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THE OLD MEN IN PLAZA PARK

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Social distance between the design professions and the poor is a major obstacle to effective urban planning. Frequently architects and the poor don't speak the same language and their goals differ.

This became very clear in a case study we made of an older park in Sacramento frequented on a regular basis by a large group of older men. Many American cities have parks like this located close to the city center and serving a run-down rooming house district.



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To the casual bystander the occupants of the park seem a faceless agglomeration of older men. However it is quite easy to differentiate two distinct groups—the old-timers and the alcoholics. The old-timers are retired men who dress cleanly, are well-shaven, play cards, stay predominantly on the north side of the park, and are not drunk. The alcoholics are generally unshaven, walk unevenly, dress sloppily, and stay on the south side of the park. They often sit or lie in the inner ring of grass in groups sharing a bottle of wine.

Plaza Park comprises one square city block not far from the Sacramento River and is only a short distance from slums and boarding houses now in the process of being torn down by the redevelopment agency. The park was originally given to the city by John Sutter along with several other blocks to be used for public benefit. At the center of the park is a fountain surrounded by a circular flower bed. Around the flower bed is a cement pathway with arteries leading to each of the four corners of the adjacent blocks.

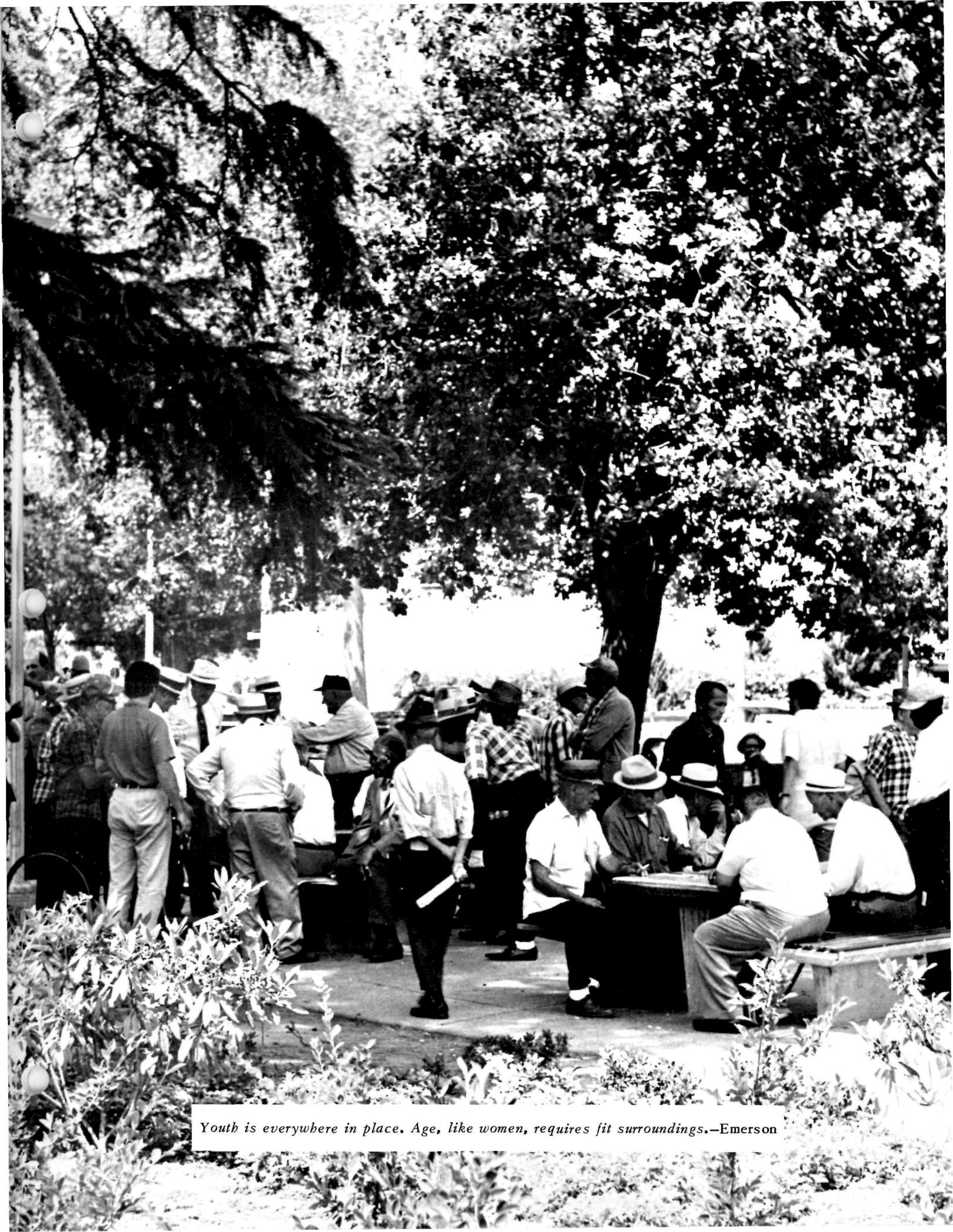
The park was redesigned three years ago. According to the former chairman of the City Planning Commission, the redesign's objectives were: (1) to make the park more attractive, (2) to correct the failing water system, and (3) to open the park up for use other than by elderly persons and transients. Objectives (1) and (3) are related in that a major source of concern to the planners was the "ominous crowd look" that resulted from the older men clustered around the park. Passers-by often complained about the unkempt men and maintained that they would rather walk around the park than pass by the benches full of old men. The Planning Commission decided that the unsightly congestion should be relieved by permanently dispersing the benches and tables around the park.

Specifically, the following changes were made— (1) 16 large elmwoods which provided an abundance of shade were cut down. (2) Heavy, though movable, wooden benches were replaced by permanent benches to prevent the men from dragging them together to talk or to follow the shade. (3) All benches were removed from the diagonal paths and were relocated out of the way of people walking through the park from one corner to another, to relieve the complaints.

It should be clear that these changes were not intended to make the park more attractive and functional for the regular users, but to benefit passers-by. Even from this standpoint the new design did not succeed. Cutting down many of the old trees and placing the benches around the park did not succeed in dispersing the occupants. On the contrary it produced a greater congestion under the remaining shade trees. During the hot summer afternoons the unshaded benches and lawn are virtually deserted; the men follow the shade rather than sitting where the benches are. Typical comments from the men were, "There was more shade in the park before they cut down 10 of the big shade trees. Now all of the benches are in the sun." And, "The benches now are a waste of money. They are out in the sun, all vacant." Most men interviewed mentioned that the park had been better before it was redesigned.

Another problem now is the checkerboards which are permanently fixed to the permanent card tables. There is only one checkerboard per table, which seats four persons. This means that while four men sit at the table, only two can play at one time, leaving the other two as observers. There is room on the tables for two checkerboards. The men also mentioned the need for benches and tables beneath the trees and for light movable tables that could be moved by elderly persons to the shade.

Our interviews also made it clear that the old-timers regard themselves as distinct from the alcoholics. Police vans periodically come around to the park to pick up stray



Youth is everywhere in place. Age, like women, requires fit surroundings.—Emerson



drunks. Most of the old-timers approve of this, saying that "It would make the park look a lot better if they took away the winos." Most passers-by, however, do not distinguish between the two groups of users. The major goal of the redesign had been to remove or at least disperse the present occupants and open the park up for use by white collar workers. In the planning stages, installment of a putting green was even discussed. It was the hope of the Planning Commission that more downtown workers would then use the park. This plan failed because there was simply no other place for the old men to go.

When asked about special facilities for the older men, one planning official stated that what the men would like was a covered card room. Architect Louis Gelwicks has studied the use of such a card shelter in a small park in Los Angeles. That shelter is a three-sided building with a roof, containing four long tables with benches and a toilet in the rear. The shelter is filled seven days a week from 11:00 a.m. to 4:00 p.m. by a regular group of old-timers. It is not a club, and the activity is spontaneous. No card shelter had been included in Plaza Park, according to the former chairman of the City Planning Commission, for fear that gambling would occur. He conceded that gambling occurs even without a card shelter.

In evaluating this situation, it is first of all clear that there is no lack of information about the needs of these men. The old men would like a nice shady park where they can play cards and talk; the alcoholics want a place where they can drink. These goals were not acceptable to many of the individuals involved in the planning process. The result is a compromise design satisfactory to no one. While failing to discourage the old-timers and the alcoholics from using the park, it did not encourage the downtown workers to use the park. Instead of relieving the "ominous crowd look" through dispersion, it added to it by crowding the men together under the remaining shade trees. The shaded area has brought the alcoholics and the old men into an unwelcome physical proximity. Periodic visits of the police to pick up alcoholics do provide some interest for the old-timers but most would prefer to have a quiet area to themselves.

This sort of situation is all too common in the urban landscape. Not only are the poor and their needs ignored, but they are deliberately frustrated. Certainly the needs of passers-by and pedestrians must be taken into account. In the present instance, the priority given to these needs appears to be excessive. It also appears that there was a

"blindness" to the presence of the old men. While everyone admitted that the old men had no other place to go, one objective of the redesign was to rid the park of them. This attitude has characterized many of the redevelopment projects around the nation. Slums are torn down without adequate thought as to what will happen to the present occupants. Most often they are simply pushed into another area. One senses a fervent hope among some planners and city officials that the poor, the old men, and the alcoholics will vanish or at least keep out of sight. Yet the most reasonable and challenging solution is to develop parks and facilities that meet the needs of local residents and are attractive as well. The opposite course of action—making the areas unattractive in order to drive away the poor—is a sure prescription for failure.



Swedish Nature Conservation and Forestry

by LARS-ERIK ESPING •

Manager, Swedish Nature Protection Society

This article was an address presented at the opening of "The Forest Week," Stockholm, March 4, 1963, and published in Svenska Skogsvårdsföreningens Tidskrift 61: 101-115. It was translated by John R. Jones of the Rocky Mountain Forest and Range Experiment Station, Forest Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture.



• Lars-Erik Esping was born in Stockholm, Sweden in 1926. He received a M.Sc. degree at the University of Stockholm in 1953.

Mr. Esping was director of the Swedish Society for Nature Protection from 1953-1963. Since 1963, he has been head of the Department—for the Bureau for Nature Conservation—dealing in the National (Swedish) Nature Conservancy Office with National Parks, Nature Reserves, Landscape Management, Outdoor Activities, Hunting and Wildlife. He is a member of the IUCN's Commission on Education and represents the Swedish Government in the Council of Europe's "European Committee for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources."

The forest is Sweden's most important natural resource, accounting for approximately one-third of our annual exports. At the same time, the forest is one of the most important components of our landscape. More than 50 percent of Sweden's total land area, or about 80 percent of all land below timberline, is covered by forest—and this area increases as large areas of cultivated land and pasture convert to forest. From the viewpoint of nature conservationists it is of fundamental importance that forestry be practiced with regard to the values of nature, to the landscape, to the fauna and flora, and to the recreation possibilities. Seen in a broader conservation perspective, however, it is more important that the productivity of the forest land be maintained, not devastated through faulty management methods and the like. Indeed, each day we require more and more of our natural resources, more ore, more electrical energy, more fresh water, more forest, etc. The more technological our world becomes, the greater are the demands on the natural resources. Added pressure results from the population explosion.

The human race today is, to say the least, as dependent on the natural resources as when it began its life on earth. Unfortunately an unending series of misfortunes follows mankind because he fails to keep peace with nature. The

floods of the Po River, for example, are the result of deforestation. In the U.S.A. about 380,000 square miles of crop land and grazing land have been devastated—blown away in dust storms or washed away by violent rain. This devastation of productive land—on a surface fully twice as great as all of Sweden¹—was due to faulty management.

The size of the problem can be illustrated by the fact that it took at least 200,000 years for the human race to reach its present population of 3 billion, but in only 40 more years 6 to 7 billion must be fed and clothed. Space travel offers no solution to the problem.

In Sweden we are unusually favored with a high living standard and abundant nature, but nonetheless we have conservation problems; pollution of our water, the influence of chemical pesticides on the fauna, sandstorms in southern Sweden, lake-level regulation and the drowning of waterfalls for hydroelectricity, alteration of the coastal landscape by the leisure cottages that cover our shores, and gravel and stone pits, as well as the pressure on nature with damage to land and crops, plants and animals which results from increased leisure. All this contributes to a pressure on nature more severe than ever. With the help of technology man has become a geological factor.

WHAT IS NATURE CONSERVATION AND WHAT DO WE WANT IT TO BE?

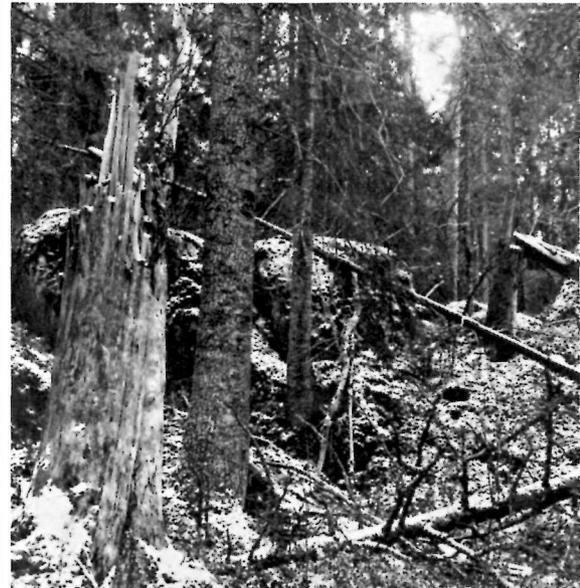
For a long time it has been customary to distinguish between cultural-scientific, social and economic nature conservation. Cultural-scientific conservation consists of protection of objects of scientific value, types of the old traditional agricultural landscape, elements of aesthetic significance in the landscape, and the flora and fauna. Social conservation aims at providing people with recreation in nature—to form a basis for the open-air life and on the whole to maintain an attractive environment. Here landscape planning and management is an important factor. Finally, economic conservation manages the natural resources reasonably for the benefit of society and stops exploitation when this, though profitable at the time, is destructive from the long-range point of view. In the Swedish 1960 conservation analysis, the chairman, General Director Börje Lundgren, proposed strengthened legislation and the establishment of an effectively powered national conservation organization with sufficient means to enable a planned conservation effort.

The analysis tried to clarify the demands made on nature and nature conservation by society and its citizens today and in the future. It then attempted to adapt objectives and resources accordingly. The analysis finds that society has given conservation questions too little attention, and consequently does not appreciate what they require in the way of economic and personal resources. The prerequisites for a planned and systematic conservation program have therefore been limited. Furthermore it found that a partial revision of goals is needed, above all with a strengthening of the social sector.

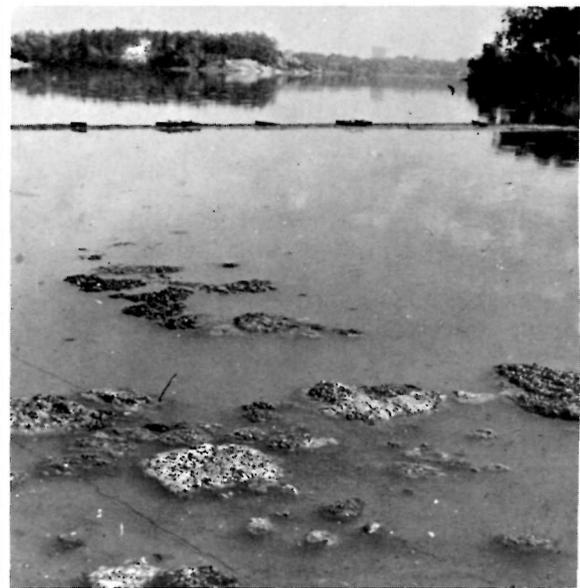
Concerning the general goals, the analysis underlines the importance of basing practical conservation work on scientific principles. The importance of coordination with the society's physical planning in general is also pointed out. A systematic establishment of nature reserves, for cultural as well as social needs, and more active landscape protection are reported as two dominating tasks. The need to establish reserves is held to be urgent, especially in the coastal and archipelago region of southern Sweden.



