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Proceedings of the 1997 Northeastern Recreation Research Symposium

April 6 - 8, 1997
Bolton Landing, New York

Northeastern Recreation Research Symposium Policy Statement

The Northeastern Recreation Research Symposium seeks to foster quality information exchange between recreation, tourism, and resource managers and researchers throughout the Northeast. The forum provides opportunities for recreation and tourism research managers from different agencies, states, and government levels, as well as those in the private sector to discuss current issues, problems, and research applications in the field. Students and all those interested in continuing education in recreation and tourism management are particularly welcome.

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Proceedings of the 1997 Northeastern Recreation Research Symposium

April 6 - 8, 1997

On Lake George in Bolton Landing, New York

Compiled and Edited by:

Hans G. Vogelsong
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Table of Contents

Recreation, Protected Areas and Social Science

Recreation, Protected Areas, and Social Science: Where are we Going? 3
Brian R. Payne

Water Based Recreation Management Studies

Watercraft User Characteristics, Management Preferences, and User Encounters on the Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River: 1979 - 1996 7
Steven Bowes, and Chad Dawson

Customer Satisfaction at US Army Corps of Engineers-Administered Lakes: A Compilation of Two Years of Performance Data 12
Robert Burns, Alan R. Graefe, and John Titre

Forest Recreation Management Studies

Identifying Functional Communities for Use in Forest Planning and Decisionmaking 17
Pamela J. Jakes and Thomas E. Fish

Recreational Aspects of Forestland Easements in the Northern Forest Region of New York State 21
Steven Bick, Harry Haney, and Chad Dawson

Public Recreation on Private Forests: No More Guarantees 25
Barry McPhee

Outdoor Recreation Management Studies

Permitting Pets in Florida State Park Campgrounds - Selected Perceptions of Campers 33
Andrew Holdnak, Stephen Holland, and Tony Fedler

Parables and Paradigms: An Introduction to Using Communication Theories in Outdoor Recreation Research 36
James Absher

The Relationship Between Activity Specialization and Preferences for Setting and Route Attributes of Selected Rock Climbers 40
Kurt Merrill and Alan R. Graefe

Statistical Tests and Measures for the Presence and Influence of Digit Preference 44
Jay Beaman and Michel Grenier

Personal Benefits Of Public Open Space: A case Study of Boston's Arnold Arboretum 51
Thomas More and John Blackwell

An Exploratory Comparison of Motivations and Crowding Norms Between Ethnic Groups in Downhill Ski Areas of New York State and Korea 56
Chung In Park and Chad Dawson

Movies and Mood: An Exploration of the Critical Variables Related to Mood States 60
Laura Payne and Tammie Shaw

Minority Group Participation in Recreational Fishing: The Role of Demographics and Constraints 64
Kelly Finn and David Loomis

Estimation of Economic Impact of Recreation and Tourism

The Economic Impact of Snowmobiling in Maine 73
Steve Reiling, Matthew Kotchen, and Rod Bennett

A Comparison of Estimates of Statewide Pleasure Trip Volume And Expenditures Derived From Telephone Versus Mail Surveys 78
Dae-Kwan Kim, Daniel Spotts, and Donald Holecek

Place Meaning and Attachment

Sense of Place: Mount Desert Island Residents and Acadia National Park 85
Nicole Ballinger and Robert Manning

A Typology of Place Attachment and Activity Involvement 89
Anrew Mowen, Alan R. Graefe, and Randy Virden

International Students' Image of Rural Pennsylvania as a Travel Destination 93
Po-Ju Chen and Deborah Kerstetter

Tourism Studies

Segmenting Michigan Tourists Based on Distance Traveled 101
Xiamei Xu, Tsao-Fang Yuan, Edwin Gomez, and Joesph Fridgen
Trip Experiences and Tourists' Motivation 106
Joseph Chen, Alan R. Graefe, and Deborah Kerstetter
It's Real Sustainable Tourism Development: Case Studies from the Heartland 108
Steven Burr
Scale Issues in Tourism Development 112
Sinji Yang, Lori Pennington-Gray, and Don Holecek

Nature - Based Tourism Planning and Development

An Empirical Investigation of Adventure-based Incentive Travel Programs: Exploring the Relationship Between Benefits Sought, Demographic and Travel Behavior Variables, And Expected Activity Level 119
Kelly Bricker, Stuart Cottrell, and Peter Verhoven
Relationships Between Motivations, Activities, and Settings: The Recreation Opportunity Spectrum within the Delaware State Park System 124
Hans Vogelsong, Alan R. Graefe, John Confer, Dave Solan, and Jennifer Kramp

Park and Customer Management

Balancing Quality Customer Service with Financial Returns in Privatized Park Services 131
Glen Alexander
Development of a Computerized Maintenance Management System at the New York State Department of Environmental Conservation 138
Francis Riedy and Dan Skelton
Forest Industry Hunt-Lease Programs in the South: Implications for Managers 141
Allan Marsinko, David Guynn, and Don F. Roach II

Values

Why Study Values? 147
Pamela Jakes
Valuing Wetland Attributes in the Lake Champlain Basin 151
Don Dennis and Walter Kuestzel
Landowner Values, Water Quality, and Recreation in the Lake Champlain Basin 155
Walter Kuentzel and Don Dennis
Spiritually Beneficial Aspects of Wilderness Recreation Experiences 163
Laura Fredrickson

Historic, Heritage, and Cultural Tourism

Walking Through Time: Heritage Resources Within the Appalachian Trail Corridor 171
David Lacy and Karl Roenke
The Effects of Summer Employment with Parks Canada on Students' Awareness of Heritage 174
Andrew Leuty and Dick Stanley
Behavioral Patterns of Muslims and Christians at the 1992 Karmeh Festival, The case of Lebanon 178
Houssam Chaar and Alan R. Graefe
The Effects of Festival Attributes Upon Perceptions of Crowding 182
Matthew Anderson, Deborah Kerstetter, and Alan Graefe
Perceptions and Status of Michigan as a Heritage Tourism State: Results of an Eleven Month Telephone Survey 186
Gail Vander Stoep
An Overview of Contemporary American Rodeo 193
Gene Theodori
Our Wilderness Heritage: A Study of the Compatibility of Cultural and Natural Resource Management 199
Karl Roenke and David Lacy

Volunteers and Partnerships

Achieving Success in Trail Related Partnerships: The Michigan State Forest Experience 203
Joel Lynch and Charles Nelson
Rural Watershed Partnerships: Lessons from West Virginia.. 207
Steve Selin, Alan Collins, and Susan Hunter

Recreation and Natural Resource Planning

Measuring the Benefits of Protected Areas: A Critical Perspective on the IUCN Guidelines................................. 215
Dick Stanley and Luc Perron
Emergent Issues in Forest Plan Revision: A Dialogue.. 220
Susan Stewart, Paul Monson, and Pamela Jakes
National Recreation Trails: An Overview 225
Joanne Tynon, James Harding, and Deborah Chavez
Demonstrating The Value of a Social Science Research Program
to a Natural Resource Management Agency 228
Pamela Jakes, John Dwyer, and Deborah Carr

Wildland Recreation

The Role of "Outdoor Capital" in the Socialization of Wildland Recreationists 237
Robert Bixler and Beverly Morris
Protecting and Managing Traditional Allagash Wilderness Waterway Recreation Activities................................ 243
Thomas Cieslinski
New England's Northeast Recreation Activity markets: Trends in the 90's... 246
Rod Warnick
Trends In Participation Rates for Wildlife-Associated Outdoor Recreation Activities by Age
and Race/Ethnicity: Implications for Cohort-Component Projection Models... 252
John Dwyer and Allan Marsinko
Cognitive Dimensions of Recreational User Experiences In Wilderness: An Exploratory
Study in Adirondack Wilderness Areas.. 257
Chad P. Dawson, Peter Newman, and Alan Watson

Poster Sessions

The Influence of Involvement and Outcome Messages on Consumer Reference Prices... 263
Gerard Kyle and Ercan Sirakaya
An Interactive Information Kiosk For The Adirondack Park Visitor Interpretive Center, Newcomb, NY 265
Lien Alpert and Lee Herrington
Monitoring Appalachian Trail Corridors: An Example of Volunteer Land Management 268
Robert Bristow, Greg Knoettner, and Rick Wagner
Valuing Impacts of Forest Quality Change: Recreation and New York's Allegheney State Park.......................... 272
James Booker and Russell Patterson
Recreational User Attitudes Towards Management Strategies of Allegheney State Park 276
Michael Nisengard and Miklos Gratzer
Incorporating Technical Rock Climbing into Protected Area Management: A Case
Example of Minnewaska State Park Preserve, New York State 282
Jennifer Cairo and Thomas Cobb

Index of Authors

Index of Authors 287

Conference Papers Not Submitted to the 1997 Proceedings

The following papers were presented at the 1997 NERR Symposium, but were not submitted for publication in the proceedings.

Water Based Recreation Management Studies

The Influence of Recreational Activities and Past Experience Upon Attitudes Toward Public Access to Lakes and Rivers in New Hampshire
Laura Pfister and Rob Robertson

An Examination of Recreation Boating Site - Specific Impact Parameters
John Confer, Alan R. Graefe, and John Titre

Forest recreation Management Studies

Fuzzy Boundaries: Special Forest Products, Recreation & Livelihood
Marla Emery

Perceptions and Valuation of Visibility in the White Mountain National Forest
Wendy Harper, Bruce Hill, and Lisa Stolzenthaler

Tourism Impacts and Transportation Issues

Traffic Congestion and Tourist Displacement: The Case of the NH Coastal Route 1A/1B
Rob Robertson and John Halstead

Environmental Needs and Facts - Tourist Activities Along Lake Balaton, Hungary
Laszlo Puczko and Tamara Rutz

Socio-cultural Impacts of Tourism at Lake Balaton, Hungary
Tamara Rutz and Laszlo Puczko

The Role of Lake Champlain Ferries as a Regional Tourist Transportation Link
Walter Kuentzel and Varna Ramaswamy

Outdoor Recreation Management Studies

Crowding and Activity Type on the Carriage Roads, Acadia National Park: A Conceptual and Empirical Analysis
Ben Minteer, William Valliere, and Robert Manning

A Geographic Approach to Understanding Recreation
Jo Beth Mullens and Robert Bristow

Camper Comments in Forest Preserve Campgrounds
Carl Wiederman and Timothy Moody

Estimation of Economic Impact of Recreation and Tourism

Classification of Regional Spending Profiles and Multipliers at Corps of Engineers Projects
Dennis Becker and Dennis Propst

Casino Gambling in New York State: A Broader Look at the Social and Economic Implications
Joel Frater

Place Meaning and Attachment

Factors influencing Resident's Attitudes Toward Downtown Redevelopment
Cindy Dabrowski, Ed Jansen, John Halstead, and Rob Robertson

Neighborhood Revitalization and Environmental Restoration: A Case Study for the Integration of Community Revitalization, Recreation, and Land Stewardship in Baltimore, Maryland
Morgan Grove

Tourism Studies

A Sensible Tourism Model: A Systematic Approach to Tourism Planning
Zaher Hallab and Joseph Chen

Nature - Based Tourism Planning and Development

Developing Nature -Based Tourism in Eastern Connecticut
Norman Bender and Nini Davis

Willingness to Financially Support Environmental Protection Initiatives in Tourism Destinations: A Study of College Students
Wendy Garpow and Rob Robertson

Park and Customer Management

Resource Management Guides for the Day to Day Protection, Maintenance, and Improvement of Parks and Historic Sites
Robert Reinhardt

Development of a Computerized Maintenance Management System at the New York State

NED: A User Controlled Decision - Support System for Forest Recreation Environments
James Palmer and Mark Twery

Measuring and Monitoring Customer Satisfaction: How Can it be Done Practically?
Gary Briere and David Loomis

Historic, Heritage, and Cultural Tourism

The Availability of and Needs for Information for Future Market Management
Philip Wang

Volunteers and Partnerships

Reasons for Volunteering and Amount of Time Contributed: A Study of New Hampshire Snowmobile Club Presidents
Michael Provost and Rob Robertson

Attributes of Effective Collaborative Initiatives in Forest Communities
Richard Beauchesne

Recreation and Natural Resource Planning

The Next Generation of Mooring Management Incorporates GPS and GIS
Trace Lang

Poster Sessions

GIS Applications to Tourism Analysis
Bruce Lord and Charles Strauss

New Hampshire Route 1A/1B Scenic Corridor Tourism Inventory and Visitor Needs Assessment
Melissa Rioux and Rob Robertson

Recreation Development in Adirondak Forest Preserve: An Application of GIS to Evaluate Recreation Opportunities
Chad Dawson

Values

WHY STUDY VALUES?

Pamela J. Jakes

Project Leader, North Central Forest Experiment Station, 1992 Folwell Ave., St. Paul, MN 55108

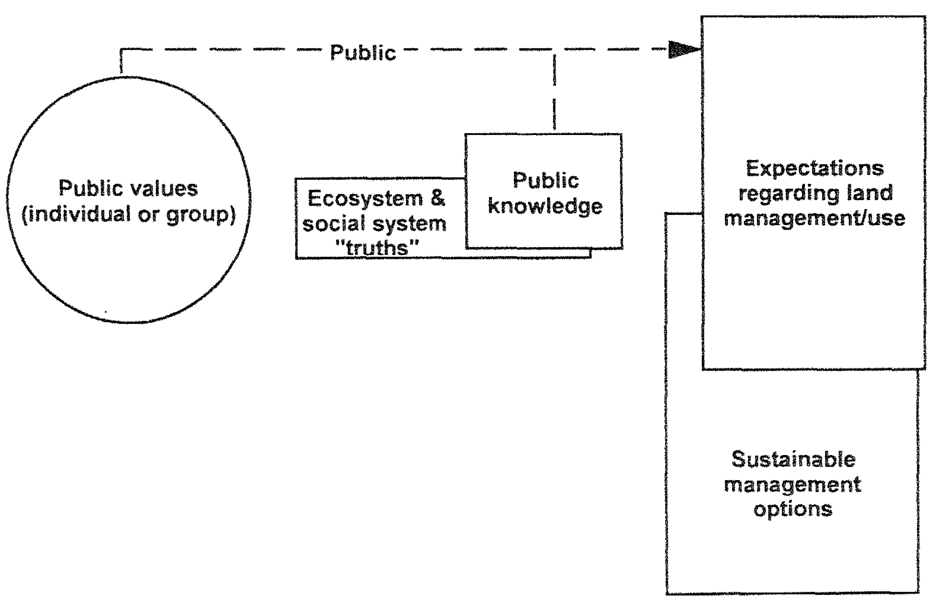
knowledge about societal or corporate values actually affect what we see on the land? This paper illustrates how information of societal values influences the outcomes of resource management and planning.

It's hard to find any discussion of the management and use of our forests and parks without seeing references to values—values are changing, we need to manage for multiple values, we need to manage for new users with different values from our traditional users. What do we mean when we talk about values? Values are "enduring beliefs that a particular mode of conduct or that a particular end-state of existence is personally and socially preferable to alternative modes of conduct or end-states or existence" (Rokeach 1968, p.550). More to the point, our values help define what we want and how we'll get it. But why should we, as public land managers and researchers, be concerned about values? The missions of many of our agencies are built on an interpretation of what the public wants and how they would like us to get there—the Department of Canadian Heritage (which includes Parks Canada) has as its mission "Building Our Future Together;" the U.S. National Park Service, "Caring for the American Legacy;" the U.S. Forest Service, "Caring for the Land and Serving People." An understanding of public values is critical to the successful implementation of our missions, in that we cannot hope to achieve them without public understanding and support for our goals and the steps necessary to reach them.

While our agencies appear to have legitimate interests in public values, let's think more generally about the importance of public values to the management and use of public lands. The model discussed here is very simplistic, and ignores many of the challenges of studying values related to natural resource management and use. However, despite its limitations, my colleagues and I at the North Central Forest Experiment Station have found this model very useful in illustrating the outcomes and benefits to be gained from a broader understanding of public values and their influence on natural resource management.

It's dangerous to talk about "the public" as if it is a homogenous group with similar values, attitudes, and behaviors. There is certainly more than one public, but for the sake of simplicity, I'll refer to the public, meaning the "owners" of the public lands. The public holds values regarding the management and use of public lands—they have criteria that tell them what these lands should look like (their end-state, perhaps desired future condition) and standards that tell them how they would like to see these lands managed to obtain these end-states (standards of action or conduct). When members of the public combine the knowledge they have about how things work (ecosystem and social system "truths") with the values they hold, they develop expectations regarding how the public lands should be managed to achieve a desired future condition. We may think their knowledge is faulty or incomplete, but regardless of our perceptions of the truth of what they know, their knowledge and values set up expectations (Figure 1).

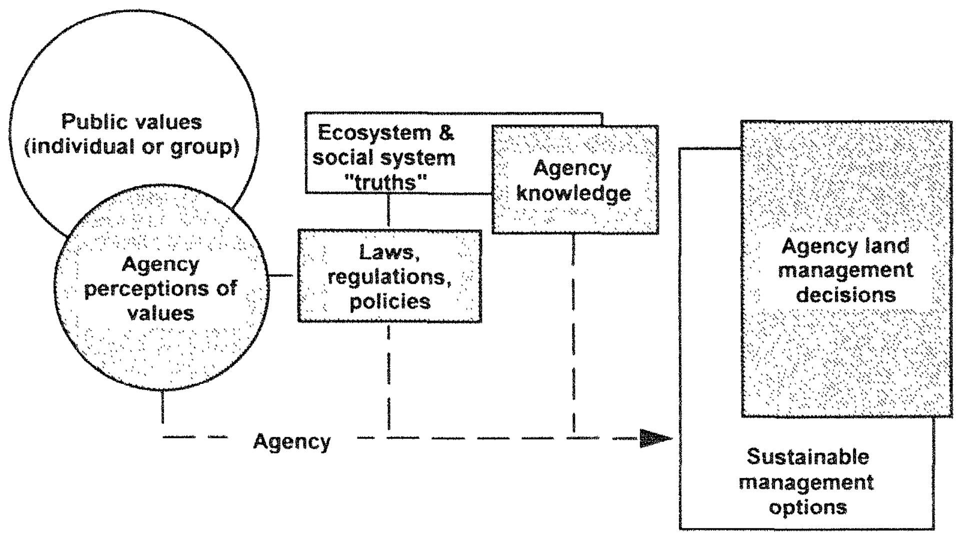
Figure 1.—When members of the public combine the values they hold with their knowledge of the ways things work, they develop expectations regarding land management and use.



Now, let's think about values from an agency perspective—perhaps a public park or forest. Agency employees have perceptions about public values, and these perceptions help them decide how to manage the public lands. Perhaps our reading of publics values tells us that the public would support a goal of restoring vegetation to pre-European conditions using management techniques that most closely mimic nature. Based on our perceptions of public values, we have selected a desired end-state for an area and a plan of action to obtain that end-state.

But we have more to consider than public values when making decisions about the management and use of the public lands. We also use our knowledge about ecosystems and social systems to help us make our decisions. In addition, as a formal institution involved in land management, we operate under a set of laws, regulations, and policies. So, we take our perceptions of public values and our knowledge about the way things work, and working within a legal and political framework we make decisions about how to manage public lands (Figure 2).

Figure 2.—Agencies use their knowledge of public values and the ways things work, and, within a framework of laws, regulations, and policies, make decisions about the way public land will be managed.



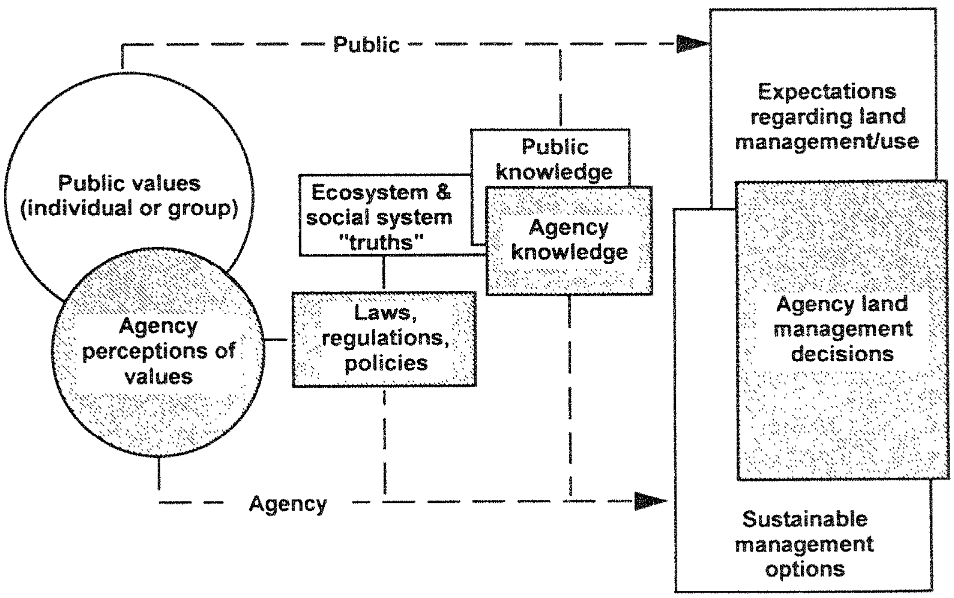
What we find, however, is that in many cases, our decisions regarding land management are not consistent with public expectations (Figure 3). This may be because the agency and the public are using different sets of knowledge. When we manage public lands, we primarily use objective knowledge, facts that we think accurately portray how ecosystems work—we use science. This information allows us to predict (with some acceptable degree of risk) how ecosystems will respond to our actions. We seldom draw on knowledge from art, literature, or religion, for example, to support our decisions. Yet the public often bases its expectations on this "less objective" knowledge. So, it's no wonder public expectations and agency management decisions don't match—we are indeed operating from different knowledge sets.

Agency staff also have less than perfect knowledge about public values. Our perceptions of public values are based on various forms of communication ranging from informal daily encounters to formal public involvement activities. Back to the example of restoring vegetation to pre-European conditions (restoration ecology). The southeastern district of the Minnesota Department of Natural Resources had identified restoration ecology as a high priority in its comprehensive watershed management plan. The had interrupted the interest of some local residents and the interest of their own staff as broad support for that activity. Yet when we conducted a survey of residents in the region we found little to no support for restoration ecology (Kelly and Sushak 1996). This does not mean that the Minnesota Department of Natural Resources can't or shouldn't do restoration ecology in southeastern Minnesota, but it does mean that to "sell" the program, they need to tie it to the values of local residents.

Finally, our management decisions may not match public expectations regarding land management and use because our options are limited by laws, regulations, and/or policies. For example, the laws relating to wilderness area management will simply not permit certain types of uses regardless of what the public wants or expects. The question is, what can we do to bring public expectations regarding public land management and use more in line with agency management options? Or, to take the alternative perspective, how can land management decisions better reflect public expectations regarding public land management and use?

One answer is public involvement (Figure 4). Through more and better communication with our partners and clients we can gain a more complete understanding of public values. We can begin to explain our programs and decisions using criteria that are important to the public, in ways that make sense to the public. This increasing public understanding of the trade-offs critical to natural resource management and use will change their expectations of what is possible. We can increase the public's knowledge about how things work not only from a bio-physical, scientific perspective but also from a social perspective. Public involvement can also increase our knowledge about how ecosystem and social systems work by exposing us to alternative forms of knowledge that are used and valued by the public.

Figure 3.—We often find that agency decisions regarding land management are not consistent with public expectations.



A second answer is research. Research can generate some of the same benefits as public involvement—a better understanding of public values and increased knowledge about old and new "truths." Research on public values can result in tools that allow us to monitor changes in public values and the development of new values related to the environment. It can also help us develop ways to include in our decisionmaking the more qualitative, "non-scientific" data known to and used by our clients and partners.

