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Recreation Working Group,
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FOREWORD

Most of us would probably endorse a one-year moratorium on meetings, conferences, conventions, workshops, and symposia. In fact, this planning committee was so reluctant to assemble another conference that it spent nearly 2 years identifying the needs and developing the program. When the rate of change is as great as it has been in outdoor recreation, conferences such as this one become essential. This is an exceptional conference because it focuses on that change, documents it, and attempts to determine what its future implications may be.

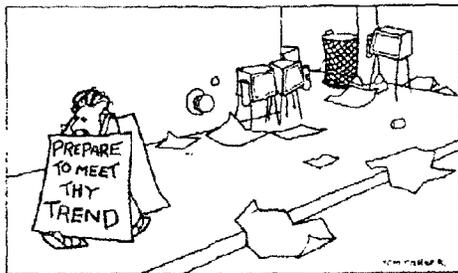
Ten years ago, a Forest Recreation Symposium was held at Syracuse, N.Y., for the purpose of "consolidating and synthesizing past research efforts in outdoor recreation." Even a hasty comparison of these proceedings with those from Syracuse suggests the enormous volume of research that has occurred over these 10 years. Equally apparent is the change in the kinds of research information that are available today: from the static descriptive and prescriptive studies of the late 1960's to examinations of trends, shifts, and changes in the outdoor recreation economy. Effective planning requires this dynamic view of outdoor recreation. Because planning, whether for corporate investment or public development, is a long-range activity, it needs information that goes beyond simple statements of "what is" into the realm of "what has been" and "what will be."

Statistical reporting is a critical function of government. Without this essential service, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to assess the state of the economy, the

quality of health care, or the adequacy of public education. Price indexes, business slumps, new construction, pollution levels, production facts, and employment figures pop out of Washington bureaus onto boardroom conference tables with almost biologic regularity. Agriculture, mining, housing, manufacturing, wholesale and retail trade, doctors, dentists, educators, butchers, bakers, and even high school guidance counselors have more federally-sponsored statistics to plan with than do the providers of America's outdoor recreation opportunities. We attempt to plan the future of the Nation's recreation resources in the absence of facts about the present level and rate of growth of private investment in leisure industries. We define policy on the basis of out-of-date data and ideas about public participation in recreation activities. And, we invest scarce research dollars in "problems" which may not exist, or might at least look different if we had adequate statistics with which to view them. This symposium will not correct the situation. It can only serve to heighten your present uneasiness over the quantity and quality of available trend data. But we hope it will instill an urgency within you to demand better, more current, and more comprehensive statistics on outdoor recreation in America.

Good planning has been described as a two-step process. "First you figure out what is inevitable. Then you find a way to take advantage of it." In assembling this collection of speakers and topics, we have provided you with the best available information on, if not the inevitable, at least that which is highly probable and highly improbable. Step 2 -- how you take advantage of that information -- is what recreation researchers will be monitoring in the years ahead.

WILBUR F. LaPAGE, Chairman
Program Committee



American Demographics, September 1979.
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THE 1980 NATIONAL
OUTDOOR RECREATION TRENDS SYMPOSIUM

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USDA Forest Service, Northeastern Forest Experiment Station
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Society of American Foresters, Recreation Working Group
University of New Hampshire, Recreation and Parks Program

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TRENDS IN ORGANIZATIONAL MEMBERSHIPS AND LOBBYING

William R. Burch¹

INTRODUCTION

People in the outdoor recreation business have long held certain inalienable and self-evident truths--recreation resources serve basic needs, the public needs to be professionally guided for "sound" recreational choice, nature is fundamentally good and all people can be trained to absorb that goodness and so on. Yet, of all these truisms, the most myopic is the faith that outdoor recreation is above politics.

Even the most casual observer of great American urban park systems can see much attention devoted to new facilities and very little to the dull business of maintaining old facilities and natural features. For the most part, Park Commissioners are political appointees and the most certain path for making a second ranked appointment powerful (Robert Moses is our guiding model here) is to build things. This has the advantage of awarding contracts to local businesses, of making local teamster and construction unions happy and ensuring something "concrete" to point to when constituents ask what you have done for them. The first principle of an effective outdoor recreation program is to build a constituency of powerful groups and/or to mobilize mass public opinion in support of recreation programs.

Trends in organizational memberships and lobbying efforts merely represent the barest tip of the underlying political realities. I will give most attention to these realities rather than the tip. We will consider the creation, allocation, diminishment, growth and exercise of social power as it influences outdoor recreation. For the most part we will be following theoretical clues rather than absolute, experimental proofs.

The reader who becomes queasy when the discussion turns to struggles between persons, groups and social classes for hegemony over others should be forewarned about our intentions. This paper is about that side of our political economy for which we go into the

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I am most grateful to Richard Mordt for his struggle to track down "unavailable" data and Joe Miller for his always sound guidance and advise.

woods and recreate so we may pretend that such political realities do not exist.

Since our interest is in trends as they affect the management and planning of outdoor recreation facilities one must assume that we are interested in forecasting the future rather than merely reporting on the past. Yet, the humble art of forecasting has no hope unless we develop the rudiments of a theory. We will build our theory in as painless a manner as possible, though it will be based upon a social science tradition which assumes that the contours of the past and the future are the result of the struggle by groups to gain differential access to the scarce resources of earth and society. In short, one consistent characteristic of our species is the continuing struggle to get ahead and stay ahead.

Consequently, we will ignore our species altruistic characteristics and the inherent goodness of outdoor recreation to concentrate upon the inherent conflicts of outdoor recreation. We will suggest that the transition from a work-directed to a consumption-directed political economy is creating new class alignments, of which the outdoor recreation area is a prime indicator of essential conflicts. Next, we will consider some general explanations of power distribution in the American political economy and suggest how it relates to our understanding of outdoor recreation politics. Next we will consider some population characteristics that will affect the influence of outdoor recreation. This will be followed by an examination of participation trends and expenditures. We will conclude with a look at the future.

