The Evolving Corporate Role In US National Parks: Yosemite, A Case Study Of Advancing From Corporate Responsibility To Corporate Resilience.

Submitted by Richard Ian Stones, to the University of Exeter as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Geography, in the College of Life & Environmental Sciences (December 2016).

I certify that all material in this thesis which is not my own work has been identified and that no material has previously been submitted and approved for the award of a degree by this or any other University.

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Abstract

This thesis examines the evolving relationship between protected landscapes and the corporate through the lens of tourism in US national parks, with Yosemite National Park as the empirical case study. It provides an understanding of how protected landscapes are managed by examining wise-use, its connection to responsible actions and sustainable development, and the role 'corporate natures' have within this management process - framed around corporate social and environmental responsibility (CSR). This work is concerned with how wise-use is employed alongside the national park priorities of protection and access, so as to understand why private capital is invested in public lands to maintain public good. Such investment is examined through the role of the corporate, to show how making landscape dollarable, its commodification through tourism [visitation and access] has actually provided a safety net and enhanced protection, rather than being the antithesis to it. Tourism has not only created landscapes of economic value but also ones of social and cultural value, places that people connect with and appreciate through an identity of both place and feeling. The main findings of this thesis are that wise-use and corporate actions have evolved and are driven by a new process of CSR, representing corporate social resilience. This new process of CSR is determined by the inclusion of all relevant stakeholders, and advances adaptive co-management, offering a more robust process than the subjective and voluntary ideals of responsibility. This thesis approaches this work through a qualitative empirical study undertaken through archival research, literature reviews and research in the field at Yosemite National Park, which included documentary analysis, interviews and meetings with the main stakeholders in commercial and governance activity. This research forms an important and valuable contribution to environmental management strategies, not only for tourism but also a wider audience.

Acknowledgements

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Definitions

In this thesis there is reference to certain statutes, terms and acronyms for which there will be clear definitions relevant at the time of their appearance. Section 1.6 will discuss and define the role of important stakeholders and actors who feature significantly in this work, but more general definitions of terms used within this research will be provided at this point, along with a note on referencing.

Box 1: The Acronym of CSR

The acronym CSR is used in this thesis to mean corporate social responsibility and corporate social resilience (separated at the times of use). It is important to understand that the environment is an implied part of this CSR, even if the word 'environment' is not included in the CSR acronym. For the purposes of this thesis, CSR incorporates both corporate social and environmental processes.

Box 2: Defining Adaptive Co-Management

'Adaptive comanagement systems are flexible community-based systems of resource management tailored to specific places and situations and supported by, and working with, various organizations at different levels. Folke and others (2002, p. 20) define adaptive comanagement as a process by which institutional arrangements and ecological knowledge are tested and revised in a dynamic, ongoing, self-organized process of learning-by-doing. Adaptive comanagement combines the *dynamic learning* characteristic of adaptive management…with the *linkage* characteristic of cooperative management…and with collaborative management' (Olsson & Folke, 2004: 75).

Also, a note on the referencing style in this thesis:

Box 3: A Note On Referencing

This thesis uses the Harvard referencing system and in the empirical case study chapters, the interviews are referenced with in-text citations as follows (using an example):

Direct Quote: (Interview: President DN, 2012: 18).

Paraphrase: Interview: President DN, (2012: 18)

Foreword

In the early Summer of 1993, I had just completed my MBA at the University of Exeter, and as a celebration I decided to visit my best friend, who had recently emigrated to California. We decided to go on the inevitable Californian 'road trip'. Little did I know that in a few weeks I would enter what I consider to be one of the most beautiful places on Earth, Yosemite National Park; I was enchanted by the majestic mountains, the spectacular waterfalls and the sense of 'breathing in life'. Many years passed, during which I did visit Yosemite a couple more times, then after two successful decades of running my own travel businesses I set out on a new chapter of my career, to become a 'practitioner academic', to start by completing a part-time PhD. I knew to complete this mammoth task I would need motivation and passion. My motivation stemmed from my career, in which travel and tourism had played a major part, primarily from the perspective of how nature tourism impacted the natural environment, my passion emanated from that Summer of 1993, the empirical case study would be Yosemite National Park.

Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Focus and Overview

The focus of this PhD is to understand how protected landscapes are managed in the US by examining the evolving process of wise-use and what role the corporate has (for definition of corporate in this thesis, see Section 1.6.1) in this management process. Wise-use emanated within natural resource management in the US during the nineteenth century, endorsing freedom of rights and responsible actions, and this thesis examines such management through the ideals of protection and access [tourism] in US national parks. This examination of 'corporate natures' and responsible corporate actions (CSR – corporate social responsibility) evidences that a strong framework has emerged. A framework to support not only the US national park ideals, but also protected landscape management globally, where private capital is invested in public lands to maintain public good. This thesis demonstrates that corporate actions in US national parks embrace the first national park enabling Acts mandate of 'public use, resort and recreation' and 'for the benefit and enjoyment of the people' (see Section 2.2), whilst also advancing protection of natural resources. This mandate prioritises protection and access, which stems from two important arguments (that this thesis advances). Firstly, protection has been progressed through sustainable development, whereby conservation and preservation are related concepts, implemented by both federal and local actors (see Sections 2.2.4 and 2.4). Secondly, encouraging access (through tourism) and thus making landscape 'dollarable' (see Section 3.3.3) actually provides a safety net as corporate actions protect long-term profits and contractual relationships, thus promoting sustainable development. To support these arguments, this thesis advances a contemporary paradigm of wise-use management, and asserts a new frame of CSR, one that has evolved from the process and subjective principles of responsibility to a more robust process of resilience, driven by adaptive co-management (see definition in Box 2), and extending the ideals of relevant stakeholder inclusion. As numerous evolutionary tales will tell, there have been many stimuli that advance change, and this thesis examines how the temporal transformation of managing protected lands has progressed the ideals

of sustainable development in national parks. The purpose of this research is to provide an in-depth examination of the evolving role of the corporate in natural environments to demonstrate that sustainable development may provide balance in an imbalanced world.

Although the emphasis in this thesis is on (research around) Yosemite and Yellowstone National Parks, this work has relevance to other US protected lands that encompass forest reserves, wildlife refuges and protected monuments. It also provides a broader perspective of global environmental landscape management, thus engaging a wider audience beyond the stakeholders of national parks and protected landscapes. It has relevance to any number of landscapes and settings where the contemporary paradigm of wise-use and CSR can provide sustainable management processes to embrace environmental protection alongside landscape development.

1.2 Interpreting The Interpreted

The holistic concept of parks has been created and varied universally by society over many centuries; for example, the concepts of the English urban parks have spread across the world and been '…modified, expanded and transferred in many ways' (Eagles & McCool, 2002: 2). However, for the purpose of this thesis, it is important to understand the role of parks in contemporary society, and how this led to the emergence of national parks. Parks offer value to society with aims and objectives, and research evidences that these are simplified or packaged around protection and access, creating value (whether that be economic, aesthetic, tangible or intangible) and appreciation from visitation and a connection to natures. As Eagles & McCool (2002: 3-15) highlight, they have, over time, offered specific experiences and values: from hunting reserves to areas of wilderness, the provision of a social and community function, the development of well-being, places of ecological protection as well as recreation, the preservation of cultural and historical areas, the protection of indigenous peoples, and areas of business and profit. Parks have been created by society to offer a range of enduring and perpetual meanings, yet they have also been ephemeral, with an ability to transform over time and space. Thus, parks offer both a place and a feeling, which is examined in Section 2.3, and it is this wide

and varied representation and creation of value that has resulted in changing societal and cultural goals. In turn this has led to conflicts in the management of parks, most notably balancing protection and access, which has resulted in parks offering '…a complex assemblage of landscapes, artefacts, structures and landforms' (Eagles & McCool, 2002: 15).

These conflicts are mostly connected with the concept of human visitation and impact on parks, yet this is somewhat ironic, as it is humans who created parks in the first place. Arguments suggest (Eagles & McCool, 2002; Sellars, 1995; Runte, 2010), that without such creation and human inclusion the parks would not benefit from protection, and may well be used for something less desirable. Human activity creates the management, societal inclusion creates stewardship, and these two factors ensure an on-going understanding and connection to protecting parks as natural environments. As this thesis evidences, society and government create parks, driven by public persuasion and this creates a value that government needs to act upon, normally in the form of legislation to balance protection and access. This thesis evidences that in the US, powerful railway conglomerates lobbied federal government alongside public persuasion, and this 'powerhouse' led to the creation of the first national parks. The fundamental priorities were centred on tourism [visitation and access] and protection of natural resources: 'protected areas need tourism, and tourism needs protected areas' (Eagles et al., 2002: xv). It is this combination of factors - government action, societal attachment and corporate inclusion - that created the world's first national parks in the US. Evidence shows that without this 'powerhouse' national parks would not be established. Diegues (1998: 268) evidences this, when in the 1830's, George Catlin, an artist, travelled around the central plains and American Mid-West and proposed to the federal government that indigenous people, the bison and the natural beauty of these lands could be lost and so should be protected under a 'nations park', a national park. However, it took another 30 years before federal government accepted this concept; the 'powerhouse' of national park lobbying was proposing the idea as opposed to a solitary figure. Interestingly, Catlin had proposed protection of indigenous peoples, whereas the founding 1864 Grant (see Section 2.2.1) and further national park legislature '…sent in the cavalry to destroy the Native Americans and to steal their lands' (Eagles & McCool, 2002: 12).

That point also strengthens the argument that protected landscapes were created for tourism. Indigenous peoples were, at that time, thought to be a barrier to such visitation, as no right-minded American would want to visit a park and confront aboriginal peoples! The creation of these values and the driving force of the 'powerhouse' paved the way, and within the US, the national parks were the first tracts of land legislated and governed under the term of 'national park'. The ideals (also referred to as priorities) that were to be upheld were based on **access,** 'as a public park or pleasuring ground for the benefit and enjoyment of the people', and for 'public use, resort and recreation' (Eagles, 2002: 6); and **protection**, '…to provide for the preservation, from injury or spoliation…and their retention in their natural condition' (Statutes at Large, 1878: 32). These were the first protected landscapes in the US, and although there is engaging discussion as to which nation first legislated protected landscapes (for example the British, and the Royal hunting parks), these were the first areas of land that were adopted under the 'national park' term. Moreover, as this thesis evidences, and as the management story evolves, they were important areas of land to place a value and measurement on capacity (Section 3.5 and see Table 1), in order to balance protection and access, through the management of advancing visitor numbers (tourism) and embracing sustainable development.

> 'Park visitation is critical to the creation of societal culture conducive to parks. People must visit parks, must appreciate the experiences gained and must have a memory of appreciation that leads to long-term attitude reinforcement' (Eagles & McCool, 2002: 23).

This thesis takes forward the ideals of national parks and examines them in relation to the values and concepts outlined in this Section. Although this thesis provides such examination, it does so from the perspective of the first US national parks. Nevertheless, having stated that the contemporary global definition of national parks, offers very similar priorities to the founding principles, determining protection and access, as stated by the IUCN (International Union for the Conservation of Nature):

> 'Large natural or near natural areas set aside to protect large-scale ecological processes, along with the complement of species and ecosystems characteristic of the area, which also provide a foundation for

environmentally and culturally compatible spiritual, scientific, educational, recreational and visitor opportunities' (IUCN, 2016).

Also, contemporary global national park policies and definitions have evolved from the founding principles; they are specific to each country, which the IUCN have categorised through a system relating to ecological integrity, (Table 1):

Table 1: IUCN's Category System for National Parks and Protected Areas

Category I	*Strict Nature Reserve/Wilderness Area:* Protected area managed mainly for science or wilderness protection
Category IA	*Strict Nature Reserve:* protected area managed mainly for science
Category IB	*Wilderness Area:* Protected area managed mainly for wilderness protection
Category II	*National Park:* Protected area managed mainly for ecosystem protection and recreation
Category III	*Natural Monument:* Protected area managed mainly for conservation of specific natural features
Category IV	*Habitat/Species Management Area:* Protected area managed mainly for conservation through management intervention
Category V	*Protected Landscape/Seascape:* protected area managed mainly for landscape/seascape conservation and recreation
Category VI	*Managed Resource Protected Area:* protected area managed mainly for the sustainable use of natural ecosystems

Source: Eagles & McCool, (2002: 19, Table 1.1)

Although this system is by no means without its critics, it provides a measure of the role and impacts of visitation. The classification is quite simplistic (hence the critics), as human inclusion becomes more intrusive so the Category diminishes, ranging from I, where there is minimal human activity to VI, which allows extraction activities, such as mining and mechanisation. US national parks are categorised under Category II, which along with Category III allows certain development of tourism services alongside protection, for example to ensure sufficient infrastructures, such as accommodations, roads and visitor services.

This classification, like the management of parks themselves, has created much debate, and it is not the intention of this thesis to engage in that. However, an important outcome of the research of this thesis is that, although the IUCN classification of Parks creates distinction, there can be substitutability between

management policy and planning within all protected landscapes, and this is a point that will be discussed in more detail in the conclusion (Chapter 7).

1.3 Thesis Aims and Objectives

The aim of this thesis is to:

Aim:
Examine the evolving relationship between protected landscape wise-use management and the corporate, through the lens of the US national park ideals of protection and access, with Yosemite National Park as the empirical case study.

Objectives:

1. To determine how certain catalysts framed around wise-use management have advanced the US national park ideals of upholding public access and embracing environmental protection.
2. To examine key themes that demonstrate protected landscape management in the US has advanced through blending the concepts of conservation and preservation, and asserting that wise-use management has evolved from a process of corporate social responsibility to corporate social resilience (CSR).
3. To examine the evolution of stakeholder actions in protected landscapes, primarily US national parks, demonstrating how making such landscapes dollarable provides a safety net for protection.
4. To demonstrate that the new process of CSR builds on adaptive co-management and stewardship, with the inclusion of relevant stakeholders including local communities, Non-Governmental Organisations (NGO), the corporate, public bodies and the environment.
5. To examine, from both academic and empirical research at Yosemite National Park, how the priorities of corporate investment maintain the public good and how public good maintains corporate investment.

