

Research Note

Recreating Together? A Research Note on Displacement Drivers and Type Variation by Multigenerational Household Residency

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Abstract

When recreationists encounter negative site conditions, they may cope via displacement and choose alternative experiences to still attain the recreation outcomes they seek. Displacement may differ across demographics, but little is known about differences across social identities based in race/ethnicity, household composition, and generations in the U.S. Our research examines drivers and types of displacement and how these may vary based on social identity. We surveyed Southern Californians residing near one of four national forests in the area ($n=3,585$) about their visitor use patterns, forest preferences, and recreation displacement drivers and types. Results imply that respondents from multigenerational households are more likely to have experienced displacement drivers and have had those drivers affect their recreation plans. Additionally, spatial, temporal, activity, and companion displacement are felt significantly more by recreationists living in a multigenerational household, which has implications for recreation accessibility.

Keywords

Multigenerational, displacement, Southern California, national forests, visitor use management

Introduction

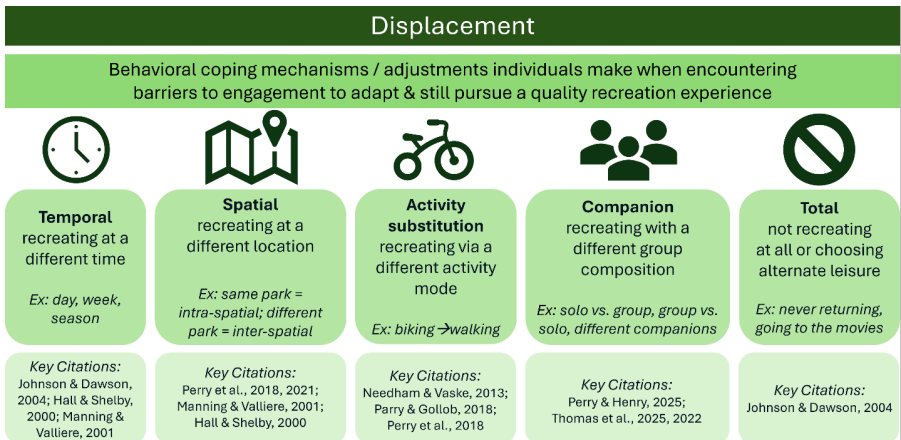
Individuals may commonly recreate with household members. Thus, recreation displacement may also be based on household characteristics. However, little is known about displacement across social identities (e.g., race/ethnicity, household composition, generations in the U.S.). Nuances of displacement necessitate analyzing responses from populations with varying household compositions, such as multigenerational households (i.e., two or more adult generations residing together). Multigenerational households (MHs) are prevalent across the U.S. (4.7%), including California (7.3%) (USAFacts, 2023; Washington et al., 2023). Current economic and social factors (e.g.,

starting families later, increased housing prices) have influenced the popularity of MHs (Fry, 2022). Urban locations with adjacent protected areas, such as the national forests of heavily populated Southern California, provide nearby recreation settings, easing access for family members to co-recreate. Given the importance of equitable outdoor recreation opportunities, exploring displacement related to social identity, and identifying alternatives, is warranted. This research note stems from a larger study with multiple, distinct lines of inquiry embedded (i.e., Budzyn et al., 2026; Thomas et al., 2025). Here, we explore variations in drivers and types of displacement related to Southern California national forests by residence in a MH.

Literature Review

Displacement is a coping mechanism employed when recreationists encounter unsatisfactory recreational opportunities (i.e., drivers), such as undesirable or inadequate conditions and conflict (Johnson & Dawson, 2004; Manning & Valliere, 2001). Displacement can manifest spatially, temporally, by activity mode, or totally (Needham & Vaske, 2013; Perry et al., 2018) (see Figure 1). Companions' role in displacement may manifest as another displacement type (Perry & Henry, 2025), though little is known. This paucity may contribute to recreation disparities and affect historically marginalized and excluded groups. Racial and ethnic minorities are overrepresented in U.S. MHs (He & Jia, 2024; Pilkauskas et al., 2020), further demonstrating how recreation disparities and displacements overlap. Additionally, MHs have increased (He & Jia, 2024; Pilkauskas et al. 2020), illustrating the timeliness of this work.

