists' preferences and behaviors (Heywood, 2000; McDonald, 1996). Through adapting Jackson's (1966) Return Potential Model (RPM) of norms, outdoor recreation researchers have been able to apply this construct to a variety of situations in outdoor recreation and has enabled researchers to develop an understanding user's preferences for regular patterns of behavior as well as allowing for the evaluation of management conditions ((Manning et al., 1996; McDonald, 1996; Shelby&Vaske, 1991). Research into norms in outdoor recreation has allowed for the adoption of an expansive view of norms which suggests that (1) recreation often involves emerging norms for which a strong sense of obligation and sanction has yet to fully evolve; (2) recreation-related norms can apply to social and resource conditions as well as behavior because such conditions are often a function of individual behavior; (3) recreation-related norms often regulate collective rather than individual behavior, and (4) research has documented some degree of consensus regarding a number of recreation-related norms (Manning, 1999; Shelby and Vaske 1991).

Much research utilizing the normative approach has dealt with crowding and encounter norms in backcountry recreational settings (Patterson & Hammit, 1990; Shelby, 1981; Vaske et al., 1986). Additional research has applied the normative approach to ecological impacts at wilderness campsites (Shelby et al., 1988), wildlife management practices (Vaske & Donnelly, 1988), recreational conflict (Gramann & Burdge, 1981), and depreciative behavior (Wellman et al., 1982). The normative approach has also been found useful in a number of recreation management frameworks including the Recreation Opportunity Spectrum (ROS), Limits of

Acceptable Change (LAC), and Visitor Experience and Resource Protection (VERP) (McDonald, 1996).

Public lands visitation

Past studies on visitors to both state and federal conservation lands have found that the majority of park visitors are white. A 1992 Texas A&M survey of the National Park System demonstrated that minority visitors were largely absent from the National Parks. Less than 5 percent of visitors to Yosemite National Park were African-Americans, while less than 5 percent of visitors to Grand Canyon National Park were Hispanic or Latino. The latter figure is especially dramatic considering that Grand Canyon National Park is located in a state where more than 22 percent of the population is Hispanic or Latino (Johnson and Bowker, 1999). The USDA Forest Service's survey of visitors to national forests (National Visitor Use Monitoring project) found that nearly 70 percent (69.7%) of National Forest visitors are men. More than ninety percent (92.0%) are white. Visitations from specific minority groups are: Hispanic (3.7% of all visitors), Asian (1.6%), Native American (0.8%), African-American (0.7%) and Pacific Islanders (0.4%) (USDA Forest Service, 2002).

Preferences

The results of these public lands visitation studies can be further correlated with other studies that have examined user preferences and constraints. Dwyer (1994), in citing the U.S. Pleasure Travel Market Study conducted in 1989 by Longwoods Research Group Ltd., reported that, whites and Hispanics were reported to be similar in their recreation-participation profiles, with both groups exhibiting higher rates of participation than African-Americans in activities that usually occur in wildland settings. Many other studies have also identified lower rates of

participation by African-Americans as compared to Whites in wildland activities, such as camping and hiking, and higher participation in urban activities, like ball playing and picnicking (Dwyer & Gobster, 1997).

A large majority of studies in this field have identified lower rates of participation by African-Americans as compared to whites in wildland activities such as camping and hiking and higher participation in urban activities like ball playing and picnicking (Dwyer & Gobster, 1997). A survey of outdoor recreation participation and preferences by Black and White Chicago households, found that African-Americans preferred more developed facilities while Whites preferred more natural areas (Dwyer and Hutchinson, 1990). In a 1993 study, Philipp reported that Blacks were less likely than Whites to prefer wildland recreation areas as tourist destinations largely due to a desire for increased social interaction while Whites focused on desired environments when selecting a tourist destination. Talbot and Kaplan (1993) reported that adolescent Blacks had a greater preference for settings that were carefully manicured and relatively open, while Whites preferred more heavily wooded areas with less evidence of human influence. A study of 1200 Black and White middle-and high-school students found that Whites rated wildland activities higher than Blacks, and that levels of fear of nature and desire for urban environments were related to preferences for non-wildland social activities (Floyd et al., 1995).

Several studies have also largely found that Blacks or African-Americans are less likely to participate in outdoor recreation in undeveloped primitive areas or in activities such as camping, hiking/backpacking, and hunting than whites (Washburne, 1980; Wahburne and Wall, 1980). Dwyer (1993) reported that Blacks tended to participate more in sports, but less in activities that take place in remote areas or undeveloped facilities than Whites. In a later study, Dwyer (1994) found significantly lower participation rates for African-Americans than for

Whites in camping, hiking/backpacking, hunting, and the use of wildland and natural areas. Floyd et al. (1994) reported results consistent with earlier studies of Black-White variation in leisure participation, including higher levels of Black involvement in team sports, fitness activities, and socializing

Reasons for the development of these different preferences seem to be related to socioeconomic status, structural barriers and, perhaps more simply, cultural identity. Johnson and Bowker (1999) note that there are three general factors that seem to distinguish African-American and White outdoor recreation participation including a tendency for African-Americans to enjoy more collective activities as opposed to White preferences for solitude, an African-American preference for more developed settings and White preference for natural areas, and more concern by African-Americans about safety in recreation settings.

Constraints

Constraints to leisure have been defined as "anything that inhibits people's ability to participate in leisure activities, to spend more time doing so, or to take advantage of leisure services, or to achieve a desired level of satisfaction" (Jackson and Henderson, 1995, p. 31). While being acknowledged in the literature, there is relatively little work on the impact of constraints associated with racial stratification and the results of those studies have been mixed.

Race and its relationship to constraints have been proposed as a worthwhile construct to study (Floyd, 1998). Washburne and Wall (1980) found that it was less likely to find African-Americans participating in many outdoor recreation activities than Caucasians. Factors including greater constraint related to transportation, safety problems, and poor site maintenance inhibited the participation of African-Americans in those activities. Woodard (1988) found that

socioeconomic status and regionality were important factors when reviewing leisure behavior among African-Americans. He observed that fear of discrimination and racial prejudice lead African-Americans to choose more "domestic type pursuits" when choosing a leisure activity. Philipp (1995) found that African-Americans were more constrained than Caucasians because of a sense of being "uncomfortable" in activities including golfing, attending a country club, snow skiing and hunting. In a later study looking that the perceived "welcomeness" of several recreation activities, Philipp (1999) asked Caucasians and African-Americans how they thought African-Americans would feel about participating in numerous activities. It was found that while Caucasians felt that African-Americans would feel welcome, African-Americans were clearly constrained in participating in those activities by a feeling of "unwelcomeness." Henderson and Ainsworth (2001), in their study women of color and their leisure behavior, found that constraints including perceptions of physical activities, lack of time and space to participate, job demands, family expectations and needs, and economic factors, prevented them from pursuing various activities.

In contrast to the aforementioned studies, two studies examining Chicago park users have found that Caucasians are actually more constrained than African-Americans in their choice of parks (Arnold and Shinew, 1998; Shinew et al., 2004). Caucasians in these studies were constrained by the location of parks, maintenance of facilities, over-crowding, lighting of parks, lack of greenspace, landscaping and trees, lack of transportation, user conflicts, feeling unwelcome, and a fear of racial conflict. It is speculated that these constraints were noted by Caucasians because of different standards that more privileged people have towards their parks as well as a feeling that African-Americans are more accustomed to negotiating constraints and are therefore more likely to be able to overcome them (Shinew et al., 2004).

Despite the conflicting studies, it is obvious that constraints play a role in both leisure pursuits and the location of those pursuits. There are still a number of questions that require addressing before a better understanding of the impact of race on constraints.

Place Attachment

Place plays an important part in the understanding of recreation behavior and management. Leisure researchers have used the study of place to help refine our understanding of leisure behavior over the past three decades (Kyle et al., 2004; Moore & Graefe, 1994). As described in the literature, place encompasses the physical setting, as well as human experience and interpretation (Brandenburg and Carroll, 1995; Relph, 1976; Sack ,1997; Stedman, 2003; Tuan, 1977). The study of place places an emphasis on developing both an understanding of the physical elements that help define preferred recreational settings as well as the emotional bonds that occur between recreationists' and those preferred settings. Place attachment has emerged as a core concept out of this literature and seeks to examine the meaning places have for people and represents an emotional bond between a person and a particular place (Guiliani & Feldman, 1993; Kyle et al., 2004; Williams & Patterson, 1999). Place attachment has been described as "the emotional link formed by an individual to a physical site that has been given meaning through interaction" (Harmon et al., 2006; Milligan, 1998).

Place attachment has two main components: place identity and place dependence. Place identity describes how individuals associate themselves with places (Hunt, 2008). In such, individuals define themselves through their relations to physical settings and the meanings they attach to those settings (Hunt, 2008; Moore & Graefe, 1994; Stedman, 2002). It refers to "those dimensions of the self that define the individual's personal identity in relation to the physical environment by means of a complex pattern of conscious and unconscious ideas, beliefs,

preferences, feelings, values, goals, and behavioral tendencies and skills relevant to this environment" (Proshansky, 1978, p. 155). Place dependence is the more functional aspect of place attachment. It reflects the importance of a resource for providing amenities necessary for desired activities (Kyle et al., 2004; Stokols & Shumaker, 1981; Williams et al., 1992; Williams & Roggenbuck, 1989). Frequency of use has been found to be related to both place identity and place dependence. Moore and Graefe (1994) found that place dependence is related to the frequency of use. In a later study of recreationists' attachment to a park and a trail near Cleveland, Ohio, Moore and Scott (2003) found that place attachment and frequency of use were positively related in a uni-dimensional rather than multi-dimensional (place identity and place dependence) fashion based upon an individual's commitment to an activity. More recently, the use history of a recreational area has more recently been identified as an additional component of place attachment (Hailu et al., 2005; Hammit et al., 2004; Hunt, 2008). Use history refers to the past experience (e.f., visitation, years) that individuals have with particular recreational areas. These researchers have concluded that while it is unknown if place identity or place dependence increase use history, that there is a positive association between user history and place attachment (Hunt, 2008).