1.4 Critique and Relevance

This section provides a brief overview of the relevance of this thesis and the concepts that inform it; these are discussed in more detail in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3. First and foremost, the focus of this research is unique in that it critiques protected landscape management from the perspective that 'dollarising nature' (profit related to corporate actions in national parks) enhances protection. To provide foundations for this statement, this thesis draws from several disciplines within geography and business research, in particular economic, ecological and environmental scholarship within the protected landscape, sustainable development and tourism debates. Having highlighted the focus, it is important to frame the main concepts, to demonstrate how this work contributes to the scholarship from a geographical or social science perspective. The thesis has three main fields of discussion and research framed around sustainability: 1) preservation and conservation and the relationship between these concepts to uphold the national park ideals of protection and access; 2) wise-use, its relevance to US protected landscape management and; 3) the connection between wise-use and responsibility, from a corporate perspective, framed as corporate social responsibility (CSR).

The significant contribution of this thesis emanates from the discussion around these three fields, by advancing a contemporary paradigm of wise-use management, asserting that a new process of CSR has evolved, progressing CSR as corporate social resilience with the inclusion of all relevant stakeholders to advance adaptive co-management (see definition in Box 2 and discussion in Section 3.6.3). It should be noted that this work is not suggesting that responsibility and resilience are mutually exclusive, nor does the work look to compare such processes. Rather it asserts that CSR as corporate resilience offers a more robust process for corporate strategy and wise-use management than the subjective and voluntary ideals of responsibility. This thesis evidences this from both a conceptual perspective (Section 3.6) and the empirical perspective (Chapter 6). Furthermore, the work does not look to exclusively defend corporate actions or promote the fact that the corporate has reached a definitive point in environmental management. The purpose and outcome of this research is to critique the evolving corporate role, alongside the discourses of

protected landscape management. It will argue that sustainable development is an achievable outcome where managing desires and numbers connects to the ideals of protection and access:

> 'Since its establishment in 1916, the National Park Service has persevered in the impossibly difficult challenge of balancing the preservation of Yellowstone's environment with the needs and desires of human visitors.' (Magoc,1999: 170).

Managing such desires and numbers provides a frame to advance both ideals of protection and access. Often these ideals are viewed through the singular lens of conservation, singular in that conservationists often view preservation as providing a dominion of human exclusion (Sections 2.2.4 and 2.4). This thesis advances from this singular debate and critiques both conservation and preservation to argue that the US national park ideals demonstrate '…a blending of the related concepts' of conservation and preservation (see Sellars, 1997: 43). This highlights that although conservation is often viewed as an ally to human inclusion in natural environments and development, preservation has also supported the need for human inclusion and acceptable developments. This is further endorsed in this thesis by examining the preservation frameworks that uphold these priorities, namely legislation and the work of NGO organisations looking to safeguard natural environments (Section 2.4) whilst still upholding the ideal of access.

The thesis offers a wider contribution to the sustainability debate, as it demonstrates how sustainable actions are upheld through combining the concepts of conservation and preservation, rather than illuminating one concept in favour of the other to promote protection and access. It also evidences that promoting access or visitation (the inclusion of humans) has been of paramount importance to protection. It was part of the initial legislation by Congress to establish Yosemite National Park and Yellowstone National Park as places for people to connect with nature (see Eagles, 2002) and this thesis examines that such inclusion fostered the development of tourism [visitation and access], which in turn has advanced the ideals of protection:

> 'Thus, from the very beginning, park visitation and tourism were central pillars of the national parks movement' (Eagles et al., 2002: 7).

Eagles et al., (2002: xv-5) argue that protected areas and tourism go hand in hand. Fostering tourism is a priority endorsed by the first Director of the National Park Service (see Section 1.6.2), Stephen Mather, determining that public access namely tourism would uphold the ideal of protection. This is further critiqued by proposing an opposite view to John Muir's (see Section 2.2.5.1) endearing quote, rather than 'nothing dollarable is safe…however guarded' (Runte, [in] Muir, 1991: xi) in fact, dollarising protected landscapes actually embraces protection.

This thesis demonstrates that natural resource management in the US has evolved through the concept of wise-use. As Ferrier et al. (1995) highlight, (Section 3.2) it is a term with historical land management connections, particularly in the Western states where it was a concept dating back to the 19th century when European settlers were looking for 'homesteads' and business interests. Federal government would contractually allow private use and ownership of natural resources, with the assumption that the concept of wise-use would (embrace freedom of rights and so) engage social and moral responsibility to protect the lands and provide for local communities. Once European settlers had discovered the lands that would become national parks, (for example Yosemite) private ownership and commercial interests grew unabated with little controls, as haphazard and unprofitable operations abounded. The need for public lands to be protected, led to Yosemite setting the precedent as the first area of land in the US to be safeguarded under the Yosemite Grant in 1864 (see Section 2.2). From 1872 other areas of land became protected, and within the national park enabling Acts and the later Organic Act of 1916, a new form of wise-use was constituted. The emphasis of freedom was limited as private investment, rather than ownership, legislated by Congress, and individual and corporate interests would be provided by concessioners (see Box 15) on lease agreements. It should be noted that although the laws stipulated lease agreements Yosemite National Park has always favoured investment contracts without the stipulation of leases (for legal discussion rather than anything consequential to this research). The protected landscape model of wise-use investment (see Section 3.2) provided a specific framework for corporate actions within the US national parks, which is critiqued in this thesis to demonstrate how corporate involvement has advanced to

embrace the ideals of protection and access in a changing world. Alongside the corporate role, this thesis also examines the evolving role of public authority maintaining the public good.

It should also be noted that this thesis is not an examination of how ecosystem services are managed, or the role they play, rather it defines a mode of thinking that pre-dates them and has given foundation to the contemporary views on ecosystem services. This thesis relates to how socio-ecological and socio-economic systems (see Saarinen, 2015; Walker, n.d.; Cochrane, 2010) drove adaptive co-management strategies to resilient outcomes, which ecosystem services have built upon.

1.5 The Research Outline

A fundamental difficulty integral to this research is the ability, in both time and space, to explore the entirety of US protected landscapes. These areas of land are vast in size, complex in nature and consuming in interpretation, so as this thesis examines one such area, the foundation of the research is limited to the US protected landscape of Yosemite National Park discussed in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6. These chapters respond to the objectives laid out in this introduction (see Section 1.3) and they also take forward the ideas and concepts founded in the conceptual chapters, Chapter 2 and Chapter 3. The conceptual chapters are drawing on academic research, addressing theoretical arguments around natural resource use and corporate actions, so as to provide a central framework to evidence the evolving role of the *corporate in nature*, the nature of protected landscape. Chapter 2 examines the discourses of protected landscapes in the US national parks that embrace the mandates of public use, resort and recreation whilst also advancing protection of natural resources. The chapter further determines how such landscape was constructed and framed, defining wilderness as a culture and wildness as a feeling, defining national parks as places for recreation and social inclusion. The chapter then demonstrates that such protection has been progressed whereby sustainable development embraces the relationship between conservation and preservation, which are constructed around strong frameworks implemented by federal and local actors. Chapter 3 examines the corporate and management roles in

protected landscapes framed around wise-use management, which stemmed from freedom of rights and responsible actions. This chapter investigates how increasing visitor numbers have been managed, evidences how developing infrastructures and tourism services were progressed, and discusses how specific park systems were advanced to develop access and sustain protection. In summary, this chapter examines the concepts of wise-use management, sustainable tourism development, planning, carrying capacity, zoning and permit systems, and concludes by advancing a contemporary paradigm of wise-use management. Chapter 2 and Chapter 3 outline that substantive growth and development have led to serious concerns about the national park ethos, and thus lay the theoretical foundation to the discourses of protected landscape as places of nature and as corporate natures. This research draws on the empirical studies, and along with works of other academics and scholars demonstrates that if corporate actions are managed effectively, sustainable development can be a positive force in environmental management. This research shows that through contemporary wise-use adaptive co-management, protection and access may be balanced, inherent tensions may be avoided, and that sustainable development is a realistic goal for stakeholders. Chapter 4 sets out the discussion for the methodology of the research construct, it looks at how the method was approached, the research design, collection and analysis of data, and then explores the specific literature studied in the empirical textual analysis.

Chapter 5 introduces the key empirical qualitative research, and evidences the historical perspective of national park management, establishing how corporate actions embraced Congress' wishes of unimpaired public access, and developed ideals of profiting from visitation. It provides empirical analysis of specific textual material that forms part of the empirical basis for the thesis. This research examines private investment and wise-use management (developing the process of responsibility), and further examines the concepts of protection as well as key catalysts that provided a pathway for contemporary management in the case study. Chapter 6 progresses from the empirical textual analysis to present the outcomes from the interview data, arguing that a contemporary paradigm of wise-use and corporate management has evolved, and in so doing evidences that profit, new legislation and policy have advanced wise-use to build CSR around adaptive co-management and the inclusion of relevant

stakeholders. Yosemite National Park was chosen as the empirical research for a number of reasons. Firstly, although it was small in size at the time (1864), it was contentiously America's (if not the world's) first national park landscape to be legislated as protected, setting the precedent for national parks globally. Yosemite National Park, through the original Grant, also established the first area of land to uphold the concept of sustainable development: 'It was the first area in the country specifically set aside to be preserved for all future generations' (Dilsaver & Strong, 1993: 15). It also undoubtedly set the precedent that the World's first national park Yellowstone followed, and as this thesis shows it was one of the first areas of land in the US to develop tourism infrastructures:

> 'By the end of 1855 several other parties of tourists had experienced the valley's grandeur…' (Runte, 1990b: 14).

Also pertinent to this thesis is that the Yosemite case study demonstrates how corporate actions have evolved in the management of public lands, where private profit maintains the public good. Yosemite National Park endorses the statement from Wylie (2007: 133-134) that, 'in the plainest terms it can be argued that landscape *provokes* travel…': Yosemite has provoked travel since the days it was first discovered by European settlers, it embraces human inclusion and it endorses the fact that managing wilderness engages wildness:

> '…thousands of tired, nerve-shaken, over civilized people are beginning to find out that going to the mountains is going home; that wildness is a necessity; and that mountain parks and reservations are useful not only as fountains of timber and irrigating rivers, but as fountains of life' (Muir, 1901a: 1).

It should be noted that although Chapter 2 and Chapter 3 make reference to Yosemite National Park, they are distinct from the case study because Yosemite is not only important to national park history, but also as Olwig (1995: 3) highlighted, it is an '…ideal vehicle through which to approach the nature of American environmental values and behavior.' Developing relevant academic knowledge of Yosemite in the conceptual chapters provides significant argument for this thesis; underpinning not only environmental values and behaviour but also US protected landscape policy.

> ‘Yosemite valley [sic] is where the national park idea was pioneered in 1864. It was the archetypal natural park, which broke the ground for the establishment of a later system of national parks’ (Olwig, 1995: 3).

Yosemite provided ‘the model for all of America’ (ibid) and set important precedents that need to be examined prior to the empirical work. Fundamentally, Chapter 2 and Chapter 3 provide historical context in which Yosemite played a large role, whereas the case study explores, in more detail, how the frameworks and concepts discussed in the conceptual chapters are played out specifically in Yosemite.

1.6 Stakeholders and Actors

Throughout this thesis, there is reference to stakeholders, which include many actors. This section gives some narrative as to who the main stakeholders are and to whom this terminology applies; it is not an exhaustive analysis or examination of these stakeholder terms, but a short descriptive definition. The research of this thesis required relevance to and examination of policy decision makers - the managers - and to this end the empirical research did not look to visitors for their opinions, but focussed on the policy makers and co-managers in Yosemite National Park. To quote Borrini-Feyerabend et al., (2000: 1), ‘co-management can be understood as a situation in which two or more social actors negotiate, define and guarantee amongst themselves a fair sharing of the management functions…’ (Section 6.4). The purpose of this approach is to evidence the manager partnerships, the co-management or the relevant stakeholder relationships rather than the subjective personal views of the public. The main management partnerships that are integral to the objectives of this thesis are aligned to three actor groups: the corporate, the National Park Service and the non-governmental organization (NGO). These actors form an important and significant part of the management and decision-making within the case study, ‘actors and actor groups are here used as both stakeholders and/or stewards that actively may take part in on-the-ground management…’ (Barthel, 2008: 9).

1.6.1 The Corporate

Throughout these chapters, the term ‘corporate’ is used, pertaining solely to the private enterprises, acting as concessioners (3.4.2) that invest or, historically, have operated within Yosemite, both pre- and post- National Park status.

> Black's Law Dictionary defines a corporation as "an association of shareholders (or even a single shareholder) created under law and regarded as an artificial person by courts, "having a legal entity entirely separate and distinct from the individuals who compose it, with the capacity of continuous existence or succession, and having the capacity of such legal entity, of taking, holding and conveying property, suing and being sued, and [sic] exercising such other powers as may be conferred on it by law, just as a natural person may.”’ (USLegal, 2001-2016).

The term corporate is preferred over terms such as private enterprise or private sector, as much of the research draws on work pertaining to corporate social responsibility (CSR) and corporate social resilience and to this end, for the purposes of continuity, the term corporate is preferred. However, depending on context the terms commercial, private enterprise, investor/ment or tourism operator, may also be used; however, their meaning is the same as corporate. It should also be noted that the term corporate is the adjective that relates to the corporation.

> ‘A corporation is a legal entity created through the laws of its state of incorporation, treating a corporation as a legal "person" that has standing to sue and be sued, distinct from its stockholders. Corporations are taxable entities that are taxed at a lower rate from individuals. Until formally dissolved, a corporation has perpetual life; deaths of officials or stockholders do not alter the corporation's structure. State laws regulate the creation, organization and dissolution of corporations. Many states follow the Model Business Corporation Act. States also have registration laws requiring corporations that incorporate in other states to request permission to do in-state business’ (USLegal, 2001-2016).

The USLegal (2001-2016) definitions of corporate also give substantial weight as to why the term corporate is used, rather than private enterprise. Such terminology necessitates a shareholder or shareholders, which the concessioners within the US national parks have preferred, whereas a private enterprise can simply be any person with or without a shareholding in their trading operation.

1.6.2 The National Park Service

By around 1915, there were 14 national parks in the US, along with 21 national monuments. Although they were under the scrutiny of the Department of the Interior, there had been haphazard and unrealistic on-the-ground management, most notably from the US Cavalry. Stephen T. Mather and Horace Albright, who would become future Directors, along with the railway conglomerates and journalists pressed for an agency of the federal government to take control of the management of the Parks and in August 1916 Congress passed the Organic Act. This Act established the National Park Service (NPS) and '…established the basis for the fundamental mission, philosophy, and policies of the National Park Service' (NPS. 2016e). The NPS role is to manage all the National Parks in the US under the delegation of the Secretary of the Interior. The purpose of this management role is to:

> '…conserve the scenery and the natural and historic objects and the wildlife therein to provide for the enjoyment of the same in such a manner and by such a means as will leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations' (NPS, 2016c).