A deciduous wooded meadow in southeastern Sweden, resulting from centuries of raking and burning litter, grazing, and hay harvest.



Virgin forest in a Swedish reserve.



Water pollution is one of Sweden's most serious conservation problems.

Occasional returns to nature ease the hectic and hurried life of cities and crowded places.



Spring burning to maintain a deciduous wooded meadow.



Native pastures constitute a light and smiling element in the landscape formed by peasant farmers of the past.



To go into the legislative proposal and the compensation rules would take too long here. The analysis presents only an outline of principles concerning the codification of public rights.

Concerning organization the analysis finds drastic steps necessary. It proposes establishment of a central organ—the National Conservancy Board. Further, the conservation activities of the provincial boards should be strengthened and the municipalities given certain supervisory authority. The activity is calculated to cost \$1.4 million the first year; \$400,000 for administration and \$1 million for operating expenses.

It is high time that society sees nature conservation as an integral part of national planning and, in the words of the Swedish Nature Protection Society, as the best management of the values of nature from the long-range viewpoint. This means that high immediate profits are not the only consideration. Decisions must be directed at the long-range view and with consideration of scientific need. Conservation must also work for purely idealistic values. It should develop sensitivity to the right of other creatures to life—an appreciation that man should not impoverish the biological kingdom. For mankind's sense of well-being it is also important that necessary changes in nature and landscape are made with moderation. In this connection forestry is one of the dominating factors.

SWEDEN, A FOREST LAND

How we manage and use our forest—which silvicultural methods we use and which tree species we choose—becomes decisive to the appearance of the present and future landscape. One can say without exaggeration that foresters have in this an unprecedentedly large responsibility. Moderate adjustments must be made, and to a certain extent productivity must be sacrificed.

Historical development of the forest from the time when game was the most important forest product to today's large-scale timber management, characterized by felling large areas, seeding and planting, and careful management of the forest, has taken place during the last 100 years.

LANDSCAPE, WILDLIFE AND FISH

Timber management today has been intensified and mechanized in a way and to an extent scarcely believed possible 15 to 20 years ago. All reasonable consideration must be given to the nature values and recreation values of the forest, and to maintaining an attractive and varying landscape and a rich environment for man and wildlife. That this activity costs something is entirely natural, and not more peculiar than when 10 percent of the building costs for a public building is budgeted for its beautification.

The Forest Service and most companies have special nature conservation regulations which deal particularly with these questions. The extension work of the provincial forestry boards has also come to include nature conservation as an important part of the job.

Following are some examples of what can be done in practical forestry for nature, wildlife and landscape.

Cutovers

Broadcast burning and large cutovers have become significant in forestry, especially in northern Sweden since the 1940's. They have served to make huge areas of misused

forest and uncultivated cutovers productive once more. Huge regeneration areas are formed and clear cutting is often followed by burning. Competition for nutrients breaks out because man radically upsets the natural balance. In the struggle for the requirements of life which sets in, birch usually takes the lead, and to overcome it herbicides are often resorted to.

The burned cutover looks extremely unsightly for the first few years but soon green up again with flowers, shrubs, and young coniferous seedlings, which also mean good quality wildlife habitat. Of course, all reasonable care should be taken of surrounding lands, of countryside rich in cultural traditions, and of wildlife. If possible the cutting areas should not be laid out straight across one ridge after another or right up to large, heavily traveled roads or to communities. Protecting curtains of forest can be of great use, but should not be used if the result is only a false facade which more spoils than decorates the landscape. From an economic viewpoint also the large cutovers at high elevations are questionable, due for example to the drying effect of the wind and to other climatic factors.

Consideration of wildlife in burning has been emphasized by the 1962 Parliament. The Board of Private Forestry has been commissioned to develop advice and recommendations on burning procedure to avoid needless damage to the fauna. The number of fires should be particularly limited during spring through early summer. Spraying with herbicides kills most of the deciduous regrowth, berry shrubs and flowers, to the great detriment of wild animals and aesthetics. It may also have certain secondary effects on soil organisms, of which we know very little. Spraying seems necessary today, however, in regions where regeneration otherwise is perhaps impossible or very expensive.

Views

Many regions which previously were kept open along roads, lakes and watercourses, primarily by grazing, now are quickly growing up again. With small economic sacrifices it should be possible to reestablish the broad views across the landscape, across settled country, water, and blue ridges. This is as much a matter for road commissions for example, and the railways. How often while traveling by car or train along a lake one would like to watch the play of sun and wind on the water, a sight restricted to the imagination by the dense screening growth. Normally it should not be difficult to get the landowners permission for measures which are of the greatest value to the tourist industry. If Lake Siljan and the Dal River become screened by dense growth, how will they lure travelers to Dalarna Province?

Wastelands

Less valuable lands, such as steep rock slopes, small peat lands, and other wastelands should be reserved from logging. This does not include sites where timber production is economically significant. On the other hand, rock knobs with old knotty twisted pines, shrubby spruces and junipers are most often a valuable and attractive landscape element. There is something very special about these wastelands—they constitute small patches of wilderness in the midst of productive forest and are refuges for wild animals.

Measures Favoring Wildlife

The question of water for wildlife is also important. Often there is little or no profit in draining a bog or lowering a forest pool for additional forest land. For the animals, on the other hand, the water is crucial.

Nesting Trees

Nesting trees of eagle and osprey should, of course, be spared, as should the old decayed trees used by hole-dwelling birds. The small birds provide valuable service as predators on insects, and the owls by decimating mice and vole populations. It pays to set up large numbers of nesting boxes.

Power Lines

Cleared power line rights-of-way cover more than 250,000 acres—a lot of land to be lost from forest production. Some compensation is had, however, if shrubs and small trees become established to serve as food and shelter for wildlife. Trees threatening to grow into contact with the lines can be felled or topped out. This undergrowth can also camouflage the incision in the landscape.

Forest Roads

Forest roads are necessary to today's mechanized forestry. One should try to blend them into the landscape. If they are neatly constructed they are a good advertisement for the forest organization responsible. Some resting places with sanitary facilities, tables, and trash barrels are good public relations.

Gravel Pits

Many gravel pits are established on forest land. They often occur on conspicuous elements of the landscape. In many cases much can be gained by concentrating borrow activities at a few well-operated pits. A plan for treatment after abandonment should always be made. Old gravel pits should not become common dumps; they should be reforested.

Leisure Colonies

Summer cottages have increased with frightening speed. In southern and central Sweden it is hard to find a lake of any consequence which is not wholly or partially ringed by leisure cottages. Those who first refused to abet this development were the large landowners, the Forest Service, and the forest industries, which generally were especially restrictive in releasing land for cottage construction.

There is every cause to be thankful for this restrictive policy and to warmly emphasize the value of preserving our shores.

Fishery Management

Intensive fishery management is carried on by the forest industries and the Forest Service. The value to the nearly one million sport fishermen² is obvious. A continuing program is desirable to add new fishing waters to the system, and in so far as possible to restore rivers which have been used as timber-floating channels but are now abandoned.

Certain forest streams in northern Sweden should make very good sport-fishing waters with good populations of

salmon, trout and grayling. The timber-driving associations have no available funds for restoration measures, but it should not be unreasonable for those who have used a driving channel for perhaps 100 years to restore the water course. The timber-floating channels have a length of 20,200 miles; in 1960, 13,700 miles of them were in use. Consequently, the 90 driving associations and their members should find roughly 6,500 miles free for their conservation initiative, assuming, of course, that no hydro-electric construction is in the offing.

Nature Reserves, Nature Monuments, and the Reforestation Limit

The science of forest biology needs reserves of virgin forest, of modern managed forests, and of the traditional agricultural landscape.

A good many have been set aside, above all in the national parks and the approximately 750 crown land reserves, the latter now covering about 125,000 acres. Many of the large forest industries, through administrative decisions, have also set aside significant areas. However, these have legal protection only in exceptional cases.

The crown land reserves represent widely varying forest and land types and plant communities distributed over most of the country. The pioneer in this area was the former division head, Feodor Aminoff. In 1953, he wrote that their purpose is essentially to preserve objects and to prepare foundations for forest science, but also, in the light of public interest in reserves and in landscape conservation, to protect and conserve areas of more pronounced natural and cultural-historical value from the "leveling" of the landscape which accompanies development.

Have we to a sufficient extent protected the different interesting forest types through establishment of reserves? From the purely scientific point of view it may be that we have sufficient reserves of certain types of virgin northern forest, but a clear deficiency of other vegetation types. Above all, we need several reserves in southern and central Sweden and especially in deciduous forest areas, both virgin stands and reserves of the traditional agricultural landscape.³

Objects protected as nature monuments and features consist mostly of old trees (usually oaks) but also include glacial erratics, wave-eroded rocks, caves and the like. Most are on private land. In all there are more than 6,000 protected objects, with the provincial forestry boards as the chief administrators. The old trees constitute valuable elements in the landscape, but they need care and attention. Among other things the competing vegetation should be kept down so that they may dominate the scene. Care of these giant trees and of the trees which stood guard around farm and field in ancestral times is more than worthwhile.

One of the most significant conservation measures was the establishment of the so-called Reforestation Limit for the high elevation national forest in northern Sweden. Almost 2,900 square miles were set aside from timber operations until further notice, primarily because of the low productivity and the difficulty of regeneration. The area is greater than our 16 national parks combined. Perhaps the forest science profession will recommend this as a valuable addition to the nature reserves. The forest industries have taken similar steps in setting aside areas where timber production is not profitable.

THE TRADITIONAL AGRICULTURAL LANDSCAPE - PASTURE, MEADOW, RICH-HEATH AND HEATH

Few elements in landscape have been the subject of so much battling in modern forestry as the traditional agricultural landscape, especially pasture (hage), deciduous wooded meadow (löväng), rich-heath (fålad) and heath. The sparsely wooded meadow with forbs and grass as well as trees and bushes showing signs of leaf harvest for winter feed, and pasture lands with birch, juniper and grazing cattle represent two landscape types formed by the peasants of old who were more livestock tenders than cultivators. Professor L.-G. Romell says,

"The old Sweden was a land of light and open visage, simple, tidy, and usually inviting with its flowering meadows and well-cleared pastures, and round about them grazed forest, or heath or rich-heath. Together they comprised a part of the historical farmer and herdsman landscape of the old settled areas of western Europe which was its greatest monument of the past."

Today we have little left in southern Sweden of those well-tended native pastures, wooded meadows, rich-heaths or the *Calluna* heaths. They are regarded today as normally less profitable, and have been rapidly converted to cultivation, improved pasture, or forest.

Even the cultivated acreage decreases; more than 4 percent of our once cultivated fields lie abandoned and about 5 times as great an area of pasture and cultivated fields is converting to forest. This constitutes some 1,750,000 to 2 million acres.

That our landscape will be darkened by coniferous forests seems unavoidable under these conditions. The problem should be looked at promptly by the government. The 1960 conservation analysis proposed that the Forestry Law be amended to the effect that conversion of fields to forest should not constitute a hindrance to the reasonable efforts of landscape conservation interests. A review of the 1948 Forestry Law seems necessary. It does not seem to allow for new recommendations more congenial to nature conservation.

Almost all agricultural land is, of course, well suited to timber production, and it is very difficult to keep bushes and trees out once agricultural use stops. It may not be realistic to try preventing development toward more forest. New forms of management, however, such as unenclosed cattle-grazing, sheep-raising, service for cottage owners,⁴ and the like can protect much of the open landscape and at the same time keep the land profitable.

Every consideration should be given to the open landscapes around farms and inhabited sites. A special problem is the abandoned farm. If such farms can be used as leisure retreats for the Sunday farmer, and houses, grounds and open lands consequently maintained, they can constitute a valuable element in the landscape.

We need a significant number of representative and well-managed reserves of the treasures of the traditional agricultural landscape—pasture, meadow, rich-heath, and heath.

Part has been done. The Forest Service cares for a number of wooded meadows and pastures. Part of the parsonage meadows are protected by the pastorate, usually through the ecclesiastical forest officers. However, economic factors limit this activity strongly. A number of other areas are owned by home district societies and nature



Sweden's shores must be kept free of further construction.

protection societies, and cared for by the help of volunteers who perceive the special values of atmosphere and beauty which are found there.

Here, perhaps, lies the greatest difficulty. Maintenance of these agricultural monuments requires much care and attention and a considerable input of labor. The difficulties of keeping up the old conditions by spring burning, hay cutting and grazing, among other things, have been well expressed by Professor Romell in a paper on Ångsö National Park, where he said that it is a hard problem "for an academy and a public agency with their combined strength to replace a single tenant farmer of the past." He refers to the Academy of Science as advisor and the Forest Service as administrator, which have had the responsibility of caring for the national parks.

The measures we take may not, however, be mere side issues induced by shallow aesthetics. It is essential that they be carried out with a feeling for style, and a knowledge of the historical background—otherwise this whole living inheritance of landscape threatens to disappear. Concerning this, Dr. Carl Fries says, "It is the question of the history of the land. It concerns Swedish tradition, the need to keep from losing touch with a past culture. The goal of our striving certainly is not to stop an economically reasonable and necessary development; it is to maintain and keep alive some memorial points for eye and fantasy."

THE DECIDUOUS FOREST

There can also be noted with satisfaction a growing understanding of the significance of deciduous trees for the landscape and for our forestry. The deciduous trees exercise a beneficial influence on the organic turnover the soil and on the general health of the stand. It can also be pointed out that the country has always had need of the wood of deciduous species, whatever the economic fluctuations, and that many signs, such as the increasing use of birch pulpwood and the steady demand for oak timber, indicate approaching better marketing possibilities.

LEISURE AND THE OPEN-AIR LIFE

Here are some examples of nature-conserving measures, steps toward keeping a pleasing environment and a rich and many-faceted world. This is of the greatest value for all the hundreds of thousands who turn to nature for recreation—for disengagement from a life in densely peopled places, a life ever more hectic, harassed and unhealthy. A rich fauna and flora and a pleasant and inviting landscape can give maximum happiness and balance to the leisure which we use in nature—a leisure which increases as a result of the 5-day work week and 4-week vacations. Also percentagewise and numerically, city dwellers increase.

The need varies. For most people it is enough to have access to a leisure cottage, car, or boat, and a nearby bathing beach and excursion area. There are certain additional needs to complete the list: hunting lands and fishing waters and, for the wanderer, wild country and mountains where men must depend on their own strength. For all open-air people—and it is a significant part of our people—nature becomes more and more valuable. Unfortunately, however, not so dear that people have rid themselves of such vicious habits as littering, damaging forests and crops, impoverishing the spring flora, and disturbing animal life.

The Forest Service has found it desirable, and indeed downright necessary on certain specially suited and well-situated crown forests—leisure forests—to take measures to facilitate the open-air life. This is a valuable social innovation in nature conservation.

The character of these leisure forests changes according to the natural conditions, need, and location. Some leisure forests can be regarded most nearly as excursion goals where visits are made richer and more valuable by setting up rest areas and marking out foot trails to scenic outlooks, cultural memorials, nature reserves, and the like. On other areas these are combined with establishment of campgrounds, bathing beaches, fishing ponds, and so forth. These measures should also contribute to contact with the forest and increased understanding of its value.