Today, more people than ever before are living near, using, or monitoring the management and use of our public lands. These people demand more and different things from these lands. Changes in expectations regarding land management and use have resulted in conflicts, manifest in the form of lawsuits, demands for home rule, aggressive political advocacy, and appeals of land management decisions and plans. By understanding public values we can make management decisions that better reflect public expectations. But this understanding of values also helps us define and describe the trade-offs and risks of various management alternatives in terms that make sense or are relevant to the public, resulting in a shift in public expectations regarding public land management and use. Our success in balancing public expectations with resource capabilities is the key to the survival of our agencies, but more importantly to the survival of the ecosystems we are responsible for managing and the communities dependent on their health and sustainability.

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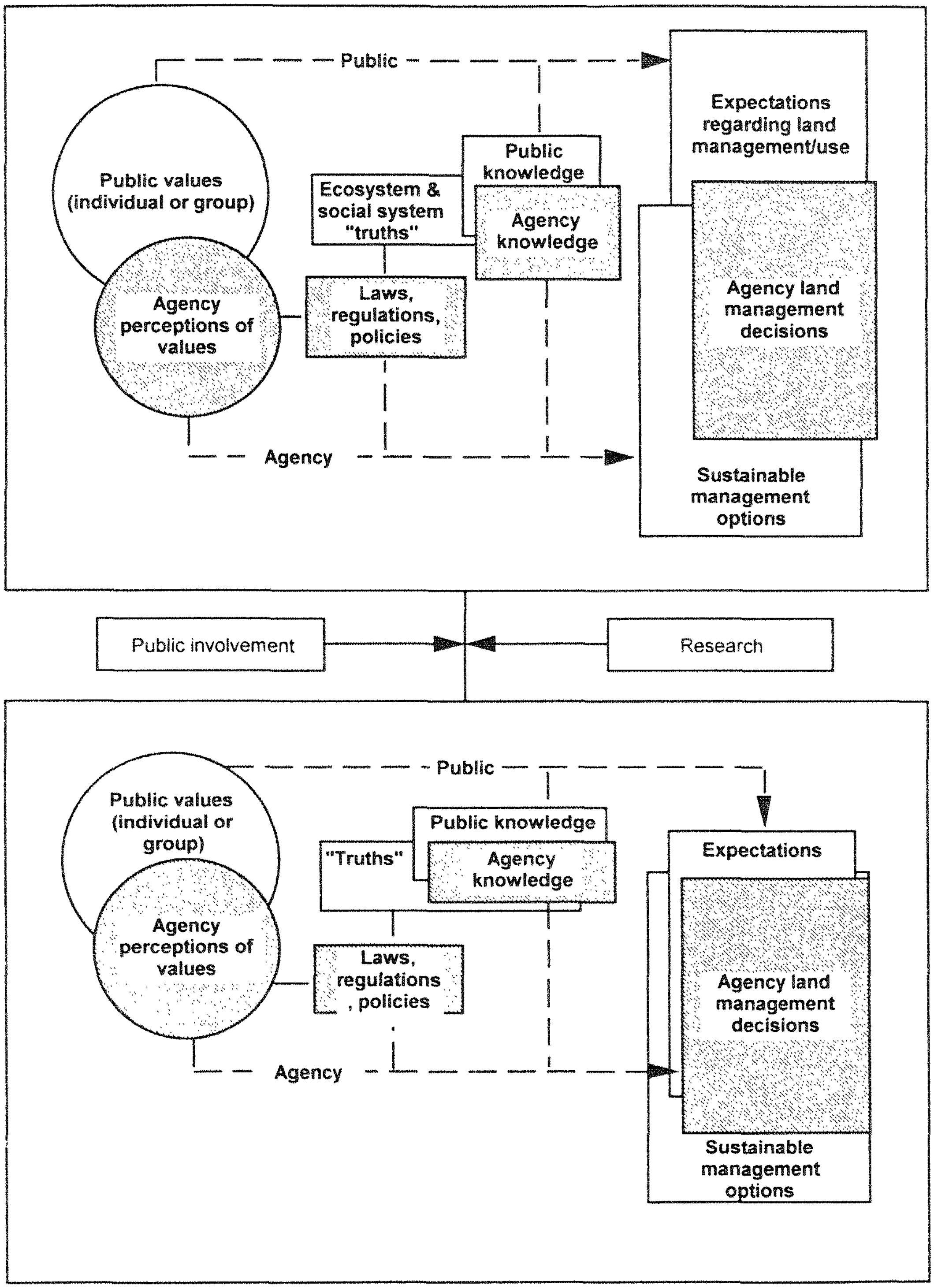

Figure 4.—Public involvement and research helps build understanding between the public and agency decisionmakers and brings public expectations regarding land management and use and agency decisions regarding land management more in sync.

VALUING WETLAND ATTRIBUTES IN THE LAKE CHAMPLAIN BASIN

Donald F. Dennis

Research Forester, USDA Forest Service, Northeastern Forest Experiment Station,
P.O. Box 968, Burlington, VT 05402

Walter F. Kuentzel

Assistant Professor, University of Vermont, School of Natural Resources,
Burlington, VT 05405

Abstract: This research explores the use of conjoint analysis to assess and understand wetland values. A conjoint rating survey was designed and mailed to landowners in the Laplatte River Basin (Lake Champlain) in Vermont. Landowners rated options to protect wetlands that varied by the wetland's ability to decrease pollutants entering Lake Champlain, value in providing food and shelter for wildlife, opportunities for outdoor recreation, surrounding land use, the presence of rare or unique vegetation, and cost to each household to protect. The analytical capabilities of the conjoint rating model are discussed.

Introduction

A high-quality water supply can enhance the biological, economic, and spiritual health of communities. Residents of the Lake Champlain Basin have become increasingly concerned about water quality in the region, and are especially concerned about how water quality can contribute to "livable" communities. Wetlands are an important component of the landscape and play a crucial role in maintaining and enhancing water quality. Wetlands filter and replenish groundwater, buffer the flow of pollutants between the land and open waters, and aid in flood control. Wetlands also provide crucial habitat for many species of fish and wildlife, opportunities for recreation and aesthetic enjoyment, as well as sites for industrial, commercial, and residential development. Landowners, anglers, birders, farmers, hunters, environmentalists, businesses, and the general public all claim status in issues concerning wetlands.

This study explores the values that landowners within the Laplatte River watershed may hold toward water quality in Lake Champlain and wetlands in the Laplatte River basin. This watershed is an appropriate site to study values and value conflict because it is a traditional agricultural region undergoing significant suburbanization pressure from nearby Burlington, Vermont--the largest metropolitan area in the state and region. An influx of new residents coupled with an expansion of different types of land use can produce a growing tension over water quality and wetland use.

Developing a cohesive policy toward wetland management requires balancing many concerns and values. In theory, the inherent efficiency of a free market economy will guide society to an optimal allocation of resources. However, many wetland values, such as aesthetics, wildlife habitat, and water purification, are not adequately represented in market transactions. These types of values are called externalities. Their presence, particularly those that result from the common property nature of wetland benefits, cause market-based decisions to be inefficient and often inappropriate. Recognizing the inadequacies of the market in allocating resources to protect wetlands, managers and policymakers seek a means to assess values associated with wetlands so that they can be duly considered in decisions and policy that influence wetlands.

In this paper we explore the use conjoint analysis to assess landowner preferences and valuation of various wetland features or attributes in the 34,000-acre LaPlatte River watershed. Conjoint analysis can provide a better measure of value than traditional methods (e.g., travel-cost, willingness-to-pay measures) because it explores multiple dimensions of value and examines more realistic tradeoffs.

Conjoint Analysis

Conjoint analysis, a technique for measuring psychological judgments, is used in marketing research to measure consumer preferences (Green et al. 1988). In conjoint studies, respondents make choices between alternative products or scenarios displaying varying levels of selected attributes. For example, when studying consumer preferences for features of automobiles respondents might be asked to choose between sample vehicles that vary in attributes such as cargo space, warranty length, price, gas mileage, acceleration, and country of manufacture. The objective is to decompose a set of factorially designed stimuli or attributes so that the utility of each attribute can be inferred from the respondent's overall evaluations. These data, which outline the preferences or tradeoffs that a respondent is willing to make, can be used to solve for the partial utilities for each attribute that are imputed from the overall tradeoffs. These partial utilities or "part-worths"can be combined to estimate relative preferences for any combination of attribute levels. Thus, the analyst obtains high leverage between the options actually evaluated by respondents and those that can be analyzed after the evaluation.

Conjoint techniques are well suited for soliciting and analyzing the preferences of stakeholders in environmental decisions. These decisions frequently entail tradeoffs between costs and benefits that are not represented efficiently in market transactions. For example, Opaluch et al. (1993) described an approach that used paired comparisons to rank potential noxious facility sites in terms of social impacts. Asking respondents to make choices between alternatives mimics the real choices that managers must make and shows stakeholders the consequences of their choices.

Choice experiments can be designed and analyzed in many ways. Respondents may be asked to reveal their preferences by choosing one of two or more options, ranking several options, or assigning numerical ratings to each option. Numerical ratings provide the most information but may place the greatest cognitive demands on respondents. Green (1974), Green and Srinivasan (1978), Louviere and Woodworth (1983), and Louviere (1988) provide information on experimental design in the context of conjoint analysis.

The Laplatte River Watershed Conjoint Survey

A conjoint rating survey was included within a survey of 1,600 landowners in the Laplatte River Basin during the fall of 1996. Approximately 57% of the mailed questionnaires were completed and returned. The 14-page questionnaire was designed to obtain information on landowner activities and values regarding water quality. The conjoint portion of the survey addressed landowner preferences for protecting wetlands with varying levels of selected features.

In the conjoint survey, landowners were asked to imagine that their town had the option to secure the development rights to one or more parcels of land that contain wetlands and to select the types of wetlands that they would most like to see protected. Each wetland differed by one or more of the following six features: ability to decrease the effect of pollutants entering Lake Champlain, value in providing food and shelter for wildlife, opportunities for outdoor recreation, surrounding land use, presence of rare or unique vegetation, and cost to each household to protect. The following descriptions appeared on the page proceeding the rating survey shown in Figure 1.

Effect on water quality: You will be asked to choose between wetlands with a low, medium, or high capacity to decrease the effects of pollutants, such as phosphorus or lawn fertilizers, on water quality in Lake Champlain.

Vegetation: Some wetland parcels contain rare or unique vegetation.

Wildlife habitat: Wetlands provide food and shelter for wildlife like migratory birds, waterfowl, local bird populations, and some mammals. The usefulness of a wetland for wildlife could be either low, medium, or high in this study.

Surroundings: The benefits of wetlands may depend on whether they are surrounded by forests, farms, or residences. For example, the retention of phosphorous or other pollutants may be greater in wetlands surrounded by farmland or residential development. Remote wetlands may be used by more wildlife but enjoyed by fewer people than those found in more developed settings.

Recreation: Wetlands may or may not provide opportunities for outdoor recreation such as fishing, wildlife viewing, hunting, and hiking.

Cost: Protection costs may differ according to the location of the wetland and generosity or goals of the landowner. In this example, the cost to each household ranges from $0 if a landowner donated the development rights to as much as $120 (in $40 increments) if development rights were purchased by the town. Respondents were instructed to assume that town tax revenues would be used to fund wetland protection.

Respondents rated each wetland on a 1 to 5 scale (Fig. 1). Each respondent rated a different set of alternatives consisting of a base option (#1 in Figure 1) common to all respondents, and four additional options that were randomly selected from the remaining 431 possible combinations of wetland features. The base wetland had the following features: a low ability to decrease the effects of pollutants on water entering Lake Champlain, a low value for providing food and shelter to wildlife, did not provide opportunities for outdoor recreation, was surrounded by forestland, did not contain rare or unique vegetation, and would be free to protect. The base option was positioned randomly among the five alternatives.

Analytical Model

Although statistical analyses have not been completed, we will outline the basic procedures that will be used for analyzing the conjoint data as well as the types of results expected. When presented with a set of alternatives, individuals are assumed to make choices that maximize their utility or satisfaction. The utility that the ith individual derives from the choice of the jth alternative (U_{ij}) can be represented as:

$$U_{ij} = \sum_{m=0}^{5} b_n \; x_{nij} + e_{ij}$$

where the x_{nij}'s represent values for each of n attributes of the jth alternative to the ith individual, b_n's are unknown parameters, and the e_{ij}'s are random disturbances, which may reflect unobserved attributes of the alternatives, random choice behavior, or measurement error. In the empirical study under consideration, a respondent's utility level (U_{ij}) for each of the J wetland alternatives is not observed but a rating (r_j) is observed that corresponds to his or her underlying utility.

Following McKenzie (1990, 1993) and others, the analytical capabilities of the conjoint rating model can be illustrated by assuming that rating (r_j) can be modeled as a linear combination of the variables representing the attribute levels:

$$r_j = a + b_1x_{1j} + b_2x_{2j} + \dots + b_nx_{nj} \qquad (2)$$

The estimated part-worths (b_n's) measure the effect of a discreet change in the level of the associated attribute on overall preference for protecting a particular wetland. Thus, one can determine the relative contribution or reduction in desire to protect wetlands that can be attributed to a change in a particular wetland attribute or feature.

Relative overall preference for wetland protection can be determined by summing across Equation 2. By doing so, a group of wetland parcels can be prioritized by desire to protect. Similarly, the optimal mix of wetland features can be determined by maximizing Equation 2.

Figure 1. The conjoint portion of the LaPlatte River watershed survey.

Please imagine that your town can secure the development rights to one or more parcels of land that contain wetlands. Each wetland will provide different benefits, and will cost a different amount to protect. Please rate each of the five options below on a scale of 1 to 5. Use 5 for the parcel that you definitely would vote to protect, and 1 for the parcel that you definitely would not vote to protect. If you are not sure, use 2 thru 4 to indicate how likely you would be to vote for each parcel.

	WETLAND PARCELS #1	#2	#3	#4	#5
Ability to decrease pollutants entering Lake Champlain	LOW	MED	HIGH	HIGH	LOW
Value in providing food and shelter for wildlife	LOW	HIGH	HIGH	MED	MED
Opportunities for recreation	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES
Is surrounded by	FOREST	FARM	HOMES	HOMES	FOREST
Rare or unique vegetation	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO
Cost to each household	$0	$40	$80	$40	$120
	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓
Please write a score from 1 to 5 for each option	______	______	______	______	______

WRITE SCORES HERE USING THE SCORING SYSTEM BELOW

would definitely not vote for	would probably not vote for	neutral	would probably vote for	would definitely vote for
1	2	3	4	5

The marginal rate of substitution (MRS) is the rate at which an individual is willing to trade one good for another while remaining equally well off (Nicholson 1978). The MRS or acceptable tradeoff of one attribute for another is determined by the ratio of the marginal responses. Setting the total differential of (2) to the point of indifference and solving:

$$dr_j = b_1 dx_{1j} + b_2 dx_{2j} + \ldots + b_n dx_{nj} = 0 \qquad (3)$$

$$dx_{1j} / dx_{2j} = -b_2 / b_1$$

yields the marginal rates of substitution or the acceptable tradeoffs for the respective attributes.

If the linearity assumption is not tenable, the analyses become more complicated but the basic reasoning remains.

Summary

Conjoint techniques are well suited for soliciting and analyzing the preferences of stakeholders in decisions that entail tradeoffs between costs and benefits that are not efficiently represented in market transactions. A conjoint rating survey was used to solicit landowner preferences for protecting wetlands with varying levels of six features: ability to decrease the effect of pollutants entering Lake Champlain, value in providing food and shelter for wildlife, opportunities for outdoor recreation, surrounding land use, presence of rare or unique vegetation, and cost to each household to protect.

Although the statistical analyses have not been completed, we outlined the basic procedures used to estimate the relative contribution of different wetland features to preference for protection, a means to prioritize wetlands by the overall composition of features, and a procedure for estimating respondent's willingness to trade among wetland features and cost. Additional work will include relating preference structures to demographic, behavior, and value-related variables that were assessed in other portions of the questionnaire.

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LANDOWNER VALUES, WATER QUALITY, AND RECREATION IN THE LAKE CHAMPLAIN BASIN

Walter F. Kuentzel, 357 Aiken Center, School of Natural Resources, University of Vermont, Burlington, VT, 05405.

Donald F. Dennis, Northeastern Forest Experiment Station, P. O. Box 968, Burlington, VT, 05402.

Abstract: This study describes landowner values about water quality among resident landowners in the LaPlatte River watershed, tests whether suburbanization is producing a new mix of social values, analyzes the relationship between values and behaviors, and explores the link between recreation and water quality advocacy. Results showed that residents hold pro-environmental values, although the region is not a stronghold of environmentalism. There was a clear "flatlander" effect, with newcomers holding more pro-environmental values than long term residents. Long term residents used their land more intensively than newcomers. There was a weak relationship between values and land use behaviors, although long-term residents showed more consistency between values and behaviors. Finally, recreational preference was not related to one's values about clean water.

Water quality is an issue of widespread public concern in the Lake Champlain Basin of Vermont and Upstate New York. Ecologists, anglers, environmentalists, boaters, community officials, and other stakeholders want to improve the quality of fishing, drinking water, and recreational opportunities on the Lake. Water quality has traditionally been the domain of ecologists who treat human activity as an exogenous variable, and who focus on how people affect the integrity of natural systems. Less research, however, has analyzed the collective social processes that are linked to individual land uses that may affect water quality. This paper explores the relationship between the social values of landowners in the LaPlatte River watershed in Vermont and their land-use behaviors that may affect wetlands in the watershed and water quality in Lake Champlain. Further, no research has explored how contemporary recreational constituencies among residents in the region may influence the campaign for clean water in the Lake Champlain basin. This paper therefore explores whether social change in the LaPlatte River watershed may produce new recreational constituencies who are stronger advocates of clean water in the Lake Champlain basin.

Why Social Values?

Values and Social Conflict

Clean water in the Lake Champlain basin is a recreational amenity that has been an ongoing challenge as the region experiences social change. In the Burlington, Vermont region, large industries historically located on the waterfront have given way to green-space development and service sector development. Agriculture is giving way to increasing suburbanization in the Burlington vicinity as population growth in surrounding rural areas outpaces growth in the urban center. This change has not occurred in an environment of public consensus, however (see, for example, the Pine Street Barge Canal controversy; Burlington Free Press, 1995, 1996).

One way of understanding public controversy is by analyzing the matrix of social values among stakeholders in water quality policy (Stankey & Clark, 1991). Many observers point to fundamental shifts in the values of society as the cause of emergent conflicts over natural resource use (Brooks and Grant 1992, Salwasser 1990, Williams 1991). Controversy can arise when different constituencies value amenities like water quality differently. Anglers may desire restrictions on agricultural runoff because they value clear water that favors lake trout, whereas farmers may resent such restrictions because they value productivity and profitability more than water clarity. Similarly, birders may value a productive wetland for wildlife habitat, while some local residents may fill wet areas on their property because they value an insect-free yard. In a society that encourages and enables litigation over environmental policy, divergent social values can produce controversies where public debate is more contentious and compromise is more difficult. Understanding these divergent social values may help to smooth the policy making process.

The "Flatlander" Effect

One factor closely associated with suburbanization is the "flatlander" effect. As in most regions of the country, those who claim the "native" label do so with pride. Their lineage that goes back several generations often makes them community leaders and gives them tacit authority to define the meaning and the character of the place. Newcomers to these places are often labeled outsiders, or "flatlanders" in Vermont. They bring new ideas and points of view that may or may not be compatible with local values. In other words, they bring a new mix of social values into communities with established routines and institutions.

The LaPlatte River watershed is a particularly appropriate site to study values and value conflict. It is a traditional agricultural region undergoing significant suburbanization pressure from nearby Burlington, Vermont - the largest metropolitan area in the state and region. Additionally, real estate in parts of this watershed has become some of the most expensive in the state. The watershed may be attracting the professional baby-boomer in the height of careers and earning power. The area may also be attracting a generation of newcomers whose land-use values were prompted by the environmental movement of the last 25 years.

Values and Behavior

If the mix of landowner values in the LaPlatte River watershed is changing because of an influx of "flatlanders" who are expanding the boundaries of Burlington's suburbs, are prevalent land-use behaviors in the watershed also changing? That is, do certain social values produce certain kinds of behaviors that may affect water quality in the watershed and in Lake Champlain? This paper explores the relationship between landowner values and their intensity of land use behaviors (lawn and garden, woods, wetlands, and agricultural) that may affect water quality in the watershed.

This causal relationship between values and behaviors may be problematic. LaPiere's study of racial attitudes and behaviors, which showed no correlation between attitudes and behaviors (LaPiere, 1934), set in motion 60 years of attitude/behavior research. Overall, the attitude literature includes two theoretical traditions that help explain the attitude/ behavior relationship. First is cognitive structure of attitudes. Attitudes are not simply isolated information bites stored in people's heads, and mechanically accessed to direct behavior. Instead, attitudes are a complex cognitive mix of values, beliefs, emotions, preferences, and intention (Heberlein, 1981; Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975). Attitudes with more elaborate cognitive structure are better crystallized (Sherif & Hoveland, 1961), more accessible, and more behaviorally relevant (Fazio, Chen, McDonel, & Sherman, 1982). Second is attitude specificity. General attitudes are poor predictors of specific behaviors (Heberlein & Black, 1976). For example, one may hold an attitude that ozone depletion is a serious problem facing the world, but this attitude may not cause that individual to drive his or her car less and take public transportation more.

Therefore, this may mean that values are even poorer predictors of behavior than attitudes. Attitudes require an attitude object, and are specifically linked to empirical objects or events in the world. Values are general orientations that provide an evaluative framework or lens to the world, and predispose one to react positively or negatively to the events. This paper therefore explores the degree to which one's wetland and water quality values affects their subsequent land use behaviors that may affect water quality.

Social Values and Recreation

Finally, this paper explores the relationships of landowner values to their preferences for certain types of wetland-related recreation activities and experiences. If suburbanization is attracting baby-boomer residents to the watershed who bring pro-environmental values, do they also prefer certain types of value-consistent recreational experiences? Do the natives, who may use their land in more traditional ways, prefer a consumptive mix of recreational experiences like hunting, fishing, and trapping? Conversely, do the "flatlanders" with pro-environmental values prefer a nonconsumptive mix of recreational experiences such as bird watching, cross country skiing, hiking, or photography? Could these outsiders also bring a stronger sense of advocacy to the clean water campaign in the Lake Champlain basin?

Methods

Study Area

This paper uses data from a survey administered during the fall of 1996 to landowners in the LaPlatte River Watershed in Vermont. This watershed includes parts of 4 townships in Northwest Vermont: Charlotte, Shelburne, Hinesburg, and Williston. The area includes classic New England towns interspersed with rolling agricultural lands. The watershed is a glaciated strip of land sandwiched between the Green Mountains to the east and the shores of Lake Champlain to the west. This glaciation left an extensive system of wetlands throughout the watershed, and rich agricultural soils.

The watershed's close proximity to Burlington has brought this area under increasing suburbanization pressure. The views of the Green Mountains to the east and the Adirondacks across the Lake to the west create high demand for real estate. Consequently, farms are being subdivided and towns are struggling with rapid development and condominiumization. Property values and property taxes in the LaPlatte Watershed are some of the highest in the state, causing difficulty for long time residents. Land in the watershed is therefore undergoing considerable pressure for change.

Mailed Survey

Researchers compiled a list of property owners from the town offices for all parcels in the LaPlatte River watershed. There were more than 2200 parcels in the watershed. The goal of the research was to survey all resident landowners, so we excluded any parcels owned by the towns, by business or industry, and by absentee owners. This created a list of 1620 property owners were sent questionnaires. We used three mailings to generate our responses: the original questionnaire mailing, a reminder post card two weeks later, and a second mailing of the questionnaire to nonrespondents two weeks following the post card mailing. There were 155 undeliverable questionnaires among the original group of resident landowners. We attempted to locate the undeliverables using a CD-Rom phone book. We were able to locate 30 of the undeliverables in this way. If they still lived in the watershed, we sent them another questionnaire. Finally, 843 returned questionnaires representing a 57.5% response rate.