Box 4: The Official Logo of the National Park Service (NPS). (nps.gov)

This logo became the official logo on July 20, 1951. (NPS.GOV)

In 1933, President Hoover signed the Reorganization Act, which updated and modernised the NPS. Most notably, with the election later that year of the new President, Franklin D. Roosevelt, the historic sites from the American Civil War (and other War Department sites), and the national monuments (under the Department of Agriculture) would also come under the auspices of the NPS.

Since that time, there has been subsequent legislation that has called for further reorganization and modernisation, including Mission 66 (see Section 3.5.1.1) and The Wild & Scenic Rivers Act (see Section 6.3), though fundamentally, the

NPS' dual role of embracing protection and advancing access has remained constant through its mission:

> 'The National Park Service preserves unimpaired the natural and cultural resources and values of the National Park System for the enjoyment, education, and inspiration of this and future generations. The Park Service cooperates with partners to extend the benefits of natural and cultural resource conservation and outdoor recreation throughout this country and the world' (NPS, 2016f).

The National Park Service (NPS) is discussed in detail throughout this thesis, (see Sections 2.2.3, 3.4.3 and in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6) from its conception to the modern service of the US national parks.

1.6.3 Non-Governmental Organisation (NGO)

Carlsson & Berkes (2005: 66) highlighted that co-management models require a sharing of responsibilities and obligations between the relevant stakeholders, who can include national government as well as local actors. The local actors become empowered to engage in the processes of decision-making, policy endorsement and implementation. Within the US national parks, local communities and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) have been an integral part of those processes, and the definition of an NGO is:

> '…any non-profit, voluntary citizens' group which is organized on a local, national or international level. Task-oriented and driven by people with a common interest, NGOs perform a variety of service and humanitarian functions, bring citizen concerns to Governments, advocate and monitor policies and encourage political [sic] participation through provision of information. Some are organized around specific issues, such as human rights, environment or health. They provide analysis and expertise, serve as early warning mechanisms and help monitor and implement international agreements. Their relationship with offices and agencies of the United Nations system differs depending on their goals, their venue and the mandate of a particular institution' (NGO.org, 2013).

NGOs form an integral part of the co-management model as they set clear objectives of strategy, are normally apolitical and provide levels of expertise that enhance policy and planning. They form partnerships for stakeholders, which is illustrated in Figure 1 and highlights the positioning of an NGO within the co-

management model, adapted from The World Bank (1999: 11) [in] Carlsson & Berkes 92005: 66):

> 'In essence…the same definition as the one adopted by the World Conservation Congress, Resolution 1.42: 'a partnership in which government agencies, local communities and resource users, non-governmental organizations and other stakeholders negotiate, as appropriate to each context, the authority and responsibility for the management of a specific area or set of resources' (IUCN, 1996). It should be noted that this latter definition regards the State as only one among a set of stakeholders' (Carlsson & Berkes, 2005: 66).

Figure 1: Stakeholder Categories and Co-Management

Source: Adapted From The World Bank, (1999: 11) [in] Carlsson & Berkes, (2005: 66)

NGOs form a strong alliance to guide public persuasion and thus influence policy, they act as a socio-ecological voice and promote stewardship; often they have been referred to within the US as citizenry groups:

> 'By the 1960s the organization of professionally dominated citizens groups who were dedicated to promoting social and legal change had emerged as major factors in other branches of American society' (CIEENGO, 2001: 11).

The main NGOs relevant to the research in this thesis are Yosemite Conservancy, Nature Bridge (see Section 6.4.2.1) and The Sierra Club (see Box 13). The local communities are also an integral part of this research, and a main stakeholder, as is the environment, which will be evidenced and discussed at the relevant points in the thesis.

Chapter 2 US Protected Landscape: Discourses of Protection and Access

2.1 Introduction

The aims of this chapter are to examine the theoretical definitions and discourses around protected landscape, as a use for recreation and tourism, through the lens of US national parks. In this thesis, national parks and protected landscapes are not separated in their identity or meaning; as Nelson & Serafin (1997) suggest they are both an integral part of the socio-economic and environmental context of landscape management. This chapter frames the ideals and priorities of US national park policy that foster a social and cultural connection, embracing recreation and tourism, and upholding the concept of protection through sustainable development. This chapter does not engage the discourses of nature in its entirety, nor the protection of species, but examines the discourses of US protected landscape as national parks; a resource that governments globally have recognised as offering important forms of land use to sustain societies and protect natural environments (McNeely, 1990: 19). Their temporal development also provides an important evolution of land use, where 'landscape is not the setting for human activity, it is the product and outcome of such activity.' (Wylie, 2007: 104). Although examining the ideals and priorities from a US perspective, this chapter also offers comparison with the European Countryside aesthetic and the management implications between them. The theoretical framing examines from a US perspective, but with relevance and substitutability to global protected areas (see Chapter 7), what protected landscape is, what it does and how it works, a space for cultural authority, and as a place to generate profit (Matless, 1998: 12). It examines specific theoretical themes accredited to the aesthetic of protected landscape, addressing the concept of wilderness, as a '…place away from normal life…a place where nature is paramount, not people' (Eagles & McCool, 2002: 3). It also examines wildness, beyond the ideals of place - a value or emotion of feeling, offering a higher spiritual quest. The purpose of this chapter is to examine and critique the academic scholarship within cultural and social

geographies of protected landscape, drawing on environmental, ecological and recreational works to provide a framework to comprehend the goals or ideals of national parks – protection and access. This also links to the discourses around sustainable development, sustainability around human inclusion and impact rather than the impacts solely from a built environment. Through this research, this chapter not only provides a foundation for the protected landscape debate, but also offers applicability to social scientists interested in how lands are governed in a range of contexts, framed around preservation and conservation. Thus emerging from this chapter are the theoretical concepts and frames examining the cultural ideal, and critiquing the social impact within protected landscapes, to reconcile the national park goals and promote sustainable development. Section 2.2 draws on research examining the historical definitions, ideals (also referred to as priorities) and objectives of US national parks, framed around protection and access, before introducing the Organic Act of 1916 which advanced these priorities and established the world's first national park agency, the NPS (see definition in Section 1.6.2). This is then progressed in Section 2.2.5 by examining how motivations within environmental management added to this relationship. Section 2.3 examines the social and cultural identity, the idealisation of protected landscapes as places of wilderness and feelings of wildness. Section 2.3.5 discusses such landscape as a dynamic medium - its commodification, where the priority of access links to a landscape of visitation and tourism. Finally, Section 2.4 advances the theoretical debates examining the frameworks of protection through sustainable development, and discusses the relationship between the concepts of conservation and preservation.

As highlighted in Section 1.5, Chapter 2 and Chapter 3 make reference to Yosemite National Park, as Yosemite is important to national park history and set important precedents that need to be examined prior to the empirical work. The inclusion of Yosemite in the conceptual chapters forms an essential argument for this thesis toward American environmental values and behaviour (see Olwig, 1995), US protected landscape policy, and to global national park policies and management. As Runte (1993a: 2-3) stated [on the creation of Yellowstone], 'The issues of park development were raised and debated first in Yosemite…its own precedent was Yosemite'. Rather than being the focus of the conceptual chapters, the mention of Yosemite is a part of the accumulation of

knowledge for an understanding of American environmental values, behaviour and protected landscape management.

2.2 Determining US National Park Ideals

This section initially sets out the definitions of US protected landscape policy and the historical connection of these definitions, which were determined with the first area of protected land, Yosemite, and the first national park, Yellowstone. The section then examines the ideals (priorities) of protection and access to determine and frame US national park policy.

2.2.1 Legislating The First Areas Of Protected Landscape

On June 30th 1864, Congress granted to the State of California an area of land known as The Yosemite Grant (Box 5), including Yosemite Valley and the Mariposa Big Tree Grove (much of which was forest lands), for preservation and, significantly, 'public use, resort and recreation', (Eagles, 2002: 6).

Box 5: US Statute at Large: Defining the Yosemite Grant 1864

> '[the] State shall accept this grant upon the express conditions that the premises shall be held for public use, resort, and recreation; shall be inalienable for all time…All incomes…to be expended in the preservation and improvement [next paragraph also stating…and protection] of the property, or the roads leading thereto…the premises to be managed by the Governor of the State with eight other commissioners…' (Statutes at Large, 1866: 325).

This was a defining moment in global and US protected landscape policy, as Dilsaver & Strong (1993: 15) state, the Yosemite Grant established the first area of land in the US set aside, under an Act of legislation, to promote protection and access, to uphold sustainable development: 'It was the first area in the country specifically set aside to be preserved for all future generations'; and set the precedent for the national park system. The Grant determined that such lands should be leased, that they should be invested in, that ownership of natural resources in a protected landscape would be counter to the legislation. Eight years later, US law set apart the first national park, Yellowstone, predominantly (see Box 6) 'as a public park or pleasuring ground for the benefit

and enjoyment of the people' (Eagles, 2002: 6), but also strengthening protection, stating that: no settlement, sale or occupancy would be allowed, thus ensuring 'preservation' for future generations:

Box 6: US Statute at Large: Defining The Yellowstone National Park Act 1872

On March 01st 1872, the US Congress legislated 'An Act, to set apart a certain tract of land lying near the head-waters of the Yellowstone River as a public Park.'

> '…[such land] is hereby reserved and withdrawn from settlement, occupancy, or sale under the laws of the United States, and dedicated and set apart as a public park or pleasuring-ground for the benefit and enjoyment of the people…That the said public park shall be under the exclusive control of the Secretary of the Interior…such regulations shall provide for the preservation, from injury or spoliation of all timber, mineral deposits, natural curiosities, or wonders within said park, and their retention in their natural condition.' (Statutes at Large, 1878: 32).

2.2.2 Prioritising Protection and Access

The statutes defined the framework for national park enabling Acts, and Yosemite had importantly determined the context and paved the way for national park development. Over the next few years more parks would be created. Dilsaver & Strong (1993: 17) stated that, Sequoia became the nation's second national park on September 25th 1890, eighteen years after Yellowstone and just one week before the creation of Yosemite as a National Park.

Box 7: A Note On Mackinac island

A note should be made here that certain portions of Mackinac island in Michigan were established, arguably as the second US National Park in 1875. However, these very small parcels of land were protected primarily for the purpose of safeguarding an important military fort, rather than protection of landscape. They were later returned to the State of Michigan once the fort was deemed no longer viable, and so are not relevant to the protected landscape discussion of this thesis.

In all cases (excluding Mackinac Island Box 7) the defining legislation determined much the same: the land would be set apart reserved from sale,

settlement or occupancy, for public enjoyment and preservation of natural sceneries; although the Yosemite Act classified '…the tracts of land as forest reservations…' (Box 8):

Box 8: US Statute at Large: Defining Yosemite National Park Act 1890

On October 01st 1890, the US Congress legislated an Act authorizing 'An act to set apart certain tracts of land in the State of California as forest reservations', this created Yosemite as a National Park, yet excluded the lands within the Yosemite Grant:

> 'That nothing in this act shall be construed as in anywise affecting the grant of lands made to the State of California…'

Unlike the Yellowstone Act, Yosemite set aside forest lands but it continued in the same detail as Yellowstone and Sequoia:

> 'That the tracts of land in the State of California…are hereby reserved and withdrawn from settlement, occupancy, or sale under the laws of the United States, and set apart as reserved forest lands…that said reservation shall be under the exclusive control of the Secretary of the Interior…such regulations shall provide for the preservation from injury of all timber, mineral deposits, natural curiosities, or wonders within said reservation, and their retention in their natural condition…'
> (Statutes at Large, 1891: 650-651).

The Yosemite Grant of 1864 had paved the way for certain allowable developments or land uses, (for example roads and property; Box 5), and the enabling national park Acts of Yellowstone and Yosemite were reinforced to include 'accommodation of visitors' and the use of incomes for sustainable development. Both the 1872 and 1890 national park Acts offered similar wording with just some minor differences. Thus, for example Yosemite's Act states:

> 'The Secretary may, in his discretion, grant leases for building purposes for terms not exceeding ten years of small parcels of ground not exceeding five acres; at such places in said reservation as shall require the erection of buildings for the accommodation of visitors; all of the proceeds of said leases and other revenues that may be derived from any source connected with said reservation to be expended under his direction

in the management of the same and the construction of roads and paths therein' (Statutes at Large, 1891: 650-651).

In 1906, Yosemite's legislature as a national park was widened, not only to incorporate the lands included in the 1864 Grant, but also to extend new ideals of land management. As Box 9 highlights, the defining requirements of the national park still ensured that lands would be '…reserved and withdrawn from settlement, occupancy, or sale…' but additionally that '…revenues derived from privileges in the park…be expended under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior in the management, protection, and improvement of the Yosemite National Park' (Statutes at Large, 1907: 831-832). The definition clearly stated the ideals or forms of national park land use had been broadened: protection would need to be managed alongside improvement.

Box 9: US Statute at Large: Defining Yosemite National Park 1906

On June 11th 1906, President Roosevelt legislated a Bill defining new boundaries for Yosemite National Park. These included most of the lands in the 1890 Statute (excluding certain lands made part of the Sierra Forest Reserve) as well as the lands of the 1864 Grant (see Box 5). These lands now formed the Yosemite National Park, also ensuring;

> '…the same are hereby, reserved and withdrawn from settlement, occupancy, or sale under the laws of the United States and set apart as reserved forest lands…' (Statutes at Large, 1907: 831-832).

and that:

> '…all revenues derived from privileges in the park authorized under the Act of October first, eighteen hundred and ninety, the Act of February seventh, nineteen hundred and five, as well as under this measure, or from privileges accorded on the lands herein segregated from said park and included within the Sierra Forest Reserve, shall be paid into the Treasury of the United States, to be expended under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior in the management, protection, and improvement of the Yosemite National Park. Approved, June 11, 1906' (Statutes at Large, 1907: 831-832).

The defining priorities of national park landscape in the US required the fostering of 'preservation' alongside public enjoyment to ensure protection and access, and since 1864, had been established 'inalienable for all time'. In many

ways this mirrored the rights of every US citizen constituted in the Declaration of Independence in 1776; quoted by NPS (2013):

> 'We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.'