This study focuses on the associations between the use history at these two formerly segregated state parks and the development of social norms which ultimately help explain user preferences and visitors attachment to place.

Study Area

Tennessee has 54 state parks. This study focuses on two of those parks: Booker T. Washington and T.O. Fuller State Parks.

Booker T. Washington State Park is located in southeastern Tennessee, about 7 miles north of downtown Chattanooga. Originally named for the famous educator, Booker T. Washington State Park k is located on the shores of Lake Chickamauga, a reservoir managed by the Tennessee Valley Authority. Originally leased to the state by the TVA in 1938, the then-350 acre park was purchased by the state in 1950 for the sum of $1.00. The main recreational features within this park include a group camp, a group lodge, fishing piers, swimming pool, picnic shelters, and a boat ramp.

T.O. Fuller State Park is located in southwestern Tennessee, within the city limits of Memphis. The now 1,138 acre park, originally known as Shelby Bluffs Negro State Park, was purchased from the City of Memphis in 1938. It was renamed in the early 1940s for Dr. Thomas Oscar Fuller, a minister, former North Carolina State Senator, and civil rights leader in Memphis. The park includes a golf course, swimming pool, campground, group camp, picnic shelters, and ball fields. (See Figures 5.1-5.5).

Methods

We used three main methods to attempt to gain an understanding of the history of visitation at these parks including archival review, participant observation, and visitor interviews. First, we looked at historical documents including visitation figures and visitor studies to gain an understanding of the relative number of visitors to these places as well as the visitor demo- and psycho-graphics. Second, we used the strategy of participant observation. We came into the parks on six separate occassions and counted the numbers of visitors as well as collected their presumed racial identity. Third, we conducted interviews with 20 visitors (10 at each park) to gain insight into the historic and present management issues at these two state parks. This study was conducted by one investigator who had previously been employed as a planner with the TSP

system. This experience allowed the researcher greater cooperation from and access to the management staff and allowed for better insight into the management structure of TSP and a better rapport with study participants.

Data Collection and Analysis

Historical Documents

Tennessee State Park visitation data from Fiscal Year 1942-43 through 2003-2004 was reviewed in order to gain a feel for visitation trends at the two subject parks. Historical visitor study records were also collected and reviewed in order to gain an understanding of past visitor use of the parks. These records were obtained from the state archives in Nashville, the Tennessee State Parks central office in Nashville, as well as at the two parks. This visitation data was compared to that of the two other area state parks (Harrison Bay and Meeman-Shelby) that were created during this same time period but built to serve White constituents. To ensure validity and reliability (confirmability) when coding and analyzing the data, data audits and member checks were performed to ensure that the data was being presented and coded correctly.

Participant Observation

Visitors to the two primary study parks (Booker T. Washington and T.O. Fuller) as well as the two comparison parks (Harrison Bay and Meeman-Shelby Forest) were observed on six different occassions between May-September 2007. Visitor counts were conducted and visitors were classified into three main racial/ethnic group categories: white, black, and hispanic/latino. This classification process was considered necessary in order to gain an understanding of the current visitation patterns at the study and comparison parks given the lack of recent visitor studies within Tennessee State Parks. The three groupings of white, black and hispanic/latino were based on the first author's knowledge of visitor patterns within the Tennessee State Park system

and were not meant to be all-encompassing. Visitor counts for the two Chattanooga area parks (Harrison Bay and Booker T. Washington) and the two Memphis area parks (Meeman-Shelby Forest and T.O. Fuller) were conducted on the same day and the counts were spread out to include week days as well as weekends.

Visitor Interviews

Visitor interviews were conducted between June 2007 and August 2007 and involved both purposive sampling and random sampling procedures. Largely because of time constraints, it was decided that 10 visitors at each park would be interviewed. Each visitor who agreed to participate in this study signed a consent form. The interviews consisted of ten questions relating to their involvement at the park, knowledge of the historical designation and management at the park, and what the future of the park should look like. They were also asked for their zipcodes, age, occupation, education, and racial/ethnic backgrounds. The first three visitors who participated in this study were initially identified by park staff at both Booker T. Washington and T.O. Fuller State Parks as those having a long history of involvement with the parks. Following snowball sampling procedures, each of the long-term visitors were asked if there was another visitor that should be interviewed based upon their history with the park. This resulted in an additional interview at Booker T. Washington but none at T.O. Fuller. From there, random sampling procedures were installed to get as wide a sampling of park visitors as possible. Interviews were conducted on three different occassions at each park and every sixth person was selected for an interview at the various use areas within the parks. Initially, the long-term visitors were asked if they felt comfortable being recorded during the interview. After three of the first five visitors said they were uncomfortable with that, the interviews were conducted

long-hand with the researcher writing extensive notes. Each interview ranged from fifteen to sixty minutes.

The first two interviews were digitally recorded. The interviews were later transcribed verbatim. Two people who were not involved in the study were later asked to review the transcripts to ensure the quality of the interview data was captured. Following the first two interviews, visitors expressed discomfort with the idea of being recorded, so the interviewer switched to a long-hand method in which she took extensive notes during each interview. The notes and the transcripts were coded and answers placed in an excel spreadsheet for analysis.

To ensure validity and reliability in the collection of this data, several strategies were employed. Each of the interviews were conducted by the main researcher to ensure reliability. The verification strategy of representative sample selection was used at the end of the interviews to ensure that the sample interviewed was the best possible sample and that there were no holes in terms of missing data. Notes from the interviews were discussed with the participants at the end of the interviews. To further ensure credibility, transferability, and confirmability, data from each interview were compared with other interview data as well as against the archival data through the use of triangulation.

Results

The Tennessee State Park system has a poor history in terms of studying the use of its parks as well as tracking public input into the needs of the system. Very few parks have had park visitor studies and, of the few that do exist, most concentrate on the desires of visitors to the larger resort parks (Jack Gilpin, personal communication). Therefore, little is truly known about Tennessee State Park visitors other than visitor counts conducted via basic traffic counting

methodologies. As compared to other state parks, the history of Booker T. Washington and T.O. Fuller State Parks lends itself to the understanding that, because these two parks were initially created under segregation, the core visitor group was made up of African-Americans. This core visitor group, unlike at most state parks, was initially created because of the Jim Crow era laws which allowed for the creation of these two "State Parks for Negroes." The results of this study highlight the fact that the history of these two parks has played an indelible role in the creation of a minority visitor base.

Archival Visitor Data

As previously explained, few visitor studies have ever been conducted within the Tennessee State Park system. Throughout the history of Booker T. Washington and T.O. Fuller State Parks, only one formal visitor study was conducted at either of these parks. In 1983, the park system staff conducted a small study of the visitors at Booker T. Washington State Park in order to gage the preferred activities of park users. The impetus of this study was a legislative appropriation which had been designated for the park as a result of local pressures to renovate some of the park facilities (Tennessee State Government, 1981). The results of this study were skewed because of the timing of the sampling (during the middle of a few days in the summer) and of too small a sample size to be significant. However, as it was the only official survey ever recorded at one of these parks, it demonstrates that in the early 1980s, the user base for the park was still largely made up of African-Americans and mainly from the local area (Table 5.1).

The number of park visitors at Booker T. Washington and T.O. Fuller shows an upward trend since the first year data was collected for either of these parks in Fiscal Year 1942-43 (Note: Visitation data was not collected at Booker T. Washington until Fiscal Year 1948-1949 when the park opened). Averages for each decade from the 1940s through 2004 are provided in

Table 2. These averages show that visitation at each of these parks has increased at least ten-fold since their opening; however, when put in context with the increase in visitation at the area white parks, the two traditionally black parks have shown relatively little improvement in terms of number. Indeed, on average since the 1950s, Booker T. Washington and T.O. Fuller have received only about 20-25% of the visitation that Harrison Bay and Meeman-Shelby State Parks have received. Some of this lack of visitation can possibly be attributed to issues with a lack of marketing for the two traditionally black parks (see Marketing section in Article 1) as well as the provision of more day-use oriented facilities at those parks as opposed to the overnight stay-use facilities provided at the white parks. Spikes in visitation numbers at times can also be attributed to the political climate of Tennessee in which often visitation numbers have been inflated to help increase the budgets at various parks (personal communication).

Participant observation

In order to ensure a modern understanding of visitation at the four parks, participant observation procedures were conducted six times between May-September 2007. The summer period was utilized for this data collection because it coincided with the heaviest visitation at the parks. The data that was collected during these time periods are displayed in Table 3. Through the observations made during these visits, it is possible to note that visitation trends at these four parks still largely follow the patterns set aside when these parks were segregated.

The visitor base at Harrison Bay and Meeman-Shelby State Parks remain primarily white while those at Booker T. Washington and T.O. Fuller remain primarily black. In six observations taken at Harrison Bay State Park, no African-Americans were observed as visitors or staff at the park. Few people of Hispanic or Latino ethnic backgrounds were observed at the park and, of those who were, they were either fishing or picnicking. The visitors at Booker T.