Probably this is only the beginning of a new development. In the U.S.A., for example, the national forests are used for many forms of recreation: camping, hunting, fishing, etc. In 1959 they had 81 million visits. In 1975 it is calculated that they will receive 230 million. Roads, lodgings, and campgrounds are being planned and built to meet the future demands. In addition to the national forests there are large national parks. On their national forests for the most part they have long practiced multiple use in forestry—timber, grazing, water protection, and recreation. This multiple use management was confirmed by an act of the U.S. Congress in 1960, and was the subject of the World Forestry Congress in Seattle the same year. The U.S.A. is decidedly the outstanding nation in coming to grips with the rapidly growing open-air interest. The needs have been mapped out in a significant national analysis in 1962, *Outdoor Recreation for America*.

Summary

If nature values are to be preserved in connection with rational large-scale forestry, much understanding, knowledge, and some economic sacrifices will be required of the forest owners and foresters. In this connection it is extremely important that nature conservation questions receive illumination from all sides, with education of all position-holders from woods foremen and forest guards to forest officers, forest scientists, and future leaders in nature conservation undertakings, each in his own area joining with the others to fashion the landscape of today and tomorrow.

There is cause for optimism. Much understanding has already been shown by the Forest Service, forest industries, and individual owners—in the latter case often stimulated by the provincial forestry boards. Multiplicity of ownerships, however, often makes action difficult on larger areas. Fifty percent of the country's forest land is owned by more than 200,000 individual owners. It is important to interest them in active nature conservation. An important means is the forest-practices schools operated by the provincial forestry boards, where landowners gather to take courses.

At the forest-practices schools there should also be examples of reserves, and of properly carried out nature conservation measures such as well-cared-for old farm lands—pastures and meadows—properly thinned shore-stands, wildlife plantings, and the like. These courses also provide the possibility of interesting youth in the work and informing them of the objectives of nature conservation.

A difficulty is the increase in littering and the damage recreationists cause to forests and crops, etc. This easily leads to unwillingness among land owners to make their land more attractive and thus draw more people. The government has lead in dealing with this problem by providing good examples in the leisure forests.

In this connection a campaign is needed, as broadly based and supported as possible, for the better understanding of nature and of the landowner's legitimate interest in the protection and care of his property. All too many people who enjoy the protection of the so-called public rights think of those rights in the worst sense of the word, that is, that any property is common property which may be treated as one sees fit without responsibility or understanding. For this important educational work, nature conservation needs the powerful support of the people of forestry, who know better than most what it is all about. They can publicize their point of view via schools, lecture organizations, and the effective mass media: press, radio, and TV. Among foresters in this field we have an incomparable pioneer and fiery spirit, Provincial Forestry Officer Folke Thörn.

Finally, as a basis for these theses I will quote a man of leading importance in shaping and carrying out an active policy of nature conservation combined with economic forest management. In a circular to Forest Service personnel, General Director Erik Höjer said in 1955:

“Where possible, natural conditions should be protected against disturbance and the landscape for which we are or may become responsible shall be cared for. As man becomes active in new areas and fields of activity, untouched nature has to yield. Nowadays, even in the real forest country only remnants of natural landscape remain whose form is without the effect of man. It is an important task of foresters to protect an essential part of what remains, for the use of nature science and forest science and for the enjoyment of this and succeeding generations.

“The greatest tasks for those powers which used to be designated as ‘nature conserving’ lies, however, in a totally different area—landscape preservation. The landscape of the forest and to a significant extent that of settled districts as well, is shaped to an essential degree by the actions of foresters. Modern silviculture should be able to provide broad lines and views—and these too have beauty—and uniformity can be broken up by careful handling of the vegetation on lands of low productivity and on waste lands. Let us show that it is possible to combine silviculture with landscape preservation.”

In final summation, if the results are to be what we wish:

- Nature conservation must be considered in all forestry activities.
- Measures must be taken to maintain an attractive landscape, and so that the forest shall offer maximum possibilities for recreation and the open-air life.

- More reserves must be established before it is too late.
- Parts of the traditional agricultural landscape must be preserved and cared for.
- Every effort must be made to get the public to understand and respect the economic and idealistic value of the forest.

In other words, we need to plan and work for tomorrow's man, nature and landscape, considering economics, recreation, and the values of nature.

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1. The area of Sweden is 173,624 square miles—similar to California's 158,693. Translator.
 2. Sweden's 1960 population was 7,495,129.
 3. An important part of Swedish tradition and culture is rooted in the peasant Sweden of previous centuries in which the "Hembygd"—the home district—produced ancestors, speech and way of life for centuries, and the släktgård—the home farm—had been the home of the paternal line into the dim past and often provided the family name. Translator.
 4. Service for cottage-owners involves supplementing agricultural and forest income by selling some products and providing maintenance and other services for cottage owners.



Sea eagle's nest in the Stockholm Archipelago.

Keynote address by Prof. Kraus to the January 1969 Northeastern Parks Training Institute, at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, Mass., sponsored by the Northeastern State Park Directors, of the National Conference of State Parks.

PARKS AND INNER-CITY PEOPLE

By RICHARD KRAUS ●



● For the past several years, Professor Richard Kraus has been in charge of the graduate recreation curriculum at Teachers College, Columbia University. In September 1969, he plans to move to Lehman College of the City University of New York to direct graduate and undergraduate programs in the same field.

Professor Kraus served as consultant to the Parks, Recreation and Cultural Affairs Administration of New York City, and has done extensive research on urban recreation and minority group participation. He is the author of several textbooks on recreation.

I venture to say that throughout the United States, parks and inner-city people have become a major problem for parks and recreation professionals.

Why is this so? Why is there this serious and sudden concern with meeting the needs of disadvantaged, inner-city residents—and particularly, those residents who are black or Spanish-speaking? For, let's face it, that's what we're talking about, economically, educationally and socially deprived people living in our urban slums, and people who have traditionally been thought of as minority-group members, but who are coming to represent the majority groups in the great cities in which they live.

Why the problem?

Some of you may answer readily—"That's easy. We've found out that ghetto residents—so-called—feel that they are inadequately served with parks and recreation. After all, that was revealed by the President's Advisory Commission on Civil Disorder last March, which disclosed, as most of you know, that grievances related to poor recreation and parks rated extremely high on the scale of complaints in cities where riots had occurred." Therefore, you might say, now that this is called to our attention, we're going to do something about it—and as state agencies, we intend to cooperate with municipal officials in meeting this need.

And you might answer a little more cynically, but to the same effect—recreation is one of the ways in which you cool the summer scene—in which you prevent the violent and destructive riots which have laid waste huge areas of Los Angeles, Detroit, Newark, Baltimore and dozens of other cities.

I'd like to agree that this is the cause for our immediate concern, but at the same time to suggest that this is not an immediate or recent problem—but one that has deep roots in our history and attitudes and social policy. To really do something worth while—to do more than "cool the ghetto" for a few weeks—to do more than put a bandaid over a gaping wound, we have to examine frankly and honestly our record of performance, and develop a rationale and a program that will get at the basic inequities that have existed to date. And I am referring to the inequities with respect to the degree to which we in parks and recreation have served the poor and the non-white residents in our cities.

Let me take the prerogative of being a professor, and let me suggest that we take a look at history, for without understanding history, we cannot possibly understand the present.

Some park and recreation professionals see only the immediate problems that may be related to the task of serving an inner-city population, and fail to understand what went on in the past to cause these problems.

Any quick examination of the development of the playground movement in America's cities and towns, which led of course to the parks and recreation and voluntary agency movement of today, shows that it was essentially intended to meet the needs of lower socio-economic class children and youth who, in crowded slums in industrial cities (their families having migrated from Europe or rural regions in the United States) were subjected to a variety of unhealthy social conditions, and tempted by pathological forms of play. The reformers of this period, Jacob Riis, Walter Vrooman, Jane Addams and many others, fought for facilities, programs, agencies and leaders—both in public and voluntary settings—that would counteract these conditions and lead to the constructive and healthy use of leisure.

So it was that our first city and suburban recreation departments came into being, along with organizations like the Boys Club of America, the Salvation Army, the Children's Aid Society, the Police Athletic League, and settlement houses—with the needs of underprivileged youth as a primary concern.

What has happened since? I will submit to you that during the 1930's and 1940's, and particularly in the period of rapid expansion following World War II, the recreation, or park-and-recreation movement, has become increasingly an operation which is chiefly concerned with meeting middle class leisure needs and interests. Today, and this is a nationwide picture, we are generally following the path of least resistance. It is easier—far easier, to provide program services such as tennis and golf courses, marinas, swimming pool complexes, cultural centers, and a host of other athletic, social, or semi-educational services to people who are already attuned to participation, who do not present major problems of discipline and control, who are easy to attract, who can pay their way and are willing to do so, and who represent political power in the community—than it is to serve the disadvantaged, and particularly the disadvantaged black and Spanish-speaking community.

Thus we find in our cities and towns, a pattern of greatest attention being given to attracting and serving those who are more capable of meeting their needs independently. And, at the same time, there is increasing evidence that we are ignoring in large measure, the crucial needs for enhanced and special recreation services in neighborhoods or in population groups where the need, is greatest.

Let me be specific on this point. A considerable number of politicians responded to the report of the President's Commission, and its charge of pervasive "white racism," as unjustified. Often they have made the point that the demands of blacks are excessive; that the injustices they claim are not real. Let me attempt to document this point with some evidence. First, Marion Clawson, in his exhaustive study of the economics of outdoor recreation, points out:

In a great many American cities, park and playground acreage is more unevenly distributed than is personal income . . . The poorest people, who most need easily accessible parks and playgrounds, often have them least. This situation is made still worse by the racial pattern of urban living. The low-income central city areas so deficient in rec-

reation space are likely to be Negro; the suburban and outer city ring areas, generously supplied with recreation, are likely to be white.

In a major study of New York City's park and recreation facilities and programs, the Community Council of that city determined that there was a tremendous imbalance; the wealthiest neighborhoods had the most parks and play areas, and the most severely depressed the fewest. In a single large section of Queens and Brooklyn, containing 690,000 persons, there was no single community park or moderate sized public open space. This pattern, in one form or another, is repeated in many of our great cities.

Now we come to the question of race—which compounds the problem.

For it has basically been the mass migration of poor and illiterate Negroes from the South, forced out by rapid mechanization of tenant farms, that has crowded the slums of the Northeast, the Midwest, and the West, with millions of people unused to city living, essentially rural—able only with great difficulty to adapt to the demands and standards of urban life.

And black—don't forget that, for in terms of recreation it is probably fair to say that the most extreme patterns of segregation in American life have existed in terms of parks and recreation—certainly in the South and border states, and to a great extent elsewhere.

When we have said, in our administration texts on parks and recreation, that this area of public service brings people together, helps build democratic attitudes and values, and that all are treated alike, and that no special concern must be expressed about any racial group, or any other division in the population, we have just been wearing blinders. Throughout the South, from the beginning of this century on, we have seen all public recreation and parks programs rigidly segregated, by state law, by local ordinance and by community custom. What few recreation programs were provided for Negroes until the 1960's, and the Civil Rights Act of 1964, were rigidly segregated, and generally inferior.

What about the North? I have heard administrators, and school teachers and principals say—what about up here? Surely we don't have this kind of problem. Of course, we have had. Take a look at suburban communities in the 1930's and 1940's—or at major community service organizations like the YM & YWCA or the Boy and Girl Scouts . . . What kind of provision have we made for blacks in the North, and what kinds of services have we provided in the slum areas of our cities? I've already given you some of the findings on this—and the residents of ghettos themselves have said it. Two years ago, I carried out a study of public recreation and the Negro. Why?

In part, I suppose, it was an attempt to find out the reality of what goes on today.

First, it recognized that recreation—the pleasurable and constructive use of leisure—is the right of all people in our society, but in reality is denied to many, for reasons of economic limitation, lack of exposure and opportunity, or subrose, but nonetheless real, exclusion. The ORRRC Report confirmed, for example, that in the area of outdoor recreation, Negroes participated far less than whites. In part, this is because of economic limitations, but there have been numerous other psychological and social reasons for exclusion and non-participation.

Another element in the study was that pathological or other anti-social forms of play exist more heavily in urban disadvantaged areas where higher proportions of the Negro population tend to live. We know that the Gluecks' Boston study of delinquent youth stresses the disorganization of

families as a key factor in the background of such youth. This suggests the need to develop the role of recreation and groupwork services in strengthening family ties through involvement.

We know that in many of the Federally-supported anti-poverty programs, recreation has become widely used as a form of threshold activity for community action groups, as a much needed service in the urban slum, and as a form of para-professional employment.

Finally, in an era of increasing racial militancy, and polarization by color in community life, it seemed necessary to look at the single area of public service which is devoted to developing desirable social relationships among participants, among its other goals.

Linked to these reasons was my own conviction, back in 1965, long before the Kerner Commission was established, that lack of recreation, along with police brutality, poor education, inadequate welfare and the like, were causal elements in urban rioting by blacks. Beyond this, I had the conviction, and expressed it in a number of articles which you may have read—that riots themselves, represented a form of explosion against boredom, frustration and ghetto life, and, in a sense, a kind of wild, violent play activity.

So the study was carried out. It was based primarily on an analysis of the observations and opinions of public recreation officials, in 24 suburban communities and New York City. Let me summarize its findings briefly.

It was found, in the communities examined, that Negroes tended to participate in activities that, as a pattern, were quite different from those of white residents. Partly this was obviously a matter of social class difference, but it also seemed to be based on separate racial identification. The activities themselves were different, and involvement by age groupings was different. Much more limited. Much narrower.

Despite frequent citations in the literature about the "democratizing" effects of recreation, the programs studied were doing little to achieve integrated participation, or better intergroup relations in their communities. In sports, team segregation was the predominant pattern for teenagers and adults, and there appears to be increasing hostility and difficulty with respect to inter-district competition that involved interracial play.

Recreation directors reported a variety of administrative problems stemming from the fact of race. Suburban directors tended to cite as the major difficulty the behavior of Negroes; they described them as aggressive, hostile, anti-social, hard to work with. In New York City, by contrast, the major problem cited by recreation directors in the Park Department or Bureau of Community Education was that whites either resisted the participation of Negroes in public recreation programs in changing neighborhoods, or that they quickly withdrew from programs when Negroes entered—a vivid example of the "white racism" which was a major finding of the Advisory Commission on Civil Disorder.

I will not try to summarize all the findings of the study for you, in areas relating to employment of blacks, efforts related to community relations, equality of opportunity, or linkage to school desegregation. The study report itself is available from the Center for Urban Education in New York City, and digests of it appeared in the July issue of "Parks and Recreation" magazine, and the first issue of the new research quarterly published by NRPA.

Basically, its conclusion is that we have made comparatively little effort, within the public parks and recreation field, to focus on problems in this area, and to upgrade services and facilities for the poor in the inner city. The descriptions obtained of programs in such depressed areas as Bedford-Stuyvesant or Brownsville, in New York City,

or even of programs in some suburban communities, would shock you, I am sure. Actually, this area of neglect is only part of the total picture of non-performance.

We have been seriously inadequate in terms of program services for "problem youth," those on the edge of delinquency, or actually involved in hard-core infractions or fighting gang affiliations. The same is true of program services for the disabled, the mentally retarded, the blind, the physically handicapped, the aging dependent or semi-dependent population, the discharged mental patients—all of whom have special, severe problems related to the constructive and enjoyable use of leisure.

But let's stay with the inner city.

And, at this point, let's ask about you.