Although the indigenous peoples of American landscape may contest such un/inalienable rights it was clear that the US national parks mandate was to prioritise land use for places of enjoyment alongside places of landscape protection, with certain allowable developments and leases (but not ownership). As noted in the Introduction, although the Acts prescribed leases, Yosemite has always preferred investment contracts that are not actually legislated as leases (possibly a precedent continued from the less defined Grant). However, from the enabling Acts, US protected landscape policy determined and prioritised two fundamental ideals: protection and access, and these ideals would need to be controlled and managed.

2.2.3 The Organic Act 1916: Advancing Protection and Access

In 1916 The National Park Service Organic Act legislated for enhanced control of US national parks, not only would there be greater definition of the priorities or ideals - protection and access - but within its Statement of Purpose, it was also declared that there should be a specific service to control the ideals (see Box 10). Through the Act, the world's first national park agency was established, the National Park Service (NPS; 1.6.2) was formed, and they were overseen by its first Director, Californian Stephen Mather, responsible for the then thirteen US National Parks. Mather's job was to oversee protection and access, to ensure protection of natural resources whilst at the same time to ensure visitor facilities and infrastructure offered a quality and experience that reached minimum standards. He was the man to do this:

> 'President W.W. Campbell [University of California] on that occasion [1924 Honorary Law Degree] characterized him as follows: 'Stephen Tyng Mather, mountaineer and statesman; lover of Nature and his fellow-men; with generous and farseeing wisdom he has made accessible for a multitude of Americans their great heritage of snow-capped mountains, of

glaciers and streams and falls, of stately forests and quiet meadows…'' (Russell, 1992: 164)'.

Prior to the NPS, the US Cavalry had enforced the ideals in the Parks (see NPS management of park systems in Section 3.4.3 and specific to Yosemite in Chapter 5), and the NPS took over from where the Cavalry had left off to implement a more business-like management structure; 'proper and wise-use management' (see Section 3.2).

Box 10: Defining The NPS In The Organic Act 1916

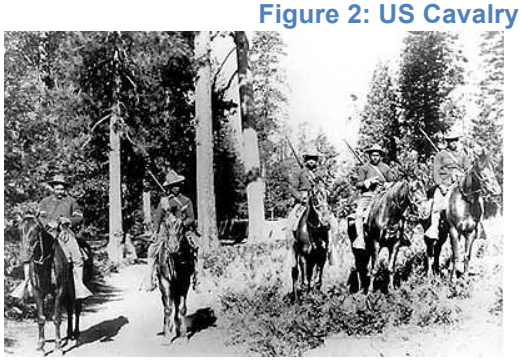
> The service thus established shall promote and regulate the use of the Federal areas known as national parks, monuments, and reservations hereinafter specified by such means and measures as conform to the fundamental purpose of the said parks, monuments, and reservations, which purpose is to conserve the scenery and the natural and historic objects and the wild life therein and to provide for the enjoyment of the same in such manner and by such means as will leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations. (Winks, 2007: 8)

Through the Organic Act, the NPS were in effect the policing service, not as militaristic as the Cavalry, but a service prescribed with many powers of control and requirement of operation, which would be achieved through the Act's 'plain language'. Priorities of use, especially 'public use and enjoyment' should be unimpaired and of paramount importance:

> 'The act even allowed consumptive use of certain park resources - evidence that the founders intended 'unimpaired' to mean something quite different from the strict preservation of nature. Section 3 of the act authorized the leasing of lands in the parks for the development of tourist accommodations, thereby perpetuating the commercial tourism that was ongoing in all national parks...' (Sellars, 1997: 43-44).

Other duties included controlling predatory wildlife numbers and protecting game species, managing forestation duties and effectively working as farm managers, allowing continuation of livestock grazing. The NPS were in essence a force to protect and a force to oversee development and visitation: Figure 2 shows the US Cavalry in 1899 and the vision of the NPS in 1916 – note similarities of the use of force.

Figure 2: US Cavalry 1899 and NPS Poster 2016



Sources: B&W - All-black 24th Infantry Regiment, (1899).
Photo courtesy of National Park Service Historic Photograph Collection – www.nps.gov.
Poster: 'Worth Fighting For' courtesy of https://www.pbs.org/now/popups/photo3np.html.

Sellars (1997: 44) went on to say that under Mather, the principles of the Organic Act '…could serve 'different interests without difficulty.'

2.2.4 Framing Ideals Of Protection

US national park policy prioritised both protection and access, which since the enabling Acts had created contention; to what level does one protect and to what level should one allow for access? This contention was exacerbated within the Organic Act, which had a 'contradictory mandate to draw the Park Service in two quite opposite directions,' (Winks, 2007: 7). This was also a point discussed by Magoc (1999: 170) in the context of Yellowstone, stating the difficult challenges the National Park Service had in balancing protection and access, especially with '…tight budgets, changing politics, increasing numbers of tourists, and evolving ideas about the management of nature.'

Protection and access required both human interaction and the need for conservation and/or preservation. This search for equilibrium predates Leopold's (1949: 202) 'ecological evolution' (see Section 2.3.4), 'where there is a line between limiting freedom of actions over the struggle for existence'. As Section 2.4 examines, one of the profound debates within this contention is how protection is framed, to what level 'preservation'. Preservation has often been used ambiguously and interchangeably alongside conservation, as Sellars (1997: 43) states (bold text used to highlight point):

> ‘The Organic Act's statement of purpose called for the Park Service to '**conserve**' the scenery and other resources, while most early national park enabling acts (including, for example, Yellowstone, Sequoia, Yosemite, Mount Rainier, and Glacier) called the enabling Acts of Yosemite and Yellowstone ‘called for ‘**preservation**’ of resources…’

Of significant importance to this debate and the research of this thesis, as examined in Section 2.4, is that, as Sellars (1997: 43) continued, the enabling Acts and Organic Act required ‘…a blending of the related concepts of conservation and preservation. In its broader sense, conservation included preservation as one of many valid approaches to managing resources.’ As evidenced in this thesis, this blending of both concepts and evidencing they have an inter-relationship is important to determine and frame the US national park ideals of protection and access. This is also true in contemporary global definitions: in the Bali Declaration of 1972, the Third World Congress on national parks stated (bold text underpins this point):

> ‘…national parks are an indispensible element of **conservation**: they help to maintain the essential ecological processes that depend on natural ecosystems; they **preserve** species diversity and genetic variation and thereby, prevent irreversible damage to the world’s natural heritage…” (McNeely, 1990: 19).

However, the ideals or framing of protected landscape, incorporating preservation and conservation policies, did not originate in the US with the enabling Acts. In Europe, Royal hunting grounds had been for centuries set aside as ‘protected’ parks (see Eagles et al., 2002: xv-5). In France, Bois de Boulogne – a large public ‘protected’ park – had been created 10-12 years before the initial 1864 Californian Grant. Within America itself, conservation policies had been adopted for millennia, prior to any nineteenth century discoveries: the indigenous people in America inhabited and conserved wild lands as long as 8000 years ago, with as Anderson (2005: 8-9) suggests, a culture of landscape conservation. As Rolston III (1991: 370) declared, [in] American ‘anthropecology’ (anthropology and ecology) one can discover the eco-management or sustainable development of lands by the American Indigenous people. However, the frame of protected landscape termed as national parks did originate with the enabling Acts:

> ‘The national park idea, born in the United States, is as uniquely American as the Declaration of Independence and just as radical; that a nation’s most magnificent and sacred places should be preserved, not for the royalty or the rich, but for everyone and for all time. It is, as Wallace Stegner once said, ‘the best idea we ever had,’ now copied by other nations around the World.’ (Duncan and Burns [in] Olmsted, 1993: v).

The concept that conservation and preservation are blended is also derived from human motivations within the US national park and wise-use debate as evidenced many times in this thesis, referring to John Muir and Gifford Pinchot. The next section examines these motivations from the perspective of these two important individuals, and it conceptualises motivations as Norton (1986: 195) had suggested, where philosophers have concentrated their efforts to define the differences through acknowledging a distinction in ‘human’ and ‘non-human’ motives.

2.2.5 Motivations Within Protection, Preservation and Access

The founding goals within national park policy enshrined preservation, protection and access, and Mather had concluded that the best way to embrace preservation was to ensure public access would be promoted. That would require development, such as new roads, accommodations, visitor centres ‘…and advertising to explain park wonders’ (Dilsaver & Strong:1993 13). Many of the pioneers of landscape protection, referenced throughout this thesis, offered important opinions to the ideals, goals and objectives of protected landscape policy, such as Frederick Law Olmsted and his concerns over development in Yosemite (see Section 5.2.3). Many pioneers also offered weight to the landscape cultural and social arguments, including Aldo Leopold (see Section 2.3.4) and Henry David Thoreau (see Box 11). However, in addressing the ideals and goals of protection and access, there were two pioneers whose motivations progressed the conservation and preservation discussion. Firstly, John Muir, *The Father of National Parks*, the acclaimed author, poet, conservationist and preservationist and mountaineer who believed in a greater spiritual harvest, and secondly, Gifford Pinchot, a businessman, a forester with ideals of conservation based around sustainable development who saw a broader multi-use harvest, driving a fair-share of natural resources. Muir and Pinchot’s relationship to Theodore Roosevelt is also of importance,

especially regarding the ideals of multi-use and 'anthropocentric purpose', exemplified in the Yellowstone Park Act which declared, 'for the benefit and enjoyment of the people' (Magoc, 1999: 166-167). The author also stated Pinchot declared, 'the first duty of the human race…is to control the earth it lives upon'. Control and proper management would provide for a lasting 'kingdom' (ibid), and one of the aims of this section is to demonstrate the difficulties in aspiring to that management. To what level conservation and preservation in order to determine the level of protection of the natural environment and to determine the level of consumption of natural resources; to balance protection and access. This section discusses two proponents of this argument, very different in their purpose, to propose that there requires a blending of the related concepts of conservation and preservation, in order to embrace protection and advance access.

2.2.5.1 John Muir

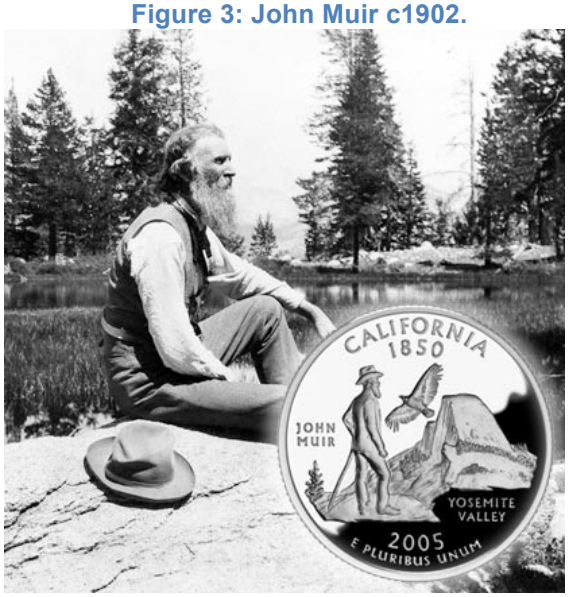
John Muir (Figure 3) was a Scotsman who moved to the USA with his family at the age of 11 in 1849 and was the son of devoutly religious and very strict father Daniel Muir. By 1866, Muir was working as a sawyer in a wagon-wheel factory in Indianapolis, and in 1867 he had an industrial accident, which almost took his sight. After this, he decided he wanted to see as much of 'creation' as he could, and embarked on a thousand mile walk from Indianapolis to 'The Gulf [of Mexico]'. His initial goal was to proceed onwards into South America, but he felt that North America needed to be explored far more, and in 1868 (four years after the Yosemite Grant), after arriving into San Francisco, he hiked into Yosemite for the first time. In June of that year he saw the Yosemite Mountains and found his salvation, he was free of his domineering religious father, but now his religion, his spirituality, was found in the wild[er]ness of Yosemite.

Muir was instrumental in changing social understanding of nature occupying both feeling and place of landscape in human thought and activity. He was a true proponent of '…the proper use of nature…' rather than protecting nature from use. Seeing nature as an important part of well-being and a proponent of fair-share, he believed everyone should have access to nature in a balanced

way. In a BBC2 programme aired in 2012, the presenter Neil Oliver stated that Muir believed:

> 'Whole Kingdoms of creatures had enjoyed existence on earth and returned to dust long before man appeared to claim them. Every creature on the planet was as worthy as any other. Man had no special place in the ecosystem, merely a place that was exalted enough to have a great deal of responsibility attached to it' (Oliver, 2012).

Figure 3: John Muir c1902.



Source: Sierra Club (2012)

Muir was without doubt one of the foremost leaders in conservation, and while he did move away from progressive voices like Gifford Pinchot, who promoted multi-use of landscape, he retained a certain level of enlightened attitude towards nature, namely promoting tourism [visitation and access]. He wanted people to experience nature and wildness and became known as *'Father of the National Parks':*

> 'In God's wildness lies the hope of the world - the great fresh unblighted, unredeemed wilderness. The galling harness of civilization drops off, and wounds heal ere we are aware' (Muir [in] Wolfe, 1979: 317).