Washington appeared to be a great deal more integrated. In fact, both African-Americans and whites were often seen participating in the same activities at the same time with picnicking, swimming, and fishing being the main uses of the park. The only activity in which more white visitors participated was boating. It is interesting to note that when compared with the 1983 visitor study conducted at Booker T. Washington, the visitor base has changed slightly in 25 years. Between 1983 and 2007, a nine percent drop in the numbers of African-American visitors coincided with an equal increase in the number of white visitors to the park. The current park manager attributed this change to the gentrification that is occurring in the area surrounding the park (LeVan Gardner, personal communication).

At Meeman-Shelby, seven percent or 113 African-American visitors were observed mainly at the swimming pool or visiting the picnic areas or playgrounds. None were observed camping in the park, boating, or in the cabin area. The African-American visitors to T.O. Fuller State Park were similar in some respects to those seen at Meeman-Shelby. Whereas the park is still primarily visited by African-Americans, the use pattern echoes those at Meeman-Shelby in that they were primarily using the day-use facilities. No African-Americans were observed at the park campground and few were found on the golf course, whereas the majority of the white visitors were found at these two use areas. The majority of African-Americans at T.O. Fuller were observed at the picnic areas, swimming pool, or basketball courts.

Visitor interviews

Ten visitor interviews were conducted at Booker T. Washington and T.O. Fuller State Parks respectively. Results of these interviews show some similarities in terms of the demographics of the visitors to these two parks but also some key differences in the commitment level of the individual toward each respective park based upon the frequency of visitation,

individual knowledge of the history of the parks in terms of their original designations and management, and individual preferences for future park management.

As expected based upon the participant observation findings, the majority of the visitors interviewed at each park were African-American. Those interviewed at Booker T. Washington included two visitors in the 25-35 age range, two in the 35-45 age range, four in the 45-60 age range, and two in the 60+ age range. They included seven African-American males, two African-American females, and one white female. Demographics of the visitors interviewed at T.O. Fuller were similar. They included two visitors in the 18-25 age range, one in the 25-35 age range, two in the 35-45 age range, and five in the 45-60 age range. There were two African-American males, six African-American females, and one white male and white female interviewed at the park. All visitors interviewed at both parks had at least high school educations. Visitors interviewed at Booker T. Washington had either high school (six) or college (four) educations. At T.O. Fuller, the education level of interviewed visitors was slightly higher with three visitors having a high school education, one with an Associate's degree, five with college degrees and one with a Master's degree. As expected, the older visitors to the park were more likely to have high school educations while the younger ones had college or beyond.

Results of these interviews provide insight into how the segregated past of these two parks has impacted the modern use of the parks in two main ways: (1) frequency of visitation has provided an understanding of the initial role of the park and sense of place, and (2) infrequent visitors lack an understanding of the history of the park and visit simply for modern amenities and an escape.

Frequent visitors

Whereas visitor demographics are important in terms of understanding who is using the park, one theme that truly stood out dealt with the frequency of visitation and its related ability for the individual visitor to understand the history of the parks and their management over the long term. Based upon the results of the visitor interviews, frequent visitors were defined as those visiting the park more than eight times per year. This definition was based upon the notion that it is not the number of years that create an understanding of place, but rather the intensity of visitation. A person visiting the park annually over a period of years does not have the same sense of place that a person visiting multiple times over perhaps a smaller time frame (Moore and Graefe, 1994).

Seven of the twenty visitors interviewed qualified as frequent visitors to the parks. The numbers of years these visitors had been using these parks ranged from eight to seventy years and visited the parks anywhere from twelve to 300 times per year. The four visitors to Booker T. Washington who could be classified as frequent visitors had been visiting that park for an average of 55 years at an average rate of 200 times per year. They included four African-American males of 45 years of age or older; three of these men had high school degrees and one had a college education. The three visitors classified as frequent visitors to T.O. Fuller State Park had been visiting the park for an average of 26 years at a rate of 31 times per year. They included two African-American women and one African-American male; two of whom were 45 years of age or older and one who was in the 18-25 year age range. One visitor had a high school education, while another had a college degree, and the third had a Master's degree.

These frequent visitors expressed both an understanding of the history of the parks as well as an understanding of the modern park atmosphere. They also expressed a strong sense of place and the role that the parks have played in giving them a sense of community.

Frequent Visitors Understand History of Parks and Modern Atmosphere

At both parks, the frequent park visitors demonstrated a clear understanding of the history of the park. When asked about the history of the park, they stated clear knowledge of the original purpose of the parks, understood the parks' background as "State Parks for Negroes," and have knowledge of past park managers, rangers and park staff members. Moreover, visitors to both parks expressed the theme that park staff members made due when they weren't given what they needed and that it was likely because they were at black parks. One visitor expressed the following belief about the Booker T. Washington's history:

> "Early on, Harrison Bay had much more in terms of facilities but that was back when the park system was segregated. The system seemed to give less to the black parks. For example, the campground here at Booker T. had about fifteen – twenty sites while Harrison Bay had about one hundred. Mr. Bell tried to keep them well taken care of but it seems the equipment and money all went to Harrison Bay. Mr. White wound up closing them cause he didn't have the staff to take care of them…"

Another visitor went on to state positive notions about the men who have managed that park:

> "Mr. Bell was the first manager here. He was a good one. He helped build the park and had a tough time of it. He didn't often get what he needed but he made due. The park was designated back then for black use only so I don't think he was taken very seriously at times. Mr. White took over for him and then was followed by Erle. They both did a good job. We have the best manager now that we've had though in LeVan."

At T.O. Fuller, one of the frequent visitors noted the following about how the park had to just deal with what they were given:

> "Mr. Harris and the staff for a long time just made due with what they had. They weren't given a whole lot and had to do the best they could with what they got. They definitely could have had more but I guess that relates to the time… Ya know, back then blacks didn't get everything they wanted. They just made due. The park's better now than ever before but it still needs more facilities…"

Another park visitor at T.O. Fuller expressed a belief that more should have been developed at the park back when they were first being developed and that even today there is a need for more to be done at the parks. She stated:

> "I think that because of the nature of our society in particular, in Tennessee, particularly during the 1940s-60s, more could've been done at the park. From what I understand, the park was supposed to have a fishing lake and some other facilities. More could've been done back then. Now, we're in a new point in our history and there are still things that need to be done. "

In terms of the modern management situations at the parks, the frequent park visitors expressed an overwhelming sense that management at the parks is strong now, the facilities are better, and a sense that diversity in management is still of some importance. One visitor expressed the following about the management of Booker T. Washington:

> "The current manager is the best one we've ever had. Over time, the managers have just gotten better. They learned from each other. We don't have the problems now that we used to… Ya know, we had all those cruisers in the park and they would just clog it up with their cars and loud music. The park wasn't very nice then. Nothing was fixed up. Now, the park has more stuff to do and the manager makes sure everything is taken care of… More people are coming to the park. It's more mixed – more white people are coming. The fees did that… But it's good. It needs to be like that."

A visitor to T.O. Fuller expressed that there is some pride in the fact most of the park managers have been black. She offered:

> "I think the management of the park was good from the start but I think it's better now. There's more to do at the park and everything is pretty nice. There are lots of families who come out here for the day. I've known most of the managers here and I'm happy to say that most of them have been black. They've done a very good job and have played an important role in our community. I think that because of the history of this park that it should continue to be that way at least to an extent. The management of the park doesn't necessarily need to be black but there should continue to be a minority presence within the staff. After all, this is still largely a black park."

Frequent Visitors Express a Strong Sense of Place

Frequent visitors to these two traditionally African-American parks expressed a strong sense of the importance of place. Visitors to Booker T. Washington put great emphasis on the importance of the park to their sense of well-being and comfort. These visitors have visited only a few other parks and have personal connections and history that make this park feel as if it "belongs" to them. Visitors to T.O. Fuller were more likely to express an attachment to the park but have a longer history of visiting other parks. They had fewer personal connections to the park than the visitors to Booker T. Washington but they still recognized the park as being important.

One visitor to Booker T. Washington expressed a sense that he personally felt as if it was his destiny to recreate at the park. He stated:

> "I've been coming to the park for about 50 years now. My uncle helped build it and I've known all the rangers and Mr. Bell. I really hate missing a day out here. It brings me a sense of peace to be out here fishing on the water. When it's quiet, I can stay out here all day. The management has really done some good things here especially of late. I think it's really important to support this park…I feel a great deal of pride in the park seeing the changes since my uncle helped build the initial shelters. I feel like I am meant to be out here…"

Another user conveyed that he had been coming to the park since before it was an official park. He began using the area before TVA had built the reservoir so he was able to share landscape features he was familiar with that are now covered with water. He shared:

> "I've been visiting this park since before the TVA built the reservoir…I remember when we used to swim in the creek and have picnics in the field. When the TVA and the state made this area, it was just for blacks. It was all we had so we came out here and enjoyed it. We used to travel up in the back of pick-up trucks 'cause we didn't have cars so there'd be eight of us or so in the back. I've been coming here ever since and since I've been retired, I try to come every day. You can catch some good crappie here. They put some good fish attractors out so we can sit here and fish all day. This is my favorite

> place to come. I've got friends here. The manager is good. I've been to some other parks down in Mississippi and around but this is where I like to go…"

A visitor to T.O. Fuller expressed her belief that it was her family's past involvement with the park that made the place so special to her. Her father was the first manager of the park and she spent the first half of her life there. She continues to go to the park frequently based on the memories she has of the place. She stated:

> "I love visiting T.O. Fuller. I think it is the best park in the system and it deserves much more in the way of facilities than it's already got. The system really needs to promote it more. It is so special and they don't even seem to recognize that it is the park's history which makes it important. They really need to interpret that history. I continue to do what I can to support this park because I want to keep that history alive and I want my father's memory to be kept. I make sure I come here at least once a month. It helps me feel connected to my family, my friends, and my community. I just love it here."