How did you come into the picture? Clearly state parks, for the most part, have not been concerned in the past with the problems of inner cities, with the needs of poor people, of black or Spanish-speaking people. Except in some cases, in parks and beaches on the periphery of large metropolitan areas, you simply haven't met them. But there, outside the large cities, if you had a park there, you did. And part of the reason was that the suburban or county programs just outside the city rejected or barred these unwelcome visitors. So you've had some contact—but certainly not the degree of concern that you now have.

How did it come about? The answer really goes back to the ORRRC Report, the Report of the Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission, which stated clearly that the bulk of Federal and state outdoor recreation resources were at a great distance, and unavailable, for much of our great urban populations, particularly those who were comparatively immobile and did not own cars. And the recommendations of the ORRRC Report, for the Land and Water Conservation Fund, which was enacted four years ago, and the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation which was to administer it, were clearly intended for the first time to develop a Federal-state-local relationship that would mean that state planning would fully incorporate the needs and problems of local communities, that Federal funding would be dependent on this, and that for the first time, there would be a concerted attempt to deal with the problems of opportunities for poor people and black people in our cities—a serious attempt.

The job was comparatively simple for municipal recreation executives, if they were willing and able to spend the time, the energy, the money, to do it. The answer was to provide the kinds of facilities, portable and otherwise; the leadership; the sports, the cultural activities, the jobs and job-training, the involvement with community planning, the entertainment, all the enrichment that had been lacking; and in doing this, to enlist the aid of business and civic leaders, of lay citizens, of anti-poverty funding, of community councils—in other words, to make the program which it should have been all along. A few have actually done this.

But you have a tougher problem.

In the first place, state parks are mostly situated at a distance from the larger cities. There were founded originally with the notion of protecting the wilderness, the scenic beauty, the historic site, and only gradually did they come around to the notion of seeing public recreation as a primary need or objective, and of developing resources for camping, hiking, water sports, skiing, and all the multiple activities that go on in our parks today. It takes a fundamental shift in thinking to see oneself, with this kind of background, playing a meaningful role with respect to people in the inner city. Yet, it can be done, and if the parks and recreation profession is to make a contribution to solving this most crucial of our national problems, clearly it will require the help of the important state agencies that

administer parks, forests, lakes and beaches, vast opportunities for outdoor recreation.

The problem is—what, and how?

In approaching it, and in preparing this paper, I set out to examine what a number of state park departments were doing. So I wrote to approximately 20 park departments, conservation departments, departments of public resources, park and recreation commissions, etc., in state capitols in the Great Lakes Region, the South and Southwest—asking them for brochures of their services, for copies of their annual reports, for descriptions of special programs they were carrying on, which might relate to this. No leads. I asked Ben Thompson for some suggestions as to directors of metropolitan park districts, county programs including large urban centers, or just outside them, regional park programs, that he believed were doing a special job in this area. He was good enough to send me some leads, and I followed up on them.

It was my hope that I could give you more than a lecture about the past, but rather some guides for the present and future. And, frankly, there were some useful leads that came from this correspondence, although the best and most exciting program is much closer to home.

I heard from the superintendent of conservation of the Forest Preserve District of Cook County, Illinois, which includes 65,000 acres of land around Chicago. He wrote:

We of the forest preserves do have a very large program which reaches the lower economic level groups. Our department alone, which deals largely with outdoor education, reaches over one million of our citizens a year . . . including some 221 day camps programs, which was designed primarily for the poor . . . Our nature centers are visited by unbelievable numbers. The Little Red School House Nature Center had one-third of a million visitors this year and the number gets larger each year. These two programs have brought the inner-city child to us in larger numbers than we can handle.

We have brought our forest preserves to them in the classroom during the winter months through the work of five or six naturalists who lecture, answer questions and use films; over 184,000 children were reached in this way; we are training teachers from inner-city Chicago, each year in three-day outdoor education teachers workshops, and for operating school camping programs . . .

Let's look at another city which was in the news this past year; Miami, and at Metropolitan Dade County, where the Park and Recreation Department has undertaken a large bussing program for the past several summers, taking hundreds of youngsters daily at various poverty agency centers or recreation centers, transporting them to ocean-front parks, where there were recreation staff who supervised a full and varied program of activities—also trips to the Zoo and Seaquarium.

The bussing approach has been used widely elsewhere, and sometimes the outlying park department has not been the sponsor, but just the recipient, and sometimes it has seen this as a great nuisance. Probably the best example is in the Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission, a regional district in Montgomery and Prince George's Counties, Maryland . . . The director of parks of this district complained about the District of Columbia OEO and Recreation Department sending out as many as 45 chartered buses each day, with 80 to 90 children on each bus, and only one

supervisor—putting considerable burden on the facilities, and a lessened use of the park by local residents. Immediate corrective steps had to be taken, he writes—only five chartered buses a day, with advance scheduling, one adult supervisor per each 15 children, and more effective work on part of supervisors was required. The situation, he now says, is under control.

In the same city, a Federal agency, the National Park Service which operates a number of parks in the National Capital Region, is active in a variety of projects serving inner-city non-white children.

Chiefly, this includes the use of Park Service naturalists and historians at schools throughout the district; field trips to major memorials and parks; use of the nature center in Rock Creek Park; outdoor education study locations (or environmental education) involving inner-city schools and school camping at a forest camp; also Summer in the Parks—an enhanced program of shows, trips, picnics, games, etc. . . at various small parks in the district.

What of some other cities?

In Detroit, the Huron-Clinton Metropolitan Authority has become aware that most of its facilities are quite distant from most inner-city people in its five-county district, and that it has not served them. It now is meeting and working with groups in the city, to develop improved recreation services to the poor—chiefly in terms of naturalist services in the schools—parks interpretation, lectures—and in some cases, in schools which then sent classes out to parks for first-hand learning experiences.

In Oakland, California, the East Bay Regional Park District has been involved, during the summer of 1968, in experimental bussing programs to serve city residents. One program was a cost subsidy (they assisted with costs and fares) residents from urban areas, both white and black, to reach regional parks. Participation was low, and they felt that there was inadequate information about the program, but also the nature of the parks—lacking such facilities as baseball diamonds, basketball courts, zoos, playgrounds, amusement centers which (in the respondent's terms) would normally attract large numbers of people from minority communities—accounted for poor participation.

A second program developed with funding from the Office of Economic Opportunity in Oakland to provide bussing from a small black community in Oakland (actually Pittsburg, California) to a newly developed lake swimming facility and park about ten miles away; this was successful, and they believe so because it was administered by a local black non-profit service agency based in the community, which scheduled busses, supervised in the park and on the bus, and carried on coordination with the District.

Other examples? A final one, in Los Angeles, where both the city and the county departments of parks and recreation have carried out extensive trips, outings and bussing programs to parks (free or at greatly reduced rates); free transportation to free admissions, such as sports events; generally enhanced services, involving considerable reductions of costs. The City has developed a Barge Fishing Program in the summer of 1967, involving taking about 3,000 poverty youth from the poverty pockets of Los Angeles, taking them from 37 sites to a fishing pier, and then by boat to an anchored barge some miles out to sea . . . where they fished for a morning, afternoon, or evening session.

What do all these add up to?

By and large, nothing really exciting or experimental; chiefly they fall within three or four areas:

1. Large-scale nature interpretation, outdoor education, and naturalist programs, both in the schools, and in

field trips or school camping trips.

2. Day bussing of inner-city children and youth to nearby recreation facilities, with some variations, such as the deep sea fishing excursions.
3. Intensification of normal recreation programs, by those agencies actually in the city.

And this, of course, is the key question. How can you help, how can the state be meaningfully involved, if it is at a distance. And, what I referred to earlier as the most exciting and innovative program that I have heard of, on the part of a state department of parks, or conservation, is, of course, the action that New York State has undertaken, to establish a new state park district right within New York City itself.

This plan will make it possible for the state, with its resources and expertise, and free of some of the complicated processes and bureaucratic arrangements that tend to hamper the city itself, to develop facilities, programs, exciting recreation opportunities and links with its outlying parks, such as have never been possible before.

Let me however bring this paper to a close by suggesting some guides and possible directions for new development, with respect to state involvement in the inner city.

The first essential guide is that any agency that seeks to serve disadvantaged people today must have a meaningful linkage with the people themselves. They have to be involved in planning, in decision making, in helping themselves. They can't just be kept at arms length, and served.

Closely related to this is the need to employ the urban poor, whenever possible. This is crucial, not only because they need such jobs (and, of course, it has been built in as an ingredient in most of the OEO programming) but also because of the long range effect that it may have on their own career goals and plans—and also because they often can be far more effective than outsiders, even including the professionally trained, in doing a job with their own people.

The problem of distance, and of transportation has been mentioned several times, and this, of course, is a key factor. Distance from available recreation sites is a key problem, both economic and psychological. The feeling of security that inner-city youth, and often adults, have on their own "turf," is understandable, because of the rejection of even danger they have found elsewhere. And yet, unless we are to wind up with every city becoming separated into armed camps, black and white, we have to break down this insularity—get people to cross the borders, to meet with and know each other. If the residents of the inner city are to come out to other human and physical environments, transportation will be a key issue.

What else can we say? Let me suggest some quick possibilities—some areas of possible program development. It will take big thinking to do a job.

Can we develop a number of close-by camping areas for people from inner-cities to come and do actual family camping—with a system of renting tents, cooking gear, etc., to them at a nominal basis—and with pre-season family camping clinics within the city? Couple this with transportation that is provided, and with a minimal cost to the excursion, and you have the possibility of a program that would be new and appealing to many ghetto families that have never been involved in this kind of activity.

How about a vast new network of summer work and play programs, carried on in state parks for inner-city youth—something like what they do in the New York State Youth Division Work Camps, but on

a voluntary basis, with a plentiful measure of play, sport, water activities and fun? This would be a combination of the old CCC and Job Corps, with a summer recreation period; it would get work done and again, would be a meaningful experience for the young men—and possibly girls—who could be involved in it. Conservation, fire fighting, maintenance, you know the jobs that might be done better than I do.

How about some new large-scale state camping ventures for children in parks fairly close to the big city. Some programs like this have been tried, in Camp Smith at Peekskills, in California and elsewhere. But these have been in military settings. How about in attractive wooded settings, in real tent camping areas, in water-locations, with an emphasis on nature and conservation programs, water sports, etc. . . Much of the staffing could be done by inner-city people, which would add the work ingredient.

How about some winter sports programs for urban inner-city youth—some real challenging, risk activities—skiing, snowshoeing, bobsledding—or some spring activities involving the same kind of challenge—to test out the notion that if they can be moved in the direction of proving their manhood in these ways, they won't have to, in more pathological ways? Mountain climbing, horseback riding?

These are just a few ideas. They are all based on the notion of a continuous, well-thought out, year-round program, and not just a venture to cool some angry black kids during the summer. They would require full coordination with existing city agencies and with poor people themselves. And, of course, they would cost money—but it would not be one-tenth as much as what the riots have cost us, or one-hundredth as much as what deprivation in our slums has cost, in human terms, the people who have lived there. It would be a cheap price to pay.



Suggestions for Litter Removal and Sanitation in Remote Recreation Areas

By DEAN W. BUCHANAN ●

Assume for the moment that all of the 118,000 visitors expected to use the Boundary Waters Canoe Area (BWCA)¹ in 1969 will discard all of their refuse on remote campsites and along portages. The removal project to satisfactorily dispose of an estimated 400,000 pounds of cans, bottles, and other solid wastes would require 4,800 man days at a cost of \$140,000.

Realistically, we know that this won't happen. Some of this refuse goes into the water, some is discarded randomly on land, some is buried, some is burned, and some is packed out. Each year, however, more thousands of dollars than we care to admit are spent in the BWCA and other dispersed-type recreation areas just hauling garbage. Even so, campers continually add to a permanent build-up of plastics, aluminum and glass by burying or sinking. These items disintegrate at an extremely slow rate.

Disposal of user wastes poses one of the most serious problems confronting managers of remote, dispersed-type recreation areas today. The outstanding recreational attrac-

tions and values of such areas are dependent upon perpetuation of good water quality and clean, litter-free campsites and travel corridors. Included in the problem is the acceptable handling of human wastes as well as the disposal of burnable and nonburnable camp refuse.

It is not appropriate to talk about the BWCA without including Ontario's adjacent one million acre Quetico Park. These two areas combine to form the Quetico-Superior Canoe Country, without doubt the largest and most unique area of portage-linked lakes and streams on the North American continent. Both are dedicated to public use and enjoyment in a primitive setting. The problem of refuse disposal in these heavily used areas will undoubtedly soon confront managers of other similar areas. Progress to date in these two areas may be helpful to other managers.

Visitation to these areas in 1968 totaled 112,800 persons to the BWCA and nearly 26,000 to Quetico Park. With continued increases in use, waste disposal problems will be further complicated.

● Dean W. Buchanan, for three and a half years, has been recreation staff officer for the Superior National Forest, Minnesota, which includes the Boundary Waters Canoe Area (BWCA). The BWCA, the second largest and by far the most heavily used unit of the National Wilderness Preservation System, exhibits representative if not unique problems of litter and refuse disposal in remote, dispersed use recreation areas. Mr. Buchanan's experience in working with these problems qualifies him to discuss this subject.

Mr. Buchanan earned a B.S. degree in Forestry from Iowa State University in 1954. He has been



employed by the U.S. Forest Service since that time with the exception of two years with the Armed Services. His career with the Forest Service has included assignments on six national forests in three regions in the midwest and far west. Experience has primarily been in the field of recreation management. He served for five and a half years as district ranger in Missouri and in Minnesota.

Active membership is maintained in the Society of American Foresters, the American Forestry Association, the Wilderness Society, and the Minnesota Arrowhead Association.

The refuse disposal part of this problem has no quick and easy solution, but a high degree of success can be attained through application of a variety of measures. The sanitation problem is somewhat more nebulous. Systematic research may be required to provide an ultimate solution, but interim measures can serve to help protect present water quality.

A May 20, 1965, Superior National Forest news clipping headlined "Litter Curb in Forest is Launched," marked one of the first specific educational efforts toward BWCA user carryout of all nonburnable refuse. By 1967 a coordinated litter carryout program had been adopted by both Quetico-BWCA management agencies.² Each visitor party was provided a plastic litter bag and instructed to transport nonburnable refuse to disposal points outside the canoe areas.

The carryout procedures have been explained in handout brochures and news releases. Progress has been good, but there is yet a long way to go.

These practices for refuse disposal are prescribed by both agencies for the Quetico-BWCA areas:

- A. Burn all garbage which reasonably can be burned. includes fish skeletons and entrails.
- B. Scorch and flatten metal containers. Place them along with empty bottles and other unburnables in your litter bag. Pack this refuse out of the area to entry points where refuse receptacles are provided or to some other suitable disposal point.

On June 10, 1968, a joint Superior National Forest-Ontario Department of Lands and Forests meeting was held to further discuss the dual problem of litter and sanitation and to prepare an action plan. Following this meeting, letters were sent to about 75 outfitters and resorts who have contact with area users. These letters urged commercial people to emphasize the prescribed method of refuse disposal. A news release to local and Minneapolis-St. Paul media was widely published. A television appearance urged users to adopt the carryout procedure.