Figure 1
Displacement Types, Examples, and Key Citations



Displacement and its impacts may vary among groups. Companion displacement is an important consideration, as we often look to our own household or family when forming our recreation groups, who may be of multiple ages, abilities, and experience levels (e.g., Kristensen et al., 2021; Perry & Henry, 2025; West & Merriam, 1970). This displacement relates to a recreationist's change in group composition due to conditions deemed unsuitable for their current group structure, such as going with experienced people when there are safety risks of being solo or going with different people if there are health/stamina considerations (e.g., steep hike, poor air quality) (Thomas et

al., 2025). It may occur due to perceived risk (e.g., safety, cultural norms) influencing who decides to still recreate when the desired experience is unavailable. Companion displacement can co-occur with other displacements (Perry & Henry, 2025). Groups containing varying fitness and/or experience may frequently experience it, because the most sensitive influence the final recreation decision (e.g., wildfire smoke and asthma, distance to parking for those with limited mobility, hiking trail difficulty for young children) (Perry & Henry, 2025).

Some recreation conditions disproportionately affect particular demographics, such as conflict (e.g., Black recreationists experiencing discrimination), accessibility (e.g., lower income groups with site travel, time, and cost), group facilities (e.g., Latinx populations recreating in large groups), and temperatures (e.g., newer recreationists more vulnerable to extremes) (Flores & Sánchez, 2020; Perry et al., 2021; Thomas et al., 2022). MHs may similarly be disproportionately affected. MHs are common among minorities and immigrants, offering social support often lacking outside their families (Kamo, 2000; Pilkauskas et al., 2020). MHs' prevalence has shifted, declining during the mid-twentieth century (1940-1980) but increasing afterward (Pilkauskas et al., 2020). Currently, MHs are more common with young adults due to housing prices, fewer bachelor's degrees, aging parents, and starting families later (Fry, 2022). Despite this, little research has examined MHs and their recreation displacement.

Here, we assess drivers and types of displacement experienced by local recreationists in four highly visited Southern California national forests: Los Padres, San Bernardino, Angeles, and Cleveland. We examine response patterns guided by a two-part question: In what ways, if at all, do 1) drivers and 2) types of recreation displacement vary based on residence in a multigenerational household?

Methods

This research note was inspired by our larger study on local recreationists (Thomas et al., 2025), based on a subset of novel and unreported questions we developed related to MH membership and its relationship to displacement drivers and types.

"Local recreationists" were defined as Southern California adults residing in counties adjacent to the four study forests, who visited at least once since summer 2020. The sampled counties (Kern, Los Angeles, Monterey, Orange, Riverside, San Bernardino, San Luis Obispo, Santa Barbara, San Diego, and Ventura) range in multigenerational residency from 3.5-10.7% (USAFacts, 2023) and generally exceed the U.S. average of 4.7% (USAFacts, 2023).

A zip code-based Qualtrics panel survey sample allowed us to reach these local recreationists. Qualtrics is a web-based survey tool that facilitates survey creation, distribution, and analysis (Snow et al., 2012). Panel surveys have shown promise in virtually collecting visitor data during difficult conditions and off-site (Taff et al., 2021).

The survey was open August 15–November 8, 2023, and available in English and Spanish. Qualtrics recruited via our invitation prompts and provided compensation to respondents. We removed 327 low-quality responses that did not meet the minimum expected survey completion time; had incongruent straight-lining; or had invalid zip codes, dates of birth, or text responses (e.g., gibberish, off-topic). The final sample was 3,585 high quality responses after data cleaning. Qualtrics does not provide response rates.