THE POLITICAL STRUGGLE OF OUTDOOR RECREATION

The American outdoor recreation resource is the product of continuing and often violent political struggles. It is a struggle as much for the hearts and minds of the masses as it is a struggle for landscapes. This is because outdoor recreation represents a fundamental turnaround from favored myths of early capitalist political economies which assumed that the lot of man was an unending, bleak and eternal scarcity which could only be partially held in check by an equally bleak, eternal and unending work. In contrast, the myth of the modern consumer society promises unending, ever mounting consumption which demands only the minimal amount

of work. Let us be clear. This is a fundamental shift, whose origins are as recent as the 1950's and as old as the fabled South Pacific Islands. The conclusions of this change are just now being worked out in terms of greater laxity regarding sexual identities, gambling, pornography, drugs and significant increases in "adult" leisure villages, golden age clubs, environmental quality laws, open space preservation and emerging professions of recreation management, tourism and so forth.

In short, the decade of the 80's should complete the transition from a world dominated by a homogenous small town, rural work ethic to one dominated by a diverse, urbanized, and sensate ethic. Reflect upon the early forest reserve acts in the late 1800's which were to remove from the vagaries of the market, resources such as forests and watersheds. Then early in the century there was the demand to extract utility from these reserves. Pinchot wanted to have professional foresters make the forests more efficient. Steve Mather wanted to have the National Parks serve a higher moral purpose in educating the masses. The moral tone of our wildlands was given its strongest boost in the 1930's CCC activities which were to do good for both resources and unemployed youths. Yet, by the 1950's and the Mission 66 era, a new fun morality began to enter the wildlands. New devices like water skis, downhill skiing, trail bikes and later snowmobiles and off-road vehicles (ORV) emphasized the search for disequilibrium and its mechanical ease in attainment. While camping was converted from roughing it to all the mobile comforts of home.

Outdoor recreation has been at the center of conservation conflicts because many of the issues have stemmed from two opposed perceptions--(1) the esthetic and moral appreciation of wildland experiences such as Theodore Roosevelt and Justice William O. Douglas and (2) materialist interest in exploitation such as the campaign by Walter Hickel and other "concerned" Alaskans to not "lock up" their resources. This political struggle has had at least five cycles. The first phase was where old wealth esthetes such as Gifford Pinchot and Theodore Roosevelt confronted the new corporate and regional minded persons regarding commodity exploitation. The result was the removal of many significant resource decisions from the realm of the market to the realm of professional decision. The second phase was the consolidation of resource rationalization in the 1930's which also saw leisure (free play) become recreation (organized play) under the guidance of professionals who now organized and rationalized what we once did on our own. In the 1950's, the third phase emphasized the "fun" of wildlands. Technological and financial innovation encouraged a

shift from self denial and complicated skills to comfort and ease of performance. This period's rapid growth in the technological means of fun provides for a significant break between the masses and the rising new intelligencia. The masses continue to emphasize fun, comfort and diversion while the legislative acts pushed by the intelligencia stress a return to the stern morality of nature.

The message of the fourth phase in the late 1960's and early 70's was that resources are scarce, and work, pain and sacrifice are the natural condition of mankind. Therefore, we must regulate our behavior to match such a "reality." This most recent cycle represents a new struggle. Where prior struggles were between commodity exploiters and the esthetes and recreationists, the new struggle is between the recreationists and the esthetes. One cannot stress too heavily that the legislative gains of the environmental decade (1964-1974) were largely restrictive whether the establishment of wilderness areas and the rationing of their use or air and water quality standards or the National Environmental Policy Act. We should recognize that the amount of public land removed from commodity and mechanical recreation use has grown from around 9 million acres in 1964 to over 15 million acres in 1979. Figure 1 illustrates the growth of environmental regulations.

The 1980's are opening the fifth phase where these cavalier struggles will become more intense as the attainment of the standard American dream becomes more and more difficult. In an earlier period when lines were being drawn on relatively blank maps, there were advantages for large corporations to encourage "locking up" and therefore minimizing competition from "cheap" government resources, while recreationists and esthetes had enough room to ignore their fundamental incompatibilities. Today the issues are not "out there" but right in the backyard, and general principles tend to get ignored once the specifics are self evident. "Stopping the loggers" can be very satisfying until one realizes that wilderness designation means that one can no longer chase about on a snowmobile or ORV. Protecting the California desert is absolutely essential until one realizes that a recreation emphasis soon leads to preservation actions such that ORV access declines from nearly 100 percent to less than ten percent of the area.

Contributing to the tension between different visions of nature--utility and esthetics--are the large corporations that have grown up to serve the leisure markets. The high technology backpacking, biking, canoeing and other esthetic sports combine with "high quality" leisure villages and "ecologically" sound ski resorts to serve well educated professionals and their families. While major manufacturing

Table 1.--Comparison of enforcement actions and categories

-----Water Enforcement-----	Dec. 1970- Nov. 1972	Dec. 1972- Nov. 1974	Dec. 1974- Nov. 1975
-----Water Enforcement-----			
Federal Water Pollution Control Act ^a			
Civil suits referred by EPA(10 [g] or 309)	4	22	123 ^b
All 311 oil spill referrals	30	995	2,260
180-day notices	175	-	-
Conferences	33	-	-
Abatement commitment letters	300	-	-
Criminal actions(Sect. 309)	-	15	- ^b
Administrative orders(Sect. 309)	-	455	829
NPDES referrals to states(Sect. 309)	-	6	-
Minor spills(Sect. 308)	-	7	-
NPDES information orders(Sect. 308)	-	5	-
Total FWPCA	542	1,505	-
Refuse Act			
Civil(EPA initiated)	89	15	-
Criminal(EPA initiated)	157	85	-
Non-filters	86	-	-
Civil(DOJ initiated with EPA assist)	49	-	-
Criminal(DOJ initiated with EPA assist)	54	-	-
Total Refuse Act	435	100	-
Ocean Dumping Act	-	8	7 ^d
Total Water Enforcement	977	1,613	3,320 ^e
-----Air Enforcement-----			
All types for both stationary and mobile sources	28	440	1,477 ^f
-----Pesticides Enforcement-----			
Criminal cases	159	235	8
Civil cases	-	569	355
Recalls-formal only	-	64	81
Stop sale,use,removal,and seizures	23 ^b	160	214
Citations	-	576	-
Warning notices	-	1,206	1,001
Import detentions	-	198	189
Civil penalty warnings	-	7	57
Total Pesticides Enforcement	182	3,015	1,905
-----Total All Actions-----	1,187	5,068	6,702

^aThe FWPCA was amended in October 1972.

^bSeizures only.

^cCivil and criminal actions combined.

^dIncludes Refuse Act enforcement.

^eIncludes 101 notices of violation under Sect. 309.