Questionnaire

The questionnaire included items designed to measure the intensity of an individual's land use behaviors that could have an impact on water quality. Specifically, the questionnaire asked about lawn care, gardening, and farming practices: 1) application of herbicides, pesticides and fertilizers 2) frequency of work on lawns, gardens or farms, and 3) money spent on lawn or garden upkeep. Additionally, the questionnaire asked farmers about manure management techniques, and if they had recently changed to more conservation oriented farming practices. Finally, the questionnaire asked if landowners had managed or altered any woodlands or wetlands on their property. The woodland behaviors included 8 items that asked respondents if they had cleared trees from their property to enlarge their yard, improve their view, part of a timber sale, to "clean up" overgrowth, for safety reasons, etc. The wetland behaviors included 6 items that asked respondents if they had altered the flow of water across their property

Table 1. Comparison of utility values among long term residents and more recent residents of the LaPlatte River watershed.

VALUE STATEMENTS	Native Vermonter (n=116)	Moved From Elsewhere in Vermont (n=517)	Moved From Another State or Country (n=210)	Overall Mean	F	p
Utility Value - Wetlands are Useful Areas For:						
Site for Scientific Study	3.78_a	4.24_b	4.23_b	4.18	11.559	.000
Scenic Countryside	4.03_a	4.41_b	4.53_b	4.39	12.978	.000
Livestock Water Source	3.69_a	3.24_b	3.24_b	3.30	6.275	.002
Real Estate Investment	2.31	2.14	2.21	2.18	.904	ns
Floodwater Storage	3.96_a	4.20_b	4.33_b	4.20	6.294	.002
Improving Water Quality	4.00_a	4.29_b	4.35_b	4.27	6.180	.002
Nesting Ground for Birds	4.50_a	4.66_b	4.68_b	4.64	3.848	.022
Home for Endangered Species	4.19_a	4.47_b	4.54_b	4.45	6.746	.001
Land Use Standards - How Wetlands in VT Ought to be Used:						
The rights of landowners are more important than protection of wetlands	2.76_a	2.20_b	1.99_b	2.22	15.331	.000
Residential development around VT wetlands needs to be controlled more	3.62_a	3.78_{ab}	4.01_b	3.82	4.573	.011
Wetlands are nonproductive lands and do not deserve protection	2.25_a	1.66_b	1.52_b	1.70	20.453	.000
My land use practices have no effect on water quality in Lake Champlain	3.18	2.91	2.95	2.96	1.513	ns
It is important to maintain wetlands in their natural state - they are key to clean water	3.93_a	4.16_b	4.30_b	4.17	5.934	.003
Wetland protection should not stand in the way of agricultural productivity	2.83_a	2.22_b	1.92_c	2.23	21.834	.000
Global Environmental Values - Opinions on Water Quality Issues						
I'd make personal sacrifices to improve water quality even though the results seem insignificant	3.80	3.87	3.98	3.89	1.533	ns
Pollution is not personally affecting my life	2.16_a	1.92_b	1.85_b	1.93	3.297	.037
I would contribute time and/or money to a group that works to improve the quality of wetlands	3.15_a	3.27_a	3.54_b	3.32	5.867	.003
Humans have the right to modify the natural environment to suit their needs	2.28	2.17	2.34	2.22	1.731	ns
Environmental organizations are more interested in disrupting society than improving water quality	2.50_a	2.04_b	1.94_b	2.08	9.164	.000
The government need not regulate pollution since individuals will regulate their own behavior	2.04_a	1.57_b	1.52_b	1.62	12.630	.000

a/ Subscripts denote significant differences between groups at the .05 level.
b/ 1=strongly disagree, 2=probably disagree, 3=neither agree nor disagree, 4=probably agree, 5=strongly agree.

by landscaping, adding dry-fill dirt, installing drainage tiles, etc. These behavioral measure were then combined into four land use intensity scales: a lawn and garden scale, a farming scale, a woodland scale, and a wetland scale.

The questionnaire also included social value scales that measured value from three different theoretical traditions (Kuentzel, Tritton, Dennis, & Wang, 1995). The functional tradition defines value as the usefulness of an object for a human purpose. Value from this tradition asked respondents how useful they believed wetlands were and included items such as "for floodwater storage," "improving water quality for lakes and streams," "as a migratory bird resting area," "as scenic countryside," "a real estate investment," etc. The social utility tradition defines value as a collectively shared standard of appropriate activity where individuals embrace values in ways consistent with group membership. Values from this second tradition included items such as "it is important to maintain wetlands in their natural state because they are the key to having clean water," "wetland protection should not stand in the way of agricultural productivity," and "residential development around Vermont wetlands needs to be controlled more." Value from the third tradition is defined as a broad world view or the characteristic orientations of individuals toward the world where values act as selective lens, or frames of reference, for perceiving and dealing with objects and events encountered in everyday life. This world view tradition included items such as "I'd make personal sacrifices to improve water quality even though the results seem insignificant," 'pollution is not personally affecting my life," and "industry is trying its best to develop effective anti-pollution technologies."

This mix of value items addresses the value specificity question. The functional value statements are specific statements about utility outputs that wetlands provide people. The land use standard value items are more general than the functional value items, yet still specific to Vermont and water quality in the Lake Champlain region. Finally, the global environmental values are very broad value orientations toward the environment.

To measure people's preference for recreational experiences, we asked respondents if they felt wetlands were useful for the following types of activities: fur trapping, snowmobiling, cross country skiing, birdwatching, fishing, hunting, hiking, swimming, canoeing, and photography. These items were also measured on a 5-point Likert type scale from strongly disagree to strongly agree.

Finally, to measure the "flatlander" effect, we asked respondents if they had moved to their current residence from 1) somewhere else in Vermont, 2) from another state or country, or 3) if they had always lived at their current residence. The average years of residence for those who had always lived at their current residence was 34 years. The average years of residence for those who moved from somewhere else in Vermont was 11 years, and the average years of residence for those who moved from another state or country was 10 years ($F = 354.62$; $p < .000$).

Analysis

This study used analysis of variance to compare value differences between "natives" and "flatlanders" in the LaPlatte River watershed. It also calculated zero-order correlations between value statements and land-use intensity scales to explore the value/behavior relationship. The analysis also looked at the correlations between value statements and recreational preference statements.

Results

Values in the LaPlatte River Watershed

The results showed little variation among respondents in the utility value statements (Table 1). On average, residents agreed strongly that wetlands provided good nesting grounds for birds (_ = 4.64), are a home for endangered species (_ = 4.45), are scenic countryside (_ = 4.39), are useful for improving water quality (_ = 4.27), are good areas for floodwater storage (_ = 4. 20), and are a useful site for scientific study (_ = 4.18). Conversely they tended not to agree that wetlands make good real estate investments (_ = 2.18), and were neutral on whether wetlands provided a good livestock watering source (_ = 3.30). Standard deviations were relatively small on each of these items, and respondents uniformly recognized the usefulness of wetlands for various human and biological needs.

Table 1 also shows that respondents leaned toward wetland preservation values. They tended to agree with statements like "It is important to maintain wetlands in their natural state because they are the key to clean water" (_ = 4.17) and "residential development around Vermont's wetlands needs to be controlled more (_ = 3.82). They tended to disagree with statements like "wetlands are nonproductive lands and do not deserve protection" (_ = 1.70), "the rights of landowners are more important than the protection of wetlands" (_ = 2.22), and "wetland protection should not stand in the way of agricultural productivity (_ = 2.23). Standard deviations for these items were somewhat larger and average responses were not as extreme as were the utility value items.

Finally, respondents tended to hold pro-environmental values. They tended to agree with statements such as "I'd make personal sacrifices to improve water quality even though the results seem insignificant" (_ = 3.89), or "I'd contribute time and/or money to a group that works to improve the quality of wetlands (_ = 3.32. The sample disagreed with statements like "the government need not regulate pollution since individuals will regulate their own behavior" (_ = 1.62), "pollution is not personally affecting my life (_ = 1.93), and "environmental organizations are more interested in disrupting society than improving water quality (_ = 2.08).

Values and Suburbanization

Table 1 also shows a "flatlander" effect. Native Vermonters were significantly less likely than the other 2 groups to agree that wetlands are useful areas for scientific study, floodwater storage, nesting ground for birds, home for endangered species, or improving water quality. Conversely, they were more likely to agree that wetlands were a good livestock watering source. Native Vermonters were also less interested in wetland preservation. They were significantly more likely than the other 2 groups to agree with such statements as "the rights of landowners are more important than protection of wetlands," "wetlands are nonproductive lands and do not deserve protection," and "my land use practices have no effect on water quality in Lake Champlain." Conversely, native Vermonters were less likely than the other groups to agree that "residential development around Vermont wetlands needs to be controlled more," and "it is important to maintain wetlands in their natural state because they are the key to clean water." Finally, native Vermonters were not as pro-environmental as the other 2 groups. They were significantly less likely to "contribute time and/or money to groups working to improve the quality of wetlands." Conversely, native Vermonters were more likely to agree that "pollution is not personally affecting my life," "environmental organizations are more interested in disrupting society," and "the government need not regulate pollution since individuals will regulate their own behavior." Overall, there were strong value differences between long-term residents of the LaPlatte River watershed all their lives and newcomers to the watershed.

Table 2. Comparison of the intensity of land use behaviors among long term residents and more recent residents of the LaPlatte River watershed.

LAND USE SCALES	Native Vermonter (n=116)	Moved From Elsewhere in Vermont (n=517)	Moved From Another State or Country (n=210)	Overall Mean	F	p
Lawn and Garden Use Scale	38.58	41.67	52.63	43.98	.859	ns
Woodland Use Scale	8.91_a	3.05_b	1.71_b	3.52	7.765	.000
Wetland Use Scale	14.93_a	2.71_b	1.30_b	4.04	4.098	.017
Farm Use Scale	19.40_a	1.73_b	1.20_b	4.02	19.513	.000
Total Land Use Intensity Scale	77.98_a	48.88_b	45.90_b	52.15	3.655	.020

a/ Subscripts denote significant differences between groups at the .05 level.

Suburbanization and Land Use

The pressures of suburbanization also lead to different land uses behaviors in the LaPlatte River watershed. Table 2 shows that long-term residents of the watershed used their land more intensively than more recently transplanted residents of the watershed ($F = 3.65$; $p = .02$). Native Vermonters were significantly more likely to clear trees on their property, fill wet areas or alter the flow of water across their property, and use their land for agricultural purposes. There were no significant differences between the 3 groups in the intensity of lawn and garden use of their land.

Values and Land Use

Table 3 shows that values were not a powerful predictor of land use behaviors among landowners in the LaPlatte River watershed. Roughly a third (32.5%) of the correlations between values and behaviors were statistically significant. The results shows virtually no correlation between one's values and the intensity of their lawn and garden practices. There was a weak relationship between respondent values and the use of woodlands and wetlands on their property. Those who used their woodlands and wetlands more intensively were less likely to agree that wetlands are good areas for scientific study and a nesting ground for birds. They also were less likely to agree that wetlands were scenic resources. Similarly, those who used their woodlands and wetlands more intensely were more likely to agree that "wetland production should not stand in the way of agricultural productivity", and "the rights of landowners are more important than protection of wetlands." Conversely these woodland and wetland users were less likely to agree that "it is important to maintain wetlands in their natural state because they are the key to clean water." However, the more important message from these results is that one's values are not strongly related to the intensity of woodland and wetland uses by property owners.

Finally, values were more strongly related to agricultural uses of land in the LaPlatte River watershed. Those who used their land for farming were significantly less like to recognize the utility of wetlands for scientific study, for scenery, for floodwater storage, for improving water quality, as a nesting ground for birds, and as a home for endangered species. Similarly, they were significantly less interested in wetland preservation, and slightly less interested in pro-environmental causes.

The results in Table 3 also give some credence to the specificity argument. The more global environmental value statements were significantly correlated with only 2 out of 24 of the respondent's land use intensity scales. Conversely, a third of the utility value statement were significantly correlated with the land use behavior scales, and half of the land use standard statements were significantly correlated with the land use behavior scales (Table 3).

Overall, value statements were weakly correlated with land use behaviors. Values were more strongly correlated with more specific value statements. They were also more strongly correlated with agricultural practices.

Table 3. Zero-order correlations between value statements and scales measuring the intensity of land use behaviors.

	LAND USE INTENSITY			
VALUE STATEMENTS	Lawn & Garden	Woodland	Wetland	Farm
Utility Value - Wetlands are Useful Areas For:				
Site for Scientific Study	.006	-.091**	-.055	-.140**
Scenic Countryside	-.015	-.112**	-.106**	-.202**
Livestock Water Source	-.016	.013	.014	.022
Real Estate Investment	.009	-.033	.008	-.052
Floodwater Storage	.019	-.024	-.049	-.076*
Improving Water Quality	.021	-.035	-.052	-.096**
Nesting Ground for Birds	.020	-.083*	-.088*	-.077*
Home for Endangered Species	-.007	-.091**	-.059	-.140**
Land Use Standards - How Wetlands in VT Ought to be Used:				
The rights of landowners are more important than protection of wetlands	.005	.082*	.086*	.150**
Residential development around VT wetlands needs to be controlled more	.000	-.058	-.048	-.103**
Wetlands are nonproductive lands and do not deserve protection	.011	.030	.112**	.115**
My land use practices have no effect on water quality in Lake Champlain	.047	.021	-.009	.035
It is important to maintain wetlands in their natural state - they are key to clean water	.016	-.090*	-.084*	-.139**
Wetland protection should not stand in the way of agricultural productivity	-.030	.092*	.086*	.179**
Global Environmental Values - Opinions on Water Quality Issues				
I'd make personal sacrifices to improve water quality even though the results seem insignificant	-.032	-.022	-.029	-.058
Pollution is not personally affecting my life	-.022	.004	.030	.048
I would contribute time and/or money to a group that works to improve the quality of wetlands	.046	-.042	-.062	-.113**
Humans have the right to modify the natural environment to suit their needs	.017	.011	.037	.058
Environmental organizations are more interested in disrupting society than improving water quality	-.041	-.024	-.012	.023
The government need not regulate pollution since individuals will regulate their own behavior	-.028	.041	.059	.112**

a/ * - significant at < .05; ** - significant at < .01

Recreational Preference

Table 4 shows that the matrix of social values in the LaPlatte River watershed does not have a strong effect on recreational preference among residents. "Flatlanders," who hold stronger pro-environmental values are less likely than native Vermonters to perceive wetlands as an area for trapping, and more likely than native Vermonters to perceive wetlands as a place for birdwatching. There was not, however, a consumptive recreational emphasis among native Vermonters and a nonconsumptive recreational emphasis among "flatlanders."

Discussion

This has been an exploratory analysis of the relationship of landowner values and land use behaviors in an area of the Lake Champlain basin undergoing change through suburbanization. The data make four points that warrant further investigation.

First, on average, residents of the LaPlatte River watershed hold values that are environmentally favorable. They typically recognize the benefits wetlands provide for people and for ecosystems. They are generally in favor of wetland protection in the state and in the LaPlatte watershed. Finally, they generally hold pro-environmental attitudes and are attuned to the potential for human impacts on natural systems. These values among LaPlatte River watershed residents are consistent with a state that has a strong record of environmental protection, and consistent with a region of the state that has a history of environmental advocacy. The area, however, is not an environmentalist stronghold. There are enough long term residents who use the land in more traditional ways. There were 18 people among the respondents whose primary income still comes from farming. There were also several residents who expressed clear "property rights" values in comments written in the margins. Therefore, this

Table 4. Comparison of the recreational preferences in wetland regions among long term residents and more recent residents of the LaPlatte River watershed.

RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES	Native Vermonter (n=116)	Moved From Elsewhere in Vermont (n=517)	Moved From Another State or Country (n=210)	Overall Mean	F	p
Fur Trapping	3.17_a	2.66_b	2.75_b	2.76	6.047	.002
Winter Sports (Snow Mobile, XC ski)	3.54	3.30	3.47	3.37	2.455	ns
Birdwatching	4.33_a	4.49_b	4.59_b	4.49	4.251	.015
Fishing and Hunting	4.00	3.77	3.85	3.82	1.935	ns
Summer Sports (Hiking, canoeing)	3.78	3.96	3.97	3.93	1.276	ns
Gathering Plants	3.53_a	3.29_b	3.26_b	3.32	2.245	ns
Photography	4.05	4.18	4.16	4.16	1.006	ns

a/ Subscripts denote significant differences between groups at the .05 level.

suburbanizing region of the state is not an outlier in pro-environmental values, but instead contains a variety of values toward wetlands and water quality.

Second, there was a clear "flatlander"effect. Newcomers to the LaPlatte River watershed have brought different values to the area. These different values are indeed more pro-environmental. Conversely, native Vermonters who use their property in more traditional ways and who use their land more intensively hold values that are less consistent with contemporary environmental values. These native Vermonters were generally more opposed to regulatory solutions to water quality, and somewhat more mistrustful of environmental initiatives that would change their land use behaviors or threaten their profitability. As suburbanization continues, and former farmland continues to be subdivided, the values of native Vermonters and their traditional land uses may encounter increasing challenges.

Third, the relationship between values and land use behaviors was generally weak. Specifically, there was no relationship between lawn and garden use of land and one's value scores. Respondents generally did not make the link between water quality values and lawn care practices such as herbicide and/or fertilizer treatments. There was a moderately stronger relationship between values and woodland, wetland, and farming practices. Those who agreed less with pro-environmental statements were slightly more likely to use their woodlands and wetlands more intensively. Similarly, farmers were less likely to hold pro-environmental attitudes. This may mean that values are consistent with behaviors among more traditional types of land uses. Farmers and others who use their land more intensively may be more aware of their affects on the landscape and on water quality and therefore may be justifying their behaviors with appropriate value statements. For example, farmers must keep close track of fertilizer inputs and manure management systems because of their concerns about profitability. They may be more cognizant of their effect on water quality and must weigh the costs of water purity with economic survival. Conversely, values may be less consistent with the behaviors of new suburban residents in the watershed. Those who use their land for primarily residential purposes may be less aware of how their specific behaviors affect water quality in the region. Water quality values appear to predict behaviors better for subsistence types of land uses, but values are less capable of predicting behaviors for residential land uses in the LaPlatte River watershed.

The results also confirmed that more global value statements had little to do with behaviors. The items that measure one's global orientation to the environment were correlated significantly with only 2 out of 24 items. On the other hand, items that measured specific wetland conservation initiatives and specific wetland utilities generally had more significant correlations with behaviors.

Finally, water quality values were not strongly related to recreation preference. The results offer little evidence that the new suburbanites are also the new non-consumptive recreationist who prefers birdwatching, wildlife photography, canoeing, or hiking, while long term resident are consumptive recreationists who prefer hunting, fishing or trapping. Part of this may have been due to the questionnaire design. Respondents were not specifically about the recreational activities they participate in and their recreational lifestyles. Instead they were asked if they thought wetlands were useful areas for a variety of differing recreational activities.

The results do suggest that recreation may not be the primary force in the call for improved water quality. In other words, it may not be the pro-environmental sailors who are leading the call for clean water in the Lake Champlain basin. Nor is it necessarily the traditional consumptive anglers who are the primary advocates for clean water in the basin. Recreationists may value clean water, but the movement toward improved water quality in the Lake Champlain basin probably has a much broader constituency than recreationists. Clean water advocacy is perhaps more closely linked to quality of life issues rather than to recreational preference.

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Spiritually Beneficial Aspects of Wilderness Recreation Experiences

Laura Fredrickson

Assistant Professor of Environmental Studies
St. Lawrence University, Canton, NY 13617

Abstract: Research on outdoor recreation and leisure concepts has traditionally focused on activities and corresponding behaviors. However, outdoor settings are not merely places for recreational behavior, particular settings may have the ability to produce opportunities for individuals to attain both emotional and cognitive benefits. Some of these opportunities may be considered spiritually inspirational and beneficial. Moreover, some may have the capacity to manifest into numinous or "bliss" experiences, literally transforming individuals who have had such experiences. Prior research indicates that certain landscapes have the capacity to instill in people a meaningful "sense of place", conveying a certain sense of inner peace and connectedness to the land itself. Somewhat discernible within these landscapes are the rewarding experiences that people have, and the associated benefits they realize from visiting such areas. A qualitative cross-case comparison study approach was used to explore 'place' as the source of spiritual inspiration and how it may influence the overall beneficial aspects of the recreational engagement; and in particular relates those findings back to the setting itself. Data was collected from twelve key informants through participant observation, self-report journals, and personal in-depth interviews. The Boundary Waters Canoe Area Wilderness of northern Minnesota and the Grand Canyon of northern Arizona were chosen as study sites and were selected based on their distinctive climatic and geographic features.

Spiritually Transformative Aspects of Place

"The journey of a thousand miles begins with one step" -- the words of Chinese mystic and philosopher Lao Tzu holds great meaning when considering the individuals' life in terms of it being a spiritual journey as well as the physical passage of one's body through the dimensions of time and space. Trained in the art of spiritual guidance and holding two graduate degrees in education and the social sciences, I have become utterly fascinated with exploring the more subtle aspects of intimate person-nature interactions. More specifically, how different individuals perceive various outdoor places, and whether or not this interaction between 'person and place' holds spiritual significance for the individual, and if so, why?

Currently, I teach courses in environmental studies at a small, liberal arts university in upstate New York. Having previously worked in the field of experiential outdoor education, I came to this teaching position firmly convinced that one of the strengths of experiential learning is that it engages all of the individual in the learning process -- mind, body, and soul or psyche. Therefore, much of what I teach in the classroom setting about environmental attitudes and values rests heavily on using the outdoor classroom to help facilitate student learning. Moreover, I consistently challenge students to go out and truly experience the out-of-doors in their on-going search for self-understanding. If presented in a broad enough context, discussing environmental values in the outdoor setting encourages the individual to think critically about how they interact with, and more importantly, impact the environment. Moreover, by encouraging my students to actively experience the out-of-doors, in a sense, pushes them to examine their own personal values and corresponding behaviors in light of larger global environmental issues.

Furthermore, my fascination with 'place' combined with my spiritual guidance training and innate passion for wilderness exploration led me to investigate the concepts of "sense of place" and "sacred space" as it relates to the various benefits people accrue from outdoor recreational experiences. More precisely, those that could be considered spiritually significant or subtly transformative.

The following monograph is a reflection on the spiritually significance aspects of 'place' that is based on a body of research that I conducted over the summer of 1995. The intention of this article is not to simply recount (in an academic sense) the particulars of my research. Rather, the goal of this exposition is to reconstruct for the reader, in a more gestalt-like fashion, how twelve women who previously didn't know one another came together and traveled through wilderness together, coming away from their experiential adventure, literally, quite transformed. Moreover, it is my intention to let verbatim narratives taken from several in-depth, follow-up interviews with trip participants convey to the reader the power of their wilderness experiences.

Conceptions of Place and Wilderness Experience

The questions that guided me throughout all phases of this research essentially centered on reaching a deeper understanding of what it is about particular places that move the individual to a degree of spiritual inspiration -- perhaps even invoking a certain profound personal transformation? In effect, what is it that brings about a certain 'mindfulness' if you will -- a certain heightened awareness to one's own perceptions and associated feelings, that encourages the individual to fully bring oneself into the present moment? Is it the way sunlight glints across the shallow azure water, or the sound of wind as it whispers through sparse branches of a solitary pine perched atop a hill? Or perhaps, it has more to do with the rewards of exposing oneself to the challenges of wilderness, allowing the individual to test one's physical and mental abilities against the vicissitudes of raw nature. But then again, perhaps it is the opportunity to engage in deeply meaningful conversations about life with one's wilderness companions. More than likely, it is a combination of all of these factors -- the biophysical elements that make up or characterize a particular place coupled with good old physical exertion, plus the somewhat unusual social interactions that typically occur when exploring unfamiliar places with others.