Two efforts at saturation contacts³ of BWCA users during the 1968 summer season urged compliance with the litter carryout requirement in addition to enforcing the travel permit requirement. In the mid-May effort nearly 1500 fishermen were contacted; a similar period in mid-August reached about 2500, primarily canoe trippers. On Moose Lake alone, the most popular BWCA entry point which also provides a direct route to Quetico Park, 1400 people were contacted. A news release preceded and followed the early spring field check, but the August check was unannounced. The results from a litter carryout standpoint were not directly measurable since this was an educational rather than a law enforcement effort. During the May check 78% of parties contacted had travel permits. The relatively high percentage of compliance signifies a willingness on the part of the user to cooperate in all reasonable management activities.

In August an identical 78% of the parties contacted had travel permits. In these two instances fishermen and canoe trippers were equally responsive. It is reasonable to assume that visitors who take the time to obtain a travel permit will comply to a high degree with prescribed waste disposal practices as well. There is no simple way to accurately measure the success of litter carryout short of counting cans and bottles; in full-out empty.

Law enforcement is available as the final step when all attempts at education fail. Minnesota's litter law is a good

one and has been used in preference to Federal regulation. Simpler procedures and more speedy results are available through use of local courts. Obtaining conclusive proof has been a problem. To ensure conviction, observance of (1) a clean campsite, (2) occupancy of that site by a specific party, and (3) apprehension of the party on their departure is needed. This procedure takes time and is expensive. The publicity from the limited number of convictions to date has far outweighed the value of punitive action on the specific persons involved.

Providing for human wastes presents an altogether different problem. For heavily used camping sites, wilderness-type box latrines with a seepage pit are prescribed by both agencies. These have no walls or roofs. As would be expected, in view of heavier use, more BWCA than Quetico Park campsites have these latrines, but a majority of the campsites in both areas lack this facility.

The BWCA Management Handbook (preliminary draft) requires that seepage pits used for latrines must have a four-foot previous soil mantle overlying bedrock. It is estimated that one-fourth of the approximately 700 previously installed latrines fail to meet this requirement.

An experimental burn-out latrine was first tried in 1967. This unit consists of a cast-iron pot with about a five-gallon capacity. When nearly full a lid is placed over the pot and a butane torch is injected to burn the contents. The principle seems to have merit but several modifications have failed to make this unit satisfactory for widespread use. Long burning time is the greatest problem. Magnesium grenades reduce burning time, but the intense heat soon burns through the cast-iron pot as well. Further experimentation is scheduled.

Small island campsites in the BWCA which fail to meet minimum requirements for latrine placement are being closed to overnight use. A criterion has been established that an island's minimum dimension must exceed 200 feet to support camping. About 20 small sites have now been closed. An inventory of all such sites which require closure is nearly complete.

Efforts to date have surfaced some suggestions for improving litter disposal and sanitation in remote recreation areas. These can be refined as appropriate to develop a uniform coordinated program which we hope will ultimately resolve the problem.

- A. Prescribe wise use practices in simple easy to read brochures. The best time for contacting potential users is during the winter when trips are being planned and time is available for study of written material. Outfitter reservation confirmation letters provide one means to accomplish this. Most brochures used to date have been too wordy to be widely read during a trip. Use alternate concise brochures for handout with travel or other permits and for general field use. Concentrate on a minimum of most important prescribed practices.
- B. Mass media, including newspapers, radio and TV, offer a good means of informing local and regional residents. This will normally provide contact with a high percentage of total visitors. (71% of BWCA visitors in 1968 were Minnesotans.) Releases should be well timed, properly written and the contents should emphasize only the most important points. The inclusion of a human interest episode, such as actual experience or a report on law enforcement action, along with a wise use message adds strength to a release.

C. Organizational contacts prior to the use season serve to insure that counselors, camp directors and other leaders are well informed. Primary organizations which sponsor summer trips to such areas include Boy Scouts, Y.M.C.A., and churches. A large number of youths who start camping through an organization return for later trips which makes their initial education doubly important. Contacts in the form of scheduled programs at periphery base camps will supplement pre-season leadership contacts.

D. The sale of watercraft permits in the case of the Quetico Park and the issuance of travel permits for the BWCA, provide a personal contact by agency employees or by cooperators with at least one member from each party. Field checks have shown that personal contacts by agency employees haven't always been effective; those by cooperators are probably even less so. A continual effort must be made to strengthen all personal contacts. The verbal contact should be directed to all party members if possible.

E. Photographic displays at major entry points depicting the effects of littering may help to get the message across. These displays might also show how to compactly prepare nonburnable refuse for pack-out and portray other wise use practices.

F. Field contacts, though costly, can provide an effective follow-up to earlier educational contacts. These contacts tend to instill the feeling of meaning business. Caution must be exercised in making field contacts to avoid invading privacy. Generally these contacts can best be made from an economy and acceptability standpoint at or near entry points or at key portages where users are concentrated.

G. Obtain continued and improved outfitter cooperation. These commercial enterprises are dependent primarily on these publicly-owned areas for a livelihood. Potentially, they represent one of the best means of reaching a high percentage of the users. The use and sale of burnable plastic containers for food items normally packed in bottles or cans will reduce the amount of nonburnable refuse taken into remote areas. Licensing of outfitters may be desirable to help provide the needed control.

H. Failing at all other means, enforcement serves as a last resort. Some people are willing to learn only the hard way. Littering commonly constitutes violation of both State law and Federal regulation. Local authority cooperation is almost indispensable. Publicity from convictions provides the greatest return from law enforcement.

A specific effort must be made to develop sound cases. This involves field contact normally at a campsite just as the party is leaving. A pre-occupancy check of the particular campsite will verify that any litter is not from a previous party.

I. The handling of human waste in remote areas which lack an economical power source can be effected in some circumstances through prudent placement of seepage pit latrines. In some areas of low to moderate use the cat method of individually burying human waste may be best.

Some campsites which will not properly accommodate a latrine may be closed. Ultimately, improved means of handling sewage must be determined. Research in this area is needed.

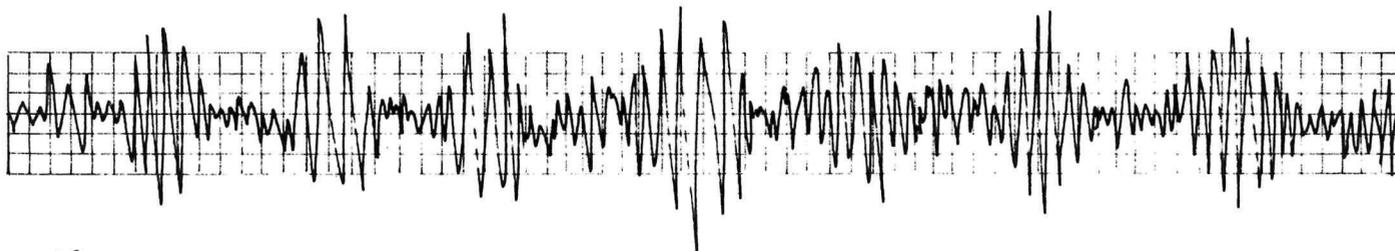
Short of direct limitation on entry increasing use of remote areas for recreation is inevitable. Costs of cleanup and sanitation are also rising rapidly. The resulting problems of management are formidable, but progress is being made.

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1. A 1,029,000 acre land and water unit of the National Wilderness Preservation System in the Superior National Forest, Minnesota.
 2. Agencies are: Ontario Department of Lands and Forests, and Forest Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture.
 3. Most used entry points and travel routes were saturated with checkers on a heavy-use weekend.
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FREEDOM FROM "SOUND"

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Noise used to be pretty much a localized phenomenon, a neighborhood nuisance perhaps, but not a city-wide or national affliction. Now we seem to be crossing over a threshold; generalized noise such as that coming from the interstate truck route or the flight path of jet planes commands increasing public attention. This has been emphasized recently by the experience some of us have had already with the sonic boom, once styled by the Air Force as "The sound of freedom." Within a decade sonic booms may become a common daily occurrence.

According to a group of scientists who reported on sonic booms to the Secretary of the Interior last year (Noise and the Sonic Boom in Relation to Man), "Each boom would be perceived by its hearers as equivalent in annoyance to the noise of a large truck traveling at sixty miles per hour at a distance of about thirty feet." The group went on to say that the number of supersonic transport plane (SST's) expected sometime after 1975 "would subject between 20 and 40 million Americans under a path 12 1/2 miles on either side of the expected flight tracks to five to fifty booms per day ... an additional 35 to 65 million people within 12 1/2 to 25 miles of the flight path would be subjected to one to fifty booms per day of somewhat lower intensity, and 13 to 25 million more would experience one to four high intensity booms."

The economics of the SST hinges in large part on whether SST flights are confined to transocean flights or are permitted to operate over land. If only overwater flights are

allowed for the United States this would mean flights to other continents from coastal airports plus domestic overwater flights between airports on the same coast—for example, between New York and Miami. This limitation would cut by more than half the estimated number of SST's that would be placed in operation, with attendant implications for the cost of the planes. Should domestic transcontinental flights be permitted, most people living in the long rectangle bounded by Boston, Washington, Los Angeles, and San Francisco would be under the sonic boom carpets except for those living within 150 miles of the airports.

A truly major social decision will have to be made during the next few years on whether the government and private program for a fleet of SST's should go forward. Noise is only one consideration in this decision. On the one side are those who argue for faster air transportation, maintenance of American technical superiority in the airplane industry, improvement of the U.S. balance of payments through large sales of SST's abroad rather than purchase of foreign-built SST's, and national prestige as a whole. On the other side are those who believe that the extra few hours of time saved are not worth it, that the billions, that would have to go into the achievement of a fleet of SST's could better be spent in other ways, both public and private, that the possible crisscrossing of the country with sonic boom carpets would cause important psychological and aesthetic damage and degrade the whole quality of life in the country.

We do not yet know the full consequences of repeated exposure to sonic booms. Tests made in Southern California and Oklahoma City, as well as in France, although incomplete and of uncertain validity, indicate that about 30 percent of the people questioned would consider the noise created by anticipated SST operations to be "intolerable" or "unacceptable;" another 50 percent would find it "objectionable."

The hazards anticipated from repeated exposure to sonic booms and other kinds of noise are subtle and altogether unnerving. They stem not only from the physiological and psychological effects of noise, but also from the accompanying vibrations. Taken together, these can range all the way from destroying sleep, impairing hearing, and endangering a surgeon's skill, to breaking thin-skinned bird eggs and destroying archeological treasures.

Many of these effects are associated with the generalized noise to which we already are increasingly exposed. Persons repeatedly subjected to high noise levels—for example, pneumatic riveters or those working in boiler shops—eventually suffer from impaired hearing. Sudden shock noises can be psychologically upsetting. Local politicians in virtually all metropolitan areas report that they receive more complaints from people disturbed by noise than from people disturbed by any other kind of environmental pollution.

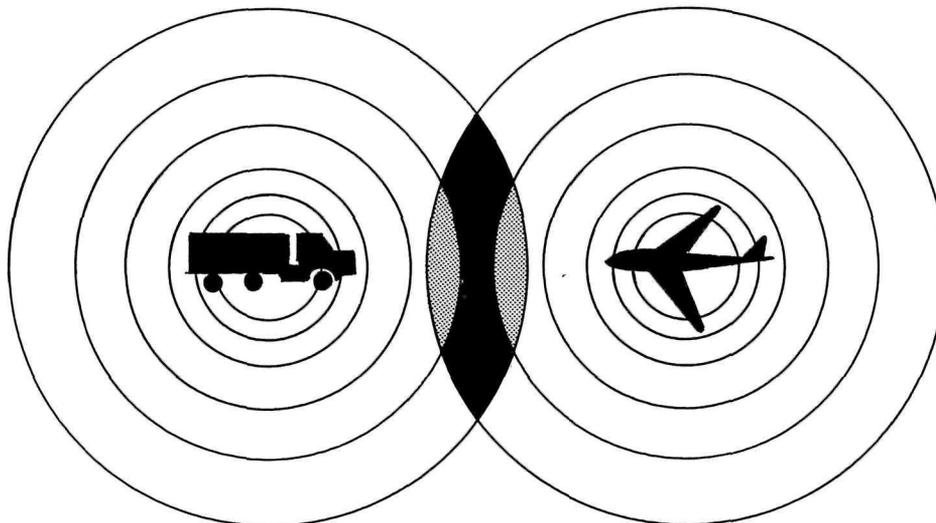
The first major decision we face concerns the SST, but responses to other forms of "noise pollution" are already occurring. During 1968, several bills were introduced into Congress to establish noise standards, encourage research, offer grants and technical aid, or otherwise assist in reducing the hazard of noise. And, in addition to the Interior report on the sonic boom, another report dealing with the growing problem of noise pollution was published. Prepared under the direction of the Federal Council for Science and Technology, Noise—Sound Without Value was released by the President in November. A Citizens' League against the sonic boom has been organized.

Manufacturers, under pressure from public opinion and

guided by laws establishing controls, undoubtedly will continue a vigorous search to find ways of suppressing noise or designing around it. Many local governments have anti-noise ordinances, but these are concerned primarily with localized and conventional kinds of noise; it remains largely for the future to see whether metropolitan areas can get together on ordinances to deal with more generalized noise. Many believe that the constitutional basis for dealing with the problem legally will prove inadequate; that the police powers in the interests of health, safety, and general welfare may not be specific enough where damage is of physiological or aesthetic character.

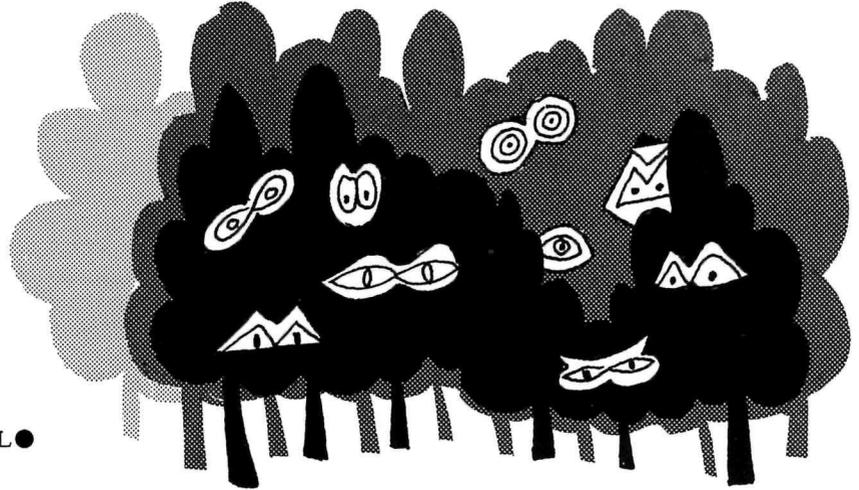
If the approach now being pursued in dealing with water and air pollution should be followed (i.e., Federal laws requiring states to set standards which are then applied and policed at the local level), one would expect a large share of the cost to be borne by the Federal government in the form of loans, grants, and technical aid to those jurisdictions participating in the program. The more generalized the noise—as with the sonic boom—the more necessary it seems that the approach should be a national one.

A group of bio-engineering experts at the Carnegie Mellon University, with the aid of a grant from Resources for the Future, is tackling the noise phenomenon in its modern setting. The problem is viewed as one of systems analysis, in which alternative program objectives are stated in terms of intensities and other characteristics of noise, and then a variety of control measures are considered in order to determine the least costly ways of achieving particular noise level objectives. The variety and kinds of noises, the geographic areas that are logical to consider in connection with each type of noise, the difficulties of allocating the benefits of noise reduction, and the costs of noise to industries, groups of people, and individuals pose exceedingly complicated problems. It is quite likely that wholly new laws and institutions will have to be devised to put into effect the most efficient control programs, once these have been determined.