^fIncludes 774 mobile sources.

and tourist centers combine to produce trail bikes, ORV's, snowmobiles and other mechanized diversions for their well-paid, highly skilled blue collar and business clientele. Consequently, some interesting rhetorical alliances are emerging. Boise-Cascade expresses its indignation at "elites" who would "lock up" wildlands from the enjoyment of ordinary ORV campers. While conservative members of the old wealth must hold their noses and join with some unwashed remnants of the now old, new left, as they seek to ban motorized access to nature and the backyards of their country estates.

create and are dependent upon a great variety of voluntary associations. Arnold Rose (1954) suggests that such associations are important elements of democratic systems. He identifies three major functions of such associations--(1) they distribute power over a wide range of social life; (2) they provide a sense of satisfaction with democratic processes; and (3) they are social mechanisms for continually instituting social change.

Figure 1. New state laws and regulations, through July 1976

Up to and including	General	air	water	solid waste	land use	radiation	pesticides	noise	hazardous substances
-----new laws-----									
1969	2	5	3	12	1	13	13	0	0
1970	2	3	3	3	0	1	4	0	1
1971	5	6	13	13	4	4	9	1	2
1972	8	9	11	11	6	2	9	4	2
1973	7	4	15	10	4	1	9	2	1
1974	16	9	11	16	9	0	4	2	0
1975	17	16	15	13	25	2	17	1	1
July 1976	5	1	5	5	7	3	6	1	0
-----new regulations-----									
1969	0	17	12	6	1	14	8	0	0
1970	1	4	4	3	2	3	3	0	0
1971	1	27	14	18	2	5	8	1	1
1972	2	68	22	18	6	13	9	3	0
1973	8	32	41	15	4	11	7	1	0
1974	1	49	51	20	10	4	9	2	5
1975	5	96	83	26	12	3	12	2	1
July 1976	0	45	13	5	1	5	3	0	2

SOME THEORETICAL ISSUES

Power in America is exerted in a variety of forms--a few very wealthy families, some powerful economic units such as the Fortune 500 corporations and large labor unions such as the Teamsters, large government bureaucracies such as HEW and so forth. Yet, these more visible elements of our political life

The following table indicates the large number and range of voluntary associations. Trade, business and commercial organizations furnish, by far, the largest number of such organizations and though the number has grown, they have a smaller proportion relative to other organizations. Cultural, health, educational, scientific and religious organizations had relatively high proportions of the total number of organizations in 1973.

Yet, when we look at membership rather than the sheer number of organizations the hierarchy of organizations changes. Church affiliated groups are by far the largest, with sports groups, labor unions and school groups such as PTAs being the next most popular. Of course, membership numbers do not measure effectiveness of action by an organization. In general, the most effective organizations are those most closely related to our culture's central acquisitive goals. Industrial and trade associations seek favorable protection and minimal regulation from the government. Labor unions seek protection and improvements in the wages and working conditions of their members. Professional associations seek to protect and increase their monopolization of particular esoteric skills. Minority and ethnic groups seek reform and enhancement of opportunities for their members. In one sense all of these groups are struggling over a larger share of reasonably finite resources of wealth. Consequently, their interest in outdoor recreation locales and environmental matters is merely a continuation of their basic struggles, though with a different setting.

Still, in spite of a large number of voluntary associations, some legislative and administrative victories, and considerable media attention, the basic issues raised by outdoor enthusiasts and environmentalists have low priority. Matters of war, energy, crime, economic growth, airports, highways, public health, housing investments and, occasionally, racial or student troubles continue to assume greater importance at those nodes where key social decisions are made.

Delbert Miller's (1970) study of the visible decision-makers in Megalopolis found that their interest in environmental problems was low. He reports that "6 percent of their

Table 2.--Selected national organizations, by type
(Covers nonprofit organizations of national scope)

Type	Number			Percent Distribution		
	1968	1970	1973	1968	1970	1973
Total	^a 10,299	^a 10,734	12,628	100.0	100.0	100.0
Trade, business, commercial	2,832	2,895	2,922	27.5	27.0	23.1
Agriculture	491	508	609	4.8	4.7	4.8
Governmental, public administration, military, legal	301	346	407	2.9	3.2	3.2
Scientific, engineering, technical	488	548	818	4.7	5.1	6.5
Educational	^b 1,286	^b 1,383	869	12.5	12.9	6.9
Cultural	(^b)	(^b)	1,197	(^b)	(^b)	9.5
Social welfare	389	475	753	3.8	4.4	6.0
Health, medical	791	830	1,090	7.7	7.7	8.6
Public affairs	446	498	792	4.3	4.6	6.3
Fraternal, foreign interest, nationality, ethnic	640	610	485	6.2	5.7	3.8
Religious	794	806	729	7.7	7.5	5.8
Veterans, hereditary, patriotic	197	198	219	1.9	1.8	1.7
Hobby, avocational	423	444	608	4.1	4.1	4.8
Athletic, sports	318	336	448	3.1	3.1	3.5
Labor unions	237	226	240	2.3	2.1	1.9
Chambers of Commerce ^c	126	110	109	1.2	1.0	.9
Greek letter societies	351	334	333	3.4	3.1	2.6
Other, not specified	189	187	---	1.8	1.7	---

^a Includes associations not shown separately.

^b Cultural included with educational.

^c National, binational, and international.

Table 3.--Membership in various groups and organizations

Type of group or organization	1974			1975		
	Total respond- ing (thous.)	Number of members	Percent of total	Total respond- ing (thous.)	Number of members	Percent of total
Fraternal groups	1,462	203	14	1,463	160	11
Service clubs	1,461	132	9	1,463	124	8
Veterans' groups	1,464	132	9	1,464	114	8
Political clubs	1,464	66	5	1,460	64	4
Labor unions	1,465	241	16	1,459	230	16
Sports groups	1,464	262	18	1,464	278	19
Youth groups	1,464	153	10	1,462	144	10
School service groups	1,462	259	18	1,461	206	14
Hobby or garden clubs	1,462	143	10	1,456	129	9
School fraternities or sororities	1,462	69	5	1,459	64	4
Nationality groups	1,462	52	4	1,454	37	3
Farm organizations	1,462	63	4	1,459	61	4
Literary, art, discussion or study groups	1,461	137	9	1,457	133	9
Professional or academic societies	1,462	193	13	1,461	174	12
Church-affiliated groups	1,475	621	42	1,465	588	40
Any other groups	1,451	151	10	1,450	126	9

interests are in air pollution, 3 percent in water pollution, 2 percent in solid wastes, and 4 percent in planning, zoning and preservation of open land--a total of 15 percent." Selznick (1966), Hardin (1967), Foss (1960a, 1960b), Cooley (1963) and others have demonstrated how, in the U.S., laws and agencies designed to protect and conserve ecosystems tend to become coopted by the relevant circles of power. The unintended consequence is that conservation law often tends to accelerate environmental deterioration while conservationists have not found their way into the interorganizational "web which depicts the structure of enduring community power." (Perrucci and Pilisuk, 1970:1044). This failure may reflect the peculiarities of power organization within the conservation community itself.