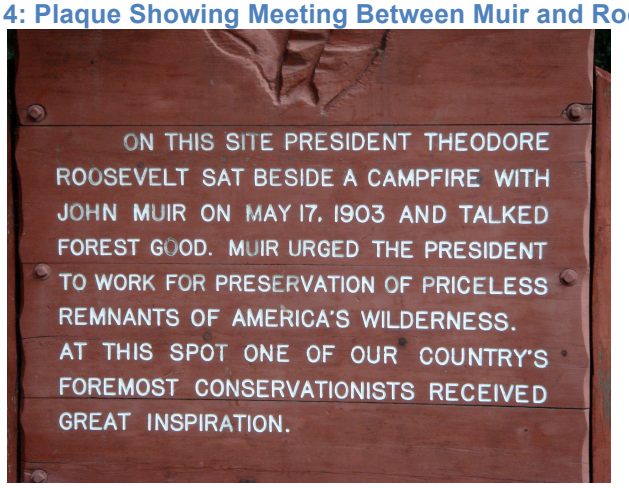
After his early days in Yosemite, working for the lumber businessman James Mason Hutchings he encouraged human interaction with nature, especially through the preservation movement the Sierra Club (see Box 13). Sargent (1971) examined this in her writing on John Muir, where she summised that on Muir's last visit to Yosemite in 1909 he discussed along with Sierra Club officials

at the National Parks conference the effect of tourists on the land. They deduced that nature recovered very quickly from the traces of campers, and so Muir wanted to develop and promote tourism to all, not just Sierra Club members. He also promoted tourism and access through his journal writing (a broad spectrum of publications from *Century Magazine* to *Harpers Monthly*) and his books, for example *The Mountains of California* (1985), *Our National Parks* (1901a) and *The Yosemite* (1988). Muir was undoubtedly a complex individual, mixing conservation and preservation with business, and it was this 'balance in nature', the ability to mix (blending) both, that really led to his successes in developing the national park ideals through Yosemite. He felt there was a 'juiceless world', he wanted Americans to escape the cities and towns and discover nature, to find themselves and find a new America (see Gifford, 1996; Worster, 2008). At times he was part of the 'juiceless world' (the lumber business with Hutchings, he married into a wealthy farming family), but he never lost the desire to be at one with nature, believing nature was the cure for the stresses of everyday life, and it was as important for every person to experience Yosemite as it was enriching for himself:

> 'Climb the mountains and get their good tidings. Nature's peace will flow into you as sunshine flows into trees. The winds will blow their own freshness into you, and the storms their energy, while cares will drop off like autumn leaves…'Keep close to Nature's heart...break clear away, once in awhile, and climb a mountain or spend a week in the woods. Wash your spirit clean' (Muir, 1901a: 48-62).

Muir exemplifies the arguments in the last section, blending the related concepts of preservation and conservation. He was the founder of the Sierra Club, one of the US's most active preservation movements, yet Muir believed protection and access could be balanced, preservation and conservation were part of the balance.

Figure 4: Plaque Showing Meeting Between Muir and Roosevelt.



Source: Stones (2012)

The above plaque (Figure 4), dedicated to Muir and located in the heart of Yosemite Valley, shows just how conservation and preservation are used inter-changeably and perhaps lends weight to the fact that the two concepts are blended. Perhaps as Minteer & Corley (2007: 308) show:

> '…more than a few observers have suggested that the conservation-preservation debate has been rather exaggerated, and that the theoretical and policy lines drawn between the two approaches – and between Muir and Pinchot more specifically – were in fact never all that sharp (e.g., Norton, 1991; Reiger, 2001; Miller, 2001; Meine, 2004).'

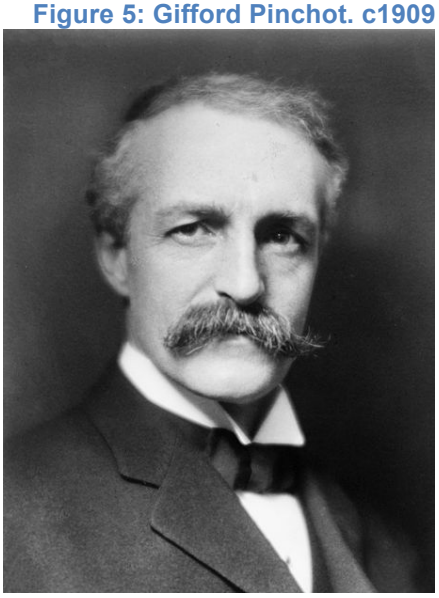
Muir's conservation ideals were in many ways opposite to those of Gifford Pinchot, yet in many ways they both stood for similar ideals, but from different perspectives of what constitutes fair-share.

2.2.5.2 Gifford Pinchot

One of the progressive actors in conservation was Gifford Pinchot (Figure 5) who believed land should have multi-uses and not be assigned to singular protection. Magoc (1999: 169) highlighted that the multi-use philosophy was gaining importance in nature and Pinchot encouraged all activities from tourism and leisure to the extraction industries, agriculture and logging, to make the most of the earth's natural resources, endorsing Eder's (1996) conservation and 'fair-share' package:

Magoc (1999: 163-164) highlights that by the early part of the 1900's Muir had 'parted company' with the multi-use progressives and become more entwined in the vision that wild areas were spiritual havens; whereas the progressives like Pinchot believed in 'wise' or 'multi' use for successful management of forests and wild areas. Pinchot saw that the '…resources of the national forests…should be privately developed but wisely overseen by skilled government experts', in that provision would be made to benefit all rather than profit for the few. Pinchot also saw that resources could be both harvested yet also protected, '…harvested for the highest possible sustainable yield.

Figure 5: Gifford Pinchot. c1909



Source: Pirie MacDonald (Wikimedia) - Library of Congress online collection. Accessed 2015.

Pinchot was the first chief of the US National Forest Service, so had a certain bias towards the lumber industry. Nevertheless, he saw that '…natural resources must be developed and preserved for the benefit of the many and not merely the profit of a few' (Pinchot, 1910: 16). This was also a sentiment mirrored by Roosevelt (1897) who thought multi-use brought a type of 'democracy' to nature, 'for the benefit and enjoyment of the people.' Pinchot (see Pinchot, 1910; Callicott, 1991; Nash, 1982b) was an advocate of Roosevelt's policies on conservation for the common good, that the benefit of the small man was as important as the multi-national, that waste had to be avoided, that conservation meant the correct use of the natural resources would avoid such waste. Pinchot believed the way natural resources were utilised or handled was detrimental to everyone. Dollars and cents had to be replaced with

a balanced programme, so the legacy of nature could be handed down from generation to generation, for each generation to enjoy and experience as much as the previous one; in other words, sustainable development.

> ‘The first great fact about conservation is that it stands for development. There has been a fundamental misconception that conservation means nothing but the husbanding of resources for future generations. There could be no more serious mistake. Conservation does mean provision for the future, but it means also and first of all the recognition of the right of the present generation to the fullest necessary use of all the resources with which this country is so abundantly blessed. Conservation demands the welfare of this generation first, and afterward the welfare of the generations to follow’ (Pinchot, 1910: 15).

Pinchot was a stalwart of the forest service and like Henry Graves, who was Head of The Forest Service from 1910-1920, felt that there would be management clashes and interaction between the Forest and Park Services; Graves was adamant that there would be no ‘dismembering of the National Forests’. This vision on how the forest service and national parks should or could be managed is summed up very well by Sellars (1997: 36-37):

> ‘He [Graves] recommended strict qualifications for national parks to resist park proposals on lands that had value for 'other purposes,' a strategy that would prevent many public lands from becoming parks. Graves would not only keep the national park system smaller, but also place the new bureau within the Agriculture Department, where the Forest Service could exert greater influence …In contrast, Horace McFarland informed Graves early in the national park campaign that he saw a distinct difference between park and forest management. To McFarland, a national forest was 'the nation's woodlot,' while a national park was 'the nation's playground.' He fervently believed the two kinds of management did not mix well - it was unwise for a bureau that managed forests on a sustained-yield commercial basis also to manage national parks. The parks should not be the 'secondary object' of the agency overseeing them; this would make park management, as he explained to Pinchot, 'incidental, and therefore inefficient.' McFarland had no confidence in Pinchot's sense of Forest Service 'harmony' with the 'economic and sociological purpose' of the national parks. He asserted that there was 'very good reason to suppose' that the attitude of the Forest Service was 'inimical to the true welfare of the national park idea as serving best the recreational needs of the nation. 'McFarland's apprehension about Forest Service opposition remained strong. As congressional hearings on the legislation proceeded in the spring of 1916, he wrote to Olmsted on the difficulty of overcoming the Forest Service's attempt to 'emasculate this Park Service proposition.' He pointed out that Stephen Mather believed 'there is a constant and

> continual hostility in the Forest Service against the whole idea of National Parks as such''.

Pinchot and Muir differed in two distinct areas. Muir, the national park voice, was singular in his view, firstly that conservation (and preservation) required human interaction as visitors, and secondly that industries such as lumbering and agriculture could only ever be the antithesis of protection. Pinchot, on the other hand, was focussed very much towards the national forests and building the premise of wise-use through multi-use of more industrial practices, and his views carried weight towards the desire to avoid comparison with, and legislation for, the national parks.

Muir and Pinchot, like many of the pioneers of protected landscape policy, had opposing views. The former was a voice who blended the concepts of preservation and conservation, and the latter a progressive conservationist dedicated to the idea of multi-use. The practices of multi-use (see the wise-use movement, Section 3.3) have been described earlier in this chapter as legitimising the use of finite natural resources for human needs, and action that 'concentrates too much power in the hands of too few corporations' (see Desjardins, 1998: 831). Multi-use movements (see wise-use movement) also suggest today that national parks are too restrictive on local communities and they should be broken up into natural resource components. Yet national parks embody human inclusion, they protect natural environments, and as Chapter 3 and Chapter 6 evidence, they sustain local communities.

This section has determined the defining perspectives and motivations of protected landscapes in the US as national parks, which embodied a cultural priority, '…that wilderness was the basic ingredient of American civilization' (Nash, 1982b: xi). The discovery of protected landscape in the US was, as detailed in the next section, not an invention by Americans but an invention of American nationalism, a discovery of their culture, and a place that could parallel the cultural identities of Europe.

2.3 US Landscape Culture – Defining Wilderness

This section progresses from the definition, ideals and objectives of specific protected landscape national park policy, to examine the perspective of US landscape as a culture with an inherent meaning of both place and feeling. It determines the differences between wilderness and wildness and it provides the foundation of what public lands for public good means to US citizenry (Americans). Initially, the section looks at the concept of a cultural identity, defining protected landscape as a place society could connect with, a place that would be amortised for recreation and tourism. Then the section looks at the idealisation of the countryside, blending perspectives from Britain to connect with US desires, how such landscape connects to recreation and tourism and how landscape acts as a place and feeling. In so doing, this Section draws on various literatures in Geography to underpin the intellectual findings of this thesis. Explicitly, this chapter examines the important works in cultural Geography on landscape, which also compare the European and US aesthetic of wilderness and how place offers American citizenry a national 'treasure'. The chapter also examines the social geographies of landscape, investigating how protected landscape is commodified for recreation and tourism, to uphold social ideals of well-being and the connection to protecting nature through inclusion, to build conservation and preservation alongside access.

2.3.1 A Culture For Identity

The concept of wilderness offers an experiential connection to a raw, untamed nature for Americans, which evolved from the early pioneers, the frontiersmen, where wild engaged fear and terror, yet also combined the beautiful and sublime with spiritual feelings. Through a protected landscape, such wilderness would be a place that people could connect with (see for example, Franklin, 2002; Nash, 1982b; Muir, 1985). Magoc (1999:6) stated about Yellowstone:

> '…American travellers sought the ambivalent and curious combination of divine rapture and terror, found in such places.'

After the first national park enabling Acts around 1897, the then President Theodore Roosevelt feared the wilderness of frontiersmen would disappear;

that the American wilderness, the land of the great hunters like Daniel Boone, the land of conquest, was becoming diminished. The reasoning behind this was that by managing protected landscape, embracing the ideals of access and protection the land of frontiersmen would be destructed:

> 'Once this intervention begins, it never ends; it spirals into further and further human intrusion, rendering wilderness increasingly evaluated, managed, regulated, and controlled. That is, tamed.' (Turner, 1991: 621-623).

This embodies a social landscape culture debate, which as Wylie (2007: 7) argued, may be regarded as relative; how we see it, how we define it, what it means, '…Landscapes are not just about *what we see, but about how we look*.' Wylie (2007: 9) goes on to say that this social culture relationship '…signals the tensions at work within the concept of landscape.' The 'tamed' US landscape created a national identity. In removing the terror and fear to, '... elevate all the faculties of the mind, and to exalt all the feelings of the heart' (De Witt Clinton [in] Nash, 1982b: 70). The landscape builds citizenry; as Washington Irving declared (ibid: 72): 'no, never, need an American look beyond his own country for the sublime and beautiful of natural scenery.' Runte (2010: 25) presents a similar outlook to the ideal of national parks creating a national identity, and suggests that the US national park ideals resulted from a sense of nationalism, rather than desires simply framed around protection and recreation (access). A desire to connect with wilderness, where such desires embraced a sense of place: to connect with and to be part of, a lens to '*look'* through. Runte (2010: 25) argued that since the original areas in the Yosemite Grant were so small (around 56 square miles) and federal control was ceded to the State of California, protection and recreation could not be the driving force (whereas nationalism could):

> 'Obviously, such limitations ignored the biological framework of the region, especially its major watersheds. Nationalism, not environmentalism, still explains the origins of the Yosemite grant'. (Runte, 2010: 25).

Two important facets build on the US nationalism or cultural identity argument. The first is discussed by Runte (2010: 25-27), who stated that at the time of the American civil war, with lands to the East being fought over, the Union of the

North needed to decree an area for public interest to unite a nation, to build a cultural icon, a *National Treasure,* as Harmon (1987: 218) states, Runte saw that:

> ‘US national parks were established to preserve monumentalism, the preservation of inspiring grandeur and worthless lands, lands that had no value for agriculture, mining or industrial uses’.

The second continues around the same time of the American civil war, when there was an ever-increasing need for the US to compete with European culture, when Americans required a counterpart to the cultural identity that Europe had (see for example, Bunce, 1994; Magoc, 1999; Eagles et al., 2002). For centuries, the European frame was constructed through a rich and proud culture and heritage: castles, literature, art and monarchies. Perhaps this was one of the main driving forces to discover the national park system as a truly American invention, an invention of cultural icons and cultural achievement:

> ‘Runte sees national parks as having arisen out of a pervasive atmosphere of cultural insecurity in which Americans, feeling obliged to hold themselves up to the European mirror, put forth monumental examples of wild nature as a way of compensating for their own culture’s comparative lack of human-made achievements’. (Harmon, 1987: 219).

This cultural insecurity led to a strong identity around landscape, an identity specific to the US citizenry, an identity of ‘landscape grandeur’ over Europe: ‘European outdoor recreation is largely devoid of the thing that wilderness areas would be the means of preserving in this country’ (Leopold, 1925: 83). Leopold (see Section 2.3.4) further suggested that Europeans had the comforts of home when they were in the wilderness, stating ‘the whole thing carries the atmosphere of a picnic rather than that of a pack trip’ (1925: 83). Harmon (1987: 218) suggests that in the 1920’s and 1930’s Leopold adapted these arguments, and from then on a utilitarian argument prevailed for wilderness areas, which were designed for recreational use as places of inspiration, education and of course freedom, thus building on the ideals of John Muir. This then also contributes to a prevailing requirement to access landscape, to experience such freedoms, thus driving the inclusion and interaction of citizenry. This was a focus to re-invent the ideal that every citizen could be a ‘new’

frontiersman, to reconnect nature and American people without fear and terror, one that exalted the sublime and beautiful.