Daniel Boone is Dead

By DAVID LOWENTHAL ●



"Open space is like virginity," the general manager for state parks in New York City recently remarked. "Once lost, it can never be regained." But this is not entirely true of either. Only a nonvirgin can produce more virgins, and sanitary fill is a prime source of city open space, if only because the settling of decayed matter precludes building for some time. Yesterday's dump is tomorrow's park, or, to paraphrase Wallace Stegner, a man's home is his castle, but his litter belongs to everybody.

Landscape is often seen as a commentary on the human condition. And as moral metaphors, landscapes are as American as Niagara Falls and redwoods, though not so durable. To New England Puritans the primeval forest was the locus of evil, terror, and witchcraft. But in the nineteenth century, trees left the devil's domain for a higher place, and what with Arbor Day, Longfellow, Joyce Kilmer, and Smokey the Bear it is a wonder they are ever chopped down.

Moral purpose animates the design of both private and public space. A half century ago, the Department of Agriculture advocated farmstead beautification on the ground that "a home and its surroundings must be attractive in order to be most uplifting to the family, visitors, and passers-by." Urban public parks were initially intended to restore the health, improve the character, and elevate the taste of the masses. Surrounded by urban blight and squalor, public parks were places deliberately set apart—oases not only of greenery but of the behavior thought appropriate to greenery. "Foul air prompts to vice, and oxygen to virtue," was a truism of park planning in the 1890's.

● David Lowenthal earned his B.S. degree in history from Harvard College in 1943, his M.A. degree in geography from the University of California in 1950, and his Ph.D. in history from the University of Wisconsin in 1953.

He started his professional career in 1945, as research analyst for the State Department, and then in 1952, moved to Vassar College as assistant professor and chairman with the Department of Geography.

Mr. Lowenthal was honorary research fellow with the University College London from 1962 to 1963, and was visiting professor with the Department of Geography at both the University of Washington and Clark University and with the Department of Political Science at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

He has served as research associate with the American Geographical Society since 1956, with Columbia University Seminars Associate since 1957, and on the editorial advisory board for the International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences since 1964.

He was research professor with the Department of Landscape Architecture at Harvard University from 1966 until 1968.

Mr. Lowenthal is recipient of the Fulbright Research Fellowship, the Herfurth Award, John Simon Guggenheim Foundation Fellow, and research grants from the Rockefeller Foundation, the Institute of Race Relations (London), and Resources for the Future, Inc.

Both open space and public opinion still reflect this point of view. Parks scarcely affect urban environment; they often seem pallid, woebegone substitutes for the country, rather than integral aspects of the city scene. The Secretary of Agriculture urges Americans to exchange the "rabbit warrens of the big cities for the fresh air, clean water, and space of the small towns." The latest agriculture department yearbook insists that "Man needs nature; . . . animals which are forced to live under crowded conditions develop many of the antisocial traits that fill the crime pages of big city newspapers." The Department of the Interior endorses a Congressman's advice to get "beyond brick and mortar, away from the sound of cities . . . over the hills to God's own country . . . where health and happiness take root . . . where Nature quickens physical, mental and spiritual guidance."

Such pieties are regularly reiterated, but seldom documented. Some feel that evidence is unnecessary. Open space preservation "should require no defense," asserts the Open Space Action Committee. Others take refuge in the ineffable: "If the rat and the sparrow can learn to live for endless generations in the city, why cannot man?" asks Dr. Roger Revelle. Scientists are unable to give us answers, he admits, "but the prophets and poets can."

Every conference on open space "ends up waving the green flag and we salute the Sequoia," a conservation educator complains. "Having saluted the Sequoia all my life, could we not now have a good reason?" When asked whether there are psychological and biological needs for natural experience, he confessed ignorance: "I don't even know whether the question is meaningful." Meaningful or not, the Department of Agriculture still entreats Americans "to create an outdoor environment that meets the high standards of living within most of our homes," because "the outdoors, too, is our home."

Is the outdoors in fact "our home," or is it viewed, like purity, as being a rare and precious commodity which to touch is to defile? In surveys I have made, people usually associate open space with arid lands in the Southwest, great expanses and distant horizons, sweeping plains and empty deserts. Cleanliness and beauty and freedom predominate, but these places are devoid of human activity. In short, they are meant for reverence, not for recreation; play would pollute them. And so, by analogy, wilderness lovers feel that use desecrates the wild. They urge its preservation as an ideal, all the more precious because rarely, if ever, experienced. "We must ask even those who love the wilderness the most," says a prominent conservationist, "to touch it but seldom, and lightly."

The outdoor activities of wilderness lovers reflect these ideals. Let me sketch a few traits of the dedicated outdoorsman, in order to point up the implications of his behavior for recreation and the landscape.

1. The outdoorsman observes nature mainly to count and classify.

Birds are watched to be listed; mountains are climbed to be checked off on tally sheets; hikers view with one another in terms of miles per day and pounds per pack; the Appalachian Trail is walked from end to end as an elite achievement. This is no parody of outdoor interests; such matters are the staple of conversation on many outings.

2. The outdoorsman is there to improve himself.

Climbs, hikes, and canoe trips are learning experiences, and instruction is continuous. Sitting around the campfire in the evening, swapping tall tales? Not a bit of it. After the tents are up, supper over, and the gear stowed away, come

lessons in knot tying, fiber glassing, life preserving, and equipment buying, or educational films on the finer points of whatever the group has just done or will do next.

3. The outdoorsman is organized.

In the name of safety everything takes place in groups; teamwork is enforced on gentle trails as on the steepest mountains. Being alone and getting lost were the height of wilderness experience for nineteenth-century visitors. Thus the painter Thomas Cole in the Catskills: "I was lost. . . . I felt a wild and vivid pleasure. . . . I shouted, sang, whistled, for the very horror of the thing." This is no longer fashionable. Recently I was exhorted to spare no effort in the design of a new edition of a New York area hiking guide "to prevent even one boy scout from getting lost or caught in the woods after dark."

The outdoorsman enjoys discipline whether he is dishing it out or taking it. It is customary for a group leader to berate a novice for some minor failure or infraction of the rules, and for the latter to accept it meekly; back home such a display of authority would be bitterly resented.

4. The outdoorsman is a good citizen.

He is eager to be useful and cooperative, takes up the minimum space at campgrounds, is careful not to interfere with other campers, and leaves his site as tidy as a grave. Most other Americans still think of nature, in H. L. Mencken's phrase, "as a place to throw beer cans on Sunday." But such atavism is a source of embarrassment to the serious outdoorsman.

5. The outdoorsman is a masochist.

His prize recollections involve being attacked by mosquitoes and black flies, drenched by downpours or by falling into rivers, frozen by icy winds or snows, and semi-crippled by extreme exhaustion. Straining muscles and fevered temples are admired as products of "clean work! clean sweat!" but as one devotee confesses (or boasts), "few but the hiker will understand this reverence for exertion." A canoeist put it more baldly, describing portaging as "quite simple: just equal parts of masochism and brute force." And although paddling a heavily loaded canoe "is not exactly the same thing as being a galley slave, it does afford some insight into what that life was like." Thoroughgoing outdoorsmen even make a fetish of hunger. We are enjoined to emulate Thoreau, who "boiled a handful of rock tripe . . . for more than an hour," and happily announced that "it produced a black puff . . . not positively disagreeable to the palate."

Discomforts are praiseworthy because they promote intimacy with nature; they also dissuade the tender and unconverted from putting in an appearance. Those who avoid discomfort are dismissed with derision or contempt. Neither age nor condition is an adequate excuse for refusing to suffer. When one outdoorsman noted for his ability to take a beating finally, in his sixties, bought a VW camper, his former cronies shook their heads over this mark of weakness, and the rumor went around that the poor man had slipped so far from the true path as to spend an occasional night in a motel.

Outdoorsmen who endure allow themselves only the most meager comforts and rewards. Novice climbers at the Appalachian Mountain Club winter training school are enticed to the summit by the promise of a lemon and a bite of "glorp" — a pressed bar of raisins, nuts, cereal, and chocolate. The shivering canoeist scathed by a river mishap is surreptitiously offered the smallest nip of whiskey to warm him.

I do not mean to traduce the experience or impugn the motives of the outdoorsman. His ascetic traits notwithstanding, he must still be viewed as a recreation seeker, in the sense of Marion Clawson's definition of "recreation" as activity undertaken because one wants to do it. Nevertheless, his quest for purity and virtue in the outdoors is sharply at odds with the recreation demands and behavior of the great majority.

The general public views the outdoorsman as commendable, but seldom worth emulating. "The urge to 'get back to nature' is an important factor in the lives of increasing numbers of people," the U.S. Forest Service claims, but its picture of what people do is sharply at variance with this statement. Most campers today are in a hurry; they have a lot to see and a schedule to meet. Equipment and facilities are increasingly luxurious. People with mobile trailers want electrical and water hook-ups rather than fireplaces and tables; they insist on hot and cold running water, showers, flush toilets, and laundry facilities. Indeed the Forest Service concludes, "visitors seem to be increasingly 'soft.' They don't venture far from their cars. Life in camp, in terms of creature comfort, is not much different from that at home. . . . Even hunters are tending to use motels and restaurants as a base of operations instead of the traditional hunting camp." People may like a taste of the outdoors, but they usually do not want to live in it, however briefly. Their campsites often look as unlike the outdoors as possible.

Above all, most Americans are gregarious. Solitude and silent communion with the great outdoors are the last things the average camper seeks. "My notion of camping," writes Faith McNulty, "was that we'd . . . manfully make our little home in the wilderness, enjoying the slightly scary pleasures of solitude and independence." But finding no remote spots, they "camped where Americans are supposed to camp" — in state and national parks. "These camps are about as sylvan as Central Park. . . . The whole place was as busy and as merry as the zoo on Sunday. . . . When I mentioned the idea of solitary camping to any of our campmates, they looked puzzled or dismayed. 'You mean you want to camp where there's nobody around?' a woman in Zion Park, Utah, asked, in horror. 'Why I'd be scared simply stiff!'"

The traffic jams at popular national parks are deplored by nature lovers, but the ordinary tourist welcomes the presence of his fellows as a cheery reminder that he is not alone in the wilderness. At the Grand Canyon not one visitor in a hundred ventures below the canyon rim. Few leave well-worn paths. In Yosemite Valley, Fourth-of-July campers are estimated at more than eight thousand per square mile: "The damp night air, heavy with a pall of eye-watering smoke, is cut by the blare of transistor radios, the clatter of pots and pans, the roar of a motorcycle, and the squeals of teenagers." Except for the trailers and tents "this might be any city after dark."

But this is essentially how people like parks. Indeed, it is close to what was anticipated by the proponents of our first national park. When N. P. Langford admired Yellowstone Lake in 1870, he predicted it would soon "be adorned with villas and the ornament of civilized life. . . . The march of civil improvement will reclaim this delightful solitude, and garnish it with all the attractions of cultivated taste and refinement."

Daniel Boone is reputed to have felt crowded when he saw the smoke from another cabin. Daniel Boone is dead. Most modern campers do not object to pitching their tents a few feet apart; a campground is said to be full only when you have to use the other fellow's tent pegs. Recreation specialists have conscious or unconscious standards of use intensity which most folk are willing, even happy, to exceed.

After Labor Day, when most campers leave Yosemite, the rest huddle together to maintain a comfortable feeling of density.

Most Americans enjoy nature not to "get away from it all" in the wilderness, but to relax in familiar surroundings. The laundromat at Mesa Verde National Park made a lady from Kansas "feel right at home, they even have my favorite detergent." Modern camping is "the definitive means of getting close to nature . . . without coming to grips with it," according to Gilbert Millstein. "Nobody chews pemmican or gnaws on edible roots and only a handful of eccentrics . . . invite their souls on a bed of boughs." The campers at Groton State Forest, Vermont, all had portable refrigerators and were given stacks of firewood (from logs cut outside the forest). Millstein concluded that their pioneering drive was "a return to the soil — in the fashion . . . of Marie-Antoinette pushing sheep around with a gilded crook."

Not even proficient campers eagerly embrace all the rigors of the wilderness. Those interviewed at Glacier National Park and Quetico Park-Superior National Forest expressed pleasure in being able to cope with primitive surroundings, but their conception of "wilderness" was certainly not Aldo Leopold's. They all wanted to preserve primeval nature, but four out of five also asked for more campsites and amenities. They saw no inconsistency in wanting both. For most of them, Gordon Bultena and Marvin Taves found, "wilderness subsumes the existence of picnic tables, wells, toilets, washrooms, and the like."

The luxuries of camping are easy to lampoon. "Every time I unpack the folding chromium barbecue pit and the dehydrated soup mix, out there under the stars, I say to myself, 'Gil, boy, this is something you can't escape: it's in your blood.'" All-out primitivism holds little appeal for most Americans. They identify with Huck Finn, who carried as much equipment as possible: a frying pan, a coffeepot, tin cups, a knife, fishhooks, and a gun; his raft was made not of logs, but of cut lumber. Hunters in the North Woods may like to identify with hardy eighteenth-century trappers, but bush airlines, light-weight equipment, packaged foods, and bottled gas make modern camping in the far north luxurious. Comfort, sporting operators assert, enhances enjoyment of the wilderness.

"As you grow older," observes a camper, "you learn to tolerate the comforts." Yet discomfort retains a certain cachet. One couple, tired of wet wood, burned pans, and canned rations, realized that they were not pioneers and were pleased about "being honest enough to admit this." They decided to doff their hair shirts and dined in restaurants each evening, but then had to endure the contemptuous disapproval of campers who took nature more seriously. It might not be much of a challenge to survive on packaged food, but a camper ought at least to cook it.

Today a modicum of effort suffices to derive virtue from nature. A redemptive outdoor experience demands no sacrifice of comfort, no great exertion of muscle; it is a voyage of the mind, a journey through forests that call less for the woodsman's lore than for the impresario's talents. The outdoor church at Table Rock Lake, in the Ozarks, features a biblical *son et lumiere* entitled "The Shepherd of the Hills." On summer evenings in a California national forest campers sit around a simulated log fire listening to nature lore, watching color movies, and singing old-time ballads. After the performance, visitors join in the symbolic ritual of dousing the campfire, while rangers turn the valve that cuts off the gas. No embers smolder to cheer the camper's slumber. Tamed nature has played its passive role, and the modern Prospero returns home refreshed if not exactly reborn.

Every year, however, more and more Americans come back to the outdoors converted to the wilderness mystique. From hedonists and heedless despoilers they become serious-minded amateur ecologists, alive to the risks of pollution, angered by the Corps of Engineers, sworn enemies of the public utilities and lumber companies. And herein lurk new perils to the landscape. An elite minority today guards treasured wilderness against intensive recreational use by the unappreciative majority. But the enlightened masses will enormously multiply the pressure on recreational land. No longer content to crowd together in Yosemite and Yellowstone, they will fan out to all the wilder reaches of the country. Under such an onslaught, the wilderness is apt to disappear, to be supplanted by fenced preserves and artificial "nature" areas for esoteric outdoor studies.

Intensive use by dedicated outdoorsmen already threatens some areas. In countrysides that easily accommodate individual ramblers, fishermen, and hunters, hiking clubs may be anathema; organized recreation is apt to endanger or foreclose covenants with landowners allowing rights-of-way across private property. A dozen well-booted hikers as a body are more likely to disturb the vegetation and compact the soil of a trail than as many sauntering individual wayfarers. The organized group is also a visual, often an aural, outrage to the resident population, and gives the landscape an unwelcome impression of public ownership. The outdoorsman's environmental needs are thus both special and exclusive; coexistence with residential use is almost out of the question. Both his tastes and his impact on the land push him away from lived-in countryside.