Infrequent Visitors

Based upon the results of this study, infrequent visitors were those park visitors that visited the parks less than eight times per year. This definition was developed around the concept that frequency of visitation instills a familiarity with place. The notion of familiarity with place was important in this study because of the need to understand how the history of Booker T. Washington and T.O. Fuller State Parks, as parks originally developed for African-Americans, has impacted its use.

Thirteen of twenty park visitors were identified as being infrequent users of the park. These users had been visiting the park from one to forty years but only visited one to six times per year. The six infrequent visitors to Booker T. Washington had been visiting the park for an average of 15 years at an average rate of three visits per year. Visitors were spread out evenly across the age ranges with two of these visitors being in the 25-35 year range, two in the 35-45 year range, and two in the 45-60 year range. They consisted of three African-American males,

one African-American female, and one white male and female respectively. Two of these visitors had a college degree while four had high school degrees. Seven of the visitors to T.O. Fuller were classified infrequent users. They had been visiting the park for an average of 15 years at an average rate of one visit per year. There was one visitor in the 18-25 year age range, one in the 25-35 year range, two in the 35-45 year range, and three visitors in the 46-60 year age range. They consisted of one African-American male, four African-American females, and one white male and female respectively. Two of the visitors had high school educations, four had college degrees, and one had an Associate's degree.

Infrequent visitors to each park expressed a lack of understanding of the history of the park. They largely sought to use the park for its amenities and as an "escape." They did not feel tied to the place and used it because it was convenient to where they lived.

Infrequent Visitors Seek Amenities and Escape

Visitors classified as infrequent users of these two parks viewed the parks in a contemporary context as places for gathering with families, having fun and relaxation. They, for the most part, did not realize the history of these state parks as segregated places. Upon being told of the history of these areas by the interviewer, these park users largely felt that the history of these parks has had little impact on the overall state of the parks. At Booker T. Washington, one visitor stated,

> "I come here to get away. I don't think the fact that this park was for blacks has anything to do with how the park is now. This is a great place to come and get away with my friends and family. I don't know anything about how the place is managed as long as the bathrooms are cleaned and I can do what I want."

A long-time infrequent visitor at T.O. Fuller felt that the park is important in terms of relaxation and for family gatherings. She stated:

> "I have been coming to this park for a long time. About 40 years I believe. This is the first I've heard of the park being segregated. I think that's probably only had a minimal impact on the development of the park. I usually come here on holidays and all I see is people having fun. I think it's a nice place to visit with my family. We like to let the kids swim and play on the playground. I think though that it's in better shape than it used to be."

Most of these infrequent visitors felt that the parks should provide more recreational amenities for visitors. For example, two visitors to Booker T. Washington mentioned the possibility of adding a campground to the park, while one visitor to T.O. Fuller thought the park needed more resort type facilities (NOTE: Tennessee State Parks has seven resort parks in the system. These parks are facility heavy and provide a park inn, cabins, golf, camping, and fishing or boating. They are commonly thought of as the "marquis" parks in the system.). One visitor to Booker T. Washington commented:

> "I think this park is about providing a place where people can get away and play. It is not about what it was. That matters little to me. All I want to know is that there are things for me to do and that they keep it up. Providing more facilities like a campground would be great. I would like to camp here for a weekend. But I'm comfortable with how it is now and want it to continue down this path."

Conclusion

The results of this study suggest that the original designation of Booker T. Washington and T.O. Fuller State Parks as "State Parks for Negroes" has had a large impact on both the past and current visitation to the parks in three major ways. First, the initial designation of these areas as segregated state parks helped create a visitation pattern that is still apparent in today's state park visitor demographics in that the majority of visitors to these two parks are still African-Americans. Second, the history of day-use oriented facility development that occurred at these parks has played a role in the development of facility preferences of the visitors to these state parks that support the results of previous studies into user preferences. Finally, frequent

visitors to these parks have demonstrated an attachment to place that has developed from their use of the parks over a large number of years as well as their familiarity with the management and development history of the park. These three aspects of visitation are largely based around the institutional development, management, and the development of social norms in terms of the use of the parks and highlight the need for leisure researchers to look at the historical context placed on public areas by management agencies in their examinations of public use and place attachment-related constructs.

Through the use of past visitor studies and the visitor observation procedures followed at the two study parks and the two comparison parks, it is quite easy to see that there is a distinct pattern of visitation occurring at these parks. As can be seen in Tables 1 and 3, the two parks that were originally developed as parks for African-Americans have retained a very different user base than those parks created for whites. Booker T. Washington and T.O. Fuller, though overwhelmingly still visited primarily by African-Americans, have increasingly seen more white people using the parks. Harrison Bay and Meeman-Shelby, in comparison, still have a primary user base made up of whites. This fact suggests that the original designation of Booker T. Washington and T.O. Fuller as "State Parks for Negroes" set up a use pattern that has continued to the modern day. Research into the role that the institutional use of a recreational facility has played in creating a consistent user base is limited, however, this study suggests that the 35-year history of the use of these parks as state parks for African-Americans and, alternatively, the comparison parks as parks for whites, created core user groups that have continued to use the park during the present time. This also suggests that the original designations of these places as segregated parks possibly caused these places to become important areas for recreation in the

respective black and white communities and, thereby, were allowed to become a part of the culture of the areas in which the parks are located.

The idea of visitation to these two formerly African-American parks becoming a part of the culture of the area and the racial group in question relates to interplay between the social norm theory and constraints literature discussed previously in this paper. Vaske et al. (1993) defined norms as the standards that allow individuals the ability to evaluate situations, environments, and decisions and guide an individual's ability to define behavior as being appropriate or inappropriate. Further, Manning et al. (1999) went on to characterize norms as having several distinguishing features including that they are obligatory, they are enforced by sanctions, they guide behavior, and they are shared by social groups. In that context, it is possible to define norms within the institutional setting of Tennessee State Parks during the Jim Crow era. The park system provided these two parks for the use of African-Americans as a result of the "separate but equal" clause in the *Plessy v. Ferguson* federal ruling. The use of the park was accepted as a norm because, at that time, that was the obligatory behavior and the standard promoted by both society and the law of the day as well as through the acceptance of the social group in question. The norm was institutionalized because the Jim Crow laws placed restrictions on the visitor base at that time.

Restrictions placed on African-Americans by the Jim Crow laws of the time as well as the institutional enforcement by Tennessee State Parks, in turn, acted as constraints on visitation to the parks. As defined by Jackson and Henderson (1995), constraints are "anything that inhibits people's ability to participate in leisure activities, to spend more time doing so, or to take advantage of leisure services, or to achieve a desired level of satisfaction." Initially, the Jim Crow laws of the time, in acting as norms and inhibiting the ability for African-Americans to

participate in recreation elsewhere, constrained park visitors. It could be furthered argued that the park visitation to these parks have largely remained African-American because of the constraints faced by people in their pursuit of recreational activities. Studies conducted by Washburne and Wall (1980), Woodard (1988), Philipp (1995, 1999), and Henderson and Ainsworth (2004), have found that race impacts the likelihood of participation in outdoor recreation activities. Alternatively, it could be argued as well that whites have felt constrained in their visitation to these formerly black parks. Studies by Arnold and Shinew (1998) and Shinew et al. (2004) found that whites are constrained in their visitation to urban Chicago parks by such factors as the location of parks, maintenance of facilities, fear of user conflicts, feelings of "unwelcomeness," and a fear of potential racial conflict. It is quite possible that the combination of constraints and the norms that they have been and continue to be related to have played a role in sustaining a long-standing pattern of African-American use pattern of these parks.

A second result of the institutional management, development and use of these parks is the development of user preferences related to the provision of facilities at these parks. By examining the participant observation data in Table 3, it is possible to see that the preferred activities at these parks are vastly different in terms of day-use versus overnight use as well as visitation base. Majorities of visitors to these two formerly-African-American state parks were African-American and demonstrated a strong preference for day-use activities despite there being a campground at T.O. Fuller. These users also largely preferred developed settings for activities such as picnicking, swimming (pools), and playing (ball fields and playgrounds). Majorities of visitors to the two other comparison parks were white and seemed to prefer over-night use activities such as camping or staying in cabins and day-use activities that were resource-oriented (e.g., boating, fishing and lake swimming). These preferences seem to echo

previous research findings in which African-Americans were found increasingly likely to participate in more “urban activities” like ball playing and picnicking while whites were found to prefer wildland activities like hiking and camping (Washburne, 1980; Washburne and Wall, 1980; Dwyer, 1993; Dwyer, 1994; Dwyer and Gobster, 1997; and Johnson and Bowker, 1999).

Results of this study also seem to support previous research in which it was found that African-Americans prefer to recreate in more developed areas while whites prefer natural areas (Dwyer and Hutchinson, 1990). Upon further consideration, these differences between white and African-American use preferences could also be associated with institutional management decisions in terms of the provision of the different activities at the four parks over time. For instance, at Harrison Bay, one of the main facilities is a large campground with 200 sites. Most of the sites are in an attractive setting on or near the edge of the Chickamauga Reservoir. This campground was consistently full over the course of the observation timetable and accounted for approximately 70 percent of all park users. This is the largest campground in the state park system and has a long history of development and public use which would account for its popularity.