For example, parks, forests, wilderness areas, campgrounds, lakes, seashores and other physical locales are basic elements of the tourist industry. Yet, professional managers of these locales seldom recognize or accept that they are primarily in the people (tourist) serving business. Indeed, the real nature of the services these professionals provide is not unlike that provided by the Disney-type theme park professionals.

Part of the reason for seeing the connection between outdoor recreation services and other tourist services is that most professionals come from biologically oriented disciplines and are unwilling to leave the trees and see how they can encourage rather than restrict use of their facilities. Consequently, these keepers of our sacred groves often fail to note the connection between their careers and government responses to energy shortages. In the 1973 oil embargo crisis, the government declared that tourism was a "non-essential" industry. The Carter administration has sought to eliminate the U.S. Travel Service (which encourages many foreign tourists and their hard currency to visit our parks and wildlands), has major plans to curtail the recreational use of automobiles, pleasure boats and recreational vehicles.

One looks in vain for the park and forest managers who have protested this blow to their recreational clientele. Yet, even the casual observer can note that on weekends most autos have two or more people in them, while on weekdays they seldom contain more than one person in the bumper-to-bumper parade. Indeed, the highest, best, most conservative and efficient use of automobiles is likely to be as a device of outdoor recreation. And though the outdoor recreation professionals have not participated, the tourist industry has struggled to protect leisure-time travel. They are just now entering politics to demonstrate the importance and

social value of their industry. As they note (ASTA, 1980:39):

It has been said that the force of real events ultimately pushed an industry toward the right decisions, whatever the countervailing arguments for inaction may be. The events witnessed by the tourism industry in the past few years should have demonstrated that the time is more than ripe for a decision to put in place a strong travel industry educational program dedicated to the enlightenment of government officials and the general public, stressing the important beneficial role of tourism in our nation's economic and social structure. It is time to replace alarmed innocence with sophisticated realism. The tourism industry as a matter of self-preservation must develop a strong political constituency. (Underlining in original quote.)

It appears that the tourism industry is going to try and join the oil, chemical, auto, clothing, shoe and other industries in demonstrating the linkage between it's health and the survival of the nation. For the most part, outdoor recreation and nature conservation are intimately connected to the success of the tourism campaign. Therefore it may be of value to explore some ideas on the nature of our nation's political structure.

There have been two major theoretical perspectives in the study of social power--elitist and pluralist. Each has a distinctive methodology, tradition and ideological tinge. Elitists such as C. William Donhoff (1967), C.M. Mills (1956), Floyd Hunter (1959) and T.B. Bottomore (1964) have tended to use some version of the reputational method to discover the power behind the visible decision makers. Pluralists such as Arnold Rose (1967) or Robert Dahl (1958, 1961) tend to focus upon the relevant leaders concerned with a specific issue and find a diffuse shifting power structure which varies from issue to issue. Miller's (1970) study of decision making and power in megalopolis regarding environmental quality problems is more in this latter tradition.

John Walton (1966) has argued that there are not one or even two types of power structures but four--pyramidal, factional, coalitional, and amorphous. Perrucci and Pilisuk (1970) suggest that a better means for examining the power structure is through examining the interorganizational basis of power. They argue, "...no one person commands all the resources sufficient for influencing or intimidating others to see things his way. Persons who influence decision-making, and are thus called powerful (whether in one issue or across many issues), must therefore draw upon the resources of others as well as their own in order to exercise their power." (Perrucci and

Pilisuk, 1970:1042). They then formulate a theoretical statement about, "...a locus of enduring power to which both elitists and pluralists may subscribe; i.e., the resources relevant to the existence of power are dispersed and reside in the interorganizational connections that may be mobilized in specific situations, particularly dealing with allocation of scarce values." (Perrucci and Pilisuk 1970:1042-3). In their study of a small mid-western city, they find a power elite which is not interested or involved in every community decision. Yet, in major policy conflicts only this elite is able to mobilize the actual power, common interests, and social ties which assure an "outcome favorable to its interests."

Their discussion, as Walton's (1966) identification of four types of power structures, suggest that power in industrial societies is less a matter of individual characteristics than of group and community characteristics. Business, labor unions and government bureaucracies are more likely to assume and use a pyramidal form of power. They reflect an interest in mobilizing control over the scarce resources of social wealth. The factional pattern would be most characteristic of elected officials who are primarily interested in controlling the scarce resources of social power. While the amorphous pattern would be most characteristic of representatives from the world of art, intellect or the media of information where the primary contention is over the distribution of social deference. Coalitional patterns would emerge when one or more of these sectors are involved in a particular issue. I am, of course, aware of the degree of interdependence in these sectors, businessmen and politicians need one another as both need some validation or recognition from the realm of deference. It would seem that outdoor recreation and environmental affairs will most closely follow coalitional patterns.

Still, there is a need for some framework which permits us to note how coalitional patterns might develop and to identify the set of conditions under which certain patterns of power are relevant. The idea of social circles as suggested by Simmel (1955) and expanded by Kadushin (1966, 1968) and others seems a likely means for such examination. Kadushin (no date: 5-6) characterizes the social circle as a prototype of informal interaction systems which has three defining characteristics:

"1. Members of a circle are linked to each other not necessarily through face to face interaction, but may be linked through third parties.

2. The network exists because it fulfills some need of its members--because they share some common interest which may be political or cultural.

3. The circle is not formal. That is, there are a) no clear leaders although there

may be central figures; b) there are no clearly defined goals, though circles almost always have an implicit function...c) there are no definite rules which determine modes of interaction, though there are often customary relationships; and d) there are no distinct criteria of membership."