It is well to recall that the virtues of the wild were formerly seen in quite another light. Americans used to enjoy the wilderness, if at all, mainly to imagine how much better it would look when the forests were replaced by fruitful fields and teeming towns. Not until the nineteenth century did James Fenimore Cooper and the Hudson River school of painters provide a true wilderness aesthetic. Even so, it was the association of wilderness with ruins that endeared it to many Americans. Dead trees were admired as analogues of European architectural relics, and ruined arches were placed up and down the Hudson to enhance the effect of nature.

The Catskills and Adirondacks were later aesthetically outclassed by western landscapes, more stupendous and more evocative of human associations. The stratified sedimentary and volcanic rock formations of the West moved visitors profoundly because they reminded them of ruins of great cities, castles, temples, forts, and other monuments of ancient civilization. "One could almost imagine," wrote the geologist Frederick V. Hayden after his Yellowstone expedition of 1871, "that the idea of the Gothic style of architecture had been caught from such carvings of Nature." These architectural qualities made Yellowstone famous and help to account for its tremendous popularity ever since.

It was such curiosities, more than the primeval wilderness, that inspired Congress to consecrate the first national park as a "pleasuring ground for the use and enjoyment of the people." The very word "park" suggests the role originally seen for places like Yellowstone and Yosemite. Both the private landscape parks of the eighteenth century and the urban public parks of the nineteenth century were consciously contrived as places for "congregated human life under glorious and necessarily artificial conditions." Park landscapers from "Capability" Brown and Humphry Repton to

Andrew Jackson Downing and Frederick Law Olmsted did not aim at imitating, much less preserving nature but at selecting from and improving on it. Unlike "natural" landscapes, parks were dominated by grassy lawns and groves of big trees freed of undergrowth and often contained ornamental structures and ruins.

Only within the past generation has our emphasis shifted from the tangible enjoyment of spectacular features, natural or artificial, to a more abstract appreciation of untouched wilderness. But if intensive use causes landscape maintenance problems at the Yellowstone and Yosemite campgrounds, visitor impact presents potentially graver hazards in such areas as Rocky Mountain National Park, or even the Everglades and Olympic. Far from "parklike" to begin with, these fragile ecosystems can hardly survive mass recreation; as Ray Dasmann has said, they may have been better off when nobody cared about them. The overcrowded wilderness, like the neglected urban park, is the fruit of distinctions increasingly drawn between wild and tame, natural and artificial, countryside and megalopolis.

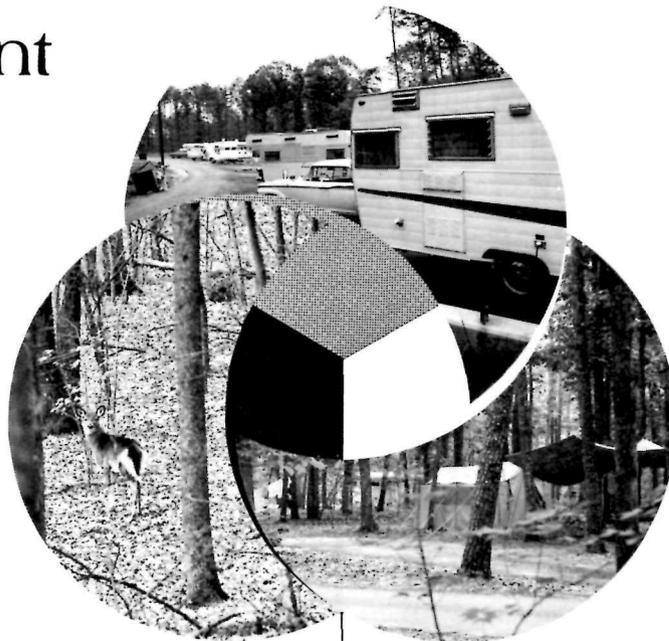
"Civics as an art," remarked the pioneer city planner Patrick Geddes, has to do "not with imagining an impossible no-place where all is well, but with making the most and the best of each and every place, and especially of the city in which we live." We cannot achieve this by hankering after some distant or exclusive paradise and abandoning all else as *beyond hope*. It is not only in the wilderness that we escape the tensions of civilized life; man-made environments can also be salubrious. To regard everything used as irretrievably spoiled is, moreover, to relegate the wilderness itself to a museum.

City dwellers have come to believe nature can be found only in unspoiled forests and distant mountains. But nature is in fact all around them—in their own backyards and streets, vacant lots and waterfronts. We need to foster an appreciation of nature in all its guises, humanized as well as wild, near as well as far, intimate as well as grand, transplanted as well as preserved.

The once-in-a-lifetime wilderness experience, the two-week crosscountry jaunt, the Sunday jog around the reservoir—these are too rare to sustain a real appreciation of nature, even when supplemented by sumptuous picture books of primeval areas. The aspects of the outdoors that people care most about are those with which they are familiar; to love at a distance is not enough.

Cooperation Between Government and Private Camp- ground Owners

Originally delivered at the annual convention of the National Campground Owners Association in Cleveland, Ohio on November 2, 1968.



by CURTIS G. FULLER ●

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He started in newspaper work in 1933, as assistant journalism at Northwestern in 1936, and as associate editor of the National Almanac and Year Book in 1937. From there, he went on to information director at State Wisconsin, associate editor of Better Roads Magazine, and assistant managing editor and later managing editor of Flying Magazine. In 1951, Mr. Fuller was editorial director of Publications Development Corporation and, in 1952, was appointed president of the Clark Publishing Company. He was editor of Advertising Publication, Inc. from 1953 to 1955, managing director of Modern Castings Magazine from 1955 to 1956, vice president of Greenleaf Publishing Company from 1956 to 1957, and has been president of Oak Ridge Atom Industries Sales Corporation since 1960.

In 1941, Mr. Fuller won the first place industrial marketing competition for conceiving and executing best business magazine promotion of the year. He is a member of Sigma Delta Chi, Theta Delta Chi, and Phi Kappa Phi.



It would be perfectly easy for me to rant and rave and label any kind of government competition as bad. But that is not only not my style but I don't fully agree with that idea. At one time all schools in this country were privately owned—and what an anguished wail must have gone up when public schools first began to compete with them. Roads were privately owned until it became apparent that this nation could not progress without publicly owned highways and waterways and later publicly subsidized railroads. There is ample precedent in this country for publicly owned everything and our own specific problem is to try to work out a suitable balance between public and private campground sectors that will serve all interests, including the camping public. We are not dealing with generalized immutable principles but with past history, with a tremendously fast-moving industry, with change at a pace we never imagined a few years ago.

My main purpose is to try to get started with some general guidelines acceptable to both government and private campground owners. We need to sit down together, to understand one another, to spell out our mutual problems and gripes, our goals and to work out solutions. My job here will include spelling out some of these gripes.

I am not speaking only of the Federal Government. Problems of understanding and cooperation exist at state, county and municipal levels as well and in fact may be more omnipresent and more difficult at local than at national levels.

So much for the framework of my approach.

Until this year campground statistics on a national basis were nonexistent. Fortunately my own company—the Woodall Publishing Company—began the compilation of such nationwide statistics this year. We propose to continue to gather them annually, based upon the personal inspections of private campgrounds by our own representatives and upon data gathered annually by mail from public campground sources.

In future years these figures will give us trend information. But for now they can only tell us where we stand today.

Probably none of you will be too surprised to learn that in 1967 privately owned parks and campgrounds were clearly more important in serving campers than were publicly owned parks and campgrounds.

For the year 1967, Woodall's recorded 15,302 parks and campgrounds meeting minimum standards which accepted campers and recreational vehicles in this United States. In 1967 they contained 444,424 campsites—close to half a million.

Of these 15,302 campgrounds, 9,591, or nearly 63 percent were privately owned and 5,711 or 37 percent were owned by various branches of the Federal, state and local governments.

In terms of total campsites, 267,424 or about 60 percent were privately owned and 177,000 or 40 percent were government owned. We have these figures broken down for each state in the union in case any of you desires more details later on.

Our studies found 1,129 swimming pools in private campgrounds and only 97 in public campgrounds. We also found 1,716 recreation halls in private campgrounds and only four in public campgrounds.

In such statistics alone, we see areas where the private sector has an enormous advantage over public campgrounds and where probably the future lies. Probably the best future for privately owned campgrounds is right here—in the offering of luxury services to luxury recreational vehicles operated by luxury-minded campers.

What is going on today in the camping industry is far away from the days when campers really lived in tents, cooked over open fires, and obtained privacy behind the nearest bush. But to a large extent we are still governed by the philosophy of older days.

For the development of public campgrounds was preceded by a philosophy and to a large extent we have inherited this philosophy. In many ways it is an anachronism but as I shall point out later it is affecting the entire relationship between government campgrounds and privately owned campgrounds.

In the original Yellowstone legislation, Congress decreed that the Yellowstone country is "reserved and withdrawn. . . dedicated and set apart as a public park or pleasuring grounds for the benefit and enjoyment of the people." It is to be managed ". . . for . . . preservation, from injury or spoilation . . . (and retained) in (its) natural condition."

Leases to be granted at such places as would require the erection of buildings for the accommodation of visitors.

The act of June 4, 1906, further extended the Secretary's authority to enter into leases for the transaction of business in Yellowstone.

The act establishing the National Park Service states that the Secretary of the Interior "may also grant privileges, leases, and permits for the use of land for the accommodation of visitors in various parks, monuments, or other reservations."

More recently a compilation of administrative policies for recreation areas of the National Park System dated February, 1968, states as follows:

"Insofar as practicable, campgrounds, including group camps, necessary within an area should be developed and operated by private enterprise under contract with the Service."

So here we see that from the earliest days two principles were set forth: The first was that the public parks were to be available for the enjoyment of all the people, and second

that if buildings were necessary for the accommodation of visitors they were to be built and leased to private operators. And furthermore that today the National Park System's policy, "insofar as practicable" should be to operate campgrounds by concession to private enterprise.

To say that this policy is late in being implemented is an understatement. At present only two campgrounds of the National Park Service are being operated on a concession basis—that at Crater Lake, Oregon, with 278 campsites in three areas, and that at Cinnamon Bay, Virgin Islands, with 47 campsites. Both contracts were initiated only in 1968. No reports on success are yet available.

So that you may understand the extent of the problem, let me give you a few more statistics.

I tallied the 220 Class A campgrounds in the National Park System according to their recent report, "Camping in the National Park System" and found 23,623 Class A campsites. These are the kind of campsites, I should say, which represent competition with privately owned campgrounds. The Class B campsites are much more primitive. And so we have two campgrounds out of 220, and 325 campsites out of 23,623 which the Department has so far seen fit to lease to private concessioners.

Now as you probably know, the National Park Service does not charge for camping. Like most other Federal land managing agencies it uses the entrance fee option rather than user fees. All a camper needs is the Golden Eagle Passport to obtain unlimited camping privileges. During 1965 and 1966 the Service charged user fees in only one campground area—Isle Royale National Park, Michigan. During 1966 the Tennessee Valley Authority had its two campgrounds in the new Land-between-the-Lakes Demonstration Area on a user fee only basis.

The Forest Service had 130 campgrounds or picnic grounds where only user fees were charged and 188 campgrounds where both an entrance and user fee were charged. Most of the Forest Service user-fee-only campgrounds and picnic areas were developed for group outings or where special services were required. At the 58 areas not developed for group use a standard daily fee of \$1 was charged.

Selection of fees is at the discretion of each Federal land managing agency and ranges between \$1 and \$3 per night for camping and trailer sites.

On a basis of fees charged, therefore, or lack of them, it would appear that most Federally owned campgrounds are highly competitive with private enterprise.

In order to understand better what was going on in other public sectors we mailed out a two-page questionnaire to state park directors asking about some of their relevant practices. To date we have replies from 38 of the states.

The questionnaire was designed to find out what the states are presently doing and what their long term policies seem to be.

We tried to get some estimate of the relative sophistication of state campsites. We found that 23 states have campsites with some electrical hookups and 15 do not. Nineteen of those with electrical hookups gave us the number—they total 21,376, but more than half are in one state—Michigan.

Among the same 38 states 16 had campsites with water hookups and 22 did not. They totalled only 5,862, however.

An even smaller number had campsites with sewer hookups—10 states as against 28 that did not. They totalled only 1,877. However, as you know, some of them are going to trucks which pump out holding tanks rather than using direct hookups.

Now I don't want to bore you with statistics but I am trying to show some trends here—we wanted to find out what the state plans were for continuing the more sophisticated kinds

of campsite development. We found that 25 of the 38 were planning to increase their electrical hookups; 15 were planning to increase the number of water hookups and 11 were planning to increase their sewer hookups.

These are not large numbers as yet, but contrasted with the National Park Service which has no hookups it appears that the states offer a greater competitive threat than does the Federal Government—at least in most locations.

We asked the states whether they made surveys in advance of building new campgrounds or expanding existing campgrounds to find out whether there really was a need and 27 of the 38 assured us that they did. However, the criteria of need turned out to be a very flexible matter.

Usually the criteria was the presence of overcrowding in their own campgrounds—not whether private campgrounds would be able to take the load off their busy periods. With a few exceptions, such as Minnesota, the states do not survey the private owners to find out.

We asked them whether they were overcrowded and all but three reported that they were during certain months of the year and especially on weekends. Sixteen mentioned specifically that they were seasonally overcrowded and another 15 that they were overcrowded on weekends. Now it doesn't take a genius to figure out that if you are using your own facilities as the sole base for determining need you will come up with a very different answer than if you include alternate possibilities.

Fifteen states were able to give us specific estimates on the number of camper days of overcrowding. They totalled 1,381,215 camper days—an average of almost 100,000 per state. Michigan reported turning away 228,000 campers, Oregon 256,000.

NPS Photo



Overflow camping in picnic parking area at Greenbelt Park.

So then we asked them what about overflow—do you accept overflow campers? I am sorry to report that 32 states do put campers in overflow areas and that only six of our 38 do not. This brings us up to the very serious matter that I will get into a bit later on—and that is the standards under which so many Federal, state, and local campgrounds are operating. While private campground operators are required to meet strict regulations of water, sewerage, spaces, electrical hookups and sanitary facilities generally, government campgrounds are not bound by such regulations.

Every one of our states did tell us, however, that in case their own parks are overcrowded they do refer their overflow to private campgrounds—one of them specifying a 30-mile radius.

We found no uniformity on state camping fees charged—in fact practices are so diverse that it's impossible to tabulate them. They range from FREE up to \$3.75 per night. Most of them fall between \$1.50 and \$2.00. Sometimes there are extra charges of perhaps 25¢ per person, or 25¢ per hookup.

In one case they are \$1.50 per adult. Three are free. Four are between \$1.00 and \$1.50. But most are between \$1.50 and \$2.00 per night.

We questioned them about limitations on length of stay and found that 24 states have a 14-day limit and four have a 15-day limit while several vary from this norm. Oregon has a 7-day limit in any 10-day period; South Carolina and Virginia have 7-days limits; South Dakota has a limit of 5 continuous days in any one campground. Wisconsin is the most liberal with a 21-day limit.

In addition to referring overflows, we tried to find other areas where the states were helping private campgrounds. Twenty-nine told us they were providing some planning help, and 19 were giving zoning counsel. We found that only 10 states of our 38 had privately operated concessions in their state parks—and none gave any financial assistance to private campground operators.

We asked the states whether they accepted advance registrations for campgrounds and found that six of them did. They are Florida, Hawaii, New Jersey, North Carolina for a minimum stay of seven days, Texas and Vermont.