In comparison, at Booker T. Washington, the park had a 20 -campground which was closed in the early 1980s because a lack of staff made it difficult for the manager to keep open (Erle Gooding, personal communication). It was located in a forested area without a view of the water and reportedly had low usage levels. The difference in facility size and location was based around management decisions which occurred early in the park system’s history. These decisions, along with other management decisions similar in scope, in turn, played a role in the development of the parks and their use, and thereby, could have played an important role in

determining the preferences of the African-American versus white park users because they limited exposure to other recreational activities.

Through their consistent use and familiarity with the institutional management and developmental histories at the two parks, frequent visitors to Booker T. Washington and T.O. Fuller State Parks demonstrated an attachment to place. Due to their original designation as state parks for African-Americans, these two parks had an initial visitor cohort of people of that race who had no other choice for public recreational areas around Chattanooga and Memphis. This initial visitor group developed a strong sense of attachment to the park in part because of that lack of choice. Over time, this initial user cohort evolved into one that had developed personal histories with the management of the park and were on-site as the development of the park evolved (Anderson William, personal communication). This involvement with the park, its staff and facility development, in turn, lead to a sense of familiarity with and an attachment to these parks.

The sense of attachment to these parks that was expressed by the frequent park visitors (some of whom were in the initial visitor group) reflects previous research findings in the place attachment arena. A sense of both place identity and place dependence was expressed by these park visitors that correlate to previous findings in that place attachment was expressed through both frequency of use and the connection to a particular activity (Moore and Graefe, 1994; Moore and Scott, 2003). This study furthers previous research into the associations between individuals' place attachment and experience use history with recreational sites (Hailu et al., 2005; Hammit et al., 2004; and Hunt, 2008) by suggesting that it is use history as well as the frequency of use which has created a strong sense of place attachment to these parks.

Significance of Study

The results of this study are important in that they support previous literature into the development of social norms, user preferences, and place attachment-related constructs while building on the little research that has been conducted on the historical impact of segregation on the recreational use of public areas. Despite much focus being placed on the role of race/ethnicity on recreational use of public areas, preferences, constraints, and public lands visitation, virtually none has been placed on the role that segregation had on the institutional use and development of public recreation areas including state park systems. Segregation played a major role in the development of several state park systems across the South. It provided for the development of "State Parks for Negroes" in Georgia, Tennessee, North and South Carolina, Virginia, and Kentucky among others and, in turn, impacted the management and use of those park systems. A historical examination of the role that segregation played in the development of these systems could help explain some of the visitation patterns, uses and preferences that occur on our public lands today as they truly set a precedent for the future use of these properties.

Table 5.1: 1983 Booker T. Washington Visitor Survey Results

Sample Size	Racial Background	Gender	Locality	Preferred Activities
	80% Black, 20% White	75% Female	95% Hamilton County	1. Camping 2. Tennis 3. Indoor Games 4. Playgrounds 5. Fishing 6. Hiking

Table 5.2: Average Visitation per Year by Decade (1940s-2000s)

	1940s	1950s	1960s	1970s	1980s	1990s	2000s
Booker T. Washington	16,313	31,028	101,179	265,542	302,546	356,613	232,620
Harrison Bay	36,236	75,167	379,540	680,577	597,236	724,425	804,325
T.O. Fuller	23,672	26,115	145,610	973,510	488,915.4	279,337	650,296
Meeman-Shelby	85,609	112,730	566,465	1,1612,55	1,209,806	1,867,847	1,217,472

Table 5.3: Visitor Observation Data

	Visitors Observed	Racial/Ethnic Background	Most Popular Activities
Booker T. Washington	247	71% Black, 28% White, 1 % Other	1. Picnics/Family Gatherings 2. Swimming 3. Fishing 4. Playgrounds/Basketball
Harrison Bay	5,280	99% White, 1% Other	1. Camping 2. Boating/Fishing 3. Playgrounds 4. Swimming (lake)
TO Fuller	328	88% Black, 12% White	1. Picnicking 2. Swimming 3. Playgrounds/Basketball 4. Golf
Meeman-Shelby	1,624	90% White, 7% Black, 3% Other	1. Swimming 2. Camping/cabins 3. Picnicking 4. Playgrounds/Disc Golf/Boating/Fishing