2.3.2 Idealisation Of the Countryside

The European ‘countryside’ aesthetic forms an important alliance to the US ideals of protected landscape. As Bunce (1994: 206) highlights, the roots of the idealisation of countryside were founded in Britain, and the rise of urban economies that, ‘the countryside ideal was forged in the rise of modern urban civilisation.’

> ‘…in 17th century England there was a 'social hierarchy' whereby the landlord oversaw the tenant farmer and then the labourer, which of course lead to a 'new class’ of rural entrepreneur. This lead to the foundation of rural gentrification whereby the wealthy families developed the rural ideals which in turn saw improvements in agriculture and the aesthetic, so in mid-eighteenth century Georgian England the enjoyment of the landscape was for those living in it.’ (Bunce, 1994: 7-9).

With the growth of rural consumer goods and food production the economy boomed, then as the ability of this economy to absorb an expanding labouring population diminished it suffered, leading around the nineteenth century to the re-urbanisation and the growth of cities, where there could be assured levels of labour and materials:

> ‘With the industrial revolution's dependence on large concentrations of labour and materials came phenomenal rates of increase in both the size and the number of large cities'. (Bunce, 1994: 9).

The shift from a rural-based economy to an urban one meant the idealisation of the countryside now came from an urban-industrial foundation. Bunce (1994: 10) compares this to the US landscape during the same period. To the Eastern side urbanisation was at a competing level with the European nations, yet to the West the European settlers were engaging high levels of rural population and connection to the countryside, thus dividing the US into two parts. Burnett, (1978: 193) [in] Bunce (1994: 13) also identified how the values of middle-class Christians required a home life:

> ‘Central to this [tenet to Christian home life] was the notion of the home as a place of refuge, in which the husband could recover from the pressures of business life while wife and children remained inviolate from the temptations of the wicked world'.

Just as the home was appreciated as a refuge from the rigours of life, so too the countryside, the rural environments could be appreciated as places of refuge from urban life. People in the UK or in the US visit landscape, they visit the countryside with a purpose; as stated in Section 2.1, it is a place away from normal life and a place of redemption, which is central to the thinking of the countryside ideal as examined by Thoreau, Box 11.

Box 11: Henry David Thoreau

Henry David Thoreau (1816-1872) was a poet, philosopher, naturalist and author. He wrote a masterwork *Walden* after two years (1845) living in Concord Woods by Walden Pond, and was also known for his beliefs in Transcendentalism. In 1851 he made the statement: ‘In wildness is the preservation of the World.’ This is much, and often, incorrectly quoted, in that wildness is often substituted for wilderness, whereas what Thoreau was talking about was the feeling, not the place. See Section 2.3.4 - Thoreau in relation to Landscape as Wildness.

Thoreau believed the industrial world was just technical and material, where man simply cannot be himself, and should be rejected:

> ‘Thoreau's celebrated retreat to the Concord Woods symbolised his outright repudiation of the culture of technology, in which 'man has no time to be anything but a machine', and in which the pursuit of material comfort and wealth were 'positive hindrances to the elevation of mankind' (Thoreau and Carew, 1854: 9)' [in] (Bunce, 1994: 20).

The American landscape was cast as a place for citizenry to connect with their nature, with wilderness, a cultural identity promoting social integration; adapting the early pioneer ideal of ‘frontiersmen’ to a new ‘breed’ through visitation. As Eagles & McCool (2002: 3) highlight, the ideals of countryside and the spiritual quest had been adapted to the American wilderness. The US national parks offered humans a place to visit ‘…to accept nature on its own merits’ (2002: 3), and a place that humans can return from ‘psychologically strengthened’ (ibid).

The national parks were a model to be savoured, one that every American could be proud of, and a pride that could compete with the European landscape elites. The US was the first country to legislate for such areas of land, and in so doing determined a requirement for management, the planning and control of access and protection. In many ways this juxtaposed the early ideals of the UK and The Royal Hunting Grounds, to protect lands not for the elites but for the environment and for recreation for all.

2.3.3 Landscape As Recreation

This section drives forward from landscape as a cultural icon to address the fact that national parks, as a part of the 'countryside ideal', were as Nash (1982b: 325) states, fundamentally formed to facilitate public recreation. The national park enabling Acts legislated an important ideal of access for public resort and recreation, 'Thus, from the very beginning, park visitation and tourism were central pillars of the national parks movement' (Eagles, 2002: 7). Once the National Park Organic Act (see Winks, 2007; Runte, 2010; Runte, 1990b), was implemented, the first Director of the NPS Stephen Mather believed that public access would uphold the other ideal of protection. Congress had legislated national parks as areas made available to people, as long as they were unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations. As previously discussed, and as Eagles et al., (2002: xv-5) highlight, the parks in Europe (exemplified through the Royal protected areas) were catalysts for evolving visitation as they evolved to encourage tourism, and this has continued to today: 'Protected areas need tourism, and tourism needs protected areas…' (Eagles et al., 2002: xv-5). Europe had provided a mantle for the US, in that protected landscape offered Americans a cultural identity, and at the time of the Organic Act, Europe also provided a comparison of scenic land consumption for the evolving US parks model:

> 'The leaders of the campaign to establish a Park Service…spoke of most of the thirty-seven parks that then existed, as well as the wide range of park proposals pending before Congress, in terms of scenic reserves, often invoking a comparison with Switzerland, which it was invariably argued had capitalized on its natural scenery more effectively than any other nation.' (Winks, 2007: 7)

As highlighted in Section 2.3.1, Runte (2010: 25) suggested that nationalism and monumentalism had been the founding framework of the national parks, rather than prioritising the landscape for protection and tourism (access). The counter argument to this is that, although US national parks are 'national treasures', they are and always were places of protection and recreation. If the small size of land within the Yosemite Grant coupled with control being ceded to the State of California were the precedents for a nationalistic or cultural icon, then Yellowstone was the opposite. It was 'huge' in size, 'approximately 3500 square miles' spread across 'three territories', and under Federal control (Runte, 2010: 29-30). However, Runte continued, that simply 'reinforced tradition', one of monumentalism alongside nationalism. However, this thesis argues (more rigorously) that, although the cultural icons and nationalism were important, the national parks were established around a framework to advance protection and embrace access. Significantly, the primary declaration for Yellowstone was to 'set aside the area as a pleasure ground for the benefit and enjoyment of the people' and the primary declaration for Yosemite was 'public use, resort and recreation.' Moreover, as Runte (1990b) had earlier pointed out, at the forefront of the American ideals of national parks was also protecting commercial interests; those that would advance Congress' wishes of unimpaired public access, and thus capitalise on making commercial gain from the recreational opportunities. This is examined in more detail in Chapter 3, but is exemplified by Congress' commitment and ensuring that the State of California Grant Commissioners were active in promoting and developing access:

> 'Neither Congress nor the United States Supreme Court would allow California to renege on the absolute acceptance of the terms of Yosemite's enabling legislation'. (Orsi et al., 1993: 1).

US national parks ideology was driven by nationalism, to provide the nation's icons or treasures as outlined by Runte (2010), but they also had far greater remits; a social re-connection, through Congress, of people to their landscape, to a wilderness that offered the sublime and beautiful without fear and terror; and to their landscape, to a feeling, one of wildness, one that promoted visitation and recreation.

2.3.4 Landscape As Wildness

The previous sections in this chapter have fundamentally addressed protected landscape as a place of wild, a tangible experience, a place of cultural meaning. This section examines a different vision of wild, one seen through 'feeling', building on Thoreau's ideology (see Box 11) that landscape and wilderness had greater social meaning - a place of wildness, of spirituality and goodness. Wylie (2007: 21) articulates this in a contemporary view of landscape feeling, '…it may be defined, therefore, as an area made up of a distinct association of forms, both physical and cultural' (Sauer, 1963b: 321 [in] Wylie, 2007: 21). The author articulates that landscape '…is not an amount of something but a quality of feeling' (2007: 160). This feeling from wildness offered divinity, it offered creation, a feeling that connected wildness with wilderness. This was transcendentalism; a higher spiritual feeling in 'nature' where man, nature and god were one:

> '…he [Thoreau] found 'some grand, serene, immortal, infinitely encouraging, though invisible, companion, and walked with him''. (Nash, 1982b: 89).

Thoreau (1862: 31) believed man was an integral part of nature, a part of freedom and wildness, '…to regard man as an inhabitant, or a part and parcel of Nature, rather than a member of society.' Although he saw the true rawness and dangers of wild landscape when he was climbing Mt.Katahdin in the 1840's; he believed there was a way of balancing this rawness with human interaction:

> 'The answer for Thoreau lay in a combination of the good inherent in wildness with the benefits of cultural refinement. An excess of either condition must be avoided, the vitality, heroism, and toughness that came with a wilderness condition had to be balanced by the delicacy, sensitivity, and "intellectual and moral growth" characteristic of civilization.... According to Thoreau, wildness and refinement were not fatal extremes but equally beneficent influences Americans would do well to blend'. (Nash, 1982b: 92-95).

In 1859, Thoreau also supported the idea of preservation through parks -places that were a part of American citizenry, places of recreation that endorsed feeling, and places where wilderness connected to wildness. These parks could

offer a place to visit, and wild[er]ness was, in the American context, a place to escape to:

> ‘In the meantime, the wildest health and pleasure grounds accessible and available to tourists seeking escape from care and dust and early death are the parks and reservations of the West’. (Muir, 1901b: 54).

Leopold, like Thoreau, saw a connection between wildness and civilization, which could thrive if balanced. For Leopold, who at one time was a forester and enjoyed hunting predatory animals (mainly to ensure conservation of ‘game’ in the forests), this balance required an ‘ecological conscience’. He believed that there are inter-relations between fauna and their environment, and that a ‘land ethic’ should prevail:

> ‘An ethic, ecologically, is a limitation on freedom of action in the struggle for existence…philosophically, is a differentiation of social from anti-social conduct.’ (Leopold, 1949: 202).

He (1949: 214) saw that, ‘…a system of conservation based solely on economic self-interest is hopelessly lopsided’, and it required government to undertake duties that it simply neither had the means, nor the inclination, to achieve. Rather, ‘…the economic parts of the biotic clock should function with the uneconomic parts.’

> ‘An ethical obligation on the part of the private owner is the only visible remedy for these situations.’ (Leopold, 1949: 214).

Alongside this, he stated in ‘*The Popular Wilderness Fallacy’* that nature was actually improved upon by civilization, and ‘…envisioned throughout his career an ideal of human unity and harmony with nature’ (Callicott, 1991: 338). Leopold, like Thoreau before him, was a great exponent of the national park ideal, seeing a place for nature recreation that exalted the feeling from wildness as ‘a panacea for the nation’s ills…’ (Nash 1982b: 189). He was president of The Ecological Society of America and one of the founders of The Wilderness Society 1935 (see Section 2.4.3.1), and expounded science as well as recreation:

> '…he went so far as to state that 'all wilderness areas...have a large value to land science...recreation is not their only or even their principal utility' (Nash, 1982b: 198).

US protected landscape prioritises a connection to wildness and wilderness, and like the ideals of countryside, is culturally and socially constructed (Bunce, 1994: 3). This construct defines wild landscape both physically and mentally, as a place to experience, through feeling and through recreation.

2.3.5 Landscape As A Dynamic Medium

This section examines the wider context of landscape as a dynamic medium, one that Wylie (2007: 4) questions: is it a scene we look at, or in fact a world that we live in; is it around us or in front of us? The section addresses landscape as a 'collective good', which can be enjoyed and used by everyone, a commodity to be consumed:

> '…in many respects [landscape] is much like a commodity: it actively hides (or fetishizes) the labour that goes into its making…(Mitchell, 1998b: 103-104). (Wylie, 2007: 107).

Since the age of enlightenment in the seventeenth century, when people started to believe that they would understand and control their lives by means of rational thought and work, they are as Dickens (2004; 1) states culturally progressive individuals. The natural environment is seen by people as a resource to offer raw materials, such as food, or to offer a service, exemplified through recreation; in some ways landscape has been consumed to be subdued:

> '…and God blessed them, and God said unto them, Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it: and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth.' (Genesis 1:28, KJB).

Bunce (1994) stated that the consumption of natural landscapes is broken down into those that love it and those that use it. As well as landscapes offering a collective good, they also offer 'maps of meaning', places where 'we project our perceptions' (Jackson, 1989 [in] Wylie, 2007: 103). Wylie (2007: 122) also

highlights the work of Mitchell (1994: 1) stating how landscape travels, further enhancing the 'dynamic medium' lens. This is a medium where the priorities, are moving from one time and place to another:

> '…values, beliefs and attitudes that work through and emerge from specific landscape practices and 'ways of seeing' can be seen to migrate through spaces and time' (Wylie, 2007: 122).

From the US perspective, the way of interpreting the public use and protection ideals has been a part of this migration, perhaps as non-European landscape is often viewed '…as natural and pristine, as untouched and untransformed' (Wylie, 2007: 133):

> 'In 'Arguments for a humanistic geography'…Daniels argues that landscape, as a way of seeing, is duplicitous, because whilst on the one hand it offers a redemptive, transcendent and aesthetic vision of sensual unity with nature, on the other it operates as a smokescreen concealing the underlying truth of material conditions and manipulating our vision such that we have become unaware of the distancing which separates us from the natural world.' (Daniels, 1985 [in] Wylie, 2007: 66-67).

One of the ideals behind the US national park system was to encourage people to connect to landscape, a process that, according to Reimers (2010: 4) went back 'to the beginning of time', as humans have their origins in nature and claim to want to return to it and be part of it, to connect with the place and feeling of wild. People have the wish to conquer it and to tame it:

> 'From the earliest times one of the principal criteria of civilization has been the ability to conquer the wilderness and convert it to economic use. To deny the validity of this criterion would be to deny history, But because the conquest of wilderness has produced beneficial reactions on social, political, and economic development, we have set up, more or less unconsciously, the converse assumption that the ultimate social, political, and economic development will be produced by conquering the wilderness entirely - that is, by eliminating it from our environment' (Leopold, 1925: 75).