And finally, we asked them what they thought their main problems were. Twenty-one said shortage of money. Six said that lack of suitable land for campgrounds was a big problem. Others listed labor shortages, too much demand for space, and short seasons. Wisconsin mentioned the high cost of developing campsites—in that state they figure \$1400 per site for development which includes electricity but not water or sewer.

Now, in contrast, let's take a look at the private sector.

Private campground owners who responded to a second survey feel that competition is one of their major problems. We asked 100 owners of highly rated campgrounds how they felt about things. We have replies from 53. We did not try to put words in their mouths. The questions we asked were:

First, do you feel that you are under competition from Federal, state or local campgrounds? Secondly, do you feel that your park or campground suffers as a result of other Federal, state or local policies or laws—and if so, how? Third, what steps would you recommend to remedy these problems if they exist at all?

In general, 70 percent of our respondents feel that they are under competition from the government and some of them are hurting pretty badly. Some, but not all, of those who feel that government campgrounds are not competitive are, of course, situated in areas where there aren't any government campgrounds to compete. On the other hand, a few campground owners feel definitely that they are helped by being near a government park or campground and they don't fear competition because they are offering superior services or catering to a superior clientele—or they are actually benefiting from park overflows.

One of the spontaneous complaints from those who feel most strongly about economic competition is that they not only are forced to compete with the government, but are taxed to support that competition.

Ten percent of our replies specifically complained about the Golden Eagle Pass. For the rest, however, we find that more campground owners are incensed about state and local government competition than about Federal competition—36 percent mentioned the former—only 26 percent mentioned the Federal Government. As I read the complaints, they seem to make sense. In fact, most of the campground owners state that they don't mind the competition if only it would be fair competition. But they feel that four government policies are distinctly unfair:

- First, Golden Eagle stamps allow campers to stay free for all practical purposes in government campgrounds once the camper has paid his \$7 annual fee.
- Second, private owners feel that other government camping fees are too low and that they could compete successfully if they didn't have to meet this unfair hazard.
- Third, they see road signs up and down all the highways directing campers to this or that government park or campground and they are prevented from advertising their own campgrounds along the highways.
- Fourth, private campground owners are required to meet stiff sanitary and site standards while government agencies are excused from meeting these same standards.

There are other complaints, of course: Government money is used to advertise government campgrounds in competition with private campgrounds; even where government fees are low, many campgrounds are so understaffed that not even these are collected; overnight parking bans are not enforced in prohibited areas; and so on.

Here are a few excerpts from letters I have received which place the complaints in the campground owners own words:

"Wheeling has two city parks of over 1,000 acres. These beautiful parks have everything except camping. Last year we opened our campground. I know it will take a few years to really get going and a huge amount of money. Wheeling says sometime in the future they will have camping. I worry what will happen to my investment if they do."—W. Va.

"I have a Federal, "Golden Eagle" sticker campground ten miles north of my campground. I have a Black Hills National Forest campground five miles east and another one two miles south. All three campgrounds are being up-graded to modern comfort stations, hot water showers, hard surface campground streets and hard surface parking pads. It would require approximately one half-million dollar investment to compete with these public facilities. I have over \$150,000 invested in my campground at the present time."—S. Dak.

"Our business was established in mid-June, 1967, at which time Fort Stevens had 119 modern hookups. The first summer our park flourished with the overflow from the state park. However, by the beginning of the 1968 season, said state park had doubled its capacity with plans for further expansion. I am not opposed to competition, yet we have unquestionably suffered to a degree due to the vast expansion of state and county facilities which are in direct competition to the private park operators."—Oreg.

"The city has three parks. It offers one latrine and access to the river in one, two picnic tables in another and two flush toilets in the third. People are allowed to stay free of charge. They have plans for installing water and sewage hookups, which would give me serious competition."—Minn.

"Federal, state and local campgrounds were in existence prior to our opening in 1966 and it is they who pioneered in the camping business as it exists today. We do not feel we are in direct competition with these campgrounds otherwise we would not have attempted the project in the first place. Our campground was founded in the premise that (our customers) would pay for a camping location that was neat, clean, with a recreation area, modern plumbing, fresh water, electricity in abundance and well-regulated."—Ind.

"We feel that Federal, state and local parks hurt our

business by draining tourists away. They tend to go where it is free or exceedingly cheap, and yet avail themselves of our facilities for only a night or two because of our laundry room, hot showers, boat rentals, etc."—Idaho

"I don't feel that Federal, state or local campgrounds presently offer any competition to us. I think that in the early days such campgrounds were a help to us by assuring a national network of inexpensive stopping places for travelers. However, I have talked with park owners in other parks of Florida and in other states who definitely feel the competition of publicly owned facilities."—Fla.

"The city allows free parking of trailers and campers at their marina a couple of blocks from our trailer park to help their marina boat rental business and store and restaurant. The police do not enforce the 'no parking overnight' regulations and as a result we have spaces sitting empty which should be filled."—Calif.

"The county campgrounds furnish the following facilities: rest rooms; graveled parking; electrical hookups; water; some shelters; tables at each site; recreational facilities; pay telephone; cold drinks, etc. The fee for all of this is just 50 cents per night. We cannot pay taxes, insurance and utilities at this price."—Ariz.

"We compete directly and nightly with a fine state park just four miles away. They have helped us more than hurt us. We get almost all their overflow. Our rates are up to \$2.00 a night higher, but our rate of occupancy is twice what theirs is. They're in the woods. We're on the ocean. This, essentially, is the difference."—Fla.

"New private owners are not allowed in areas that have zoned camping out. State parks are allowed and can start a park without any hearings. Old established businesses must have a hearing for an addition even though they may have a better location in relation to the town proper. These hearings can be a hardship to the private owner."—Mass.

"I would like the state parks to have to meet the same requirements that private camps have to; such as having an attendant on duty 24 hours a day to register all campers. Then they should charge a competitive fee. Our neighboring town is proposing to spend \$141,000 to start a state park with overnight camping facilities. Can you tell me how a poor individual can compete against that amount of money."—Minn.

"State health laws to which we must conform are not followed to the letter by the state in its own development, yet we must comply . . . Overcrowding in state parks creates a slum-like condition. Yet we must conform to a square footage of space per campsite . . . State health laws should be updated regularly and state parks should have to comply the same as all others."—New York

"I would recommend that the private campgrounds be allowed to advertise on highway right-of-ways same as the state, and that the Corps of Engineers require a charge the same as the state campgrounds."—Fla.

"My only gripe about Federal, state and local policies is the privilege they reserve to themselves of placing roadside notices on all approaches to highways, 'steering' travelers into the publicly owned parks. Such signs are placed in areas where zoning won't allow the erection of privately

paid-for billboards. This, to my mind, is really taking unfair advantage."—Fla.

"Perhaps the state could cooperate with limited advertising—our local radio blares out the state park's facilities and locations day after day in season. Why could not private campgrounds have uniform signs courtesy of the state so people could make a choice?"—Mich.

"State parks are full to overflowing. However, they will not allow us to leave brochures at the gate to let people know there is another place nearby in which to park. Also they may advertise along state highways and throughways and we cannot. On any highways where state parks are allowed to advertise their camping areas, private campgrounds should be allowed to advertise theirs also."—N.Y.

It has been conceded that everyone has a God-given right to pitch a tent in designated wilderness areas. Ira Lykes, ex-chief of the Division of Park Practice, has pointed out to me that camping in the areas which the National Park Service administers has been accepted as a matter of inherent right from the beginning. I am sure that most of us would concede this.

But with the development of recreational vehicle camping, we are dealing with an entirely different problem. It is a problem with which the Federal Government has really not begun to cope, as witnessed by the fact that the National Park Service does not have campsites with full hookups. And it is a problem that the state and local governments have barely touched as far as developing complete facilities are concerned. The statistics I have recently given you indicate that except for a few states, the problem simply is not being dealt with. It is the exact time to give serious thought to developing policy guidelines that will help to steer us through the years ahead.

When we do so, however, we have to realize that we are really dealing with a mythology. Part of the myth, shared by many campers and many government officials, is that everyone is entitled to free and untrammelled use of our great wilderness reserves. There is the myth of "God's Country." There is the myth of the therapy for our souls by communing with nature. And there is the principle that everyone should have free access to the wilderness which will work these miracles for us.

But when we examine the myth as far as recreational vehicle camping is concerned, it is quite plain we are dealing with another situation altogether. We are really not talking about raw nature, primitive living and "God's Country." We are talking about sophisticated self-contained camping vehicles, which are increasing at the rate of 350,000 units annually. We are talking not about a tent beside a mountain stream, but about a trailer with a gas furnace controlled by a thermostat, hot and cold running water, a gas refrigerator, a gas stove with oven, and three-way lighting. We are talking about a campground with water and electrical hookups and if not sewers, a powered honey wagon. We are talking about neatly piled firewood, carefully controlled fireplace areas, recreational buildings, swimming pools, organized activities, and luxury facilities generally. And I submit that that is an entirely different matter than the right to pitch a tent in a designated wilderness area. I question that it is the government's responsibility to provide such luxury facilities at all, and particularly on a subsidized basis.

It is on this basis, with this premise, that I outline suggested guidelines that might be followed or at least seriously discussed as private and public campground interests grope

for a solution to our conflicts. Please understand that they are only thrown at you to get the discussion started. But out of some of these ideas, I hope that we may develop workable policies that will answer our present conflicts. First to some general principles:

1. The primary role of private campgrounds should be the development of facilities to serve the increasing demands of luxury recreational vehicles. It should not be the role of government to serve such vehicles with luxury facilities that they and their occupants demand. I am talking here about the hookups, sanitary and water facilities, and eventually the recreation halls, swimming pools and the like which are in the immediate future. There is still time to do this without altering U.S. policy, or the policies of most states.

2. The corollary of this proposition is that facilities at public campgrounds, except in special cases, should remain primitive or nearly so, with a minimum of capital structures for recreational activities and the minimum sanitary facilities to meet health requirements.

3. New government campgrounds should not compete with private campgrounds where private capital is available for campground development.

4. As a corollary to this, however, it seems to me that priorities are important—it is crucial to consider who was there first. I personally feel that if a private operator knowingly comes in to do battle with an already established public campground, he's got to take his chances. On the other hand, the extension of public facilities when private facilities are already ample and available ought to be discontinued.

5. The capital requirements of modern campgrounds are substantial. When the investment is made by a private operator, he has to set his rates to liquidate his costs. Government ought to be required to work on the same basis. Government charges ought to be such as to permit all luxury installation to be self-liquidating. Now I realize that we are involved with a public service factor here. I believe that the government ought to own park areas and that the charges for our enjoyment of the parks ought to be kept at a minimum. But I am not talking about an enjoyment of the parks which is an end in itself, but about luxury camping in the parks which is a means to this end. Now my thinking in this is to some extent guided by Ira Lykes although he might not agree with the conclusion to which I adapt his reasoning. He says that "camping is one means by which the purposes of the public parks is fulfilled." But he also points out that the purpose of the parks is not to provide camping but to provide association with nature or history or some other purpose. Camping is only the means, not the end.

6. In addition to asking the governments to set charges sufficient to make luxury installations self-liquidating, I feel that they should charge rates comparable with those found necessary by the privately owned campground industry to survive. They shouldn't undercut private campgrounds.

7. From the inception of Federal park policy, Congress provided that hotels in the parks should be leased to concessioners. It is my contention that the kind of luxury facilities provided in our best private campgrounds really represents an extension of the hotel concept. Therefore, if it should finally develop that the government parks do install such luxury facilities, then they should be operated under

leases and by a similar concession system. Certainly when the Yellowstone Act was passed, no one expected camping would require higher facilities than an occasional pump and privy. I am sure that if Congress could have visualized what we now have, it would have adopted similar concessioner policies for camping. Ira Lykes points out that such concession policies would accomplish four important objectives: First, they would provide a source of revenue for the government. Second, such policies would free the Park Service's field staff from playing nursemaid to campers and make them available for duties associated with truly fulfilling the purposes of the parks. Third, they would answer the complaint that the government is giving away those services which tax-paying enterprises are trying to sell. Fourth, these policies would answer the demands for full utilities at the site.

8. Public campgrounds should not allow campers in overflow areas until it has been determined that all private campgrounds within a reasonable distance of the public facility are themselves full and unable to accept more campers. I note that the National Park Service says it is already phasing out overflow areas.

9. We certainly have to end the double standard of our treating government operations more favorably than private operations. What kind of utter nonsense is it to demand stricter plumbing, sanitary, water and health requirements generally of private campgrounds than of public campgrounds? What is the purpose of health requirements anyway? Private vs. public is really not the main issue here. The health of travelers is at stake. But this kind of thing is an example of the arrogance of many public officials who are insulated from the forces of public opinion in the same way that big business used to be.

10. Another example of the double standard is the matter of highway signs. Public and private campgrounds ought to be on an equal basis here. I think that Iowa has set the pace in this regard, with standardized camping signs at appropriate highway exits. These signs should be standardized nationwide here as in many European countries.

11. Time limits should be placed on the length of stay that campers are allowed in public parks. The most popular limit in the state parks, as I have shown, is two weeks. I think we should ask ourselves whether this is too long a time period. Does two weeks make camping an end in itself? How long does it take a camper to fulfill his purpose in being in the park? What is this "essential period?" What is your opinion?

12. We must consider the difficult problem of what happens when space does not permit the development or extension of campgrounds within the parks. Or that even when space is available the park roads themselves are so jammed they can't handle the choke of recreational vehicle traffic. Here it is proposed—and again I am indebted to Ira Lykes—that family camping activity might better be

left to private enterprise outside the park—probably at or near the entrances to the parks. This would be especially true when the park itself offered some popular attraction that drew campers in such numbers that their very presence might help destroy the attraction for which they came. We have to face the fact that this is actually happening in many of our parks. If we did this, however, such approaches and campgrounds would have to be carefully zoned and protected. The government service itself could acquire suitable land near the park entrance and lease it to concessioners. Or the government service could work out careful rural zoning regulations with the local government. Tour bus arrangements might even be instituted from such campgrounds to the park, especially where the parks cover huge areas and there are vast distances between points in the park.

13. The approach exemplified by the Golden Eagle Pass should be abandoned. The Golden Eagle Pass is great for admission to the Federal parks. It should not apply toward campground fees. The government is giving massive promotion to the \$7.00 Golden Eagle sticker to promote the use of recreation facilities at bargain prices. After traffic builds up as a result of this promotion and these low prices, the government then can—and it will—point to the heavy use of its facilities and say that "we must build additional new facilities to meet this demand."

14. Let me get technical for a moment. According to the Land and Water Conservation Fund Act, each state must prepare a recreation plan and submit it to the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation if the state requests a grant of funds for recreation facilities, the need for these facilities must be justified. Ray Agnew tells me that he has examined recreation plans for Pennsylvania and New Jersey and that these do not justify the need for additional campsites. No account is taken of the private campsites and of the ability of the private sector to meet the demand. No surveys are made of total campsites and percentage of occupancy. This agrees with the results of our own survey which I have already reported to you. The various governments must consult with and consider private campground operators.

15. A tremendous area for cooperation, especially on the state level, is in publicity and advertising. A number of states print and distribute lists of both public and private campgrounds. Some, such as Michigan, list only the state campgrounds and seem to regard themselves as a business directly competitive with private owners. But such cooperation should exist at all available levels—at toll booths and highway exits, at information centers, in press and radio contacts, in the printing of brochures, at sport and vacation shows.

16. And last what I have had to say indicates, I think, that private campground owners have got to sit down with officials at all levels of government. You can't solve the problems or discuss the suggested solutions I have offered here without the mechanism of strong national and state organizations.