Certainly, particular outdoor places provide unique opportunities for certain types of physical activity and group interaction, such as canoeing the vast maze of interconnected waterways that make the Boundary Waters Canoe Area Wilderness (BWCAW) in northern Minnesota. But also, in somewhat of a subliminal way, the natural features themselves might work more subtly on the individuals' senses and perceptions, thereby increasing the likelihood of achieving this state of mindfulness as previously described.

Various scholars and academicians within the fields of landscape architecture and geography have written about landscapes imbued with meaning, attempting to describe what has often been referred to as a "sense of place" (Brill, 1986; Relph, 1976; Tuan, 1974, 1977). Similarly, it has been inferred that within this sense of place one may find elements of the sublime that act on one's sense of spirit, thereby enhancing and enriching one's spiritual understanding and psychological growth (Nye, 1994). Additionally, much has been written to convey the notion that place is not just the backdrop against which a cast of characters come in and successfully engage in the act of 'play'-- acting out their own personal scripts. Rather, 'place' itself is a meaningful phenomenon, and correspondingly, bestows deep meaning on the individual who ventures out onto the stage. Relph (1976) further contends that place is not just the "where" of something but that the landscape itself, or rather the 'place' itself embodies deep meaning. More precisely, there are certain places that hold significant meaning for the individual because of some deep interaction that has occurred between the person and the place. In that, the particulars of a place affect the deeper levels of one's sub-conscious, thereby encouraging the individual to not only explore the 'outer' reaches of his or her physical world, but moreover, to explore the 'inner' reaches of one's soul.

Highly distinguished 'place' authors Scott Russell Sanders (1993) and Kathleen Norris (1993) have also written extensively about the spiritual significance of certain places. In particular, places that embody a certain spiritual richness -- conveying to the individual a sense of being grounded and deeply connected to the land itself, committed if you will. In like manner, I too, have attempted to explore the more spiritually transformative aspects of place. And although Sanders and Norris use their literary voices to describe in a much more poetic way than I the ineffable qualities of certain places that render them spiritually significant or inspirational, I, in my own way have attempted to explore the more subtle and somewhat indefinable aspects of 'place'. I suspect that the more subtle aspects of place act somewhat as a catalyst -- calling the individual to enter into periods of deep introspection -- perhaps leading to profound self-awareness and self-understanding. Moreover, I suspect that certain places have the power to bring about deeply personal spiritual transformation. Similarly, as suggested by experiential educator Elizabeth Roberts (1996), when one fully experiences the heartbeat of a place one gains a life full of quality and meaning -- for it is through our interactions with the unnamed details of a place that we create our own identity and figure out our life's deepest values and meanings.

'Mindfulness' and the Wilderness Experience

As previously mentioned, my academic interests in person-place interactions combined with my interest in spiritual growth led me to explore the belief that particular places themselves invoke in individuals a certain 'mindfulness' -- providing the individual with opportunities to fully engage all of oneself in exploring the 'outer' aspects of wilderness while at the same time encouraging the individual to explore the 'inner' recesses of wilderness within. More precisely, this inner exploration involves asking the difficult questions one typically asks themselves when faced with significant life-changes such as the death of a loved one, being diagnosed with a terminal illness, negotiating a mid-life career change, or separating from a long-term partner. Frequently, when confronted with significant life-changes the individual feels compelled to contemplate life's deeper meaning, and oftentimes come through this period of introspection with a clearer perspective on why they have been faced with such a challenging situation.

Furthermore, provided with an opportunity for this physical and psychological 'inner-outer' exploration, the individual may come away from such an experience as transformed or deeply changed, if you will. Coming through such an experience may change profoundly the way the individual perceives future difficult life-changes. Instead of viewing change as something to be avoided and feared, difficult life-changes could be re-interpreted as prime opportunities for personal and spiritual growth. In essence, journeying into one's own inner depths is actively engaging in the sometimes difficult process of self-discovery. Ultimately, this process lead to discovering one's own individual power, as well as limitations. Moreover, once the individual embarks on this journey -- even though at times it may be difficult -- the individual frequently comes to see their own life circumstances as a incredibly remarkable opportunities for spiritual and psychological growth. In effect, life with all its inherent challenges and pitfalls is more fully embraced by the individual and soulfully experienced for all the richness it has to offer the human spirit.

Mindfulness is part of the overall fabric of Buddhist philosophy and to play with this notion of 'mindfulness' a bit more, Sogyal Rinpoche (1992), defines it as the practice of living fully in the present moment. Rinpoche further suggests that individuals create such pervasive awareness by way of focused meditation or reflective non-activity. In essence, the practice of mindfulness is the attempt to "bring the scattered mind home, thereby heightening one's perceptions, healing one's relationship with the self and others, defusing negativity, and eventually unveiling the wellspring of compassion for the world and all its inhabitants." (pp. 56) In this regard, practicing the art of mindfulness empowers the individual to reinterpret challenging life-changes and transition not merely as the ending of one situation simply giving way to yet the beginning of another phase of one's life. But rather, embracing the notion of mindfulness enables the individual to interpret significant life-changes as rich, abundant opportunities for inner-exploration and self-reflection.

Women's Wilderness Experiences

The literature is rife with examples of how an individual's self-esteem and self-confidence is positively enhanced as the result of physically challenging oneself and succeeding in the pursuit (Ewert, 1983; Kaplan & Kaplan, 1983; Kaplan & Talbot, 1983; McDonald, 1983; Young & Crandall, 1984).Yet overcoming physical challenge is not the only thing that can build positive self-respect and self-esteem, leading to feelings of empowerment.

There is a growing body of literature that suggests that women tend to feel more comfortable pursuing recreational activities while in the company of other women. Henderson, et al. (1989) and Colley (1984), found that women tend to feel inhibited and physically incompetent in mixed gender groups while engaged in various forms of outdoor recreation. Moreover, a significant number of women expressed the importance of feeling nurtured and cared for while engaged in the act of recreation indicating a certain need to feel emotionally safe before one begins to experience other aspects of the recreational experience (Henderson, et al., 1989; Colley, 1984).What this suggests is that once the individual feels comfortable and safe in her social surroundings she will most likely fully engage herself in interacting with the physical environment as well.

Experiential Adventure: 'Inner - Outer' Wilderness Exploration

Ironically, all twelve women who had come together with the sole intention of adventure travel through wilderness with other women were also all dealing with significant life-change (i.e., death of a loved one, major career change, separation from a long-term partner, and so on). Through their shared experiential adventure this group of women learned a great deal about themselves and each other. They learned about their own personal strengths and weaknesses -- both in terms of physically and emotionally -- and through their shared struggles and triumphs each of these women came away from the experience feeling deeply empowered. In essence, it was through the act of fully encountering the 'outer' wilderness, or rather, the specifics of a particular place, did these women learn how to navigate the turbulent waters of the 'inner' wilderness as well.

Moreover, the goal of their wilderness adventure was not to see how much ground could be covered in a day, but rather, the goal was to explore wilderness in the shared company of other women, and furthermore, to explore the more "contemplative" aspects of outdoor recreational experiences. Ultimately, the majority of these women came away from their wilderness experience able to deal more constructively and assuredly with the difficult life situations facing them at home.

Research Overview

There were a total of twelve women who participated in this study. Six women canoed through the pristine waters of northern Minnesota's Boundary Waters Canoe Area Wilderness (BWCAW) and six women backpacked across the desert floor of the Grand Canyon in northern Arizona. These two areas were specifically chosen as potential study sites. In that, they differed greatly both in terms of the regional geology, climatic conditions, vegetative mix, and types of wildlife present.

Essentially, two different wilderness areas were selected as study sites based on the tentative assumption that there were an array of environmental features or characteristics that rendered each area as potentially significant in terms of it being spiritually inspirational. Moreover, the idea was to see if there were environmental attributes -- including biophysical, social, and managerial attributes that were common to both areas, and that gave rise to a certain "sense of place" or "sacred space". More precisely, these two areas were chosen as study sites not so much in an effort to prove, per say, that a specific mix of biophysical features coupled with particular managerial activities produce various psychological states, which then lead to spiritually transformative experiences. This would be a considerably daunting task! In that, there are simply far too many variables one would need to consider if the goal of this research was to search for axiomatic proof. Rather, the goal was simply to further the on-going investigation of the elusive qualities that invoke a certain "sense of place" or engender particular places as "sacred space".

In addition, the wilderness areas of the Grand Canyon and the BWCAW offer different levels of physical challenge for those people traveling through them. For instance, when traveling through the BWCAW one must rely primarily on canoe for transportation. There is virtually no established trail system other than the relatively short portage trails that lead from one lake into an adjacent body of water. When crossing the desert landscape of the inner gorge of the Grand Canyon one has two different options -- traveling by pack mule or carrying one's belongings in a backpack and traversing the challenging terrain by foot. It was suspected that the mode of transport might also contribute to, or influence, how the individual actually experienced the place they were visiting.

Woodswomen, a leading outdoor adventure organization with a mission of providing high-quality outdoor experiential adventures for women and groups of women and children provided the logistical support for both trips. This highly acclaimed outdoor adventure organization has an international reputation of providing participants with a physically safe and emotionally supportive adventuring environment. Women who guide for the organization are not only accomplished outdoorswomen who possess superlative technical skills, but they are also trained in group facilitation, focusing specifically on developing positive interpersonal communication and trust building.

It was not by pure chance alone that these two separate groups of women came together to explore wilderness while in the shared company of other women. The two trips were advertised by *Woodswomen* as being more "contemplative" in nature. Furthermore, in addition to providing women with a safe-space to learn basic outdoor skills, part of *Woodswomen's* mission is to also focus on the more spiritual aspects of the outdoor recreational experience -- introducing trip participants to the more subtle,
self-reflective qualities that characterize many outdoor recreation experiences.

Research Findings

These twelve women were given an exceptionally unique opportunity to feel "safe" in exploring the more philosophical and spiritual aspects of their current life situations while out in wilderness. In a sense, all of these women were presented with an opportunity to more fully explore the emotional and psychological dimensions of their own inner wilderness, if you will, while at the same time regaining a sense of what it meant to be physical. In effect, each of the two trips gave them the time and space to fully reflect upon and integrate the changes that were occurring in their life's lived elsewhere.

Moreover, these particular woman expressed a certain spiritually renewing quality about their wilderness experience, and mentioned that it was primarily due to the fact that they were in wilderness, per say. For many, there was something particularly transformative about being exposed to the raw and unpredictable powers of nature -- far removed from the trappings of modern day civilization. In part, it was the opportunity to attune themselves once again to the basic circadian rhythms life, focusing more completely on 'being' in the present-moment, which led to a degree of mindfulness. The following are excerpts taken from two of the follow-up in-depth interviews:

> *And there I am, sitting out in the woods, in the rain with all the power crashing around me and the lake lighting up with lightening and I'm seeing this incredible landscape with almost x-ray vision, and the rain is coming down, and I'm just encapsulated there. I'm not wet. I'm not cold, I glance around and shake my head in awe at the natural processes that are raging on all around me. And what's even more* [surprising] *is that I don't feel the least bit threatened, instead I feel comforted and truly alive! I sense a power that is really hard to explain and just know that I need more of this in my life -- exposure to the raw powers of nature, and interactions like these with other women in the wilderness. It was spiritual, truly a spiritual experience.*
>
> Trip Participant - Boundary Waters Canoe Area Wilderness

> *I think it's because we get away from the electricity and the phones. It is the simplicity, the daily chores. You develop a certain pride in being able to gather the wood and boil the water and cook your own food. And I say to myself, 'Yeah, I can survive this way out here' and I love it. And so maybe I can extend this and survive* [with simplicity] *when I go back home.*(slight pause) *There seems to be an extrapolation that you can make from the wilderness to civilization... at least I can. Well, you go back to the basics and there's a certain degree of comfort you get. You know what I'm saying? There is this pure simplicity, this is what it is to be spiritual, to be living the spiritual life. Every time I come out here and experience this* [simplicity] *I feel clear and aware, almost electrically charged. I think I am beginning to understand why some people lead the monastic life in nature.*
>
> Trip Participant - Boundary Waters Canoe Area Wilderness

The Power of Physical Challenge

The physical challenges associated with each wilderness environment were at times extremely exhausting. For example, carrying a fully loaded backpack for several miles through intense heat and challenging desert terrain, or sitting out a tremendous thunder storm all alone, crouched down kneeling on one's life preserver, taught these women much about their physical and mental limits. In essence, most of these women experienced a reawakening to their physical capabilities and a renewed awareness of their bodies. This physical "alive-ness" was something that many had lost sight of in the busy-ness of their everyday lives. When asked to comment on the most meaningful aspects of her experience, one participant responded:

> *I can't even fully capture in words what has happened to me since I've been out here. The first day, when I looked out over the lip of the canyon and saw the trail that we were headed down, knowing that my knees were weak, and my spirit as well, I thought to myself, 'There's no way I can do that.' And yet, five days later, my body incredibly tired, I feel more alive, more ready to face the challenges that are at home waiting for me.* (brief pause) *But it's not just that I feel physically healthier, I feel emotionally more balanced, like there is a spark burning deep within me. I haven't remembered feeling that spark since I was a young girl. I suppose its the spirit burning deep inside me, urging me to look at life a little differently from this day forward.*
>
> Trip Participant - Grand Canyon

The Power of Emotional Support

Furthermore, for most of these women this was their first foray into wilderness, per say. All but three of the women had never traveled in wilderness before; and of the three who had previously traveled through wilderness none of the three had ever been part of an all women's' group. In essence, this was an experience that was quite foreign to most of the women. In fact, this was the first time that many of them had traveled with a group of people they did not know, while at the same time they engaged themselves in an activity (canoeing, backpacking) that they knew very little about. Therefore it seems completely appropriate that some might have a degree of fear and apprehension about their wilderness adventure.

When specifically asked why they had chosen this particular trip, all twelve participants cited the fact that they knew that they would be in the "safety" of other women while out in the wilderness. What this suggests is that some of these women had the predisposed notion that being in the shared company of other women would provide them with a nurturing and caring environment -- something each women admitted to needing when having casual discussions with one another on the trip itself. All twelve women agreed that it was the unique combination of being in a *bona fide* wilderness area coupled with the unprecedented level of trust and companionship they felt with one another that most heavily impacted their overall trip experience. The significance of this is that all twelve women came away from their wilderness trip experience feeling fully empowered --- sufficiently able to deal more effectively with the extreme challenges that life had presented them. The following excerpt conveys the power of emotional support:

> *For so long I had wanted to be with other women in the wilderness, even though I wouldn't necessarily know them. I had a sense that all the artificial differences in our backgrounds would simply fade away and we could just relax and be together sharing our experience. It's different that way. You know, when it's a bunch of women together you can usually count on it being free and easy. And with this group* [women] *I am still in awe of how we worked so well together. There was no competition. There didn't need to be. We consistently helped one another out.* (slight pause). *Its the first time in years, literally, that I can remember feeling so comfortable. Comfortable in a group of other people and comfortable in my own skin if you know what I mean. I hadn't even recognized that these past few years that I've felt like I've been buried... You know, buried under all the things that I am to other people -- wife, mother, child, friend, volunteer. I mean, its taken this trip for me to feel some sort of balance and harmony again. It's as if getting out here, breathing clean fresh air, walking around for miles every day fully loaded down with a pack on my back, feeling my muscles talking to me at the end of the day* (slight pause), *sharing life stories with these other women, it's given me the freedom to pick myself up and dust myself off and think about what I really want in my life from here on out.*

The Power of Wilderness Experience

Throughout time philosophers, environmentalists, theologians, experiential educators, nature writers, and wilderness lovers have all tried to capture in words the power and transformative qualities of a wilderness experience. Many have written personal accounts espousing the notion that the wilderness experience is oftentimes a watershed life event. An experience where the individual experiences a certain clarity of perspective, a certain attunement with the environment that surrounds them, often resulting in a particularly illuminating experience. Oftentimes, the wilderness adventure traveler is afforded the opportunity to contemplate life's most deeply perplexing and profound questions such as *"Why am I here?"* and *"What is my purpose in life?"* Questions that many times get overlooking in the frenzy of fulfilling one's personal, professional and familial responsibilities.

Personal testimonies taken from several of the women described a certain tacit or felt knowledge that the wilderness experience is something set wholly apart from daily reality -- "sacred" if you will. This tacit knowledge of wilderness as having the potential to imbue visitors with a certain spiritual significance or sacredness has come to be recognized by many outdoor enthusiasts as one of the premier reasons for seeking out experiential adventures in the wilderness setting.

> *Absolutely not! When I am out here, amidst the tall trees, soaking up the morning mist while sitting quietly on a rock by waters edge, listening to the cry of a loon, I am in perfect rhythm. A rhythm that I don't think reaches me when I am back at home, even though I go outside on a daily basis when I'm there. There is something different about being here... It's the absolute stillness in the middle of the night, the inaudible support and comfort I feel when sitting around the cook stove at night, sharing my feelings with someone I know[emphasis] understands. Its the knowing that no other human being is within miles around me -- about being truly exposed to the rawness of the natural elements and trusting that whatever comes is as exactly as it should be. This is when I am in touch with what I know as God.*
>
> Trip Participant - Boundary Waters Canoe Area Wilderness

Future Implications: Enhancing Mid-Life Transition

The experiences that this group of twelve women encountered should not be underestimated considering the relatively recent interest in the human-potential movement, and coming to understand oneself throughout the various stages of one's life. Ten of the twelve women who participated in this research were over the age of forty-five, and as previously mentioned, all twelve were experiencing some degree of major life-change. In essence, many of these women were entering mid-life, which for many adults is a time to reorganize or rethink one's roles and responsibilities not only to one's family members, friends, employers, and so on. But moreover, this mid-life transition is for many people a time to reestablish an intimate relationship with oneself.

For many women this is a time that is rife with self-reflection and soulful introspection about life's successes and failures. A time to reevaluate one's lifelong goals and dreams, discarding those that no longer fit, and dreaming of the endless possibilities of a future that has yet to unfold. It has become widely recognized that this notion of self-discovery -- or rather re-discovery -- is quite common among individuals faced with some degree of life-change. Furthermore, that the on-going process of self-discovery and self-empowerment may be quite essential in maintaining a positive self-image throughout the second half of one's life.

For many people, the out-of-doors provides a mechanism for escape from regular daily pressures, and quite literally, the outdoor environment is the place of *re-creation*. Moreover, as the aforementioned testimonies suggest, wilderness experiences offer a unique opportunity for the individual to experience not only the 'outer' wilderness of the natural world, but the 'inner' wilderness as well -- the wilderness within one's own mind and soul. In effect, this type of wilderness experience offers the individual the opportunity to contemplate both the sacred and profane aspects of life. In a sense, the opportunity to come face to face with the very essence of life itself. For many this experiential encounter with the self amidst the resolute powers of nature is essentially the pathway to discovering a personal 'sense of place' or 'sacred space', if you will, leading to an unprecedented spiritual richness and self-understanding.

What this research suggests is that wilderness experiences have much to offer individuals who may be experiencing significant life-changes, and in particular, women in mid-life transition. What better place to gain a new perspective on the meaning of one's life than out in the open desert, sleeping under a canopy of brilliantly shining stars, or nestled snugly amidst the tall majestic pines, smelling the sweet scent of the ground after it rains? These places, these sacred spaces, if you will, are places where we get to know ourselves on a deeper, more spiritual level. And perhaps more importantly, through exploring the outer wilderness while at the same time exploring the inner wilderness, the potential for developing the "whole" individual is heightened.

End Note

This research offers no concrete conclusions, but rather, opens a series of research vistas to further explore in the future. I cannot say with absolute certainty that 'place' is merely a backdrop for the playing-out of one's semi-conscious spiritual yearnings. On the contrary. In fact, what this research suggests is that 'place' itself work in silent, yet powerfully transformative ways on the individual's sense of self, particularly enhancing one's sense of self in relation to a transcendent dimension. A transcendent dimension that many call god. It is neither my intention nor inclination to search for a definitive on what is, or is not "god" to any particular individual. Rather the results of this research suggests that the potential for developing a more balanced and harmonious individual is awakened through the more experiential aspects of wilderness travel. These types of transformative experiences leave the individual with a keener sense of spirit and a keener sense of place and self, thereby enabling the individual to reconnect with other people and life's challenges in a more responsive and creative way. In effect, encounters with nature teach us to know, and, in knowing, to love -- both the outer world and the inner world of the self. I end with one final closing thought taken from author, poet, and naturalist Stephanie Kaza (1993):

> *Each tree, each stone, and rock face discloses its own story, its own beauty, revealing the beholder's as well.*

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Historic, Heritage, And Cultural Tourism

WALKING THROUGH TIME: HERITAGE RESOURCES WITHIN THE APPALACHIAN TRAIL CORRIDOR

David M. Lacy

Forest Archaeologist, Green Mountain National Forest, 231 North Main Street, Rutland, VT 05701

Karl Roenke

Forest Archaeologist, White Mountain National Forest, 719 Main Street, Laconia, NH

Abstract: Parts of the Appalachian Trail (and nearly half of Vermont's Long Trail) are located on New England National Forests, and managed in partnership with the Appalachian Trail Conference, Green Mountain Club, and other volunteers. Since the Trail corridor is a linear, if serpentine, sample of northern Appalachian highland environments it's not surprising that it often runs on, over, along and/or through a variety of Heritage Resource sites reflecting the rich land-use history of the region. These sites range from Native American quarries and early Euro-American toll roads, to 19th century logging camps, settlements and mines, to historic recreation structures, CCC-erected fire towers and more recent ski areas. While there is some inherent potential for conflict between trail management priorities and historic preservation, the White Mountain and Green Mountain National Forests have been sensitive to both sets of needs through awareness, data collection and planning. Preservation of significant Heritage sites within this National Scenic Trail corridor is a baseline. We also identify the enhancement of the hiking/recreation experience through interpretation of some of these resources as a worthy and feasible goal in the near future.

Introduction

The evocative description of Vermont's Long Trail as a "footpath in the Wilderness" reflects the *recent* history and condition of much of the area traversed by both the Long and Appalachian Trails. Hidden from view and memory are many of the effects of historic activities on the landscape. People have transformed the "wilderness" into active, vital portions of the larger working environment throughout history. So as one of the authors was accurately, but perhaps unfortunately, quoted in the Burlington Free Press last summer, "It's really a footpath-through-the-*re-growth*" (Pollak, 1996).

The physical remains of activities within the Trail Corridors -- evidence of hunting, farming, mining, logging; travel, worship, recreation -- are largely the realm of archaeologists today. These Indian sites, cellar holes, logging camps, fire towers, abandoned travelways, and other physical, vegetative, and sometimes spiritual "artifacts" are our guides to the past. Preservation of significant sites promotes greater understanding of the past uses and conditions of the trails' environments, and an appreciation of the lives and values of our forebears.

As Forest Service archaeologists, we wanted to share a success story about how the management of one special area -- the AT/LT corridor -- has accommodated the needs of more than one resource area and user group at the same time: in this case, the hiking, recreation and heritage constituencies. The combination of a good data base, a mutual understanding of project impacts, an awareness of pertinent laws and regulations, and a reasonably advanced planning cycle resulted in "win-win" management.

Regulation

The National Scenic Trails Act, National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA), and National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) were all passed in the late 1960's. Within New England's National Forests (and under Park Service administration of much of the Trail Corridor), the application of NEPA and Section 106 of the NHPA to Trail management activities appears to have been a hit-or-miss affair until the mid- or late-1980's. Certainly on the Green Mt NF, the only trail activities subject to regular archaeological review were re-routes of significant stretches of trail (i.e., instances of completely new ground disturbance). Small relocations, reconstruction, and maintenance projects were not reviewed. During the 1980's there was a push to have more inter-disciplinary environmental review (that is, compliance with NEPA) for all types of Recreation projects -- on a par with the scrutiny that Timber and Engineering projects traditionally received.