Leopold challenged this position, as he felt this was against the American cultural ideal of wilderness, and that elimination would not be the final state, as the American people simply wouldn't allow it.

> ‘The question, in brief, is whether the benefits of wilderness-conquest will extend to ultimate wilderness-elimination. The question is new because in America the point of elimination has only recently appeared upon the horizon of foreseeable events’ (Leopold, 1925: 75-76).

To determine this position, Leopold (1925, 76-77) set out four ideals on how wilderness may be defined. Firstly, wilderness is a resource both physical and aesthetic through its raw materials, and secondly, each distinctive environment yields social values, which differ with each location. Thirdly, wilderness as an environment is not reproducible, but if managed well it remains intact. Lastly, wilderness 'exists in all degrees'. This is echoed by McKibben (2003: 104):

> ‘We have killed off nature…There's still something out there, though; in the place of the old nature rears up a new 'nature' of our own devising. It is like the old nature in that it makes its points through what we think of as natural processes (rain, wind, heat), but it offers none of the consolations - the retreat from the human world, the sense of permanence, and even eternity. Instead, each cubic yard of air, each square foot of soil, is stamped indelibly with our crude imprint’.

This section has defined landscape from different dimensions, to demonstrate how human interaction defines its interpretation of a nationalistic icon, a place and a feeling and a dynamic medium. This links to the next section, which moves towards the discourses around progressing the ideals of protection of natural resources whilst also encouraging access through the motivations of sustainability and development.

2.4 Sustainability, Development and Protection

The social and cultural connection to protected landscape determined that access or visitation would be a requirement, which in turn also necessitated protection. From the early ideals of national park policy, Stephen T. Mather advocated the requirement that people should visit parks, to enjoy the benefits and to support them financially, and to understand protection. Visitation has continued to grow. The IUCN classification system (see Table 1) also legitimises the need for visitation alongside conservation, and since the enabling Acts, such visitation has required the management of development. As this thesis shows, certain areas within the US national parks are set aside for no development and through designations such as the Wilderness Act and The

Wild & Scenic Rivers System (see Sections 2.4.3.1 and 6.3), US national parks have areas that are enshrined in anti-development rhetoric. However, development is not just designated to the built environment, development also includes growing visitor numbers and the need to cater for them, so as Eagles, et al., (2002: 8) state, national parks, '…also developed management principles and structures to handle such visitation, sometimes creating situations that were later widely regretted.' The founding pillar of national park ideology was that parks were created by people to invite people to visit. Many preservationists including John Muir (see Section 2.2.5.1) followed this ideology, yet fundamentally it is the management of people in terms of managing numbers and desires that is the predominant challenge. Academics argue that, 'our focus for maintaining life and quality of life on this planet should be on controlling human population growth' (Schlesinger, 1997: 417). That also connects to managing population activity and the growth of such activity, including managing tourism and the visitation to national parks. However, as this thesis argues, tourism can be a positive tool for protection, and what connects the management of people to the management of protection is managing growth in a sustainable way, to progress sustainable development:

> 'The expected growth and the new trends observed put tourism in a strategic position to make a positive contribution to, or to negatively affect, the sustainability of natural protected areas and the development potential of surrounding areas and their communities' (Eagles et al., 2002: ix).

The following section defines and critiques the concept of sustainable development, and examines how it connects to protected landscape policy, to show that it is an integral part of managing protection as well as access (Section 3.2 links Sustainable Development specifically with tourism development). This section also introduces the pathway to one of the main assertions of this thesis: that the concept of wise-use management and the process of responsibility have evolved to a process of resilience. This section also examines how protection is framed through conservation and preservation, and sets out another of the fundamental arguments of this thesis, that as Sellars (1997: 43) states, the priorities of protection and access required '…a blending of the related concepts of conservation and preservation'.

Since their inception, national parks have fulfilled a social desire to visit. Year on year, growing visitor numbers are a symbol of their success for 'public resort and recreation', yet there has always been the need to blend this with the requirement to protect the fragile landscapes. Since the enabling Acts, national park policy has embodied the ideals of protection and access, which as Manning (2001) highlights, has created both opportunities and challenges, 'to provide for the enjoyment of the people' and ensure that park resources are there not just for the present generation but also for future generations.

> 'Since the first World Conservation Strategy in 1980, the Brundtland Report in 1987, the IVth World Parks Congress in Caracas and The World Environment Summit in Rio in 1992, national parks and protected areas have also been seen as playing a fundamental role in sustainable development.' (Nelson & Serafin, 1997: Section 2.2).

Sustainable development requires compatibility between enhancing protection and developing access (to uphold national park priorities); on the one hand to ensure public use is unimpaired and on the other that natural resources are 'preserved'.

2.4.1 Sustainability Alongside Development

This section forms an important link to the concepts of preservation and conservation by defining how sustainability and development provide 'coherent global strategies' (see Brockington & Duffy,2011: 48) for such concepts. It also provides a pathway to sustainable tourism development and wise-use management discussed in Chapter 3. Around the time of the enabling Acts and the Organic Act protection of natural resources was framed under the concept of preservation (see, for example, Box 5) and conservation (see Box 10), both with the implied and expressed requirement to be implemented, as Winks (2007: 8) highlights, '…[by] such manner and by such means as will leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations.' Since the late 1960's this was framed as sustainability, emanating from the conservation of German Forest lands (see Lafferty, 1996). As a term associated with contemporary practice within environmental management, there are more recent conceptualisations of sustainability:

> ‘Contemporary emergence of the concept of “sustainability” can be traced to the 1987 report of the World Commission on Environment and Development, which advanced the principle that managing the environment for the benefits of the present generation should not preclude the ability of future generations to attain needed environmentally related benefits (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987). Since then, many efforts have been undertaken to define sustainability in a more operational way and to apply it in a number of fields of study and practice.’ (Manning et al., 2011, 25).

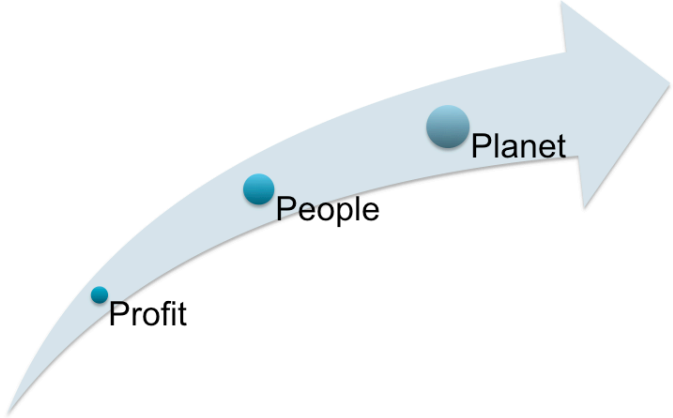
There are many further definitions of sustainability, including the widely used Brundtland Commission Report of 1987, which center on present and future human needs, succinctly defined by Kennedy (2003: 1861):

> ‘A modern convergence defines sustainability as requiring that the average welfare of the successor generation, with respect to the total of all…values, be as high or higher than that of the current generation…’

This has also led to thinking that sustainability can be linked to development, which Lafferty (1996: 185) stated ‘…has become a rhetorical talisman for our common present.’ This ‘talisman’ is a part of how protection, access and environmental management in national parks are linked to sustainability and development. The UN highlight that sustainable development requires three main components, or pillars (Figure 6):

> ‘These efforts will also promote the integration of the three components of sustainable development — economic development [profit], social development [people] and environmental protection [planet] — as interdependent and mutually reinforcing pillars’ (UN, 2005: 12).

Figure 6: UN Sustainability



Source: Stones (2014)

Yet sustainable development is often seen by social scientists as an apathetic or politically expedient approach to environmental management, or an oxymoron (see Redclift, 2006: 66), '…a fudge…' (Richardson, 1994:12) and a concept to be challenged:

> 'The idea has evolved into an 'essentially contested concept' [Gallic 1962; Connolly, 1983], an idea characterised by different types of 'vagueness' [Kaplan, 1964] over which we pursue endless semantic debates. For many, this points towards a relatively simple solution: avoidance. Unclear concepts lead to unclear communication, and unclear communication is the source of both nonsense and trouble. Any idea that attempts to attach relatively simple normative connotations to the complex notion of 'development' as applied to widely diverse global settings and populations, deserves to be scrapped.' (Lafferty, 1996: 186).

In many ways the contestations of sustainable development reflect a political versus intellectual debate, even practitioner versus academic, as Lafferty (1996: 186) shows: 'the more the politicians use it - the less the intellectuals like it.' From an environmental perspective, many social and 'deep' ecologists express a certain amount of scepticism to such practice, positioning that whatever the management, sustainable development legitimises using finite natural resources for human needs:

> 'Deep Ecologists and Social Ecologists likewise would argue that sustainable development continues to concentrate too much power in the hands of too few corporations.' (DesJardins, 1998: 831).

Redclift (2006: 66) outlines that Herman Daly contentiously commented that the term sustainable development was an oxymoron:

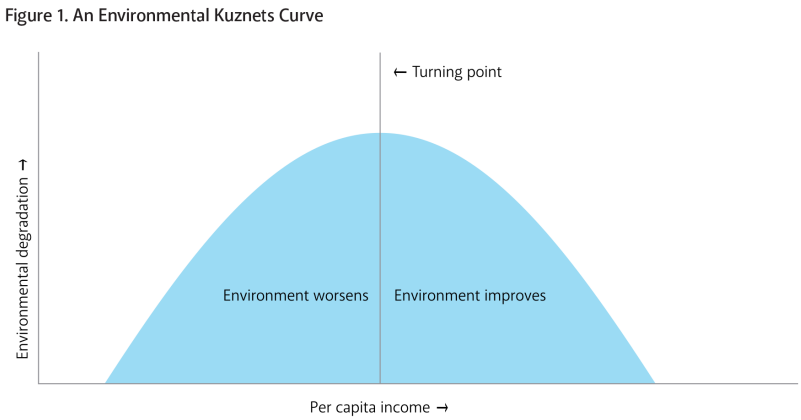
> '…The term 'sustainable development' was an oxymoron, which prompted a number of discursive interpretations of the weight attached to both 'development' and 'sustainability'.' (Redclift, 2006: 82).

However, The Brundtland Commission (1987) suggested mitigation of this through positive action; sustainable development provides a tool to negate the decline of natural resources; as DesJardins (1998) deliberated, one that '…has a reasonable chance of influencing business policy.' Furthermore, sustainable development not only influences business policy, but as shown in the

Environmental Kuznets Curve (Figure 7), can lead to environmental improvement.

> 'In the early stages of economic growth degradation and pollution increase, but beyond some level of income per capita (which will vary for different indicators) the trend reverses, so that at high-income levels economic growth leads to environmental improvement.' (Stern. D, 2003)

Figure 7: The Environmental Kuznets Curve



Source: Ho, M. & Wang, Z. (2015)

Much of the rhetoric around sustainable development being a 'fudge' or apathetic may well lie in its use when seen as a concept reliant on responsible actions, a frame reliant on the actors' 'good faith' (Lafferty, 1996: 186). This thesis advocates that the process of responsibility as a part of wise-use is subjective, and that in order for sustainable development to be a robust concept it needs a stronger frame, a concrete foundation that relies on adaption and capacity and resilience management. This negates sustainable development being described as an oxymoron. The ecologist and architect of resilience theory C.F. 'Buzz' Holling dispelled the notion that sustainable development could only be viewed as an oxymoron and explains:

> '…the resilience cycle clarifies the meaning of 'sustainable development' in that 'sustainability' is the capacity of a system to create, test and maintain *adaptive capability,* while 'development' complements this by creating, testing, and maintaining *opportunity.* 'Sustainable development' thus has the objective of developing adaptive capacity while simultaneously creating opportunities: 'it is therefore not an oxymoron but a term that describes a logical partnership' (Holling, 2001: 398-399) [in] (Cochrane, 2010: 182-183).

Sustainability and its relationship to development is a strong ally to global environmental governance, it is very much a part of the societal relationship with national parks, and it is very much linked to protection strategies.

2.4.2 Sustainable Development: Linking Conservation and Preservation

As Nelson & Serafin (1997: Section 2.4) state, '…parks and protected areas not only serve to conserve nature…but also for protection…and sustainable development', thus connecting sustainability and development to protection through conservation strategies. This is further advanced by Brockington & Duffy (2011: 48) who state that conservation practitioners advanced sustainability in the 1980's, including the World Conservation Strategy (WCS), the IUCN, United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) and World Wide Fund for nature (WWF):

> '…it led conservation planners to focus on alignments between conservation development and sustainability, most notably in the form of 'sustainable use' and incentive-based conservation programming (Adams and Hutton, 2007).'

Brockington & Duffy (2011: 48) say sustainability was the '…initial step in an attempt to structure the establishment of coherent national conservation strategies around the world…' Sustainability, development and conservation became the emphasis for natural resource management in many spheres. Within national park natural resource management, conservation was seen as a more positive concept or 'ideal' for sustainable development than preservation. Minteer & Corley (2007: 307) highlight that in 2003, the Republican Party in the US was urging party members to favour conservation in national park management, as conservation 'possessed many more 'positive connotations'' than preservation.

> 'According to the memo, the word 'conservationist' implied an appealingly 'moderate, reasoned, common sense position between replenishing the earth's natural resources, and the human need to make use of those resources.' "Preservationist', on the other hand, conveyed a far less attractive position, describing a person 'who believes nature should remain untouched – preserving exactly what we have' (Luntz, 2003, p. 142).' (Minteer & Corley, 2007: 308).