Figure 5.1 State of Tennessee Overview

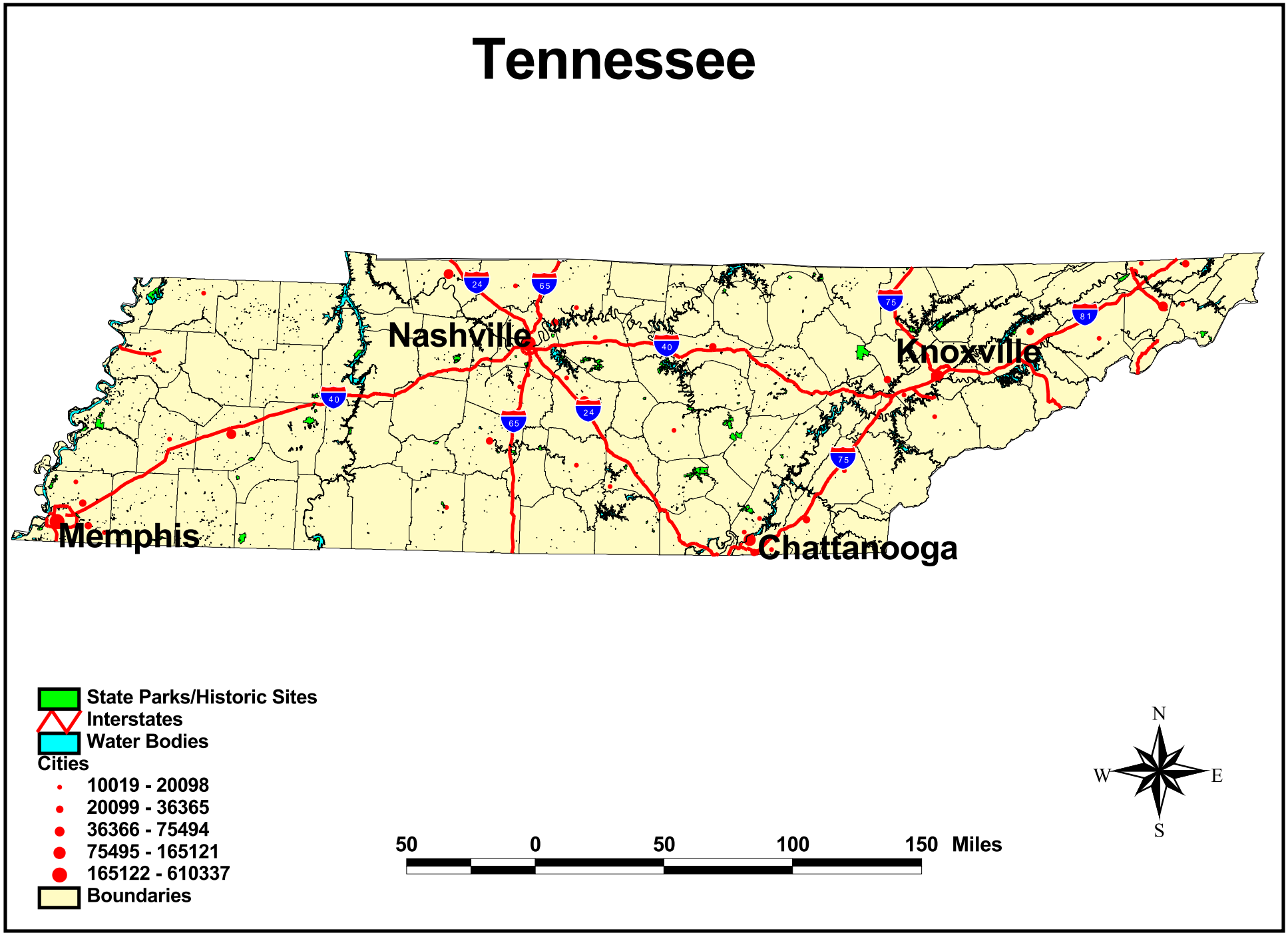


Figure 5.2: Booker T. Washington and Harrison Bay Overview

East Tennessee Parks

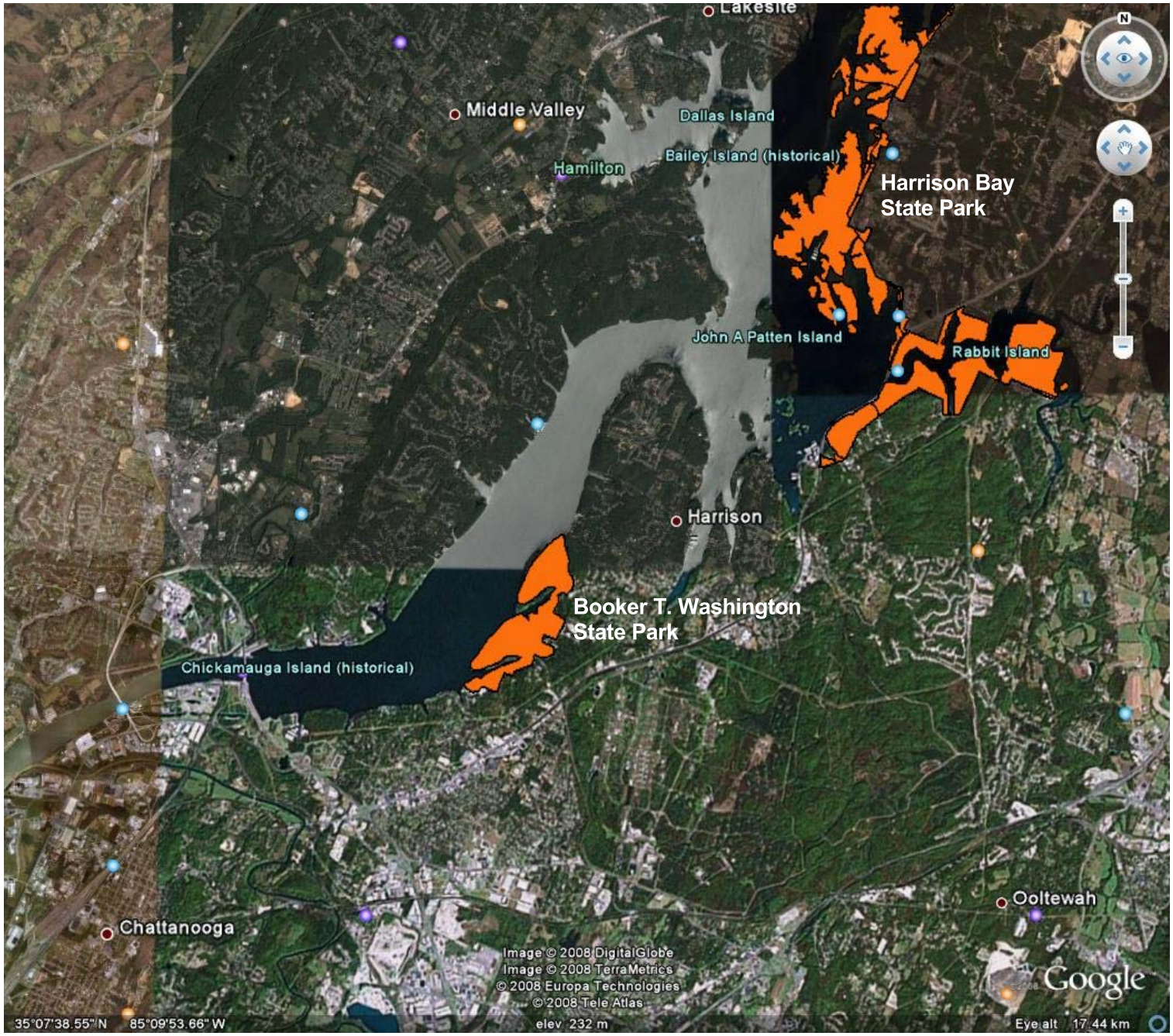


Figure 5.3: Booker T. Washington Overview

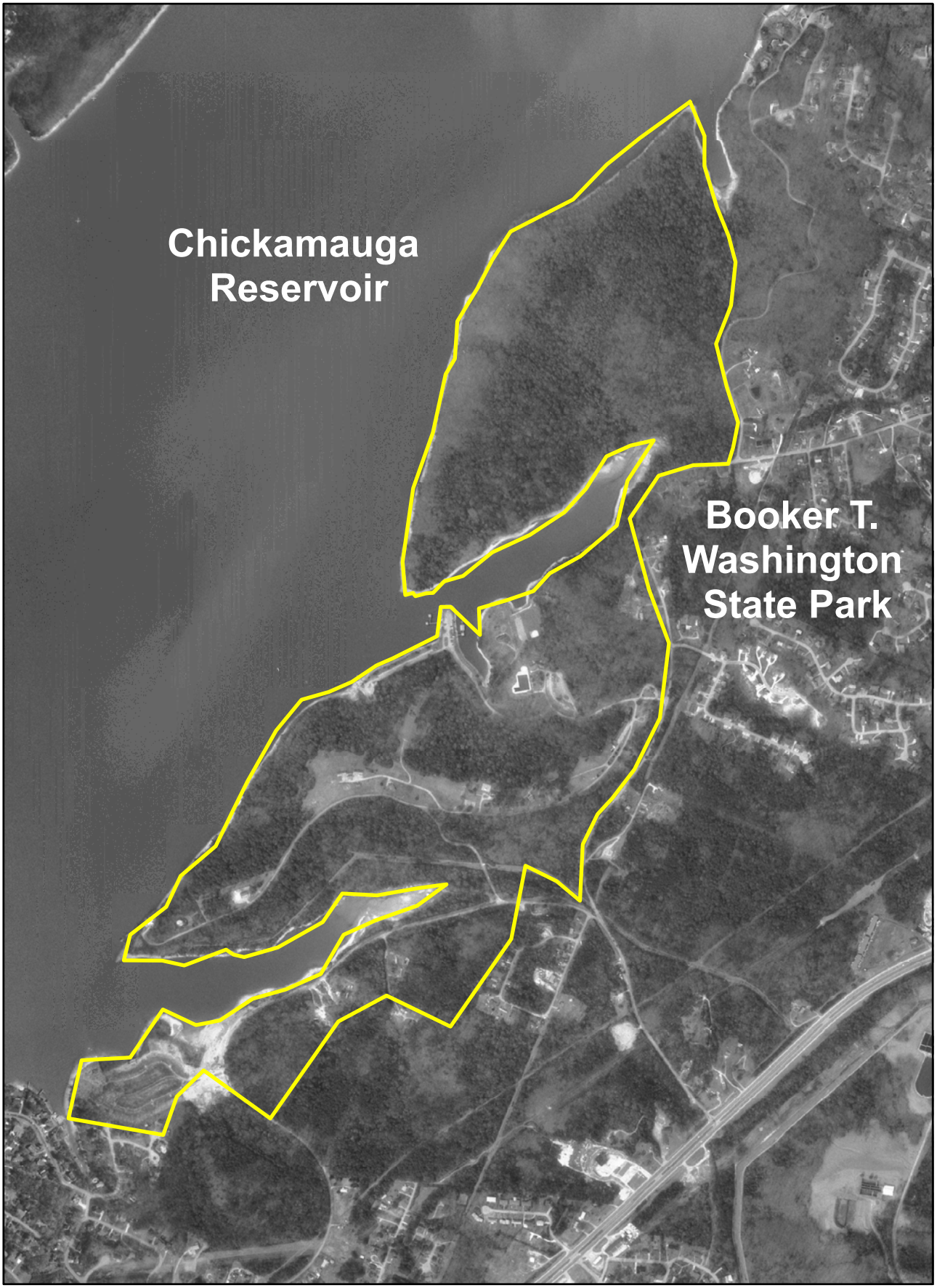
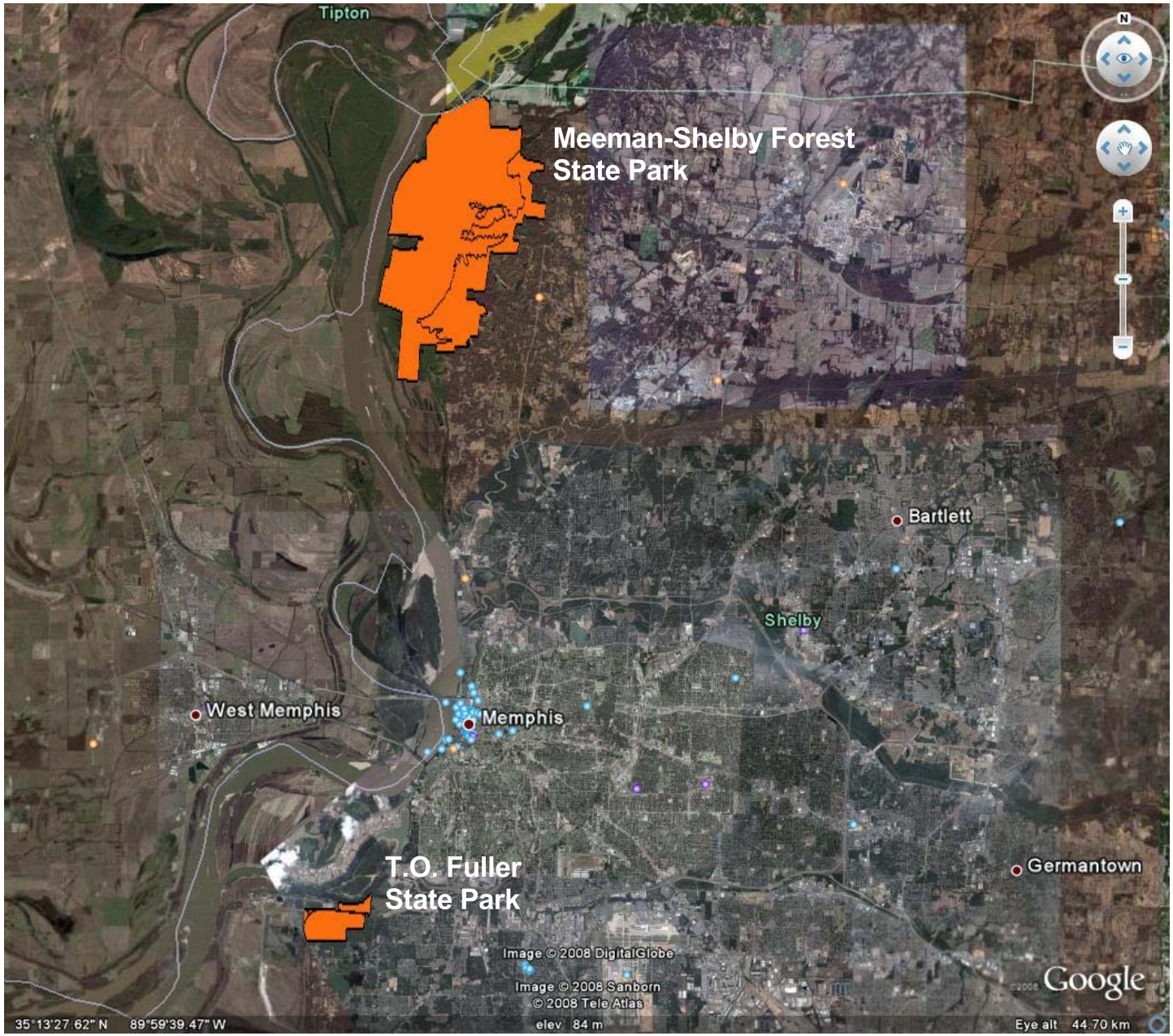