Overall, the survey inquired about visitor use preferences, patterns, displacement drivers and types, messaging and fatigue, risk, and demographics. MH residency was

determined by asking: “Do you live in a multigenerational household? This is a household where two or more adult generations (18 years or older) live together in the same house, such as grandparents, their adult children, and their young grandchildren.”

Data were analyzed using IBM SPSS Statistics (v30.0). Beyond descriptive statistics, Chi-square with Cramer's V posthoc tests compared significant findings ($p < .05$) and their strength among respondent groups. For significant differences, we examined standardized residuals for differences higher or lower than expected ($|1.96|$).

Results

First, we checked the concept validity of MHs, ascertaining if it is a discrete measure or a proxy for race, ethnicity, and/or generations in the U.S. Of the 3,585 respondents, 1,522 (42.4%) reported living in a MH. Table 1 reports respondents' racial categories and number of generations their family has been in the U.S. Although some combinations are significantly higher or lower than expected, there is no clear pattern implying a skewed sample. Only one racial category—“Other”—had significantly higher than expected membership in MHs, which may warrant further research. Table 2 reports respondents' ethnicity (Hispanic or non-Hispanic) and number of generations their family has been in the U.S. We analyzed Hispanic and non-Hispanic ethnicity response rates as this is a prevalent identity within our Southern California context. Significant differences exist between groups per generational measure, but not in a discernable pattern that would indicate ethnicity and generations in the U.S. are proxies for the same concept. A significantly higher percentage of non-Hispanic respondents reported living in MHs than did Hispanics. Together, these inquiries increase confidence in “multigenerational household” being a distinct concept not predicated by patterns in race or ethnicity.

Second, we examined 1) whether respondents had experienced 15 common drivers of recreation displacement and, if so, 2) whether these driver(s) affected respondents' visitation plans (Table 3). For each, we report response percentages by MH residency.

For respondents who had experienced a particular driver, but it did not affect their plans, 12 drivers showed significant differences in rate of response. Nine were experienced more frequently by non-multigenerational households (NMHs) (with a small effect size). Active fire and activity and interpersonal conflict were experienced more by MHs, implying that these respondents are more likely to change their plans when they experience active fire or conflict.

For respondents who experienced a driver and correspondingly changed their plans, all 15 drivers differed significantly between MHs and NMHs, with small effect sizes. MHs reported affected plans more frequently than NMHs for 11 drivers: extreme heat, extreme rain/precipitation, road closures, lack of parking, wind events, crowding at attractions and along the trail, drought, trash, and both conflict measures. These results imply that respondents from MHs are more displacement-sensitive across many types of drivers.

When asked about their most recently experienced driver that affected their plans, only “road closures” was significantly different (experienced more by NMHs). The lack of significant difference across 14 drivers implies there is not a recency effect on the two groups' responses.

Table 1

Participant Rates of Response (Percentages, %) Followed by Standardized Residuals (in Parentheses) Across Race for Questions Related to Generations in the U.S. and Multigenerational Households. Racial Differences for Each Response Category Were Significant ($p < .001$), with Cramer's V Effect Sizes Noted.