Inventory Efforts

The combination of this trend toward more environmental review of trails projects, the transfer of AT administration from the Park Service to the Forest Service, and a one-time "President's Initiative" grant, gave the authors the opportunity to sponsor and conduct an "LT/AT Corridor Inventory" starting in 1992. Our goal was to be better able to predict which projects needed field work. The Vermont portion of the survey, completed in 1993 (Lacy and Bowman, 1993), covered 200 miles -- all of the AT within Vermont, and the Long Trail north to Mt Ellen. We documented 57 historic archaeological sites, 25 locations sensitive to prehistoric use, and photodocumented 30 Long Trail shelters. Based on our methods, track record, and subsequent experience, we believe we accounted for ca. 90% of the historic sites within the corridor, and a majority of the areas sensitive to prehistoric use. Collection and synthesis of site data for the White Mountain National Forest is on-going.

Sites Types

As a baseline it is necessary to recognize, in contrast to most of our popular understandings, that the summit regions of Grey Lock (named after an Indian chief), Stratton, Killington, Moosilauke, Mt Washington and other mountains along the way to Katahdin, all the way at Trail's

End, are considered sacred and/or spiritually powerful places by the Indian groups who did and still live here (see Engle, 1993; Lacy, Moody and Bruchac, 1992). This special character is not necessarily reflected in "sites" containing artifacts, but exists as a status of "place" and is established through oral history and continued use. Other, more mundane, activities -- hunting, camping, quarrying -- commonly took place elsewhere within even the most mountainous portions of the corridor and are represented by frequent, small (with significant exceptions, such as rock quarrying locations), archaeological sites (Lacy, 1994). These sites are generally near the surface (since there is little or no soil development to cover them at these elevations) and predictably consist of stone tools and the byproducts of their manufacture (the organic materials once present having long since decomposed). Given the probable small size and buried nature of these sites, they are essentially invisible to most people, thus making them especially vulnerable to unintended impacts.

Evidence for historic (i.e., 18th to mid-20th century) land-use and settlement tends to be more diverse and visible to the uninitiated. Home- and farm-steads leave tell-tale signs such as cellar holes, barn (and other out-building) foundations, field stone piles and stone walls (now running through maturing forests), wells, drives & roads, and, on occasion, instructive landscapes and altered vegetative mosaics. In addition, the remains of more "industrial" activities are quite visible and numerous -- for example, railroad beds, mill ruins (e.g., raceways and dams) and, especially along the VT portion of the Trail, the remains of kilns for producing charcoal for the iron industry.

More recent remains reflect the evolution of recreation activities in New England, from the AMC Huts in the high elevation areas of the White Mountains (Roenke, 1991), to the CCC-constructed campgrounds on both National Forests and the even more recent proliferation of downhill and cross-country ski facilities throughout the area.

Last, but not least, the CCC-erected fire towers reflect both the social and environmental dimensions of our economic history, built to address fire concerns created by an unregulated timber industry by labor drawn from the massive ranks of the unemployed during the Great Depression.

Potential Impacts

By and large, archaeological sites inform us best if (a) as much of the "stuff" -- artifacts, features, structural evidence -- as possible is still there; and (b) the spatial relationships between all that stuff -- where it was originally deposited -- is still intact. Therefore, activities like trail relocation and construction, some reconstruction, digging new waterbars (and determining where they are aimed); borrowing soil and or stones (e.g., from "conveniently" shaped squares?) to build steps, water bars or other trail features; creating new camping spots which have key characteristics (level, well drained spots with access to water and travelways have ALWAYS been popular); siting a new shelter or outhouse; and/or other soil disturbing activities all have potential to impact sites.

Adverse impacts to standing structures along the Trails tend toward (a) neglect and vandalism, (b) removal or elimination, or (c) ill-considered replacement of the old with the new (e.g, shelters). The frequency with which these kinds of impacts occur can be dramatically reduced if site inventories are conducted and site evaluations completed. Sites determined eligible for the National Register of Historic Places ("NHRP": a legal roster of "significant" sites compiled through application of criteria established by the NHPA) generally receive management befitting their status, once recognized. Examples along the AT/LT include the known prehistoric sites along the AT; high altitude Appalachian Mountain Club Huts in the White Mountains; both the Smarts Mountain (NH) and Stratton Mountain (VT) CCC-era Fire Lookout Towers; and structural features of the Long Trail (primarily shelters, and landscape and "character" features) which are significant "by association" since the LT itself was determined eligible for the NRHP.

It is good to remember, however, that it is also true that different activities in different locations will not be equally critical. So, for example, a new outhouse in an area of low-site potential is not a problem, nor are most regular maintenance activities, even if they take place in the vicinity of a significant site. In addition, replacing components of historically significant huts and shelters, bridges or fire lookouts, with in-kind materials, methods and style makes perfect sense in cases of deterioration.

Management

The good news, and the reason for this paper, is our conclusion that with a little planning and sensitivity the Trail and Heritage communities make great partners. By understanding the nature and range of project impacts and having an inventory of sites (lacking this, a good predictive model is very useful), archaeologists can narrow the scope of their review. By being aware of the presence and fragility of archaeological and historic sites, trail managers can make their NEPA planning more timely and comprehensive (e.g.,, they can ensure that an historic preservation specialist is involved). Both Trail and Heritage specialists have a role to play in seeking reasonable alternatives (or palatable compromises) in cases where there is conflict between trails and sites, and first hand experience has on our Forets has shown that this is a simple matter of communication. Archaeologists have an additional responsibility to raise the awareness of trail crews, volunteers and users as to what to look for -- and why these resources are meaningful. It has been the authors' experience that it is the rare exception to encounter folks in any line of work who intentionally destroy historic sites; rather, it is a lack of awareness which leads to accidental and unintentional impacts.

Conclusion

The Appalachian and Long Trail corridors contain evidence of land-use histories documenting changing ecosystems from several thousand years ago to the Great Depression. By investing in baseline inventory data, having a mutual understanding of potential project impacts, and implementing the NEPA planning process, both the hiking and preservation agendas can be served, as has been demonstrated on New England's National Forests.

Finally, Heritage sites are increasingly popular, and often accessible, enhancements of the recreation experience (or in some cases are destinations in and of themselves). It has been our experience that trail users frequently think it's fascinating to know about the past land-use of the area they are hiking through or camping in. Our next step is to do a better job informing Trail users and managers about what these histories tell us about the ecosystems through which the Trail passes. We are at a point where it makes sense to connect the well-developed, environmentally sensitive Trail constituency with the Heritage Tourism boom that has been sweeping the country. To this end, the senior author has received a small grant from the Eastern National Forests' Interpretive Association to develop and produce proto-type trail head posters on the Green Mountain National Forest. Please join us at NERR's 1998 poster session to see what we've come up with!

Acknowledgements: Our thanks to Eric Bowman and David Mayhew for their dedicated field work

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THE EFFECTS OF SUMMER EMPLOYMENT WITH PARKS CANADA ON STUDENTS' AWARENESS OF HERITAGE.

Andrew Leuty

Research Officer, Economic Research Group,
Department of Canadian Heritage,
25 Eddy Street, Hull, Quebec, Canada K1A 0M5.

Dick Stanley

Chief, Economic Research Group,
Department of Canadian Heritage,
25 Eddy Street, Hull, Quebec, Canada K1A 0M5.

Abstract: A poll of summer students hired in the summer of 1996 by Parks Canada reveals positive changes in the students' awareness of Canadian identity. The larger improvement came from students who travelled away from home versus those who worked near home and from those who worked in a park rather than at an historic site. An examination of the results on a question by question basis reveals the source of many extreme outliers among the results. Almost all of the outliers resulted from the same small number of questions.

Introduction

In the summer of 1996 the Government of Canada initiated "Young Canada Works", a youth employment program for students aged 16 to 19. Under this program approximately 350 students were hired by Parks Canada to work with a variety of professionals at historic sites and in parks. Parks Canada managers approached Strategic Research and Analysis and requested our assistance with the evaluation

The goals of the program were as follows:

- to provide an employment opportunity for Canadian youth;
- to give students an opportunity to work with a variety of professions in the conservation field; and
- to enhance the students' awareness of Canadian identity.

Managers at Parks Canada felt that working at a heritage site, such as a National Park or a National Historic Site, offered a unique opportunity to increase student's awareness of their heritage and enhance their awareness of Canadian identity. These managers wanted to evaluate the impact under program goal number three, that employment with Parks Canada had on students "to enhance the students' awareness of Canadian identity".

Methodology

We suggested the Parks Canada managers use a two stage survey of all students. The survey was designed to measure the changes in the students' attitude and level of awareness over the summer by administering two virtually identical questionnaires, one at the start of work and another at the end and comparing individual responses to each question on the first and second questionnaires they would have an indication of their programs impact.

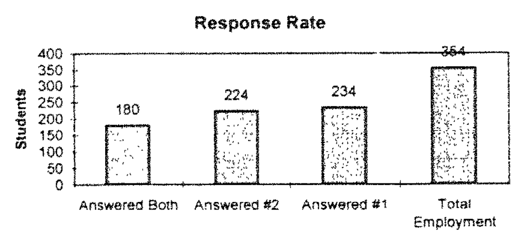
We prepared a dozen questions asking students to indicate their level of agreement with the statement in the question. The students were asked to pick from a ten point scale where one indicated "strongly disagree" and ten indicated "strongly agree". A positive change from most students would indicate that the program had a positive effect on the students' awareness of other Canadians and their heritage.

The Parks Canada managers also drafted a dozen questions. We decided to try both sets of questions and settled on a longer questionnaire with three sections. Section one (Questions 1 -3) gathered data for a brief demographic profile, section two (Questions 4 -14) contained their original questions and section three (Questions 15 -28) contained our suggested questions. In the analysis that follows we have labelled the results of their section of the questionnaire as "Awareness" and the results of our own as "Attitude".

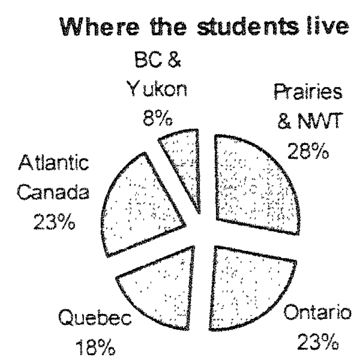
Results

Demographic Profile

A total of 354 students were employed under the program, 234 students responded to the first questionnaire and 224 responded to the second questionnaire. This analysis was performed using only the 180 respondents who answered all questions on both questionnaires.

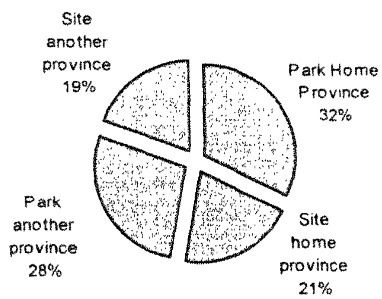


The students were from all across Canada, 23% from Atlantic Canada, 18% from Quebec, 23% from Ontario, 28% from the Prairies & North West Territories and 8% from British Columbia and Yukon.



The programs goal of equal participation from local and out of province youth roughly achieved, 53% worked in their home province and 47% worked away from their home province. Of these respondents 2% worked in a regional office. 38% worked at a historic site and 60% worked in a park.

Where the Students worked



Awareness and Attitude

The Parks Canada managers had preferred their own questions and they preferred their own initial result.

Section	Average change on the ten point score
Their questions "Awareness"	2.447
Our questions "Attitude"	-0.307

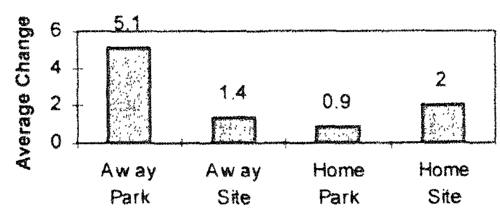
The results of their questions showed an over all improvement of almost two and a half points on a ten point scale while ours showed a decline of almost half a point. The results where very widely distributed and there were some extreme outliers. The results ranged from -27 to +32 for their questions and from -36 to +52 for ours. We wanted to explain the large variance so we examined the demographic profiles. The students home province and mother tongue were not important factors, but where the students worked was important. There were clear differences between those who worked in their home province and those who worked away from home and between those who worked in a park and those who worked at a historic site.

For purposes of further analysis the respondents were divided into the following groups:

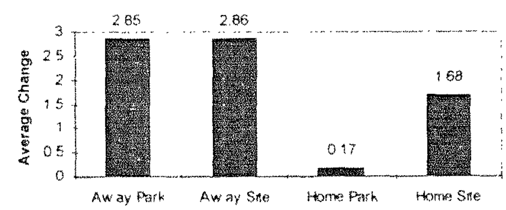
- Those who worked at a park away from their home province (50 students);
- Those who worked at a site/regional office away from their home province (35 students);
- Those who worked at a park in their home province (58 students);
- Those who worked at a site/regional office in their home province (37 students).

The students who worked away from their home province in a park had an average change of 5.1 on the 10 point Awareness scale and 2.0 on the Attitude scale. The students who worked away from their home province at a historic site had an average change of 1.4 on the 10 point Awareness scale and -2.6 on the Attitude scale. The students who worked in their home province in a park had an average change of 0.9 on the 10 point Awareness scale and 1.4 on the Attitude scale. The students who worked in their home province at a historic site had an average change of 2.0 on the 10 point Awareness scale and -4. on the Attitude scale. Once again for each group the results where very widely distributed and there were some extreme outliers in every group.

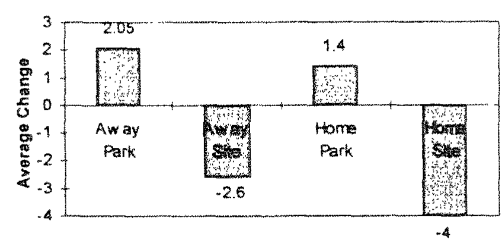
Awareness Raw data



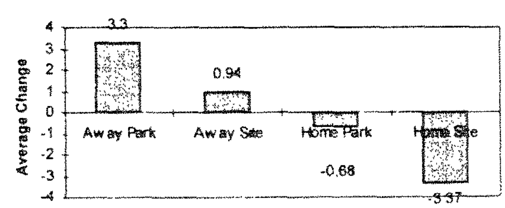
Awareness Clean Data



Attitude Raw Data



Attitude Clean Data



One benefit of a relatively small number of returns is that you can quickly check for data entry errors, there were several cases where a (1) was entered that should have been a (10) and several other small errors, but not enough to explain the high level of variance. Correcting the data entry errors yielded the following results. The students who worked away from their home province in a park had an average change of 2.5 on the Awareness scale and 3.3 on the Attitude scale. The students who worked away from their home province at a historic site had an average change of 2.86 on the Awareness scale and 0.94 on the Attitude scale. The students who worked in their home province in a park had an average change of 0.17 on the Awareness scale and -0.68 on the Attitude scale. The students who worked in their home province at a historic site had an average change of 1.68 on the 10 point Awareness scale and -3.37 on the Attitude scale. Again for each group the results where very widely distributed and there were still some extreme outliers.

An examination of scores for each question revealed that a lot of the variance was due to a few questions. A look at the these questions revealed three basic problems.

Several of the "Awareness" questions such as Question 8 called for an obvious answer many students rated them ten out of ten both times.

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An examination of scores for each question revealed that a lot of the variance was due to a few questions. A look at the these questions revealed three basic problems. Several of the "Awareness" questions such as Question 8 (How important is it to protect Canada's natural heritage (for example national parks)? (1=Not Very, 10=Very)) called for an obvious answer many students rated them ten out of ten both times. The net effect of most students answering strategically and a few perversely was that for questions like Question 8 the overall impact was close to zero. A few students moved either from ten to one or from one to ten and had individual changes of either - 9 or + 9 causing some of the extreme outliers.

Several other "Awareness" questions such as Question 5 (How would you rate your own knowledge of Canada?) are really two questions. In this question either the student's level of knowledge or the students opinion about their own level of knowledge could change. Eg, the students learned just enough about Canada to realise how little they knew (a negative change of opinion) or they learned a lot about Canada (a positive change of knowledge).

Finally some straight forward questions in both the "Awareness" and the "Attitude" sections appear to have been answered perversely by some students. These outliers were not removed for two reasons: They were not coding mistakes and they tended to cancel each other out.

Conclusions

Under goal number three of the Government Of Canada's Young Canada Works Program, Parks Canada's managers could demonstrate some enhancement of the students' awareness of Canadian identity.

On average students who travelled benefited more than those who worked in their home province and on average students who worked in parks benefited more than those who worked at historic sites. More of the mid range or less extreme outliers were negative and more of these data points represent students who worked in their home province.

The managers at Parks Canada have reviewed these results with site and park superintendents and in their discussions they confirmed these conclusions and offer some explanations:

- out of province students working in parks tended to live communally in bunk houses that offered students more opportunities to socialize with students from other regions of the country;
- students working at historic sites tended to be billeted in private homes that did not offer similar opportunities;
- local students at sites and parks tended to live at home and socialize with their family and friends;
- at some sites and parks certain local students were a source of problems.

Results

Using our analysis of the survey data the Parks Canada managers could demonstrate the benefits of travel as a result more of the students will be travelling to other provinces and those who do not will be encouraged where possible to share living accommodation with the other students.

Using our analysis of the results for individual questions on the questionnaire, we have persuaded the Parks Canada managers to substantially redraft the questionnaire for next summer's survey.

Other sectors of our department have heard about the survey results and have approached Strategic Research and Analysis for our assistance in developing similar surveys.

BEHAVIORAL PATTERNS OF MUSLIMS AND CHRISTIANS AT THE 1992 KARMEH FESTIVAL: THE CASE OF LEBANON

Houssam Chaar

Graduate Student, The Pennsylvania State University, University Park, PA

Alan Graefe

Associate Professor, The Pennsylvania State University, University Park, PA

Abstract: In this paper, we investigate the behavioral and socio-demographic profile of individuals attending the 1992 Karmeh arts festival, and explore the perceived impact of the festival on promoting harmony between Muslims and Christians as an alternative to traditional political mechanisms for facilitating peace. The methodology used was intended to be widely applicable for studies of short- term events among Muslims and Christians in the country of Lebanon. Data were collected via personal contacts with a random sample of subjects at the only pedestrian crossing point into the festival. Subjects were identified as either a Muslim or a Christian through their names. A total of 213 subjects were interviewed with 143 (67%) completing follow-up interviews one month after the festival, resulting in a sampling error of plus or minus 8 percent. The attendees' characteristics and their behavioral patterns were determined. Christians and Muslims were found to have similar behavioral patterns. The only statistically significant differences between the two groups were in relation to attending the festival with children, buying jewelry, and listening to the singer Tony. A discussion on special events as a force for peace was presented.

Introduction

Tourism involves interaction between human beings and is a cause of relaxation of travel barriers for the sake of mutual understanding and friendship between ethnic groups and world peace. Tourism is an institution that does not prosper in the absence of peace (Burnett and Muzaffer, 1990). Tourists will think twice before considering a trip to a place where violence is in control, like Lebanon in 1975, where troops were armed and ready for a serious confrontation with each other (Colella, 1987). D'Amore (1988) stated that "tourism is potentially one of the most important vehicles for promoting understanding, trust, and good will among people of the world."

Festival or Hallmark events generally are viewed by their organizers and host communities as being social or cultural celebrations. These events can remove confrontations and barriers between people by bringing a happy relaxed atmosphere and togetherness (Goeldner, 1989).

The country of Lebanon has long been famous for its short term events, which were held in different parts of the country until the time when civil war broke out in 1975. This study focuses on The Karmeh Festival (started in 1969) which was held sporadically during the war years. Since the end of the worst part of the hostility in 1990, the organizers of the Karmeh Festival started thinking about the possibility of adopting new ways to attract people of different ethnic backgrounds to meet, socialize and get together in a peaceful manner.

This paper discusses the contribution of tourism as an alternative to political approaches to promoting peace in Lebanon. Finding how effective festivals are in promoting peace in a region is the aim of this study. The Karmeh Festival provides an opportunity for Muslims and Christians to interact in a non-threatening and enjoyable situation. As such it has the potential to increase understanding between the two groups. This study looks at the 1992 Karmeh Festival in terms of the following characteristics of these two groups: a) Attendance patterns, b) Group composition, c) Type of crafts bought at the festival and d) Levels of satisfaction with various aspects of the Festival. In addition, the study explores the perceived impact of the festival on providing a setting that is conducive to promoting harmony between Muslims and Christians. It is assumed that if the behavioral patterns are similar between the two groups, the opportunity for interaction is maximized.

Background

Wars and conflicts between Muslims and Christians have been going on since the 16th century. The crusaders trying to conquer the middle east have fought many wars against Muslims. The constant conflicts between the two groups have set the ground for the continuing struggle in Lebanon. Christians, who account for 43% of the total population, decided to have a separate political entity with the help of an external backer, France, who promised them a political self fulfillment (Europa book, 1993-1994). The Christians failed to be the majority and became one minority in a country of different ethnic minorities. An agreement was reached in 1963 which states that the presidency will be held by a Christian, and the second most important position will be held by a Muslim. Once this compromise was completed, the two communities formed a coalition to underwrite the system, which enabled Lebanon to remain united in the face of internal and external pressures, until 1975. That's when the civil war erupted and lasted until 1990, when president Hrawis' partial implementation of his political plan allowed for political reforms and withdrawal of the various militia from greater Beirut.

Festivals and Hallmark events

Ritchie (1984) has defined hallmark events as follows: "Major one-time or reoccurring events of limited duration, developed primarily to enhance awareness, appeal and profitability of tourist destinations in the short and long term." As for the Karmeh Festival of Arts, it is just one of the many summer festivals that are held in Lebanon. This festival is hosted by the city of Zahleh in the Bekkah Valley in north Lebanon. Attendees come to the festival from around the country of Lebanon and some come from

Syria and Europe. They are either Christians or Muslims, and what contributed to this integration was the stable political climate that Lebanon has been enjoying for more than three years prior to the study.

The atmosphere of celebration and happiness makes people feel relaxed and comfortable with each other, and helps promote trust, and good will (D'Amore, 1988). Festivals events have promoted community cohesion and stimulated tourism (Wall and Mitchell, 1989). Furthermore, facilitating ethnicity or cultural cohesiveness is one of the potential contributions that tourism can make as an agent of political socialization (Ritcher, 1983).

Festivals and tourism as a force for peace
The open-air venues used for festivals encourage a casual and relaxed atmosphere, while the close proximity of performers often results in members of the audience joining in with the dancing, clapping, or singing (Hall and Zeppel, 1990). The common interest of all attendees is sharing and experiencing an authentic culture.

Writing about tourism and peace, Davidson and Montville (1981-1982) suggested that two tracks of diplomacy exist. Track one diplomacy runs through the official channel of communication or the government. This track requires diplomats to make worst case assumptions about an adversary's intentions in order to defend their people's interest. This, no doubt, will lead to distrust. The unofficial channel of people to people relations is noted as track two diplomacy, which includes "unofficial, non-structured interaction. It is always open-minded, often altruistic and strategically optimistic, based on the best case analysis." What track two is stating is that conflict can be resolved or eased by appealing to common human capabilities to respond to good will and reasonableness (Davidson and Montville, 1981-1982).

The operation of tourism is based on track two diplomacy, where information on the different ethnic backgrounds is exchanged directly from one person to another. The political efforts to negotiate peace and cohesiveness among Lebanese have been limited to track one diplomacy and have failed. The main purpose of this study is to show that track two diplomacy has a better chance to succeed than track one.

Methodology
Located in the southwestern part of Asia at the Eastern end of the Mediterranean Sea, Lebanon is about 3 times the size of Rhode Island. Lebanon is bordered by Syria to the north and east, and by Israel to the south. Zahleh is within a 1 hour drive of Beirut, the heart of Lebanon and its capital, and is 2 to 3 hours from most of Lebanon including Tripoli, which is considered the second major city after Beirut. Zahleh has been called the Bride of the Bekkah Valley for a century now. Casinos, theaters, and short-term events are constantly taking place every day in different parts of the city. The Karmeh arts festival is an annual event held in Zahleh, during the 3rd week of August. The 1992 Exhibition was held from Friday, August 21 until Sunday, August 23. Art work is exhibited and sold on the sidewalk, usually between 11 o'clock in the morning and 8 o'clock in the evening. The performing arts are held between 11 a.m. and midnight. Most of the volunteers involved in this event are college students that help in setting up booths, food services, public relations, parking, security, and clean up after the event.