Kadushin (no date:6) then goes on to indicate how the social circle theory can be applied in the study of power and influence. In this study there are three formal questions involved:

"1. The degree to which elites form one or more circles;

2. The degree to which the circles have tight or loose internal connections;

3. The degree to which the various circles (if there are more than one) in various sectors such as science, business and politics, are linked together into a 'super-circle'."

Until recently (at least in the U.S.), the basic strategy of the conservation movement has existed within the frame of social circles. The interests of the movement have been devoted to issues of open space and natural esthetics. Such interests are somewhat akin to support of the arts, good government and other activities which serve to validate that the children of "new wealth" have "earned" deference for their taste and sensitivity. The issues of arts, aesthetics and parklands have seldom touched the deepest concerns of an expanding, semi-capitalist society. In the early stages of the movement, offending industrial groups were seldom power companies, railways, auto manufacturers and so forth, but tended to be relatively decentralized industries such as the lumber industry. Further, the socialization of land took place in sparsely settled and relatively impoverished colonial states--Oregon, Montana, Kenya and so forth. Consequently, it has been fairly easy to establish a National Park in the State of Washington but nearly impossible in the State of New York or Connecticut, though equally desirable tracts of open space are available in the latter two states. Thus the main thrust of the traditional, old-line conservation community has been the protection of sacred wildland spaces and wild animals.

Such issues are no longer central in the new ecological concern but touch the most sensitive and tradition-bound areas--procreation, capitalist organization, democratic federalism, economic growth and so forth. And these newer concerns confront a quite different system of organized power. Thus in the past, persons could chair large corporations whose pollution flowed unchecked, while they devoted their civic talents to Lincoln Centers, Metropolitan museums, national parks, zoological gardens and the Audubon Society. As noted earlier, it is difficult to imagine how these easy separations can continue when the crucial decisions are no longer "out

there."

In the past, outdoor recreation and environmental protection could be seen as something "nice" to do by public benefactors and relatively weak government agencies. They were given hunks of unwanted land and minimal budgets to manage them. Today the growth in acquisition is nearing completion with only the difficult, unending, increasingly expensive and politically unrewarding maintenance demands stretching into the future. As Table 4 indicates, the oldest park systems--in our cities--are spending the bulk of their money on maintenance, while the younger federal and state programs are likely to enter a similar expenditure pattern in the late 1980's. Consequently, outdoor recreation is no longer simply frosting but is an important part of the cake (see the table on per-capita state expenditures).

Table 4.--Federal government expenditures for outdoor recreation

	1971	1972	Est. 1973
Capital Expenditures, Total	\$228	\$290	\$289
Land Acquisition	134	161	117
Development & Other	94	129	172
Operation & Maintenance Expenditures, Total	220	273	284
Salaries & Wages	156	175	179
Other	64	98	105
Total Expenditures ^a	448	563	573

^aTable based on reports received from individual agencies administering recreation lands within each governmental jurisdiction. Data include only dollars primarily used for public outdoor recreation purposes. Federal data was reported by the National Park Service, Bureau of Land Management, Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife, Bureau of Reclamation, Forest Service, Corps of Engineers, and Tennessee Valley Authority. Federal land acquisition expenditures also include those of the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation for the Redwood National Park.

In an era of shrinking tax dollars and fixed levels of public land, close attention will be given to the trade-offs between non-game and game species, wilderness and ORVs, air quality standards and fuel economy. Outdoor recreation enters the politics that Robert Lekachman (1973:78) calls:

"a covert hunt for new privilege and government-created property, an avid search for franchises, airline routes, television channels, acreage allotments, tax advantages, ingenious subsidies, and

grazing privileges at concessionary rates. The pricing decisions of the major corporations which exercise substantial power over their market amount to still less supervised creations of new property in the shape of excess profit."

Table 5.--State government expenditures for outdoor recreation (in millions of dollars)

	1971	1972	Est. 1973
Capital Expenditures, Total	\$271	\$338	\$352
Land Acquisition	81	138	134
Development & Other	190	200	218
Operation & Maintenance Expenditures, Total	257	276	309
Salaries & Wages	172	191	212
Other	85	85	97
Total Expenditures ^a	528	614	661

^aTable based on reports received from individuals, agencies administering recreation lands within each governmental jurisdiction. Data includes only dollars primarily used for public outdoor recreation purposes. The inventory includes all State agencies. Data adjusted for nonreported values.

Table 6.--Local government expenditures for outdoor recreation (in millions of dollars)

	1971	1972	Est. 1973
Capital Expenditures, total	752	883	1,216
Land Acquisition	299	312	430
Development & Other	453	571	786
Operation & Maintenance Expenditures, total	1,000	1,108	1,239
Salaries & Wages	707	781	870
Other	293	327	369
Total Expenditures ^a	1,752	1,991	2,455

^aTable based on reports received from individual agencies administering recreation lands within each governmental jurisdiction. Data include only dollars primarily used for public outdoor recreation purposes. The inventory included all counties, cities with over 5,000 population, townships with greater than 25,000 population, park and recreation districts and regional councils. Cities with less than 5,000 population and townships with less than 25,000 were sampled and expanded to reflect the total universe. Both sampled and nonsampled data were adjusted for nonreported values.

Table 7.--Per capita expenditure on local parks and recreation, by state. Per capita amounts of selected items of state and local government finances: (Direct general expenditure)