	Race								Cramer's V
	American Indian or Alaskan Native (n=91)	Asian (n=249)	Black or African American (n=295)	Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander (n=33)	White (n=2242)	Other (n=363)	Bi and Multiracial (n=176)	Prefer not to say (n=137)	
Generations									
1:My generation (myself/siblings) is the first in my family to live in the U.S.	3.1 (0.8)	15.0 (7.8)	6.1 (-1.9)	1.1 (0.4)	49.5 (-4.2)	16.2 (4.9)	4.7 (-0.2)	4.3 (0.6)	.192
2:My parents were the first in my family to live in the U.S.	2.8 (0.4)	13.0 (5.7)	7.1 (-1.0)	1.3 (1.0)	47.7 (-4.6)	19.2 (7.1)	4.3 (-0.7)	4.6 (1.0)	.190
3:My grandparents were the first in my family to live in the U.S.	2.7 (0.3)	5.9 (-1.0)	6.8 (-1.2)	2.3 (3.6)	60.2 (-0.8)	11.7 (1.3)	6.7 (2.1)	3.6 (-0.2)	.087
4:My family has lived in the U.S. for at least four generations	2.1 (-1.2)	1.3 (-8.3)	10.2 (2.7)	0.2 (-2.9)	76.9 (7.1)	3.2 (-8.4)	4.4 (-0.8)	1.7 (-4.3)	.330
Other/Don't Know	3.2 (0.5)	8.4 (0.7)	8.4 (0.1)	0.0 (-1.2)	45.2 (-2.7)	9.0 (-0.4)	5.2 (0.1)	20.6 (10.7)	.191
Multigenerational Household									
Yes	2.3 (-0.6)	6.7 (-0.4)	7.1 (-1.5)	1.3 (1.6)	61.0 (-0.7)	12.5 (3.0)	5.3 (0.6)	3.7 (-0.2)	.160

Table 2

Participant Rates of Response (Percentages, %) by Hispanic Ethnicity for Questions Related to Generations in the U.S. and Multigenerational Households. Ethnic Differences for Each Response Category Were Significant ($p < .001$), Except "Other/Don't Know" ($p = .981$), with Cramer's V Effect Sizes Noted.

	Not Hispanic (n=2,342)	Hispanic (n=1,166)	Cramer's V
Generations			
1:My generation (myself/siblings) is the first in my family to live in the U.S.	54.8	45.2	.120
2:My parents were the first in my family to live in the U.S.	39.9	60.1	.258
3:My grandparents were the first in my family to live in the U.S.	59.0	41.0	.078
4:My family has lived in the U.S. for at least four generations	86.1	13.9	.351
Other/Don't Know	66.7	33.3	
Multigenerational Household			
Yes	58.3	41.7	.164

Table 3

Percentages (%) of Multigenerational Household (MH; n=1,522) and Non-Multigenerational Household (NMH; n=2,063) Reporting Having Experienced Drivers of Displacement, Having had Plans Affected by Those Experienced Drivers, and Having Experienced Most Recently. Significant p Values (<.05) for MH-NMH Differences are Followed in Parentheses by Cramer's V Effect Sizes.

Drivers	Have ever experienced but did not affect plans				Have ever experienced and affected plans				Most recently experienced and affected plans			
	MH	NMH	Total	p (V)	MH	NMH	Total	p (V)	MH	NMH	Total	p (V)
Extreme heat	43.8	56.2	49.3	.698	50.6	49.4	20.5	<.001 (.073)	48.9	51.1	14.0	.168
Extreme rain / precipitation	48.3	51.7	31.9	<.001 (.066)	50.7	49.3	18.3	<.001 (.069)	52.3	47.7	10.1	.381
Fire risk	43.5	56.5	29.5	.641	49.8	50.2	18.8	<.001 (.061)	47.5	52.5	7.9	.316
Road closures	48.0	52.0	26.2	.001 (.054)	50.1	49.9	21.2	<.001 (.070)	44.6	55.4	7.7	.023 (.083)
Lack of parking / limited available parking	47.5	52.5	37.4	<.001 (.062)	51.7	48.3	14.6	<.001 (.068)	48.4	51.6	7.2	.150
Site closures	40.9	59.1	27.5	<.001 (.084)	43.5	56.5	17.7	<.001 (.072)	50.2	49.8	6.7	.721
Active fire	51.6	48.4	16.2	<.001 (.072)	49.5	50.5	17.4	<.001 (.056)	53.2	46.8	6.2	.174
Wind events	45.9	54.1	42.1	.016 (.041)	54.6	45.4	14.4	<.001 (.092)	57.7	42.3	6.2	.228
Crowding – at attractions	46.7	53.3	40.9	.002 (.054)	52.8	47.2	13.2	<.001 (.073)	51.5	48.5	5.9	.606
Poor air quality	47.0	53.0	30.3	.006 (.047)	48.4	51.6	15.0	.013 (.042)	47.8	52.2	5.9	.834
Crowding – along the trail	48.0	52.0	33.3	<.001 (.064)	52.2	47.8	13.1	<.001 (.068)	48.4	51.6	5.5	.175
Drought / low water level	42.5	57.5	42.7	.337	52.4	47.6	12.3	<.001 (.068)	55.5	44.5	5.1	.277
Trash, litter, graffiti, etc.	47.3	52.7	38.8	<.001 (.061)	55.1	44.9	10.9	<.001 (.082)	50.3	49.7	4.1	.145
Conflict with others' activities	51.4	48.6	25.1	<.001 (.093)	62.1	37.9	8.4	<.001 (.114)	64.3	35.7	3.6	.506
Conflict with others (discrimination, harassment, etc.)	57.7	42.3	17.2	<.001 (.130)	60.3	39.7	8.3	<.001 (.102)	62.5	37.5	2.8	.598