Attendee profile and instrumentation
People from all over the country (Muslims and Christians) attend the Karmeh Exhibition and most of the attendees are from the Beirut area. In order to obtain information necessary for this study, a research instrument was constructed. The instrument included an on-site interview and a follow-up interview conducted with the prospective attendees a month from the time the on-site interview was conducted. The first interview provides immediate feedback about the current activity (Hyman, 1965). Interviewing is generally the most appropriate method for collecting data because it sets the ground for interviewers to get information through face-to-face interaction (Moser and Kalton, 1974). The interview included questions about attendees' status, party composition, behaviors, and attitudes toward the event and how much an individual plans to spend. One thing to be noted is that it was not appropriate to ask the subjects what religion they are, but it could be figured out from their names.

It is important to look at some variables in order to come up with a socio-demographic profile of an attendee. These variables include: group composition, distance of travel, length of stay, number of visits, purpose of visit, expenditure pattern, and ethnicity. These variables give an idea about how willing the attendees are to attend different places and interact with groups of different backgrounds, setting aside all the hostile feelings for a while and enjoying a relaxed, secure atmosphere. The follow-up questionnaire was done at a later time to get a later reaction and more detailed information about the attendees themselves, what they've done, and how satisfied they were. The questions were the same on the second questionnaire with a minor expansion of questions relating to sex, age, ethnicity, length of stay, and numbers of previous visits. One part of the questionnaire was administered in relation to expenditure patterns, and another part dealt with satisfaction towards the festival and perceptions of the extent to which the festival was a force for peace. The selection of the subjects was as follows: Two members of the research team were positioned on both sides of the only entrance to the festival grounds. They were told to pick every 20th person and interview him or her.

The attendees were selected randomly at the entrance without regard to group size, sex, or the way they dressed. The selected subjects were informed briefly about the study and asked if they a) had participated in the study; and b) were age 18 years or older. If an attendee answered no to the first question and yes to the second, he or she was invited to participate in an interview. If the person did not meet the requirements, no interview was conducted.

The research questions for the study focus on whether there are similarities in the behavioral patterns of Muslims and Christians and whether these similarities will lead to promoting peace between the two groups. Muslims' and Christians' responses were statistically compared using Chi-Square analysis at a level of significance of 0.05.

Results

The total number of on-site interviews was 213, with 143 completing the second part of the survey. A number of respondents lived outside the country (70 subjects) and could not take part in the follow-up personal interviews. The tables and figures shown in this paper give some highlights about the significance of some of the variables and what they meant.

The number of Christians sampled at the festival was 57 (39%) and the number of Muslims was 86 (61%) out of the total of 143 participants who completed the interviews. The portion of Christians in the sample was lower because of the bigger and more dominating Muslim population. The majority of attendees were with spouses or children, and relatively few (13-21%) attended alone. One significant difference that was observed was that 67% of Muslim attendees attended with children, versus 51% for Christians (table 1).

Table 1. Group composition of Christians and Muslims attending the Karmeh Arts Festival.

Type of Group	Christians (n=57)	Muslims (n=86)	Chi Square
Alone	21%	13%	1.7
With Spouse	58%	71%	2.6
With Children	51%	67%	3.9*
With Friends	40%	35%	0.4
With Relatives	33%	40%	0.6
With Anybody Else	5%	7%	0.2

* Significant at the .05 level.

Festival visitors purchased a variety of types of arts and crafts, with the vast majority of both Muslims (93%) and Christians (90%) reporting some purchase. There were no significant differences between Muslims and Christians as far as buying goods from the stands, except for buying jewelry. Muslims (63%) were more likely than Christians (44%) to purchase jewelry at the festival (Table 2).

Table 2. Percentage of Christians and Muslims making various types of purchases at the Karmeh Arts Festival.

Type of Purchase	Christians (n=57)	Muslims (n=86)	Chi Square
Crafts	46%	44%	0.0
Jewelry	44%	63%	5.0*
Painting	33%	23%	1.8
Wooden crafts	32%	29%	0.1
Photographs	30%	22%	1.1
Glass	46%	57%	1.8
Pottery	19%	14%	0.7
Leather	33%	37%	0.2
Antiques	63%	65%	0.1
Folkclothes	21%	22%	010

* Significant at the .05 level.

The majority of festival attendees attended some musical performances (Table 3). It is interesting to note that Muslims were more likely (43% versus only 25% of Christians) to attend the concert by the singer, Tony, who is a Christian.

Table 3. Percentage of Christians and Muslims listening to various performers at the Karmeh Arts Festival.

Performer	Christians (n=57)	Muslims (n=86)	Chi Square
Attended Concerts	86%	92%	1.3
Majidah	75%	72%	0.2
Rabih	68%	63%	0.5
Sabah	63%	52%	1.6
Tony	25%	43%	5.1*
Diab	53%	48%	0.3
Fatouh	35%	48%	2.2

* Significant at the .05 level.

Other than these significant differences, there were many similarities in habits for both groups. For example, attending the festival was the primary reason for visiting the area among both Muslims (69%) and Christians (67%). The majority of subjects have attended the festival more than once (table 4), which leads to the conclusion that festivals have strong potential in attracting and encouraging people to attend and interact.

Table 4. Number of previous visits to the Karmeh Arts Festival.

Number of Visits	Christians (n=57)	Muslims (n=86)
One time	42%	44%
Two times	48%	46%
Three times	3%	5%
Four or more times	7%	5%

Chi square = .06 (not significant)

Most festival visitors reported that they felt the festival had some effect in promoting better relationships between Christians and Muslims, although the majority felt the amount of influence was "very little" (Table 5). About 40% of both Muslims and Christians felt that the amount of influence was "somewhat" to "a significant amount." Again, the differences between Christians and Muslims were not significant.

Table 5. Visitors' perceptions of the extent to which the Karmeh Arts Festival helps promote better relationships between Christians and Muslims.

Influence of Festival	Christians(n=57)	Muslims(n=86)
Not at all	4%	4%
Very little	56%	59%
Somewhat	39%	26%
A significant amount	2%	12%

Chi square = 6.3 (not significant)

Conclusion

Results of this study showed that the festival was not only an event that brought people of different ethnic backgrounds together, but also served as an attractive profitable event for local residents. Generalization of the behavioral patterns of this study could be made with caution to most festivals and Hallmark events in the country.

The contribution of tourism or hallmark events to facilitating ethnic cohesiveness has had a large impact on the Lebanese community in general. The war, anger, and hostile feelings seemed to be put aside at the Karmeh festival, and Lebanese people seemed to be brought closer through understanding environments and heritage. Although results confirmed that a single festival probably would not have a large effect in reducing hostilities or promoting peace, the combined effects of festivals throughout the country and over a period of years may yield considerably more potential as a force for peace.

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The Effects of Festival Attributes Upon Perceptions of Crowding

Matthew Anderson

Masters Candidate, Leisure Studies Program, The Pennsylvania State University, University Park, PA 16802

Deborah Kerstetter

Assistant Professor, Leisure Studies, The Pennsylvania State University, University Park, PA 16802

Alan Graefe

Associate Professor, Leisure Studies, The Pennsylvania State University, University Park, PA 16802

The primary purpose of this study was to explore the relationship between festival attributes and perceived crowding at a festival site. Visitors to the Northwest Folklife Festival in Seattle, Washington, were chosen by a systematic sampling method to complete an on-site and follow-up survey. These surveys included questions which addressed the determinate attributes in choosing to come to the Festival, including programmed and social/experiential attributes. Additional items included on the follow-up survey included service quality and environmental attributes, as well as questions related to crowding.
Multiple regressions were run to test which attributes were related to perceived crowding. Depending on the regression model, "opportunity to relax" and "opportunity to people watch," were found to be significantly related to perceived crowding. The "uniqueness of the festival" approached significance in both regression models.

Introduction

A great deal of research related to perceived crowding has been conducted within the outdoor recreation setting (cf., Ditton, Fedler, & Graefe, 1983; Hammitt, 1983; Knopf, 1987; Kuentzel & Heberlein, 1992; Shelby, Heberlein, Vaske & Alfana, 1983). Manning (in Westover, 1989, p. 258) stated that this research has typically treated crowding as a negative phenomena. However, in situations where people are expecting, if not desiring crowds as part of their experience, this model does not suffice (Eroglu & Harrel, 1986). For example, in retail settings, crowding has been found to be one of the factors that may provide consumers with a sense of excitement and stimulation (Foxall & Goldsmith, 1994; Geller, 1980; Saerget, 1973). A model based on this premise was developed by Harrel and Hutt (1976). It consisted of the antecedents to a purchase, the perception of crowding, the adaptation strategies implemented by individuals, and the outcomes the individuals chose. Eroglu and Harrel expanded upon the model by adding the concept of *functional density*, which has approximately the opposite definition of perceived crowding. Functional density is a term for "good crowding," or when crowding can actually augment an experience. According to the authors, the antecedents or attributes of an experience contribute to the generation of perceived crowding or functional density.

Based upon this approach to crowding, the researcher developed five items forming a perceived crowding/ functional density scale. This and other relevant items were tested at the Northwest Folklife Festival, an annual event held on Memorial Day weekend at the Seattle Center just north of the main metropolitan area of Seattle. The Northwest Folklife Festival provides to its community a wide array of ethnic and regional performers, special exhibits and workshops, street performers, crafts and imports, as well as a variety of ethnic foods. Although the Festival is highly organized in its management and structure, spontaneity is valued as a form of expression at this unique Festival. The cultural theme of the 1996, 25th anniversary festival was *Mabuyah Pilipias!*, or "Long Live the Philippines."

The purpose of this study was to examine the relationship between festival attributes and perceived crowding.

Methodology

In developing the survey instrument, five perceived crowding questions were included to test for both the positive and negative effects of crowding at the Festival. A list of attributes of the Festival was also generated through referencing the literature and discussions with the management of the Festival. The resulting attributes fell into four major categories: 1) integral programmed components of the Festival, 2) aspects of the event that provided social or experiential qualities, 3) the physical environment of the Festival grounds, and 4) the service quality provided by staff and volunteers. For the purpose of this paper, only the integral programmed components and the social or experiential qualities of the Festival were addressed.

In administering the survey, a systematic sampling method was utilized to administer 673 on-site questionnaires to Festival attendees as they entered the grounds of the Festival. This sample size was deemed acceptable at the 95% confidence level $\pm$3%. The investigator and trained volunteers were strategically positioned at four entry gates each of the four days of the Festival. Based on daily attendance estimates, surveys were administered proportionally to obtain as representative a sample as possible. In addition, surveys were administered throughout the day in an effort to eliminate bias.

Individuals were interviewed on site and, if they agreed, were asked to complete a follow-up questionnaire once they returned home. All respondents received a follow-up thank-you/reminder post-card and one additional mailing was made to non-respondents. The overall response rate was 60% (n=406).

The data analysis included descriptive statistics of the demographic background of the sample, and a series of five multiple regression analyses that explored the relationship between Festival attributes and the perception of crowding.

Results

Table 1 provides a descriptive profile of the Festival sample. Respondents tended to visit the Festival with friends and relatives, and were predominantly local, female, and well educated. Income levels were evenly distributed among the respondents.

Table 1: Overall profile of respondents

Descriptive Characteristics	Percent of Total
Group Composition (n=335)	
Friends/relatives over 18	63.6%[a]
Spouse or partner	46.7%
Own Children	17.9%
Children of friends/relatives	17.3%
Other	5.7%
Visitors' Home Residence (n=399)	
King County	66.9%
Outside King County	33.1%
Gender (n=395)	
Male	36.2%
Female	63.8%
Total Household Income (n=368)	
Under $24,000	20.9%
$24,001-$35,000	8.5%
$35,001-$50,000	21.7%
$50,001-$75,000	21.7%
$75,001 and abovel	7.1%
Education Level (n=400)	
Less than High School	2.8%
High School Graduate	6.0%
Trade/Vocational School	3.3%
Some College	23.3%
College Graduate	34.3%
Graduate School	29.5%
Other	1.0%

[a]Individuals could respond to all of the categories that applied; thus, the percentages will exceed 100%.
Note: Percentages may not add up to 100% due to rounding.
The total n of each category does not match as a result of missing data.

Individuals' perception of crowding at the Festival was obtained through five different questions. The first question required respondents to indicate whether other Festival attendees detracted or added to their experience. Most attendees (79%) indicated that to some degree the other attendees added to their experience. The second question addressed whether sights, sounds, and movement within the Festival were "very un-enjoyable" to "very enjoyable." Approximately 92% of the respondents indicated that this dimension was to some degree enjoyable. The next question, which addressed the notion of physical density, directed respondents to indicate if the Festival would have been enjoyable with "many fewer people" to "many more people." Only 11% of the respondents indicated that they would be happier with more people, the majority (52%) were neutral on the issue. The final two questions focused on waiting in lines. Approximately two-thirds of the respondents felt that the lines for food and souvenir vendors as well as performances were tolerable. To provide an overall measure of perceived crowding, an index was generated by summing the means of the responses to the five questions and dividing by five. The reliability of the index, using the Chronbach alpha statistic, was .71.

In order to test the relationship between Festival attributes and perceived crowding, multiple regression procedures were employed. Two models, an importance/performance model and a performance only model, were adopted in an effort to determine: (a) which attributes proved to be significantly related to perceived crowding, and (b) which model accounted for the most variance in the dependent variable, crowding. Further, given the fact that very little research has been done in the festival setting, it was hoped that multiple analyses would provide further insight to individuals' perceptions of crowding. The first model is similar to one proposed by Crompton and Love (1995). To test this model, z-scores were formulated to equalize the importance and performance scales. The importance scale was originally a five-point scale and the performance scale was originally a seven-point scale. The values derived from this model were created by subtracting the z-score values of the performance scores from the z-score values of the importance scores. The resulting values represented the degree to which expectations of each attribute were or were not met.

Table 2: Results of multiple regression of attributes of the Festival on Perceived Crowding: The importance-performance model

Attributes r	Bivariate r	Standardized Coefficient
Music and dance perfomances	.130***	.054
Street performers	.107*	.024
The food	.122**	.065
Crafts and imports shopping	.141**	.055
Opportunity to be with family/friends	.092*	.007
Opportunity to be outside	.141**	.025
Opportunity to people watch.	.127**	.028
Uniqueness of the Festival	.211***	.134
Opportunity to relax	.222***	.137*
Opportunity to socialize	.186***	.070
Opportunity to try new things	.136**	-.010
Opportunity to experience the unexpected	.119**	-.033

R^2 = .092 P=.006 n=295
* significant at the .05 level ** significant at the .01 level
*** significant at the .001 level

Initially, a multiple regression procedure using a listwise deletion was adopted for Table 2. However, the total n on the initial run was 16. Because this did not provide an adequate representation of the sample, programmed attributes with a large percentage of responses indicating "Did not experience" were deleted from the multiple regression procedure. After deleting these variables from the regression and running a pairwise deletion, the R squared for the remaining 12 variables was .09. The total n for the regression was 404. Pairwise multiple regressions were used for the remaining analyses.

The results shown in Table 2 indicate that on a bivariate level, all 12 independent variables were significantly correlated with the dependent variable. The strongest was "opportunity to relax" (r= .22), followed by "uniqueness of the Festival" (r= .21), and "opportunity to socialize" (r= .19). The multivariate analysis revealed one item, "opportunity to relax," was significant at the .05 level. "Uniqueness of the Festival" approached significance with a significance level of .058. Nine percent of the variance in crowding was accounted for by the importance-performance model.

Individuals were asked to indicate how well the Festival performed on the integral programmed components and the social or experiential qualities of the Festival. The second model, the performance only model, is limited to these performance values. The results shown in Table 3 of the performance only model document that on a bivariate level all the independent variables were significantly correlated with the dependent variable, perceived crowding. The strongest correlations were with "opportunity to relax" (r= .33) and "opportunity to experience the unexpected" (r= .32). The multivariate analysis again revealed that "opportunity to relax" was significant at the .05 level. However, "opportunity to people watch" was also significant at the .05 level in this model. The "uniqueness of the Festival" again approached significance with a value of .052. Just over 24% of the variance in crowding was explained by this model.

Table 3: Results of multiple regression of attributes of the Festival on Perceived Crowding: The performance only model

Attribute	Bivariate r	Standardized Coefficient
Music and dance performances	.248***	.065
Street performers	.232***	.094
The food	.245***	.091
Crafts and imports shopping	.257***	.074
Opportunity to be with family/friends	.199***	.017
Opportunity to be outside	.269**	.033
Opportunity to people watch	.300**	.126*
Uniqueness of theFestival	.302***	.118
Opportunity to relax	.332***	.162*
Opportunity to socialize	.309***	.069
Opportunity to try new things	.248***	050
Opportunity to experience the unexpected	.316***.	075

$R^2 = .245$ P=.001 n=315

* significant at the .05 level ** significant at the .01 level

*** significant at the .001 level

Conclusions and Implications

Overall, people had a positive perception of the "crowd" at the Festival. More than three-fourths of the respondents indicated that to some degree other people added to their experience. A much greater percentage (92%) suggested that the sights, sounds, and movement within the Festival were quite enjoyable. This finding contradicts much of the research to date in the recreation field. Most studies indicate that crowding is a negative. The findings of this study suggest the opposite.

Both regression models documented that two of the social/experiential variables, "opportunity to relax" and "opportunity to people watch" were positively related to perceived crowding. It seems ironic that one would seek relaxation in an environment with such high density and stimulation. But, as Baum (1991) asserted, for many individuals outdoor natural environments provide relaxation, but for others, an urban environment can also reduce stress. He claims that it is a common bias in research to consider every man made environment one which encourages stress. Relaxation in this context may be seen as an overall release of a daily routine rather than exclusively a low stimulation experience. Further, the fact that "opportunity to people watch" was found to be significant may be linked to the novelty of the Festival, as the Festival provides an abundantly garish atmosphere.

The near significance of the attribute, "uniqueness of the event," is undoubtedly linked to the character of the Festival. Botterill (1986) asserted that novelty is the primary reason for indulging in a touristic experience. In this touristic setting, the novelty of the event is very influential in how one perceives crowding on-site. Further research should address the novelty-crowding relationship.

The varying results between the two regression models suggest that we must be very careful what types of regression models we use when analyzing data and implementing policy based on data. Results on a bivariate level indicated that all of the attributes tested in each regression model were significant, yet when tested in a series of multiple regressions, fewer variables were found to be statistically linked to perceived crowding.

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PERCEPTIONS AND STATUS OF MICHIGAN AS A HERITAGE TOURISM STATE: RESULTS OF AN ELEVEN-MONTH TELEPHONE SURVEY

Gail A. Vander Stoep

Assistant Professor, Department of Park, Recreation and Tourism Resources, Michigan State University, 131 Natural Resources Building, East Lansing, MI 48824-1222

Cultural and heritage tourism have gained increasing attention as a type of tourism in recent years. Through a telephone survey of midwest residents (six states and one Canadian province), respondents were asked about their image of Michigan as a destination for heritage and cultural tourism experiences, about their visits to museums, halls of fame, historic and other heritage sites. Michigan, traditionally a natural resource tourism destination and maintaining a strong image as such, receives far fewer visits to heritage and cultural sites than do other states or regions. If Michigan chooses to expand its potential as a heritage/cultural tourism destination, it must engage in a variety of development, promotional, and collaborative efforts.

Introduction

In recent years, tourism industry professionals and researchers have segmented, labeled, studied and promoted various "types" of tourism. This has occurred partially in response to shifts in tourism markets and traveler preferences/demands. While much travel in the 1980s and before was heavily influenced by a desire for "escape and relaxation," travel motivations in the 1990s has begun to shift to include more interest in education and enrichment. "In the '80s cultural, historical or archaeological treasures were important to 27% of frequent travelers compared to 50% in the 1990s. Understanding culture was important to 48% in the '80s compared to 88% in the '90s" (Lord, 1996). Other reasons for identifying specific "types" or categories of tourism include 1) to better understand tourism decision making and travel behavior, and 2) to use in tourism promotion strategies. Among relatively recently labeled tourism "types" are ecotourism, nature-based tourism, agriculture or farm tourism, heritage tourism, industrial tourism, and cultural tourism. Depending on the context and who is using the terms, their meanings may vary slightly, sometimes resulting in confusion or misunderstanding, particularly for potential travelers. Additionally, tourists seldom label themselves as one type of tourist or another. In fact, more often than not, they are engaged in a variety of experiences during any given travel experience and may engage in different "types" of tourism activities across various trips. Nevertheless, it is useful--for understanding tourist destination choices and travel patterns, for developing attractive travel packages and attractions, for designing and implementing effective promotional strategies, and developing appropriate information and interpretation for travelers--to segment markets and identify the activities, attractions and services preferred and sought by tourists, as well as to understand their perceptions of specific areas and how those perceptions influence their travel choices. It is those perceptions or images, regardless of how closely they match reality, that affect traveler destination selection (Gunn, 1988). In Michigan, as seems to be the case for most of the United States, tourism is becoming an increasingly important industry for economic development. Thus it is critical for state legislators, tourism decision makers (e.g., state travel bureau), local communities, regional tourism organizations, and tourism businesses to understand the nature of tourist behavior, decision making, existing images of the state as a travel destination, and trends in travel patterns and attractions.

Heritage and cultural tourism. "Heritage Tourism is Hot." So proclaims the title of an article in the Business Reports section of the September 1996 issue of American Demographics. In a 1993 issue of History News, Kathleen Brown identifies heritage and cultural tourism emerging as the fastest growing segment of the tourism industry. In a companion article, T. Allan Comp (1993) encourages individual historic sites to connect with other sites and activities (including historic, cultural, scenic and recreational) in their area or region to offer quality, integrated interpretive experiences for increasingly sophisticated tourists who seek such experiences.

Since the early 1990s, focused attention has been given to heritage and cultural tourism. Not only has the tourism industry recognized the important role of historic and cultural resources and events in tourism, but historical and cultural institutions increasingly are recognizing and trying to take advantage of that role. The National Trust for Historic Preservation has implemented a Heritage Tourism Initiative. As part of this initiative and in cooperation with American Express, it has produced a publication (Green, 1993), titled *Getting Started: How to Succeed in Heritage Tourism*, to help communities and historic/cultural organizations better understand travel behavior and the tourism industry, and provide guidelines or suggestions for how to engage actively in tourism. A report on cultural tourism, titled *Exploring America through its Culture* and commissioned by the President's Committee on the Arts and the Humanities, was prepared for the 1995 White House Conference on Travel and Tourism. Reasons for interest in heritage tourism, as identified in both publications and using citations from numerous studies, include:

- a large percent of travelers (statistics vary from area to area and among different studies) visit at least one historic site, district or building;
- visitors to historic sites tend to stay longer in an area and spend more money than those who do not visit historic sites;

- historic sites can create a "hook" to attract people to an area; tourists provide additional dollars to both the historic sites (via entrance fees and gift shop purchases) and the local area (for food, lodging, shopping, other entertainment);
- tourists who visit heritage sites tend to have higher incomes and education than other tourists;
- tourists who visit heritage sites are more likely to stay in hotels and to shop than do other tourists;
- heritage tourism provides an economic reason for communities to preserve historic resources;
- heritage tourism diversifies local economies; and
- heritage tourism provides the opportunity for visitors to gain an understanding of a previously unknown place, time or culture, hopefully broadening personal perspectives and understanding as well as contributing to development of an historic stewardship ethic.