1965-66		1975-76	
U.S. Average	6.05	U.S. Average	18.00
Median State	4.35	Median State	14.07
District of Columbia	19.37	Nevada	45.46
Hawaii	16.56	Hawaii	36.62
Nevada	15.44	District of Columbia	33.02
California	10.89	Maryland	32.60
North Dakota	10.19	Colorado	30.42
New York	9.17	California	29.40
Wisconsin	8.92	Minnesota	28.88
Florida	8.49	Washington	27.15
Illinois	8.41	Arizona	24.20
Minnesota	8.22	Florida	22.75
Maryland	7.46	New York	21.81
Washington	7.46	Illinois	21.58
Colorado	6.44	Wisconsin	20.14
New Jersey	6.26	Oregon	19.63
Michigan	5.94	New Jersey	19.58
Arizona	5.89	Michigan	18.87
Utah	5.76	Missouri	18.01
Connecticut	5.71	Utah	17.21
Missouri	5.65	Alaska	17.02
Oregon	5.37	Connecticut	16.85
South Dakota	5.32	Iowa	15.72
Georgia	5.08	Nebraska	14.90
Louisiana	4.80	Tennessee	14.45
Massachusetts	4.65	Alabama	14.27
Oklahoma	4.56	Oklahoma	14.15
Nebraska	4.35	Virginia	14.08
Texas	4.31	Louisiana	14.03
Pennsylvania	4.26	North Dakota	13.93
Iowa	4.23	Massachusetts	13.65
Ohio	4.23	Texas	13.41
Rhode Island	4.14	Pennsylvania	13.19
Indiana	3.50	New Mexico	13.06
Tennessee	3.43	Ohio	12.57
New Hampshire	3.36	Wyoming	11.40
Virginia	3.28	Montana	11.11
Kansas	3.26	Delaware	10.63
Alaska	3.23	South Dakota	10.60
Delaware	3.09	Kansas	10.42
Idaho	2.90	Georgia	9.71
Montana	2.86	North Carolina	9.71
Wyoming	2.71	Rhode Island	9.66
Alabama	2.60	Indiana	9.37
West Virginia	2.35	Idaho	9.06
New Mexico	2.15	Maine	8.46
Maine	1.89	West Virginia	7.34
North Carolina	1.80	New Hampshire	7.18
South Carolina	1.72	Vermont	6.68
Kentucky	1.54	South Carolina	6.63
Arkansas	1.45	Kentucky	5.92
Vermont	1.33	Arkansas	5.34
Mississippi	1.08	Mississippi	5.16

SPECULATING ON SOME TRENDS

The environmental and outdoor recreation organizations had their biggest membership booms in the 1965-1971 period. After that, as Denton Morrison (1980:8) observes, there was:

"...a slowed membership growth, steady-state, and in some instances, the reversal of the previous growth trends. There was much shaking out of the voluntary groups. Particularly groups organized independently at local and state levels and those that had most of their support base in the youngest part of the population (e.g., students) tended to falter in viability, to decline, and in some cases to disappear. The larger, older, nationally based groups and a very few of the newer national groups (e.g., Friends of the Earth, Environmental Action) managed to consolidate gains and substantially to maintain memberships, even though their rapid growth of membership around Earth Day leveled visibly. A few such groups (e.g., Zero Population Growth) experienced dramatic drops in chapters and in membership and then, apparently, achieved a somewhat fragile stability at a much more modest level."

An example of these changes can be seen in comparing the patterns of growth represented by the Wilderness Society and the Audubon Society. The Wilderness Society is a single issue, purist ideological group without major land holdings. The Audubon Society is a multi-issue organization with a middle of the road or "balanced" ideology group with substantial land holdings. The Wilderness Society is experiencing a stabilization and decline in membership growth at around 60,000 while the Audubon Society continues to expand its position in the middle of the outdoor recreation-environmental protection spectrum far beyond the 400,000 mark.

Our analysis of trends in subscriptions to journals of various outdoor recreation interests indicates there is a fairly rapid peaking of subscriptions within a relatively short time period. Then there is considerable stabilization with some mainline journals continuing while a number tend to die off after the initial flush of the activity. Motorcycle and recreational vehicle journals seemed to have especially high proliferation rates and equally high mortality rates. One suspects these journals follow the natural law of industrial concentration. This is where an innovation is introduced, such as the automobile or snowmobile, whose relatively open and large market encourages a large number of manufacturers; then the initial period of proliferation is

followed by high rates of firm mortality, judicious coalitions and saturation of the market until only one or two major manufacturers remain.

There seems an equal trend in which at first a few enthusiasts actively participate in a new sport. At this stage, there is a good deal of esoteric love and high accident rates. Then there is the formation of organizations to ensure access to necessary resources and to police the behavior and image of participants. This then evolves to the stage where organized and later televised competition emerges with the active involvement, guidance and funding of manufacturers. Consequently hot rodders, dirt bikers and snowmobilers gradually find themselves in the position of spectators and persons who are expected to model themselves on the performance of manufactured heroes and heroines. These patterns are not as frequently found in the less mechanized outdoor activities. Partly this is because many of these activities do not as easily lend themselves to spectacle. However, mountain climbing, cross country skiing, sailing and river running suggest a similar pattern.

The mingling of those who have an economic stake in the perpetuation, increase and security of a locale for an outdoor activity with those who are hard core activists (and consumers) is an association not often found in other commercial transactions of our society. However, the use of technology to make an activity easier and therefore expand its use more widely among the population seems to be a characteristic of all industrial activities. The conversion of participatory activities into spectator activities to increase consumption is well known among those with a financial stake in commercial sport. Yet, in all cases the prosletizing for a particular activity soon reaches a point of saturation and stability. There are only so many consumers for high technology backpacks, exotic sports cars, fast dirt bikes and fans of hockey or indoor soccer. Consequently, outdoor organizations and activities tend to assume a pyramidal structure as discussed by Walton. Some organizations emerge as the dominant ones in a particular activity and some activities assume dominance over others.

Bevins and Wilcox's (1979) comparison of camping trends and sales trends in tents and RV shipments emphasizes the new domination of the RV. Their trend data (Figure 2) further illustrate the "hierarchy" of certain outdoor activities over others (see Figure 3 and Table 8). It is essential to note the basic stability in the ranking of preferred activities and the generally low appeal of most outdoor activities to most Americans.

Table 8.--Recreation days per participant for activities included in three nationwide recreation surveys: 1960, 1965, and 1972.

Activity	1960-61 ORRRC		1965 BOR		1972 BOR	
	Days/participant	Rank	Days/participant	Rank	Days/participant	Rank
	--summer unless noted--		-----full year-----		-----summer-----	
Bicycling	19.4	1	20.6	1	12.9	1
Playing outdoor sports or games	12.3	3	17.3	2	9.8	2
Walking for pleasure	13.1 (Winter)	2	15.2	4	9.1	3
Swimming	11.5	4	14.3	5	9.1	3
Bird watching			15.9	3	6.7	9
Driving for pleasure	12.7	5	12.1	6	7.5	7
Fishing	6.8	7	7.6	7	7.3	8
Camping	5.7	8	6.9	8	8.9	5
Horseback riding	7.5	6	6.8	9	6.1	11
Sightseeing	5.2	12	6.6	10	6.1	11
Water skiing	5.1	14	6.6	10	6.5	10
Other boating	5.5	10	6.5	12	5.5	14
Nature walks	5.2 (Fall)	12	5.9	14	5.6	13
Sailing	3.0	17	6.2	13	8.4	6
Attending outdoor sports events	5.5 (Fall)	10	5.8	15	5.1	17
Hunting	5.6 (Fall)	9			4.3	18
Hiking	4.4	15	5.1	17	5.3	16
Picnicking	4.0	16	5.6	16	5.5	14
Canoeing	3.0	17	4.5	18	4.1	19
Attending outdoor concerts, plays, etc.	2.4	19	3.0	19	2.6	20

Note: Rank comparison is more meaningful than actual days because length of seasons used differ among surveys.