Figure 5.4: T.O. Fuller and Meeman-Shelby Forest Overview

West Tennessee Parks



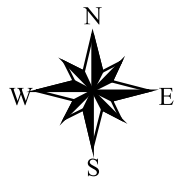


Figure 5.5: T.O. Fuller State Park Overview

Chapter 6

Conclusion and Implications

The Tennessee State Park system was one of several southern park systems that were created under the guise of the Jim Crow laws. The Jim Crow laws mandated the provision of "separate but equal" accommodations for African-Americans which translated to the development of segregated state parks also known as "State Parks for Negroes." The impact of the development of the Tennessee State Park system under segregation is still being felt today, forty-five years after the integration of the parks. This dissertation research focused on the following questions: Has the management differed from that of other Tennessee State Parks because of both the clientele and the management staff? Did the development of these two parks differ from the development of the other state parks because they were developed during times of segregation? How has the visitation to these parks differed from that of other state parks? In what context do the current visitors view these state parks? How does that context compare to past park visitors?

Summary of Findings

The historical designation of Booker T. Washington and T.O. Fuller as "State Parks for Negroes" has impacted the development, management of, and visitation to these and other state parks across the Tennessee State Park system in a number of ways. Historically, the designation of these two places as segregated state parks has lead to development issues including politically motivated park planning efforts, and inequitable funding and facilities development, and to

management issues including different titles and requirements, educational differences, and the development of a de-facto management policy of "a black manager for a black park." More recently, the impact of the original designation of these parks as segregated areas on the management of the state parks can be demonstrated through a divide among the Tennessee State Park system's black and white employees as to their perceptions of historical and current issues related to the management and use of the parks. In terms of visitation, the great impact of the historical designation of Booker T. Washington and T.O. Fuller State Parks as "State Parks for Negroes," on public use can be described through three findings: (1) the creation of a visitation pattern that is still apparent in today's state park visitor demographics; (2) the development of facility preferences of the visitors to these state parks that support the results of previous studies into user preferences; and (3) the remarkable attachment to place that frequent park visitors have toward these two Tennessee State Parks.

The designation of these two state parks as segregated parks has impacted them in terms of politically motivated park planning efforts, and inequitable funding and facilities development, and to management issues including different titles and requirements, educational differences, and the development of a de-facto management policy of "a black manager for a black park." In terms of planning, park system planning efforts during the segregation era in state parks (1937-1962) demonstrate the Tennessee State Park system's desire to provide public recreational areas for the black citizens of the state; however, these efforts fell far short of promoting that desire. Park system plans from 1939, 1950, 1952, and 1957, all demonstrate an acknowledgement of the need to provide these parks but the follow-through to these plans demonstrated a lack of desire to pursue the development of these facilities. Inequitable park funding and park facility development was another area where the segregationist-era

management philosophies within the TSP system obviously impacted the development of these two black parks. The 1948 statement by the director of TSP, B.R. Allison, that "the smaller amount for the Washington Park is because it is smaller and because the Negro population of Hamilton County is roughly one third the white population," demonstrates an attitude that, in turn, produced a history of smaller funding cycles and facility developments for the black parks. Inequitable management philosophies and practices have also impacted the development of these two parks as well as the system. Because these two parks were for black clientele, the initial belief in Tennessee State Parks was that they needed to be managed by African-Americans. In 1948, the initial park management requirement of "being a Negro man trained in college in land management and recreation" was publicized by the then-TSP director B.R. Allison (Chattanooga Times, 03/07/1948). In contrast, the management requirements for equal white managers included being 21, with a high school education, and having one year of experience in conservation work. The "Negro" managers would also be called "rangers" as opposed to the white title of "superintendent." This initial management requirement was a statement for the system in that it reflected the thought that while blacks could manage at these two parks, they had to be more qualified than the equal white manager while accepting a lower title. Lastly, the initial management requirements at Booker T. Washington and T.O. Fuller State Parks lead to the development of a de-facto policy of "a black manager for a black park" which is still evident today. A history of minority managers at these parks while not being promoted elsewhere in the system is a result and/or a cause for the development of the de-facto policy.

In terms of the modern management of these two state parks, the initial designation has had a great impact on the development of differing viewpoints between white and black employees within the state park system as to their perceptions of historical and current issues

related to the management and use of the parks. While the white staff members generally expressed views of segregation and its impacts as something of the past, the black employees view it as something that still impacts them on a daily basis. More often than not, responses to the five sub-questions found that while white state park employees view the system as being inclusive, African-American employees view it as still being exclusive to some degree. This divide can be related to the literature regarding discrimination in management especially in regard to treatment discrimination.

Visitation to these two Tennessee State Parks have been impacted by the original designation of these parks as "State Parks for Negroes" in three main ways: (1) the creation of a visitation pattern that is still apparent in today's state park visitor demographics; (2) the development of facility preferences of the visitors to these state parks that support the results of previous studies into user preferences; and (3) the remarkable attachment to place that frequent park visitors have toward these two Tennessee State Parks.

Through the use of past visitor studies and the visitor observation procedures followed at the two study parks and the two comparison parks (Harrison Bay and Meeman-Shelby), it is possible to discern that there is a distinct pattern of visitation occurring at these parks. The two comparison parks receive greater numbers of visitors and have largely white clientele while the two study parks have maintained a pattern of traditional African-American use. The majorities of visitors to these two formerly-African-American state parks were African-American and demonstrated a strong preference for day-use activities despite there being a campground at T.O. Fuller. These users also largely preferred developed settings for activities such as picnicking, swimming (pools), and playing (ball fields and playgrounds). The majority of visitors to the two other comparison parks were white and seemed to prefer over-night use activities such as

camping or staying in cabins and day-use activities that were resource-oriented such as boating, fishing and lake swimming. These preferences seem to echo previous research findings in which African-Americans were found increasingly likely to participate in more "urban activities" like ball playing and picnicking while whites were found to prefer wildland activities like hiking and camping (Washburne, 1980; Washburne and Wall, 1980; Dwyer, 1993; Dwyer, 1994; Dwyer and Gobster, 1997; and Johnson and Bowker, 1999). Frequent visitors to Booker T. Washington and T.O. Fuller State Parks demonstrated a strong attachment to place. Due to their original designation as state parks for African-Americans, these two parks had an initial visitor cohort of people of that race who had no other choice for public recreational areas around Chattanooga and Memphis. This initial visitor group developed a strong sense of attachment to the park in part because of that lack of choice. Over time, this initial user cohort evolved into one that had developed personal histories with the management of the park and were on-site as the development of the park evolved (Anderson William, personal communication). This involvement with the park, its staff and facility development, in turn, lead to a sense of familiarity with and an attachment to these parks. The sense of attachment to these parks that was expressed by the frequent park visitors (some of whom were in the initial visitor group) reflects previous research findings in the place attachment arena. A sense of both place identity and place dependence was expressed by these park visitors that correlate to previous findings in that place attachment was expressed through both frequency of use and the connection to a particular activity (Moore and Graefe, 1994; Moore and Scott, 2003).

The main findings of this research highlight the incredible impact that segregation had on the development, management and use of Tennessee State Parks. The park system, while acting as a modern parks and recreation organization, has a very rich history filled with both successes

and failures. The impetus of this research was to gain an understanding of the role that segregation has had on the Tennessee State Park system.

Implications

The implications of this research on the historical impact of segregation on the Tennessee State Park system can be split into two separate categories: (1) Implications for Researchers; and (2) Implications for the Tennessee State Park system.

Implications for Researchers

The implications of this research for researchers within the park and recreation management field are two-fold. First, there is a need for more research into the history of parks systems, and second, there is a need for additional research into the impact of social ideas on the norms of management agencies and their associated impacts as well as on the impacts of treatment discrimination on minority managers within recreation organizations.

Research into the history of park systems could be of great value to researchers interested in better understanding the context of their work. Many times, researchers line up a project thinking that they understand the concepts involved in the work. However, the development of a better understanding of the situation at a park or recreation facility can lend new dimensions to the work of a researcher. Through the use of historical and qualitative research methods, a researcher would be able to delve into the background of a particular facility and develop a much deeper understanding of the context through which their project exists. This understanding of context could enhance the researchers work through providing them with knowledge of historical developments and allow them to better draw pertinent conclusions.