MHs reported experiencing summary level displacement types (shaded rows, Table 4) for spatial, temporal, activity, companion, and total (changed experience) displacement at a higher frequency than NMHs. Five subtypes exhibited significant differences: “different national forest” (spatial), “different month” and “different season/time of year” (temporal), and “land-based to water-based activity” and “water-based to a different water-based activity” (activity). MHs reported experiencing each of these at a significantly higher frequency.

Of the six summary level displacement types (asked in broad initial questions before directing respondents to specific measures within each), excluding total (canceled plans), companion displacement was reported by the highest percentage of multigenerational respondents, had the largest effect size based on Cramer's V, and showed the largest gap between household groups (59.9% of MH and 40.1% of NMH respondents). Additionally, 10.7% of all respondents experienced companion displacement most recently (the second-lowest percentage). Thus, although companion displacement was experienced by only a small percentage of respondents, it had the largest percentage

difference (19.8%) between MH and NMHs. Differences in response rates for companion displacement subtypes were indistinct and less stratified than others.

Table 4

Percentages (%) of Multigenerational Household (MH; n=1,522) and Non-Multigenerational Household (NMH; n=1,978) Respondents Reporting Have Experienced Summary-Level (Shaded Rows) and Subtypes of Displacement. Total Percentages Experienced (%) for Summary-Level Displacement Types are Provided. Specific Displacement Types are Reported as Percentages of the Summary-Level Type. Significant p Values (<.05) for MH-NMH Differences are Followed in Parentheses by Cramer's V Effect Sizes.

Displacement Type	MH	NMH	p (V)
Spatial (18.8% experienced)	50.7	49.3	<.001 (.070)
Different site, same forest	53.1	46.9	.100
Different national forest	58.8	41.2	<.001 (.137)
Different outdoor recreation location (city park, etc.)	52.6	47.4	.469
Temporal (26.0% experienced)	53.0	47.0	<.001 (.114)
Different time of day	53.5	46.5	.822
Different day of the week	55.9	44.1	.132
Different month	62.1	37.9	<.001 (.117)
Different season / time of year	58.8	41.2	.044 (.067)
Changed amount of time spent there	50.0	50.0	.280
Activity (19.4% experienced)	50.1	49.9	<.001 (.066)
Land-based to water-based activity	57.9	42.1	.002 (.120)
Land-based to a different land-based activity	50.7	49.3	.763
Water-based to land-based activity	54.5	45.5	.100
Water-based to a different water-based activity	66.5	33.5	<.001 (.200)
Changed the level of challenge	43.9	56.1	.076
Companion (10.7% experienced)	59.9	40.1	<.001 (.115)
Decided to recreate alone	60.2	39.8	.941
Decided to recreate with others	63.1	36.9	.270
Recreated with a smaller group	60.7	39.3	.735
Recreated with a larger group	65.5	34.5	.077
Recreated with a group with more experience	61.0	39.0	.674
Recreated with fewer children in the group	62.0	38.0	.590
Recreated with fewer people with limitations (mobility, health conditions)	57.1	42.9	.673
Total – Chose a different experience (12.0% experienced)	53.0	47.0	<.001 (.071)
Total – Canceled all plans (9.0% experienced)	39.4	60.6	<.001 (.026)