Figure 2.--Camping participation related to tent sales and recreation vehicle shipments (Bevins and Wilcox, 1972).

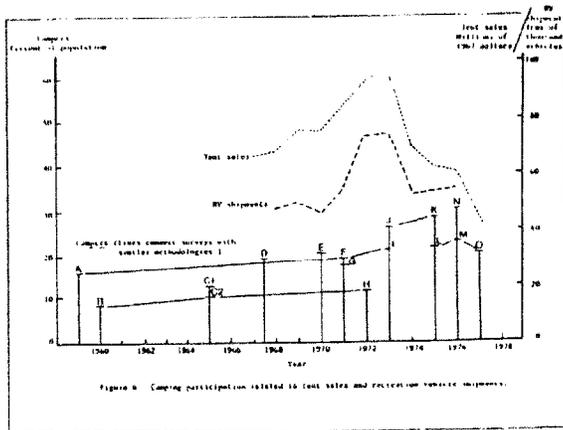
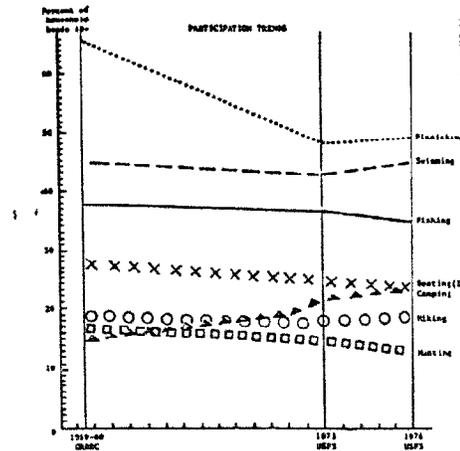


Figure 3.--Participation rates of household heads in seven popular activities, 1959-60; 1973; and 1978. (Bevins and Wilcox, 1979).



The stable ranking of activities suggests something of the potential for trends in outdoor recreation organization memberships and lobbying. An organization that can combine several activity interests and link these to economic forces is more likely to grow than a single interest, non-economic organization. And of the overall potential for outdoor recreation membership growth is stabilizing and/or being challenged by other interests then lobbying will be increased. Our remaining time will be spent looking at those social forces influencing membership and lobbying trends.

THE FUTURE

It would seem that two forces which would affect potential growth of outdoor organizations are population growth and disposable income. Figure 4 illustrates that population growth is consistently declining. If present patterns of reproductive behavior continue it would seem that there will be fewer and fewer persons available as potential members for outdoor activities and organizations. This seems especially so when we consider Figure 5 on personal consumption expenditure since 1946. The high economic growth of the post second world war period has permitted a gradual rise in recreation expenditures. However, the post OPEC period suggests that higher and higher proportions of disposable income will go for food, housing and transportation with recreation, education and personal business showing sharp declines. So the combination of declining population and disposable income would suggest a marked slowdown in interest and financial ability to participate.

Figure 4.--Rate of change in population and labor force, by sex: 1950-55 to 1985-90.

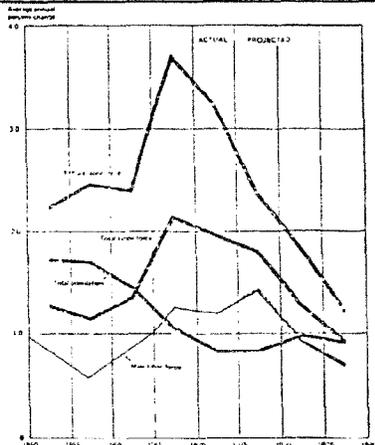
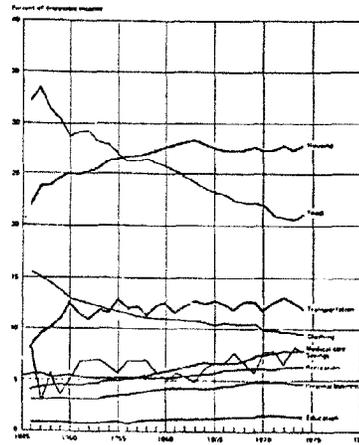


Figure 5.--Personal consumption expenditures, by type of product and service: 1946 - 1974



This projection undoubtedly represents certain basic trends. However, people do not live by bread alone. Indeed, a substantial economic depression increases non-work time and increases the demand upon open spaces and parks. Further, participation in voluntary organizations is not randomly distributed over the population. As John Robinson's study of time budgets illustrates, the most active volunteers tend to be better educated, younger and female. As Table 9 indicates, the trend from 1965-1975 is for increased time to be spent upon volunteer time.

This is particularly interesting when we consider Robert Mitchell's (1979) post Proposition 13 national survey that found strong continuing support by all classes and social groups for environmental protection. Yet, of most interest are the factors associated with membership in environmental organizations. Even though only eight percent of the population were members, white male, post graduates earning over \$30,000 per year, with independent party affiliation and liberal ideology were characteristics overrepresented among the joiners. In short, the new professional classes are significant factors in carrying the environmental quality banner which has the strong support of most Americans. As Table 11 on trends in occupations suggests, this is precisely the occupational group with the most consistent pattern of growth. So the future trends are mixed but suggest considerable potential for the growth of some mainline outdoor recreation organizations.

One feels that the strong support for environmental protection by the public at large reflects the still amorphous nature of the issue. Public health is certain to be at the front of

Table 9.--Average hours per week spent in major types of activity by selected urban population groups, by race and by age--1965 and 1975.