While several characteristics of travelers who visit historic sites are different from those of non-historic site visitors, it should be remembered that not all historic site visitors have the same motivations or visitation patterns. Lord (1996) explains four degrees of consumer motivation for heritage or cultural tourism. Level one cultural tourists, those most highly motivated by cultural tourism, are those who choose a destination specifically because of its heritage sites or festivals. Level two cultural tourists are those partially motivated by historic and cultural opportunities and partly by some other factor. Level three cultural tourists are those who choose trip destinations or activities based primarily on some other characteristic but who plan, as an adjunct activity, to visit an historic site or participate in a cultural event. The final group, dubbed "accidental cultural tourists," are those people who do not plan to participate in heritage tourism, but do so for some other reason (e.g., their hosts decide to take them to a historic site; inclement weather spoils their planned outside activities so they find an alternative).

In Michigan, cultural institutions and organizations are expressing interest in collaborating and working more directly with the tourism industry. The Upper Peninsula Travel and Recreation Association sponsored conference presentations on historic preservation and the roles of interpretation and museums in tourism in October 1996. During the same month, the Midwest Museums Association requested a presentation on the tourism industry, tourist behavior, and strategies for establishing direct linkages with the tourism industry. The Michigan Museums Association currently is developing several heritage tourism initiatives, including a survey, publication and heritage tourism training. Through Michigan State University Extension, workshops in community-based tourism, which include a strong emphasis on heritage tourism opportunities, have been conducted in the past two years. The Michigan travel bureau, *Travel Michigan*, changed its slogan and logo in the spring of 1997 to "Great Lakes, Great Times," intentionally incorporating both natural and cultural resources in the image (see Figure 1.)

Figure 1. The new Michigan tourism logo and slogan reflect both the state's natural and cultural heritage.

Image and Perceptions. Travel choices are made based on a variety of factors, including individual or group preferences, expectations and motivations for a given trip, barriers and constraints (including cost, distance, time available), and image. Image, because it is such a critical component of the decision making process regarding selection of a travel destination, has been studied extensively. According to an early definition by Crompton (1979), image results from a blending of all the beliefs, perceptions, ideas, and impressions that a person has acquired about any object, place, event, or behavior. Matthieson and Wall (1982) include image as an important component of tourist decision making--that it is, in fact, a decisive factor in choosing between two or more travel opportunities. However, they caution that invalid images may create problems. "The larger the difference between image and reality, that is between expectations and experience, the more likely is the tourist to be dissatisfied" (Matthieson and Wall, 1982, 31-32).

Exactly how the elements blend in a person's mind to form an image may not be definitively understood, but three specific components are involved in development of a destination image: cognitive, affective, and conative (Gartner, 1996). The cognitive component is based upon information or fact and includes the individual's understanding of and attitudes about those facts. Sources for the information can be numerous and varied, including both promotion and marketing efforts about the destination (termed "induced" information by Gunn, 1972) and general impressions or information about a place gained, often as background to other messages, from sources such as news media, entertainment media, and discussions with other people (termed "organic" information by Gunn, 1972). The affective component relates to how a person feels about and values a specific object or place. Individuals are different and, because their psychological make-ups, or "sets to respond," are different, they may value and react differently to the same image or set of beliefs about a travel destination (Gunn, 1988). The conative component could be referred to as the resultant behavior, such as the act of making a specific trip based on the decision.

In the cognitive component of image development, people may have information in addition to "induced" and "organic" information--information based on personal experiences with a specific region or site. Personal experience information (termed "primary" by Phelps, 1986), when available, combines with "secondary" information from a range of induced and organic sources to create an image of a place, such as a specific travel destination. Consistency of messages and source credibility affect the extent of influence on an individual's image development of the place. This image, evolved in a person's mind about a given place, directly influences the travel decision. The tourism industry, if it hopes to attract visitors to a specific destination or region, must identify images people have about the destination and attractions, understand the match or mismatch between those images and what really exists at a site or destination, understand the match or mismatch between the image and travelers' preferences and motivations, and then work to reinforce or change those images, as needed, in ways to influence positively future travel destination decisions.

Study Context

Michigan has long been a tourist destination, with many of its early attractions based on natural resources, often water-based. In the early 1870s, the railroad opened many inland areas of Michigan, including to Grayling (middle lower peninsula) and the Au Sable River. Native grayling became a target of recreational anglers. Soon after, private individuals began introducing rainbow and brook trout; responding to this interest, the State of Michigan began stocking brook and, eventually, brown trout (Williams, 1997). Specially designed shallow draft boats were constructed to support this resource-based recreational activity. In the late 1800s and early 1900s, fishing camps, hunting camps, and resorts were developed throughout Michigan, especially in northern areas, along shorelines, and on Isle Royale. Passengers boarded excursion steamers for holidays on the Great Lakes. Despite this early emphasis on natural resource-based recreation and tourism development, cultural and historic attractions have been components of tourism in Michigan for many years. For example, Mackinac Island, designated Michigan's first state park in 1895 and always been for its quiet (motorless) natural island environment and extravagant resort amenities boasts one of Michigan's most well known attractions, Fort Mackinac, a fort founded in 1789, given to Michigan in 1895, and now portraying military life of the 1880s to visitors.

Michigan has several interesting characteristics that make it unique among other areas of the United States. First, it is comprised of two peninsulas (upper and lower peninsulas), finally linked physically in 1957 with completion of the Mackinac Bridge. As a peninsular state, Michigan has nearly 3,300 miles of Great Lakes shoreline--more than any other state except Alaska--and almost 97,000 square miles of Great Lakes surface area within its borders. Adding to its extensive water resources are hundreds of inland lakes (totaling approximately 1,000 square miles), 36,350 miles of rivers, more than 150 waterfalls (D'Itri, 1995), and 12 existing or proposed underwater preserves (Nelson and Childs, 1996). Thus, water-based travel and recreation opportunities annually attract thousands of recreational visits by residents and visitors from across the country. Among them are thousands of boaters. For years, Michigan has been identified as one of the top two or three states for boating activity, which is supported by nearly 90 harbors with Great Lakes access (Talhelm and Vrana, 1995).

Additionally, Michigan is rich in forested land, having four national forests (more than 2.7 million acres), six state forests (3.9 million acres), 57 state game and wildlife areas (covering almost 300,000 acres), four National Park Service units, and 96 state parks (Nelson and Childs, 1996). Some of the areas (e.g., Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore, Pictured Rocks National Lakeshore, Isle Royale National Park) incorporate both spectacular land and water resources, providing varied opportunities for visitors.

Because of its location--northern United States, water-surrounded--Michigan has a relatively short summer travel season. Even summer weather, while often hot, can be cool and rainy. Winters can be cold, long and full of snow, particularly in the upper peninsula. Thus, some might believe the climate to be a constraint to the length of the tourist season. However, fall colors, winter attractions and activities (e.g., crosscountry and some downhill skiing, snowmobiling, winter carnivals), and spring maple sugaring activities can extend the natural resource-based tourism season. It is within this heavily natural resource-based context that heritage and cultural tourism are striving to develop.

Despite, and more realistically because of, these extensive and varied natural resources, Michigan does have a long history of human habitation. Accordingly, it has numerous historic and cultural attractions and stories, reflecting both prehistoric times (e.g., Paleo Indian copper mining on Isle Royale, Native American trade routes across the southern portion of the lower peninsula and along waterways) and development since European contact. Military activity, such as at Colonial Michilimackinac, a fur-trading village and military outpost established in 1715 and at Fort Mackinac in the late 18th and 19th centuries, contributes to Michigan's colorful history. Little recognized is the extensive involvement of Michigan troops in the Civil War. In addition to military influence, much of the state's post-European contact history has resulted from economic development of the state's natural resources: copper and iron mining, fur trade, commercial fishing, lumbering, transportation along the Great Lakes...and recreation and tourism.

Purposes of the Study
The purposes of this study are to 1) describe the perceptions (or image) of Michigan as a travel destination, specifically with regard to heritage and cultural tourism, held by residents of six midwestern states and one Canadian province, 2) identify traveler visitation to historic, heritage and cultural sites, and 3) compare characteristics of heritage tourists with those of non-heritage tourists.

Methods
This study is part of a much larger, three-year household telephone survey assessing travel patterns, choices, and perceptions of residents in the midwest. Developed in cooperation between the Michigan Travel, Tourism and Recreation Resource Center (TTRRC), the Michigan Travel Bureau (now Travel Michigan), and CERTEC consulting firm, a 140-item questionnaire, structured in several blocks, was developed to assess residents' 1) awareness of tourism promotional materials (for Michigan and the other states and province), 2) image of Michigan, 3) pleasure travel patterns, in general and specifically to Michigan, for the past 12 months, 4) influence of advertising on destination choices, 5) trip expenditures, 6) future travel plans, in general and specifically to Michigan, and 7) personal and household characteristics.

The larger study, containing a core of questions to be used across all three years, was structured to incorporate a different set of special topic area questions during each of the three years. The special areas identified are 1) cultural/heritage tourism, 2) natural resource-based tourism, and 3) special attractions and festivals/event tourism. Thus, during the first year (the time frame of this study), a series of questions related to travelers' perceptions of Michigan as a heritage tourism state and about their specific travel behavior related to visits to museums, halls of fame, historic sites and buildings, and other heritage tourism attractions was asked. It should be noted that, while festivals and special events contribute significantly to heritage and cultural tourism, they are not specifically included in this study because they will be addressed along with special attractions in the focus segment during year three of the larger study.

Initially the survey contained nearly 200 items. During pilot testing it was determined that the time it took to complete a survey was too long for the telephone interview format. Therefore, numerous questions were dropped or revised, resulting in a 140-item questionnaire. In this reduction, heritage tourism-related questions dealing with motivations, satisfaction, and detailed heritage experience preferences were deleted. The remaining questions related to heritage tourism were primarily descriptive, dealing with travel behavior. A few questions in the larger survey that addressed seasonal issues (e.g., boating in the summer, snowmobiling during the winter) were changed depending on the season in which the interviews were conducted. However, those changes are not relevant to the heritage tourism part of the study.

During an 11-month period (October 1995 through August 1996), a sample of 6,073 residents was selected for participation in a household telephone survey. The study area included Michigan, five nearby midwestern states (Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Minnesota), and the province of Ontario, Canada. Residents/respondents were randomly selected through random digit dialing.

Administration of the survey was conducted in the TTRRC's CATI (computer-assisted telephone interview) lab via a bank of computer-supported telephone stations, from which trained interviewers contacted and interviewed respondents. Some of the respondents (if they had not traveled in the previous 12 months) received an abbreviated form of the survey, providing only household demographics, while others (if they had traveled in the previous 12 months) were asked to participate in an extensive version (approximately 140 items) of the survey. In completing a full interview, responses to specific questions might direct the interview to designated blocks of questions, resulting in skipping of irrelevant questions for respondents. When the same questions were incorporated in alternative blocks, responses from both were included in the analysis. The mean time required to complete an interview was 12 minutes, with a maximum interview length of about 20 minutes. Outright refusals by residents to participate in the survey are not indicated here. In some cases, respondents chose to terminate the interview prior to completion. Also, on occasion, respondents may have chosen not to answer specific questions. Therefore, the sample size for any specific question may not be 6,073. For this reason, results are presented as valid percents based on those who responded to the given question rather than actual percents of the entire sample (the "n" for individual questions will be indicated when other than 6,073). Additionally, the data are weighted proportionally based on the relative total household numbers in each state and Ontario to account for uneven sampling across the sampling areas. The number of respondents from each state is indicated in Table 1.

Table 1. Sample sizes by state or province.

State or Province	Original Sample Size	Weighted Sample Size
Michigan	1,292	979
Ohio	904	1,174
Indiana	702	599
Illinois	765	1,205
Wisconsin	828	528
Minnesota	782	478
Ontario, Canada	800	1,110
TOTAL	6,073	6,073

Questions dealing with image allowed respondents to rate places based on a 10-point Likert scale, with 10 being the most positive rating. In open-ended questions, respondents were allowed a maximum of three responses each about their positive and negative impressions of Michigan. For questions describing travel destinations and activities, lists were provided, but in most cases an "other" category was provided. Due to the lengthiness of the survey, the majority of questions were close-ended. However, respondents were able to provide open-ended responses for some questions (e.g., "What did you enjoy most [or least] about this trip?").

Results

General travel patterns. Of the total 6,073 respondents, 69.5% had taken a trip of some kind in the previous 12 months. Of the 3,852 respondents who answered the question about having taken a pleasure trip anywhere in the previous 12 month, 93% responded positively. Thirty-nine percent (of 4,125 responding) indicated they had taken a pleasure trip to Michigan in the previous three years. (Notes: The smaller percent of travelers to Michigan will affect the overall "n" used in describing destination choices and activities related to heritage tourism in Michigan. Detailed questions about activities during a specific trip are restricted to a pleasure trip within the previous 12 months.)

Image of Michigan as travel destination. Thirty-seven percent of respondents rated Michigan high (8, 9 or 10 of 10 points possible) as a popular pleasure trip destination, which places Michigan in a first place ranking when compared with the other states in the study. Only Ontario received a higher percent (47%) of 8, 9 and 10 ratings. For comparison, this places Michigan and the other midwest states lower than states generally perceived to be major tourism destinations: Colorado and Florida, each receiving an 8, 9 or 10 rating by 60% of the respondents. (See Table 2.)

Table 2. Percent of respondents rating each state/province 8,9, or 10 as a desirable tourism destination

State or Province	Valid Percent	# Respondents Answering Q
Florida	60	3,015
Colorado	60	2,703
Ontario, Canada	47	2,714
Michigan	37	2,927
Wisconsin	32	2,692
Minnesota	26	2,593
Illinois	24	2,923
Ohio	22	2,667
Indiana	15	2,728

When asked about their image of Michigan as having interesting museums, 36% (n=2619) gave Michigan a rating of 8, 9 or 10, which is comparable to the percent of respondents indicating Michigan as a popular destination. However, far more respondents gave Michigan a rating of 8, 9 or 10 for recreation or travel opportunities related to natural resources: 69% for "great scenic appeal" (n=3524), 68% for "great summer outdoor recreation" (n=3480), and 66% for "great winter outdoor recreation" (n=3177). Michigan residents (63%), more than residents of other areas (ranging from 33% to 48%), were more likely to rate Michigan high (8, 9 or 10) as having interesting historic sites. They also were more likely than residents of other areas to rate Michigan high (8, 9 or 10) as having many interesting museums (52% of Michigan residents, 46% of Ohio residents, 37% of Indiana residents, and 19-30% of respondents from other states/province in the survey).

When asked in an open-ended question to identify specific things contributing to Michigan as a popular tourism destination, respondents were allowed to identify a maximum of three things. A total of 3,769 individuals responded to this question, providing a total of 6,277 responses. Thirty-four percent of the respondents indicated, as one of their top three "positive impressions," lakes, lakeshores or other water-related elements" (including marinas, boating, swimming). Nearly 14% indicated general scenery, 11% indicated woodland-based nature (trees, woods, forests), 10% indicated Upper Peninsula/north country, 7% towns and cities, and nearly 7% indicated elements of the Mackinac Straits area. Fishing and seasonal climate were the only other elements identified by at least 5% of those responding to this question. By far, the strongest "positive impression" elements are related to Michigan's water and other natural resources, including associated outdoor activities. On the other hand, when asked about elements contributing to a negative image of Michigan (3,734 people responding with 4,243 items), respondents most often identified "Detroit," "violence in Detroit," or "crime and violence" in general (combined, identified by 23% of the respondents).Nearly 13% identified climate as a negative element and 4% identified infrastructure problems, most notably poor road conditions. (Forty-six percent of respondents said they had no negative impressions of Michigan.)

Travel related to heritage tourism. Respondents' actual travel behavior showed less support of Michigan heritage sites than did their image ratings. While 59% of travelers stated they had visited a heritage site during any recent pleasure trip, only 15% had visited heritage sites in Michigan. Nevertheless, travelers did visit heritage sites in Michigan. Of those who had visited Michigan in the past 12 months (n=941), 27% (n=256) had visited some kind of museum or historic site. However, the types of heritage and cultural sites visited most often were a bit different from sites visited elsewhere. Visits to historical museums (35%), art museums (30%), science museums (14%), and natural history museums (11%) were identified most often when they visited locations outside of Michigan. Between five and 10% of those visiting some type of heritage site also visited historic homes, halls of fame, historic towns and battlefields. Those who visited heritage and cultural sites in Michigan (n=256) also visited historical museums (39%) and art museums (16%) most often, but they were much more likely to visit forts (13%), historic towns (9% in Michigan vs. 6% elsewhere), lighthouses (8%) and maritime museums (5%) in Michigan than elsewhere. Ships (3%) also were visited slightly, though not significantly, more often in Michigan than elsewhere.

Demographics. Information requested in the personal/household characteristics block included: city state, county and zip code of residence; total number of persons living in the household; inclusion of pre-school child, school-age child less than 18 years old, senior citizen or handicapper person in the household; number of full-time wage earners in the household; employment category; racial/ethnic group; and household income. Some characteristics of groups that visited heritage sites were similar to those of other travelers. However, two group characteristics of those who visited heritage sites were different than for other travelers, using α=.05, and another if less rigorous significance level (α=.1) is used. Visitation to heritage sites increases as income increases (of those who visited museums, 38% had annual household incomes of more than $50,000, 33% had incomes between $31,000 and $50,000, and 29% had incomes of $31,000 or less). This annual income is significantly higher (P=.000) than for those not visiting museums or historic sites. Groups or families with preschool children were significantly less likely to visit heritage sites than those without preschool children (P=.001). Groups including a senior citizen were slightly less likely to visit a heritage site than groups without a senior citizen (P=.07). While households including a person with disabilities were no more or no less likely to visit a museum or historic site, very few respondents (3.7%) indicated having a person with disabilities in the household. It is not possible to make any comparisons of visitation to heritage sites based on race and ethnicity. This is in part due to difficulties in clearly identifying race (as the open-ended question was worded) because responses included a mix of race, ethnic background and nationality. Even with this variety of responses, an overwhelming majority of respondents (80%) identified themselves as white, Caucasian or Anglo.

Discussion and Recommendations

Michigan has a wealth of existing and potential heritage and cultural resources, attractions and stories. Yet, though over one third of all respondents who had traveled anywhere in the past 12 months rated Michigan highly as having many interesting museums and historic sites, a much smaller percent of people who have visited Michigan in the past 12 months included a visit to a historic site or museum. Comparing this with national data collected by the Travel Industry Association of America (TIAA) from adults planning to take a pleasure trip in 1996, Michigan receives considerably fewer visits to historic or cultural sites. In the TIAA study, 45% planned to visit a historic destination and 41% planned to visit a cultural destination (Dickinson, 1996). Michigan heritage site visitation also is less than that indicated by respondents in a study of inbound international travelers to the United States in 1994. Results of that study indicated that 30% of those travelers planned to visit historical places and 23% planned to visit museums and art galleries, thus ranking historic site visits fifth and museum visits seventh of all planned activities, including shopping and dining (Moskin and Guettler, 1996).

Despite its abundance of historic stories, Michigan falls behind national travel patterns with regard to visits to heritage and cultural sites. Perhaps this is due partly to strong perceptions of Michigan as a natural resource-based tourism destination as well as the traditional travel to Michigan being for outdoor activities and other natural resource-based experiences. Perhaps Michigan is lacking (or perceived to be lacking) in accessible, quality historic and cultural resources in some parts of the state. Perhaps the cultural and heritage sites are not well connected with other local or regional tourism businesses and attractions. Whatever the reasons, if Michigan wants to expand its tourism development efforts with heritage and cultural tourism, and if it hopes to compete with other states and international tourism regions for tourists interested in heritage and cultural tourism, it must actively work to change the image and promote its heritage and cultural attractions. Some recommendations include:

- Heritage and cultural attractions must be identified and assessed for their potential (e.g., location, quality, proximity to tourism infrastructure and amenities) as tourist attractions.
- Individual heritage and cultural attractions, as well as the communities within which they exist, must decide if and to what extent they choose to be involved with tourism development.
- Professionals in museums, historic sites, and other heritage and cultural resources must work closely with local, regional and state organizations (e.g., convention and visitors bureaus, public officials, travel organizations, other tourism businesses, and other destination marketing organizations) involved with tourism development.
- Tourism training should be provided for professionals in museums, historic sites, and other heritage and cultural resources. Likewise, tourism professionals should become more familiar with the role museums and heritage sites can play in tourism.
- The image of Michigan as a tourism destination must change or expand to include heritage and cultural sites. This includes an effort to actively promote these sites in ways to make them attractive to potential visitors. (To avoid dissatisfaction based on differences between image/expectations and experience reality, the promotions must be accurate.)
- Heritage and cultural sites should be integrated with various tourism packages: bus tours, community walking tours, highway or waterway heritage routes, promotional packages, discounted multiple site/single fee ticket sales.
- Communities might become involved in integrated heritage tourism development by creating historic districts or cultural landscapes, making efforts (through publicity, collaborative efforts, tax incentives, grant opportunities, etc.) to encourage preservation of the historic and natural settings of the community.
- The state's travel promotion efforts should more actively incorporate heritage and cultural images, including through its logo and slogan.

° If groups with young children and senior citizens are to feel welcome at heritage and cultural sites, there must be changes in programs (to entice and engage children), facilities (structural modifications and communication systems to accommodate senior citizens), organizational culture and promotion of those sites (to overtly welcome and encourage visitation by *all* people, regardless of age or physical capabilities).

Results of this study further support those of numerous other studies which note that visitors to heritage and cultural sites tend to have higher incomes and education, tend to take longer trips, are more likely to stay in hotels (a source of "bed" or other taxes that often support local tourism efforts), and have more interest in shopping than visitors who do not visit these sites (Moskin and Guettler, 1996). While a goal of cultural and heritage institutions may be to become more accessible *all* people, including those not traditionally visitors of such places, the tendency for more educated, more wealthy visitors to participate in heritage tourism makes them attractive to tourism developers. Thus, it is in the interest of tourism developers, communities and the state to support development and promotion of heritage and cultural sites. Suggestions provided above offer considerations for further development of heritage and cultural tourism, both in Michigan and elsewhere. It should be noted that Michigan already has begun these efforts, as is evident by its new logo (containing a lighthouse and water scene), new slogan (Great Lakes, Great Times), and identification of cultural tourism as one of four tourism product categories for which it believes the state has a distinct competitive advantage (Travel Michigan, 1997). Additionally, as indicated in the introduction of this paper, cultural institutions and professional organizations within Michigan already have begun a series of initiatives to further the cooperation between cultural/heritage institutions and the tourism industry. To determine the impact of these efforts, consistent and regular monitoring should be implemented.

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AN OVERVIEW OF CONTEMPORARY AMERICAN RODEO

Gene L. Theodori

Research Assistant, Department of Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology, Penn State University, 301 Armsby Building, University Park, PA 16802

Abstract: Impromptu roping, riding, and racing affairs and western pageantries whetted public appetites for a competitive cowboy sport. Despite its increasing popularity and types, American rodeo has received little attention from social scientists. This paper discusses seven different types of contemporary rodeo—professional, women's, collegiate, high school, senior, gay, and military—and their common historical origin. The popularity of rodeo in contemporary society is attributed to prevalent agrarian beliefs and the rural mystique among the public and to a long line of promoters and organizers who have increasingly commodified it.

Introduction

Rodeo is one of America's fastest growing sports. Because of its sociological and economic significance, rodeos have been held in all 50 states. Today, the PRCA is the most dominant association in rodeo, with nearly 10,000 members, including contestants, stock contractors, bullfighters, and other non-contestant members (PRCA Media Guide 1995). In 1994 the PRCA sanctioned 782 rodeos in 46 states and 4 Canadian Provinces, in which a total of 9,761 PRCA card holders and permit holders competed for $23,063,793 in prize money (PRCA Media Guide 1995). In 1990, according to Weisman (1991), the PRCA and the International Professional Rodeo Association (IPRA) together sanctioned 1,100 rodeos, which attracted 18 million spectators and produced $80 million in ticket sales. Like other professional sports, PRCA rodeo, and to a lesser degree IPRA rodeo, has become recognized in the athletic mainstream due to an increase in media exposure and major corporate sponsorship. However, many other rodeo associations hold thousands of rodeos each year of which social scientists know little about.