The second implication that is important for researchers is that there is a need to develop a better understanding of the interactions between laws and rules, management agencies, the creation of management culture, norms, and its impacts, as well as the impacts of treatment discrimination on minority managers within park and recreation organizations. While a large amount of research has focused on visitors and visitor management within the park and recreation field, it is important to note that little research has been conducted on the culture of the management agency and the impact of that culture on visitation to its facilities. One important finding of this research was the intersection between laws, the creation of management culture and development of relevant norms. In connecting the visitor research with the historical research component of this project, it was possible to see how segregation affected the culture of a management agency and lead to the development of institutional norms which then impacted the preferences and constraints of park visitors. More research is needed to further develop this idea.

Implications for the Tennessee State Park system

The implications of this research for the Tennessee State Park system are related to current and future management and use of these two state parks as well as the rest of the system. These implications relate to the management structure and visitor use of the park system and, while they do involve race and the impacts of segregation, they are more concerned with the continued development of the state park system into a progressive model that embraces and has learned from its history.

While the facility development that has occurred at these parks is not likely to change anytime in the near future, it is highly important to realize and understand the social factors that

shaped segregation and the Jim Crow laws within the state helped to shape the management structure and development of the state park system.

The history of minority management at Booker T. Washington and T.O. Fuller, when looked at conceptually, is not a negative notion. In fact, there are not too many park systems (if any) that can claim a history of minority management that has continued up to the modern era. Past research into minority visitation to public lands has found that minorities prefer to see someone of their racial/ethnic group reflected in the management in order to feel comfortable (Kivel et al., 1994). Given this research, the history of minority management at these two parks has created a rich tradition which has allowed the largely minority visitor base a high comfort level with park management. However, the issues related to minority management at these two state parks are not related to the comfort level of the visitors (Note: this idea has been discussed within Chapter 5), but rather they are related to the impact that segregation has had on the development and management of the Tennessee State Park system.

Through a history which includes minority management at only these two state parks and the further limiting of minority park rangers to six parks, the State Park system has not really risen above the management structure which was developed during the Jim Crow era. The park managers at Booker T. Washington and T.O. Fuller have, for the most part, been among the most highly educated and qualified managers within the park system. Yet, largely because of their race and the politics of a southern state system, these managers have not been promoted beyond a Park Manager 2 level (there are 4 levels of Park Manager within the system, with Park Manager 1s reflecting small day use parks and 4s reflecting the resort parks). Part of the reasoning for this is related to the structure of the current management system in which managers are not routinely promoted and moved around to suitable parks, rather, they usually have to wait

for a retirement and hope that no one has really been quietly anointed to the position (politics sometimes plays a role in this). But a larger part is still related to the fact that minorities are still facing some of the same historical obstacles that have impacted their advancement within the structure of Tennessee State Parks.

One of the most positive moves that the Tennessee State Parks could make to resolve its history of segregation and its associated impacts is to develop a qualification-based management structure while also developing an inclusive recruiting and retention strategy for its minority employees. A qualifications-based management structure in which promotions and management rotations occur on a rotating basis over a period of years would encourage minority employees to continue their employ with Tennessee State Parks while building their management background. It would allow them to compete in a park system that is still somewhat political in its hires and gain experience in a number of different parks rather than just a few that mainly occur in or around urban centers within the state. The development of an inclusive recruiting and retention strategy would also be of benefit to both the minority and non-minority employees of the Tennessee State Park system. This strategy would start by targeting high schools and colleges for recruiting purposes as well as partnering with these schools in creating a program that encourages minority involvement in outdoor recreation related careers. An overall minority-recruitment strategy that reaches beyond the traditional bounds and into the K-12 education system is necessary due to the lack of minorities currently enrolled in major college programs within the state. A survey of six major college parks and recreation programs within Tennessee was conducted as part of this research (University of Tennessee-Chattanooga, University of Tennessee, University of Tennessee-Martin, Middle Tennessee State University, East Tennessee State University, and University of Memphis). The survey found that very few minorities are

currently enrolled in the recreation programs. For example, the University of Tennessee-Martin averages 20 undergraduate students within the program. None of those students are/or have ever been of a minority status. At the University of Tennessee in Knoxville, 39 undergraduate students and one graduate student are enrolled in the wildland recreation program with none being of minority status. The secretary for the program recalled one male African-American graduating approximately ten years ago and also stated that there had been a minority recruiting drive about 15 years ago at the school that had pulled in five to six minority students into the program. Most of the students, she recalled, dropped out of the program before graduating. These findings are reflective of the minority employment in natural resources literature and demonstrate the need for a state-wide recruiting and/or education effort. Once recruited into the recreation program arena, long-term employment and involvement with the park system could be gained through the use of seasonal work and internships with the system. Once recruits became employees, they could take part in the different training steps ultimately leading to park and regional management. Raises and promotions would be given on a regular basis related to the levels that the trainees had reached in the training system. The use of such rewards would encourage minority and non-minority employees to strive to be the best representatives of the system.

A second implication of this research is in terms of visitation to the parks. While it has been established that the majority of visitors to the four comparison parks used in the study are still segregated by race, the beliefs of this researcher are that the segregation of the visitors itself is not a bad thing, rather, the finding that the majority of visitors to the parks seem to lack knowledge about the park system, its history, and purpose is quite bothersome because it has implications for the continued success of the park service. Without a core, invested visitor base

to support the Tennessee State Park system, the system, which has often been the goat of political battles, could potentially see losses in terms of funding and staff among other things when in a tight financial or unfriendly political climate.

This finding is reflective of the park system's long history as a political toy. The simple area to place blame for this lack of knowledge development, and ultimately lack of attachment to these parks as the special places that they are, is on the park employees. However, they are far from the sole cause of this problem. From approximately the 1930s until 2002, the Tennessee State Park system was directed by a political appointee. In general, the political appointees came to the system with little knowledge of the history, purpose, mission and goals of the state park system and, perhaps even less knowledge about the operation of a park and recreation organization. These political appointees often had to make decisions for the park system without fully understanding the details that those decisions entailed as well as the potential impacts of those decisions. They also would often adjust the central management structure of the parks based upon their personal interpretation of what should work best for the system. The average lifespan of these political appointees as directors was somewhere in the neighborhood of one to four years. This constant change in the director, and therefore, the direction of the state park system management impacted the ways in which the park system functioned. Without a continuous direction, the park system had been left literally "blowing in the wind," which was frustrating for the employees as well as concerned citizens. Given that constant change in direction, the park system never was able to put together a visitor management strategy, park management planning process, or a marketing strategy that would stick past the current director. Without the proper development of these strategies, no effective outreach programs could be

developed which, in turn, has affected visitor knowledge of and connection to Tennessee State Parks.

In order to develop visitor knowledge of and encourage a sense of connection to the Tennessee State Park system, the park system must develop an effective, long-term public relations and outreach strategy. The first step in the development of this strategy would be to develop an understanding of the average Tennessee State Park visitor. Visitor surveys, as evidenced by research conducted as part of this project, have been virtually non-existent throughout the history of the park system. No comprehensive survey of visitation within the Tennessee State Parks has ever been conducted. A comprehensive visitor survey would be the first step in this outreach process in order to develop an understanding of not only who the visitors are but who should be targeted as potential park visitors. Following this, the park system would need to put together on outreach program that would be carried out at both the park and upper management levels. Suggestions for this program would include the development and implementation of school programs, summer day camps, nature programs, and other special events at the park level. Upper level management should participate in this strategy through the development of thematic radio and television commercials, regular press releases, and the use of other creative forms of media and print advertising. Management should not lose sight of the goal of establishing a long-term visitor base for the future.

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Appendix 1
1984 EEOC Letter to Tennessee State Parks and the Department of Conservation

The Departmental deficiencies were listed as being of five areas including: "(1) Priority Rating System Committee -no minorities represented; (2) Public Notification of Nondiscrimination Requirements - general public needs to be made aware of TDC's nondiscrimination requirements, TSP program brochures did not contain an appropriate nondiscrimination statement, news releases published to announce the availability of LWCF grants did not contain a nondiscrimination statement; (3) TDC's Administration of the LWCF Program - places in the state with significant minority populations benefited less from LWCF assistance vis-a-vis places have large white populations (example: as of 9/30/1983, counties that were 15% or less minority received a per capita amount of $11.82 in LWCF assistance, counties that were 16-29% minority received a per capita amount of $8.40, and those that were 30% or more minority received a per capita amount of $7.73; three counties with the largest minority populations (Fayette (51%), Haywood (51%), Trousdale (15% sic)) have never participated in the state's LWCF program. The USDI also suggested that where necessary, the TDC, through the State Park's System, consider increasing the supply of recreation projects in areas having large minority populations and whose recreational needs are not served or underserved by local governments who either fail or refuse to participate in the State's LWCF Program); (4) Staffing Practices - A review of TDC records showed that personnel within Tennessee's State Parks System were delivering services along racial lines. At the time of our review, all whites were employed at forty-six (46) of the state's forty-nine (49) parks, while the staffs at three (3) other State parks were predominantly black. This staffing pattern stems from an era in which the State maintained separate parks for black and white clientele. For example, we found that all blacks were employed at the Booker T. Washington State Park, a facility which once served blacks

exclusively. We suggest that you review and eliminate this racial staffing pattern. This can be achieved by employing blacks and whites in areas that have been heretofore all of one race; (5) Providing Technical Assistance to LWCF Subrecipients - During fiscal year 1984, we accomplished reviews of four of your LWCF subrecipients. Our reviews uncovered deficiencies in the following areas: Title VI Assurances; Public Notification of Nondiscrimination Requirements; and Complaint Processing Procedures" (Shelton, E. 1984).