Activity	White	Black and other races	age				
			18-25 years	26-35 years	36-45 years	46-55 years	56-65 years
1965 URBAN SAMPLE							
Size of sample (number)	1,030	103	200	321	306	252	156
Total time (hours)	168	168	168	168	168	168	168
Sleep	53.4	50.9	54.3	52.5	53.1	53.9	53.6
Work for pay	31.9	36.6	32.6	29.2	33.1	33.5	35.9
Family care	26.0	23.6	21.2	30.4	25.4	24.9	20.4
Personal care	21.8	19.9	20.9	20.3	22.5	22.4	20.9
Leisure time (total)	34.9	36.9	39.1	35.6	33.8	33.4	37.1
Organizations	2.8	3.0	4.8	3.0	3.0	2.0	2.9
Media	14.8	15.7	13.9	14.6	14.5	15.3	17.3
Social life	9.3	9.1	11.3	10.3	8.4	8.6	8.1
Recreation	1.1	.6	.8	1.2	.8	.6	1.2
Other leisure	6.9	8.4	8.3	6.5	7.1	6.9	7.6
1975 URBAN SAMPLE							
Size of sample (number)	680	77	149	234	150	141	111
Total time (hours)	168	168	168	168	168	168	168
Sleep	54.5	54.8	55.4	53.9	54.7	55.4	56.0
Work for pay	30.0	30.0	27.0	33.4	34.4	31.0	20.4
Family care	21.1	17.6	15.3	21.6	20.4	23.2	23.2
Personal care	22.1	21.0	20.3	20.8	21.1	23.1	26.6
Leisure time (total)	40.3	44.6	50.0	38.4	37.3	35.2	41.8
Organizations	4.4	4.9	8.4	4.2	3.3	3.1	3.2
Media	18.7	19.6	18.5	17.2	18.3	18.8	22.6
Social life	8.2	9.8	10.7	8.7	7.8	5.4	6.2
Recreation	1.5	.4	2.6	1.3	1.0	1.3	1.3
Other leisure	7.5	9.9	9.8	7.0	6.9	6.6	8.5

such concern, so air and water pollution, traffic jams, urban slums, industrial safety and carcinogens in nearly everything are likely to be more curcial motives than the protection of a hunting area or funds to maintain a declining park system. Still the issues of parks, playgrounds and open space can feed from the general concern for creating a quality of life that matches our touted wealth.

In sum, the potential threats from without and within the recreation movement seem to be leading to a series of social circles and shifting coalitions or "interorganizational connections" as Perrucci and Pilisuk (1970) would call them. Many of the larger preservation organizations have banded together in a Natural Resources Council of America to present a united front. Another coalition of arts, urban open space and historic preser-

vation called Partners for Liveable Places has been formed. These two groups are likely to confront a group of some fifty organizations more dedicated to active recreation, who have formed the American Recreation Coalition. Finally, there is the rapid growth in trained recreation specialists loosely joined in the National Recreation and Parks Association who distribute themselves among the three major circles (see Figure 6).

These three social circles have implicitly different lobbying agendas. The Natural Resources Council is basically opposed to development and is restrictive in regard to high quality air and water standards and use of wildlands. The "Partners" group strongly favors certain kinds of urban redevelopment. The American Recreation Coalition has a strong industrial underpinning and is likely to stress the need

Table 10.--Trends in U.S. occupations--percent of labor force in various categories:
1900 - 1975

Categories	1975	1970	1960	1950	1940	1930	1920	1910	1900
Number of workers (in thousands)	84783	78627	65778	56225	51742	48686	42206	37291	29030
Professional & technical Managers, officials, & proprietors	15.0	14.2	11.4	8.7	7.5	6.8	5.4	4.7	4.3
Clerical	10.5	10.5	10.7	8.9	7.3	7.4	6.6	6.6	5.8
Sales workers	17.8	17.4	14.8	12.3	9.6	8.9	8.0	5.3	3.0
Craftsmen & foremen	6.4	6.2	6.4	7.0	6.6	6.3	4.9	4.7	4.5
Operatives	12.9	12.9	13.0	13.8	11.9	12.8	13.0	11.5	10.5
Non farm labor	15.2	17.7	18.2	19.8	18.4	15.8	15.6	14.6	12.8
Private household	4.9	4.7	5.4	6.1	9.4	10.9	11.6	12.0	12.5
Service workers	1.4	2.0	3.0	2.5	4.7	4.1	3.3	5.0	5.4
Farmers & farm managers	12.4	10.4	9.2	7.6	7.1	5.6	4.5	4.6	3.6
Farm laborers	1.9	2.2	4.2	7.7	10.4	12.3	15.3	16.5	19.9
Occupations not reported	1.6	1.7	3.3	4.3	7.0	8.8	11.7	14.4	17.7
	---	---	---	1.3	---	---	---	---	---

Figure 6.--A representation of likely social circles in environmental and outdoor recreation movements



for more active facilities and more liberal access by the public to open space. The NRPA, except for its sub-group, Society of Recreation Educators, is more likely to favor active over passive uses of the outdoors. The next decade should see considerable shifting of ground and a good deal of in-fighting between these various groups. We may be reasonably confident that none of these groups will accept the tourism umbrella organization--Discover America Travel Organizations, Inc.--as their political shelter. Indeed, some of these groups assume they are on a religious pilgrimage rather than simply enjoying the companionship and scenery. We may be equally confident that the Defense Department will forget more money than these groups will gain in total public investment for their favorite programs.

CONCLUSION

This paper has attempted to travel over a vast and dangerous terrain with only the most diminutive of factual cairns to guide us. We began by suggesting that the emergence of the outdoor recreation movement reflects the final transition from the age of production to the age of consumption. Unfortunately for the long run survival of our society, such a transition may have come at just the wrong time. Nevertheless, work is unlikely ever again to assume the kind of central life purpose that it had for our puritan ancestors.

We suggested that the conservation struggle is no longer primarily between commodity exploitation and "higher values" as it is a struggle between different conceptions of the best and highest recreational utility. We then considered how all of this might fit into the larger trends of American political structure. We suggested that hierarchies of recreational issues and organizations were emerging. We concluded that population declines and rising inflation were not likely to have as marked an influence upon membership patterns as were the struggles between the emerging recreation coalitions.

Be that as it may, for the first time outdoor recreation is being self conscious about its political realities. And this can only promise an ever clearer consideration and measurement of those self-evident truths about the full human value of outdoor recreation resources. All confrontations with reality are painful. Yet only through them do we gain hope for an improved human condition.

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