Discussion and Implications

This inquiry identified MHs as a meaningful and independent factor in displacement research. This connects with literature on recreation behavior variations by demographics and cultural groups (e.g., Flores & Sánchez, 2020; Kamo, 2000; Thomas et al., 2022) that suggests, while companions are important factors influencing recreation behaviors, effects are unequal and vary by identity. Those in MHs are often minority or immigrant groups seeking familial social support (Kamo, 2000) and needing this social aspect for a positive recreation experience. MH recreationists experienced plan-altering displacement drivers and types more frequently. Conversely, our results imply that NMHs are more likely to have experienced drivers yet gone ahead with their plans. This highlights the importance of continuing to ask these groups about their coping

behaviors and the opportunity managers have to provide them with safe and enjoyable recreation experiences. Our inductive research is an initial inquiry into the concept of MHs or NMHs and its relation to recreation drivers and displacement. Further research should investigate differences identified in this study (e.g., active fire, conflict) and what factors may influence them (e.g., cultural, group dynamics). For example, perceptions about fire may relate to cultural differences about family bonds and perceptions about fear/safety and thus influence higher rates of companion displacement, among others.

MHs reported experiencing displacement, having their plans affected, and using a variety of coping mechanisms at higher rates. The only summary-level displacement type reported at a significantly higher frequency for NMHs was total (canceled plans). This suggests that MHs are more likely to cope than cancel recreation plans. MHs appear to be using a variety of behavioral coping mechanisms in their displacement (e.g., different month, different national forest). Further research could investigate whether respondents are using multiple adaptations simultaneously (e.g., different month and different forest).

Management implications ensue. Tailored messaging could target MHs and offer support aligning with the displacement drivers most likely to affect their recreation experiences, aiming toward quality engagement. For example, messaging that discussed trails that cater to a range of ages and skillsets could combat companion displacement, which is more likely to be experienced by MHs. Beyond signage, managers could support MHs by designating spatial or temporal zoning (e.g., universally accessible interpretive infrastructures and programming) that allows MH recreationists to effectively cope with conflict-related displacement pressures through site design. Similarly, proactive programming, such as trip planning, crowding and conflict avoidance, and extreme weather preparation, could help mitigate MH displacement drivers without MH-specific programming.

As recreationists from MHs appear to be more displacement-sensitive across drivers but are potentially imparting a recreation ethic and land stewardship across generations, managers should consider these recreationists as vital. Protected area managers may be interested in coordinating local social services and advocacy groups to assist MHs with national forest access, and managers may need to work with these groups to learn more about them and to offer guidance about effective displacement strategies in accordance with specific drivers. This research could potentially inform staffing allocation, resources, and targeted messages to impacted recreationists in MHs.

Conclusion

Displacement types can differ by social identity. Recreationists residing in MHs are a distinct identity warranting research study and managerial attention. Our inquiry demonstrates that MHs may be disproportionately affected by the displacement drivers they experience, such as conflict with other uses and users, whereas NMHs' plans are less likely to be affected by experienced drivers. Additionally, MHs may be more likely to experience displacement types, such as choosing a different national forest or choosing a different month to visit, at a higher frequency. Future MH research could yield strategies for safer and more satisfactory recreation experiences. By ensuring MH visitors can branch out without being displaced, managers may keep their connection to the forest firmly rooted for ages to come.

Disclosure Statement: The authors have no disclosures or competing interests to declare.

Funding: Financial support for this work was provided by the Pacific Southwest Research Station of the U.S. Forest Service, Department of Agriculture (Agreement 22-JV-31-011).

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