Contemporary American rodeo has many organizational types (i.e., professional, collegiate, high school, youth, women's, gay, black, Indian, senior, prison, military, ranch, and others). With the exception of LeCompte's (1989a, 1989b, 1990, 1993) studies on the Women's Professional Rodeo Association and Dubin's (1989) ethnography of Native American rodeo, types of rodeo other than PRCA rodeo have been ignored in the scientific literature. The types of rodeo examined here include: women's (Women's Professional Rodeo Association/Professional Women's Rodeo Association), collegiate (National Intercollegiate Rodeo Association), high school (National High School Rodeo Association), senior (National Senior Pro Rodeo Association), gay (International Gay Rodeo Association), and military (Military Rodeo Cowboys Association). These associations were selected for two reasons. Although each is the only national or international organization of its kind, none has been systematically studied. Also, the emergence of these associations appear to have paralleled important societal changes that have occurred since the turn of the century.

This paper extends work on rodeo begun by anthropologists. It identifies and describes the organization of different types of contemporary rodeo in terms of its participants, structure, and activities (Olsen 1968). It also examines the functions (i.e., the contributions rodeos make to the communities in which they are staged) and possible dysfunctions rodeos perform. The history of rodeo is discussed first, followed by an identification and description of the organization of various types of rodeo. Lastly, ideological, economic, and social functions of rodeo are discussed.

Data for this study were collected using archival and historical investigation, document analyses, and in-depth interviewing of representatives of selected rodeo associations and unique types of rodeo. Furthermore, community-level data (e.g., economic impact estimates) were obtained through telephone conversations with representatives of chambers of commerce and professional organizations in communities that conduct a rodeo association's finals or championship rodeo.

Origins of rodeo

Lawrence (1982) and Fredriksson (1985), among other rodeo writers, assert that the origin of rodeo and its contemporary types is rooted in a combination of elements traceable to two post-Civil War era activities: (1) the roping, riding, and racing exhibitions staged among working cowboys for entertainment, and (2) the wild west shows.

Rodeo evolved as a natural result of the cowboy's need for play and recreation (see Deaton 1952; Kegley 1942; Norbury 1993). After months of strenuous labor moving cattle throughout the country, cowboys would get together and celebrate. For amusement at the end of the trail, cowboys would gather and compare their roping and riding skills. These early celebrations were exhibitions; they were a place where cowboys could show off the skills they had acquired on the range. Soon afterwards, though, these exhibitions turned into competitive matches, staged among both intra-ranch and inter-ranch cowboys. Impromptu competitions became commonplace as cowboys competed for their share of the prize pot, or at other times simply "just for the hell or glory of it" (Durham and Jones 1965: 206). As Lawrence (1982) noted, these early contests were one element in the dual origin of American rodeo.

The other element in the genesis of American rodeo was the development of the wild west show. William F. Cody, better known as "Buffalo Bill," introduced the public to a new type of outdoor entertainment. After a decade as a producer and star of Western melodramas, Cody returned to his hometown of North Platte, Nebraska, in 1882. Upon hearing that nothing was planned in observance of Independence Day, Cody arranged to hold an "Old Glory Blowout" on the Fourth of July. He persuaded local business owners to offer prizes for roping, shooting, riding, and bronco breaking exhibitions, and sent out 5,000 handbills inviting local cowboys to partake (Russell 1970). Cody projected that he might get 100 cowboy entrants; however, he got 10 times that number (Russell 1970). In May of the following year, Cody staged an even larger extravaganza in his home state at the Omaha Fair Grounds. This two-day Rocky Mountain and Prairie Exhibition attracted eight thousand spectators the first day and nine thousand the second (Fredriksson 1985). After his second successful performance, Cody decided to turn this new form of live entertainment into a commercial enterprise, and announced that he was taking his show on the road (Fredriksson 1985).

Cody sold his Wild West to U.S. and European audiences as an authentic representation of life as it existed on the vanishing American frontier. His show included a cast of Indians, homesteaders, skilled sharpshooters, stagecoach drivers, scouts, trick riders, rough riders, and a mounted cavalry. Audiences were thrilled with exciting exhibitions such as an attack on the Deadwood stagecoach, a Grand Hunt on the Plains, and the crowd pleasing "Cow-Boy Fun" events, the roping and riding exhibitions by daring cowboys (Harris 1986). Other entrepreneurs also saw economic advantage in staging similar shows. Such shows were aimed primarily at Eastern city dwellers and Europeans who were unfamiliar with the "cowboy culture" of the West. By 1885, the number of traveling shows totaled more than fifty (Fredriksson 1985). Russell (1970) identified 116 wild west shows that existed between 1883 and 1944, yet noted that his list might be incomplete.

Early informal cowboy exhibitions and contests and the wild west shows were closely related. Accordingly, Westermeier (1947: 37) asserted that "[t]he riders of those early shows were, or had been, working cowboys..." By the late 1880s, with changing practices in the range-cattle industry, many working cowboys were becoming seasonal ranch employees. During the winter months, out-of-work cowboys found employment as bartenders, butchers, or blacksmiths (Forbis 1973; Harris 1986). Others found employment with the traveling shows (Fredriksson 1985). For approximately forty years, until their demise after World War I, the wild west shows employed out-of-work cowboys.

Early organization

In the early 1900s, interest in the wild west shows began to wane. Conversely, at that time the popularity of rodeo exploded. The 1920s was a period of rapid growth for rodeo, as producers began staging contests in cities and towns throughout the country. With this tremendous expansion came a period of rampant disorganization. Fraudulent producers failed to pay the winning contestants; rules and events lacked uniformity. Furthermore, touring groups, complete with producers, announcers, livestock, and an assortment of cowboys and cowgirls, began staging fake rodeos, simply rotating the victories among themselves (LeCompte 1993). The combination of these elements quickly began to undermine the status of legitimate producers and rodeos. If rodeo was going to maintain its popularity, some type of organization and coordination among rodeo committees was necessary.

Historical data revealed that the sport of rodeo lacked centralized control throughout the early decades of the twentieth century. Each rodeo was conducted individually with its own rules and regulations, and there was no assurance beyond the spoken word of organizers that the winners would be paid. As a response to these and other extant concerns, rodeo managers formed in 1929 the Rodeo Association of America (RAA) to standardize rules and the conditions under which rodeos were held. Rodeo cowboys organized in 1936 the Cowboys Turtle Association (CTA) to further safeguard the interests of the contestants.[1] Through the efforts of both the Rodeo Association of America, which no longer exists, and the Cowboys Turtle Association, rodeo became solidly established. The CTA reorganized on March 15, 1945, and became known as the Rodeo Cowboys Association (RCA), which in 1975 changed its name to the Professional Rodeo Cowboys Association (PRCA).

Current rodeo

The efforts by the cowboys to protect themselves from fraudulent producers and promoters, to collectively represent their interests, and to improve their standard of living paralleled similar demands made by past American labor movements (Dulles 1949; Lieberman 1986; Rayback 1966; Taft 1964). Since the formation of the parent contestants' organization, various non-mainstream rodeo associations have formed on local, state, regional, national, and international levels. An analysis of the evolution of the various types of rodeo from an epigenetic perspective (Etzioni 1963) showed that each had functional elements that distinguished it from its mainstream professional counterpart (Theodori 1996). The "initiation" and institutionalization of each type of rodeo is marked by outward and visible signs closely resembling those of the women's movement (Deckard 1983; De Leon 1988; Howard 1974), the gay liberation movement (Adam 1995; De Leon 1988; Howard 1974; Marcus 1992), the senior or "gray" movement (De Leon 1988; Wallace and Williamson 1992), and the growth of recreation and leisure time in contemporary society (Dulles 1965; Rader 1990; Swanson and Spears 1995). Several types originated to combat the latent issues of age, racial, ethnic, and gender discrimination in early rodeo. Others developed to satisfy the urge to compete and/or encourage participation in the sport by particular groups in society.

Members of the Professional Women's Rodeo Association (PWRA) compete in 5 standard events which include

[1] *The cowboys called themselves "Turtles" because they were 'slow but sure' to organize.*

bareback bronc riding (6 second ride), bull or steer riding (6 second ride), breakaway calf roping, tie down calf roping, and team roping. Goat tying, steer undecorating, and steer stopping may be included in PWRA rodeos as optional events. The PWRA annually takes the top 15 point earners in each of the 5 standard events to the PWRA National Finals.

There are 9 standard events in National Intercollegiate Rodeo Association (NIRA) rodeo competition for which points are awarded—five men's events, three women's events, and one men's/women's event. Men's events include: bareback bronc riding (8 second ride), saddle bronc riding (8 second ride), bull riding (8 second ride), calf roping, and steer wrestling. Women's events include: barrel racing, breakaway calf roping, and goat tying. Team roping is the one event in which men and women can compete together. At the end of the school year, qualifying teams and individuals meet at the College National Finals Rodeo (CNFR) to determine national champions. In order to qualify for the team competition at the CNFR, teams must place either first or second in the final regional standings, based on the total points accumulated at the ten regional rodeos. Individuals also must have placed first or second in the final standings in an event or the all-around to qualify for the CNFR. Both team champions and individual champions are determined by points won at the CNFR. Currently, the NIRA is divided into 11 regions (Theodori 1996). At the end of the 1994-1995 academic year, individual student membership in the NIRA totaled 3,196, among 133 participating collegiate rodeo clubs. Basic membership requirements include: attending an accredited institution of post secondary education, enrollment in at least 12 credit hours each semester (9 of which must be academic credits), and maintaining at least a 2.0 grade point average. Students are eligible to purchase four NIRA membership cards over a six-year period from the date of their high school graduation.

There are 12 standard events in the National High School Rodeo Association (NHSRA)—five boys' events, five girls' events, and two coed events. Cowboys' events include: bareback bronc riding (8 second ride), saddle bronc riding (8 second ride), bull riding (8 second ride), calf roping, and steer wrestling. Cowgirls' events include: barrel racing, pole bending, goat tying, breakaway roping, and the queen contest. The coed events include team roping and cutting. The top four contestants in each event at the state or province level qualify for the National High School Finals Rodeo (NHSFR). In the queen contest, however, only one contestant from each state or province can qualify for the NHSFR. The NHSRA does not offer cash awards to event winners. Instead, students compete for scholarships and prizes donated by major corporate sponsors. Each year at the NHSFR, students compete for college scholarships totaling in excess of $106,000.

Senior rodeo contestants compete in 8 standard events—six of which are for men, one for women, and one for both men and women. Men's events include: bareback bronc riding (7 second ride), saddle bronc riding (7 second ride), bull riding (7 second ride), steer wrestling, calf roping, and team roping. Women compete in the ladies barrel race, and with men in ribbon roping. In the bareback bronc riding, saddle bronc riding, and bull riding events, all contestants compete in one age category, 40 and over, for the same prize money. Points, however, in those three riding events are awarded to the top six contestants in two age groups: 40-50 and 50 and over. Contestants in the steer wrestling event compete for prize money and points in two age groups, 40-50 and 50 and over. The remaining four events consist of three age categories: 40-50, 50-60, and 60 and older. Purse money is divided equally among the age groups, and points are awarded to the top six contestants in each category. At the end of each rodeo season, the National Senior Pro Rodeo Association (NSPRA) holds the National Senior Pro Rodeo Finals (NSPRF) to determine event champions and name a men's and women's all-around champion in each age category.[2] The top 30 contestants in the standings of each age category in the timed events, with the exception of steer wrestling which is limited to the top 20, and the combined top 20 contestants in the riding events are eligible to enter the finals, provided certain requirements have been met. Requirements include participation in at least five sanctioned rodeos and the accumulation of at least ten points over the course of the season.

A standard International Gay Rodeo Association (IGRA) rodeo includes 13 events divided into four categories—rough stock, roping, speed, and camp events. Rough stock events include: bull riding (6 second ride), steer riding (6 second ride), bareback bronc riding (6 second ride), and chute dogging. Roping events include: team roping, mounted breakaway calf roping, and calf roping on foot. Speed events include: barrel race, flag race, and pole bending. Camp events include: steer decorating, goat dressing, and wild drag race. Males and females compete together in all events. However, they are judged separately in all events except in team events, which includes the three camp events and team roping. At the end of the rodeo season, the top 5 contestants in each Division (Theodori 1996) in each event are invited to compete in the IGRA Rodeo Finals. Event champions and both the all-around cowboy and all-around cowgirl are determined based on points earned at the IGRA Rodeo Finals.

Contestants must be members of the Military Rodeo Cowboys Association (MRCA) and have active duty status, active reserve status, retired from active duty, or be a dependent of any active duty or retired member of the Army, Navy, Air Force, Marine Corps, National Guard, or Coast Guard to compete in a MRCA rodeo. Standard MRCA events include: bareback bronc riding (8 second ride), saddle bronc riding (8 second ride), bull riding (8 second ride), calf roping, steer wrestling, chute dogging, team tying, and barrel racing. Women can compete in all events; however, they generally participate only in barrel racing.

[2] *Points won by men in ribbon roping do not count towards the all-around title.*

Discussion

Ideological, economic, and social functions permeate contemporary American rodeo. The symbolic content of rodeo is embedded in an agrarian ideology rooted deeply in American culture. The dissemination and mobilization of the agrarian value system in America is credited to the writings of Thomas Jefferson. Jefferson's articulation of the agrarian creed nourished a belief system advocating that there is a morally virtuous quality attached to agriculture, and that *rural* life is the natural and good life (see Dalecki and Coughenour 1992). Although the United States has become increasingly urbanized throughout the twentieth century, the American public continues to identify with and endorse fundamental agrarian principles. Several studies (e.g., Buttel and Flinn 1975; Dalecki and Coughenour 1992; Flinn and Johnson 1974; Molnar and Wu 1989) have found that an agrarian ideology continues to be widespread among the American public.

In a study of popular images of rurality among Pennsylvania residents, Willits et al. (1990) concluded that people tend to associate positive images with rural life and reject negative images of rurality. They termed this imagery the *rural mystique* "because it involves an aura of treasured and almost sacred elements" (1990: 575). Rodeo is part of the "rural mystique" and serves to preserve America's rural Western narrative. To a degree, the rural rodeo meta-narrative symbolizes what the West was, and concomitantly what our contemporary urban, industrialized society idealistically and romantically wishes it could continue to be. As a ritual (see Stoeltje 1989, 1993), rodeo perpetuates the late nineteenth-century Western frontier ideology in contemporary American society. At a deeper level, symbolic themes, such as control and lack of control over nature and the conquest of the "wild" West by an industrializing culture, are manifest in rodeo (Boatright 1964; Errington 1990; Lawrence 1982).

What began as athletic exhibitions and contests of nineteenth-century range cowboys quickly became transformed into a marketable commodity. During the second half of the 1800s, as commodification occurred in grain, lumber, meat, and other trade goods (Cronon 1991), Buffalo Bill and other wild west capitalists commodified gloriously romantic and glamorous versions of the American frontier. These entrepreneurs packaged the culture of the nineteenth-century rural American West and sold their frontier-Americana fabrications, complete with longhorn cattle, savage Indians, and heroic cowboys, to ranchless metropolitan markets on the east coast and in Europe.

In the early 1900s, the popularity of this indigenous form of American entertainment began to decline. Factors such as vaudeville, Hollywood, and new forms of transportation contributed to the demise of the Wild West Shows (Johnson 1994). At the same time, interest in rodeo exploded. Cowboy contests were staged at Fourth of July celebrations and county and state agricultural fairs throughout the West. As industrial attributes from the East infiltrated and affected Western cow towns, rodeo, with its blend of fact and imagination, was one element that linked them to their cultural heritage in a rapidly changing society. By the early 1920s, rodeo surpassed the stage of being a small-time attraction in rural Western communities, as producers and promoters, driven by economic motives, removed the cowboy sport from its regional origins and, like the wild west entrepreneurs, wrapped the rural Western epic into a marketable commodity and sold it to eastern urbanites in Boston, Philadelphia, and New York.

Contemporary rodeo is big business. In fact, as early as 1936, the terms "Big-Time Business" and "Big-Time Sport" were applied to rodeo (see Clinton 1936). Professional contestants, contract personnel, arena workers, and concessionaires depended wholly or partially on rodeo for their earnings. Moreover, rodeo stimulates economic growth in other economic sectors (e.g., the western apparel and the Quarter Horse industries). While most organizers have not assessed the total economic impact of rodeos on their community, several communities that host a finals rodeo have estimated its economic impact. Las Vegas estimated in 1995 that the PRCA's National Finals Rodeo produced a $24.0 million economic impact, up slightly from a $23.4 million economic impact in 1994 (telephone conversation with Terry Jicinsky, Las Vegas Convention & Visitors Authority). In 1995, Oklahoma City estimated that the IPRA's International Finals Rodeo produced a $3.0 million economic impact (telephone conversation with Stanley Draper, Jr., Oklahoma City All Sports Association). The estimated economic impact of the 1995 College National Finals Rodeo on Bozeman, Montana, was between $1.5 million and $2.0 million (telephone conversation with Racene Friede, Chamber of Commerce, Bozeman, Montana). Obviously, not all communities that produce rodeos experience the level of economic impact associated with a finals rodeo.

The site for social action at a rodeo is the arena. Although the construction and location of arenas vary from community to community, they provide actors (i.e., participants, employees, and spectators) with a setting to perform actions and form associations (Parsons 1951). So what motivates people to attend a rodeo? Among numerous manifest reasons, the participants may be there for the sport or athletic competition, the employees may be there out of economic necessity, and the spectators may be there for the entertainment. On the other hand, rodeos serve several other functions. For example, rodeos allow people of different socioeconomic statuses to come together momentarily and collectively identify with each other. In short, although all rodeos share similar social functions such as sport/athletic competition, recreation/leisure, and entertainment, each type maintains a functional niche that distinguishes it from its mainstream professional counterpart.

Closing comments

Contemporary rural society is in a state of change. American rodeo, which evolved from the athletic exhibitions and contests of the nineteenth-century range cowboys and the wild west shows, is one institution that fills the void in society created by the rural to urban transformation in the United States. Although the days of free riding, open ranges, great cattle drives, and unexplored frontiers have long past, positive images about agrarian values, rural living, and the cowboy lifestyle have maintained a firm grip upon the minds and emotions of the American public. What does this mean? What does the nostalgia of a supposedly simpler, more harmoniously, pastoral way of life say about present-day American society?

The challenge of the wild American West was once real. However, commodities such as dime novels, wild west shows, folk songs, western movies, dude ranches, and rodeos have contributed to the widespread acceptance and perpetuation of a rural American mystique. This mystique is embellished by contemporary rodeo which packages realistic notions and romantic sentiments of the Old West, and sells the "frontier ethos" in small rural towns and major urban centers across the country. The western frontier has ceased to exist, but cowboys and rodeos remain a vibrant part of the rural landscape.

In closing, the purpose of this paper has been to provide an overview of contemporary American rodeo. The foregoing analysis shed some insights into the structure, functions, and possible dysfunctions of the various types of rodeo. Nevertheless, many questions remain. A more thorough examination of the relationship between former societal movements and the institutionalization of the different types of rodeo should be conducted. Likewise, in-depth case studies would provide valuable information on the symbolic and functional utilities of each type.

Additional studies should also address such important sociological issues as the demographics of rodeo contestants, the socioeconomic characteristics of rodeo contestants, supporting participants (i.e., announcers, clowns, bullfighters, arena workers, specialty-act performers), and spectators. An overwhelming majority of people who participate in rodeo do so as hobbyists or part-time rodeo contestants. Surveys could collect data on place of residency (rural/urban), primary occupation, annual income, educational level, and motivation of rodeo participants and spectators. Furthermore, research addressing the publicity, attraction, and kind of corporate sponsorship and the influence that these sponsors have upon the decisions and choices of individuals in the rodeo marketplace is needed. Economic impact studies on rodeos other than finals rodeos could provide valuable community-level data regarding ways that rodeo contributes to the viability and sustainability of rural communities. Lastly, the specific manner and degree in which contemporary rodeo relates to fundamental agrarian attitudes and values in our society needs elaboration if rural sociologists are to more fully understand the symbolic meanings and mechanisms that the public attaches to the rural mystique.

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OUR WILDERNESS HERITAGE: A STUDY OF THE COMPATIBILITY OF CULTURAL AND NATURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT

Karl Roenke

Forest Archaeologist, White Mountain National Forest, 719 Main Street, Laconia, NH 03246

David Lacy

Forest Archaeologist, Green Mountain and Finger Lakes National Forests, 231 North Main Street, Rutland, VT 05701-2417

Abstract: The Wilderness Act of 1964 recognizes the value of Cultural Resources yet we often struggle with how to address these values in the management of specific Wilderness Areas. This paper will discuss how Heritage Resource Values compliment and enhance the wilderness experience. It strives to provide a broader understanding and appreciation of the role of land use history in developing management plans for designated Wilderness Areas.

Introduction:

The Wilderness Act of 1964 states that wilderness is an area "where the earth and its community of life are untrammeled by man, where man himself is a visitor who does not remain." It goes on to say that it is "an area which retains its primeval character and influence, without permanent improvements or human habitation."

While the Act goes on to specifically include "features of scientific, educational, scenic, or historical value" as important aspects of Wilderness characteristics, it is the idea of separation of man and his works from nature that seems to have become the primary focus of many Wilderness managers over the years. This is especially interesting considering the passage of The National Historic Preservation Act of 1966. This legislation directs Federal Agencies to manage cultural sites on Federal lands, including Wilderness Areas, which have been determined to be significant parts of national, regional, or local history.

The Wilderness Act and the National Historic Preservation Act represent Congress's recognition of two equally important and inherently compatible resource values according to Mike Beckes, Regional Archaeologist for The Northern Region of The U.S. Forest Service (Beckes 1994). "Neither act supplants or replaces the other; and the challenge to the Forest Service is to meet our responsibilities under both in a sensitive, thoughtful, and informed manner." He goes on to say that he believes the Forest Service has moved past the stage of unproductive philosophical arguments on the "pure preservation" of either resource at the expense of the other, and is making rapid progress towards balanced management (Beckes 1994). Unfortunately while there are many examples of balanced management there are just as many examples of imbalance. The exclusion of human influence from our national view of what makes nature or Wilderness what they are, is still widespread. It is not only the complimentary aspect of these two laws which needs to be emphasized, but the place of humans as important contributors too, rather than detractors of, the very essence of what Wilderness values are. If we look at the long history of human land use and land management which is at least 12,000 years old, it becomes strikingly clear the role humans have had in helping to shape what we call Wilderness. It has only been in fairly recent times that "modern humans" have chosen to emphasize human history apart from nature.

If we look closely at land use history we might find that most, if not all, of the areas set aside as Wilderness have been "subjected to" human influence since at least the sixteenth century (McCorvie and Welch 1996).

> The designation of wilderness areas reflects society's need for places of solitude and inspiration. The 1964 Wilderness Act culminates centuries of land use and ethics, from the Native Americans through the settlers, developers and conservationists. If a cultural landscape is defined by its layering of historical periods-as places that have been settled, controlled, manipulated, or altered for many generations-then wilderness, and particularly eastern wilderness, should qualify as cultural landscapes.
>
> (McCorvie and Welch 1996:5)

Conclusions:

Every wilderness has a heritage and the phases of its prehistory and history provide a framework upon which defensible Wilderness Management plans can be developed

Human land use history plays a principal role in shaping the ecosystem or Wilderness setting. That setting, to a large extent, is the Wilderness experience we have today.

Few if any, Wilderness Areas in America are primeval or pristine. They are, however, dynamic natural settings influenced by natural-including human-actions over thousands of years.

It is time to rethink how people interact in nature. To once again view ourselves as a part of, not separate from, the natural environment. It just might be an important step towards making sound Natural Resource Management decisions as we approach the Twenty First Century.

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