Yet these positions may not be as mutually exclusive to each other and the ideals of protection in national parks as such knowledge suggests. As Sellars (1997: 48) states, the Organic Act set out a requirement to, '…conserve the scenery and other resources…' whereas the early national park enabling acts, '…called for preservation of resources…' Thus, as this thesis mentions several times, Sellars (1997) suggests that this necessitated '…a blending of the related concepts of conservation and preservation…'

The history suggests that the definitions of conservation and preservation have been used with ambiguity and confusion, with the practice being very different to the thinking. Olive (2014: 97) highlights that Foster (1998: 33) suggested 'the literature sometimes distinguishes between 'preservation' and 'conservation'…sometimes described as 'non-use' preservationists versus 'wise use' conservationists.' However, the terms are often used loosely and inter-changeably; yet certain scholars and practitioners would suggest an environmental gulf between the two concepts. The ambiguity and confusion may actually not be so much to do with the differences in concepts, but rather resonate with the 'blurred belief' that there is an incompatibility between economic and ecological systems (Eder 1996: 163). Also, the separation between the two concepts (Box 12) is often driven, as stated by the philosopher Bryan Norton (1986: 195), by anthropocentric versus non-anthropocentric views (in other words, the inclusion or exclusion of humans):

Box 12: Separating Conservation and Preservation

> 'Philosophers have paid little attention to the distinction between conservation and preservation, apparently because they have accepted John Passmore's suggestion that conservationism is an expression of anthropocentric motives and that "true" preservationism is an expression of nonanthropocentric motives. Philosophers have therefore concentrated their efforts on this distinction in motives.' (Norton, 1986: 195)

To understand this further the following sections discuss both concepts in more detail, examining conservation and preservation and their relationship to sustainable development and a fair-share of nature, before asserting that conservation and preservation policies blend to uphold the national park ideals, to embrace protection and to advance access.

2.4.3 Framing Conservation and Preservation

American conscience meant that protection and access won the hearts and minds of the people, as Muir (1901a: 56) suggested '…to climb the mountains and get their good tidings'. Leopold had stated that the American people would never 'allow' their wilderness to be destructed, that their own personal agency formed part of the conservation. As Bayet (1994: 314) an Aboriginal author declared, 'We are the land, the land is us.' Macnaghten and Urry state that personal agency is part of any sustainable development linked to knowledge and concern towards environmental issues:

> '…that is, of people's sense of their ability to change their situation of the wider world. The discourse assumes that people's actions are governed more or less straightforwardly by their knowledge and concern about environmental issues' (1998: 218).

This builds the conservation package, it builds from the ideals of Mather that access enables protection; access can be combined with protection as long as human agency informs us what our moral objectives and parameters are, also linking to responsible wise-use management (see Section 3.2). Eder (1996: 177) commented that where nature is conceived, there is a range of ideals, and within these ideals are framing devices that distinguish cognitive behaviour which fundamentally falls into three frames: moral responsibility, empirical objectivity and aesthetic judgement. Oliver (2012) highlighted Muir's belief that '…man had no special place in the ecosystem merely a place that was exalted enough to have a great deal of responsibility attached to it'. From these framing devices there is then the construction of three types of agency, actor or even steward, which includes the conservationist package. This package looks at a 'fair-share' of nature:

> 'The conservationist package...uses symbols and imageries of nature that must be kept intact against civilization...The wilderness was where the ancient virtues of mankind, his or her natural forces, were still useful and, even, necessary. Conservation principles developed as an attempt to save the natural world from the destructive effects of civilization. These ideas lay at the base of cultural movements...they idealize country life, seek a better life in the wilderness and call for the conservation of nature...' (Eder, 1996: 177).

The national park ideal of access causes impact, but it is argued that the framing devices will look to moral and ethical constructs to mitigate that. However, as seen in the Organic Act, wise-use proposed responsible conservation, and a fair-share meant the acceptance of multi-use (see Section 2.2.5.2), where nature is seen as a broad collective good:

> '…social conscience comes before cultural conscience so the 'state cannot defend the value of nature because of its engagement in social policy matters...the state has to take nature as a collective good which comes after taking care of social order' (Eder, 1996: 185).

As a result, certain preservationists (Box 12) - the 'preservation purists' and 'deep ecologists' - believe the best method to protect is to keep nature as close to its rawness as possible, which means the exclusion of humans, as Foster (1998: 33) prescribes: non-use. To the preservation purists there will always be an 'incompatibility between economic and ecological systems (Eder 1996: 163)' and responsible actions don't always equate to a fair-share. They are adversaries to, '…the shortcomings of conservationists...' and would argue that 'despite a century or more of hard work…the conservation movement has been a dismal failure' (Wilson, 1992: 136), (example of such failure in Section 5.4.1). Such preservationists would also view conservation practices such as multi-use of natural resources (see Pinchot 2.2.5.2 and the ideals of the wise-use movement Section 3.3) as an excuse to profit from the environment, as mentioned earlier in this chapter, to legitimise using finite natural resources for human needs and action that 'concentrates too much power in the hands of too few corporations' (see DesJardins, 1998: 831).

The contemporary lens of the preservation purists is often referred to as environmentalism, which started around the early twentieth century, most notably evolved by Rachel Carson in the 1960's. Eder (1996: 177-200) stated that as well as the conservation package (see Section 2.4.3) environmentalism combined the ecological and fundamentalist packages; ones where, 'humans and other species can and should inhabit separate ecological spheres' (Thompson Jr 2006, 103 [in] Olive, 2014: 42). Lafferty (1996: 187) suggests this environmentalism is '…anchored in some form of 'deeper' environmental understanding (biocentrism, deep ecology, eco-socialism, eco-feminism and so

on)', an understanding that also views sustainable development as a detraction from environmental protection. Conservationists would argue this prescribes a loss of human appreciation and social connection to nature, a conflated approach to landscape, that select groups are the experiencers:

> 'Environmentalism needs to be aware of the double edged quality of an eco-elect that both evokes a universal human aesthetic need for nature, and appeals to that 'rarer' sensibility which would preserve it from the negative effects of its mass enjoyment' (Soper, 1995: 241).

Congress determined that public access should be unimpaired: 'accommodations of visitors' should be advanced, yet within the same enabling Acts it called for preservation of natural resources. The Organic Act also required conservation, and that wise-use would prescribe responsible social actions (see Sellars, 1997; Nash, 1982b) to uphold these ideals. In so doing and in defining national park protection, Congress determined that national parks, as a collective good, would be protected through '…a blending of the related concepts of conservation and preservation'.

The section has evidenced important findings of the research of this thesis, establishing that these concepts are blended to uphold the national park ideals; also this section has introduced a pathway (examined in Chapter 3) that asserts wise-use was established around responsible actions and it is a pathway that this thesis argues has led to wise-use evolving to resilient actions. In so doing, the research evidences preservation in a less restrictive form of protection than the one prescribed by preservation purists. It evidences preservation as an important ally to conservation and both to protection and access. The next section develops this further and demonstrates that 'the less restrictive form of preservation' does allow human inclusion and it advances from frameworks that prioritise sustainable development.

2.4.3.1 Frameworks For Protection

Since Muir (see Section 2.2.5.1) and Mather, national parks have adopted the policy of 'belonging to us all'. The ethos has driven the ideal of access but also protection, as discussed advancing both conservation and preservation

priorities. The priorities, or concepts, have developed through structured frameworks of legislation and organisations, and this section looks specifically at how certain preservation frameworks have blended the concepts of protection in the US; it discusses how certain priorities of preservation have acted as an ally to the national park ideals. The preservation debate gained momentum after the death of Muir (in 1914), who had set up the Sierra Club (Box 13) as a preservationist movement:

Box 13: Defining The Sierra Club

> 'Sierra Club founded on May 28 [1892] John Muir elected president... The Sierra Club began with a mission that was very similar to what we still hold true to today, if slighter smaller in scale . . . To explore, enjoy, and render accessible the mountain regions of the Pacific Coast; to publish authentic information concerning them; to enlist the support and co-operation of the people and the Government in preserving the forests and other natural features of the Sierra Nevada Mountains. A native of Scotland, John Muir emigrated to the United States as a child with his family. He was already known as a naturalist, a traveler, and a writer when he and other supporters formed the Sierra Club in 1892 to, as he put it, "make the mountains glad." His writings advocating for the preservation of its natural wonders had, only two years earlier, influenced the creation of Yosemite National Park. (Sierra Club, 2015b).

A new organisation emerged to stand at the forefront of wilderness protection, the Wilderness Society, which looked to battle politically and socially for protection of wild nature:

> 'On January 21, 1935, the organizing committee published a folder stating that 'for the purpose of fighting off invasion of the wilderness and stimulating...an appreciation of its multiform emotional, intellectual, and scientific values, we are forming an organization to be known as the WILDERNESS SOCIETY' (Nash, 1982b: 207).

Once the Wilderness Society had been formed, the preservationist movement moved forward at a pace, combining affections and activism of the American people to protect their wilderness, protect their icons and at the same time influence political decision-making. The Wilderness Society was instrumental through Robert Marshall (an American forester, author and wilderness activist) and Leopold in retaining landscape as being wild, and in September 1939 their work developed management systems including the 'New Forest Service 'U'

regulations, economic and infrastructure development on some 14,000,000 acres' (Nash, 1982b: 206). In the 1940's and 50's Congress put forward new dam developments, for example on the Green River at Echo Park in Dinosaur National Monument, Colorado, on the Utah borders. The preservationists fought new battles organised under the Sierra Club and Wilderness Society, and the ideals and beliefs of Muir, Leopold and Thoreau were used to defend nature, encompassing both the land ethic and endorsing wildness as a place and the spiritual well-being. The Preservationists felt that if national park land could be 'taken' and developed for dams, what hope was there for any non-protected lands:

> 'A member of the Wilderness Society…declared that wilderness was priceless as 'the last place where Americans can see what our country must have been like as the first white men camped there.' Between 1955 and early 1956 the preservationists used many tactics to influence the decision and on April 11th 1956 a new bill was laid into law which included the immortal line 'that no dam or reservoir constructed under the authorization of the Act shall be within any National Park or Monument' (Nash, 1982b: 217-219).

The problem many saw with such a bill was the vastness of securing protection in wilderness areas as preservationists wanted 'to secure…an enduring reservoir of wildness', to preserve wilderness and prescribe wildness. Thus preservationists required a more robust legislative mandate to secure wise actions, as Nash (1982b) states to empower responsibility:

> 'One proof of the deep-rooted desire for pristine places is the decision that Americans and others have made to legislate 'wilderness' - to set aside vast tracts of land where, in the words of the federal statute, 'the earth and its community of life are untrammeled by man, where man himself is a visitor who does not remain.' Pristine nature, we recognize, has been overwhelmed in many places, even in many of our national parks. But in these few spots it makes a stand. If we can't have places where no man has ever been, we can at least have spots where no man is at the moment' (McKibben, 2003: 57).

Around the mid-half of the twentieth century, Executive Director of the Wilderness Society Howard C. Zahniser spoke of how the National Parks and National Forests had a legal responsibility to protect their wilderness areas, and that there needed to be federal legislation to help them in that goal. Thus there needed to be a National Wilderness Preservation System, 'to secure for the

American people of present and future generations the benefits of an enduring reservoir of wildness...' In 1956, the Wilderness Act was first introduced and after eight years of debate, which included numerous public hearings and 66 re-writes, the Act was finally passed and signed into law by President Lyndon Johnson on September 3, 1964. The Wilderness Act of 1964 (see Box 14) was set up 'to establish a National Wilderness Preservation System for the permanent good of the whole people and for other purposes.' In total about 9 million acres were covered by the Act.

Box 14: Definitions In The Wilderness Act 1964 & California Wilderness Act 1984

The (Wilderness Act, 1964: 121) states in Section 2(c):

> '…An area of wilderness is further defined to mean in this Act an area of undeveloped Federal land retaining its primeval character and influence, without permanent improvements or human habitation, which is protected and managed so as to preserve its natural conditions and which (1) generally appears to have been affected primarily by the forces of nature, with the imprint of man's work substantially unnoticeable; (2) has outstanding opportunities for solitude or a primitive and unconfined type of recreation; (3) has at least five thousand acres of land or is of sufficient size as to make practicable its preservation and use in an unimpaired condition; and (4) may also contain ecological, geological, or other features of scientific, educational, scenic, or historical value'.

The California Wilderness Act 1984, which stemmed from The Wilderness Act, recognised wilderness:

> '…as an area where the earth and its community of life are untrammeled by man, where man himself is a visitor who does not remain' (Nash, 1982b: 5).

Note: '…where [in wilderness] man himself **is a visitor** who does not remain.' (Bold used to highlight the acceptance of visitation).

The Wilderness Act created the defined land of a 'wilderness area', and these areas today are commonly known under the auspices of the 'National Wilderness Preservation System' (NWPS). As Woods (1998: 131) states; 'it led to mandates for four federal agencies to preserve and manage wilderness…[including] the National Park Service (NPS)…' The Wilderness Act

linked to the concepts of carrying capacity (see Section 3.5), zoning and permit systems, especially during the Mission 66 Era (see management of this in Section 3.5.1.1).

Although there are many frameworks for preservation through organisations such as The Sierra Club (see Box 13) and The Wilderness Society, and legislation such as the enabling Acts, the Organic Act and the Wilderness Act, there is also an important natural resource preservation system to the research in this thesis, legislated in 1968 as The National Wild and Scenic Rivers System (Public Law 90-542; 16 U.S.C. 1271 et seq.). The purpose of this System is 'to preserve certain rivers with outstanding natural, cultural, and recreational values in a free-flowing condition for the enjoyment of present and future generations' (Rivers, 2016). This system sets out directives for 'appropriate use and development' and significantly encourages public opinion. This System has significant importance to the case study in this thesis and connects to wise-use management, specifically the 1980 General Management Plan (see Section 3.4.3) and more contemporary determination in Yosemite National Park and The Merced River Plan (see Section 6.3.2). The preservation systems, whether from NGOs or legislation, form important continuing frameworks, as this thesis expresses, to embrace protection and advance access. In 2016 there are proposed updates to the Wilderness Management Plan adopted in 1989 from the Wilderness Act, which in general look to 'provide additional policy direction and address contemporary management challenges' (Private Communication: NPS, 2016).

This research evidences preservation in a less restrictive framework to the one endorsed by preservation purists, by allowing human inclusion. This section demonstrates that preservation systems allowed and accepted human inclusion - The Wilderness Act states, 'where man himself is a visitor', the Sierra Club promoted tourism excursions (see Muir in Section 2.2.5.1), the updated Wilderness Management Plan and The Merced River Plan (see 6.3.2) endorse human inclusion and unimpaired human access. This thesis concurs with Sellars (1997: 43) that protection, through the blending of conservation and preservation (advanced by legislation and societal actions), co-exists with access as a part of sustainable development. It engages the concept of

preservation, but one that engages beyond ‘‘the radical, restrictive focus of mainstream environmental policy’, which illegitimately fosters ‘an anti-property and anti-people focus’ (Jacobs 1998, 31 [in] Olive, 2014: 102). It upholds the ideal where people are included, perhaps with one caveat; as the old American Indian saying goes, ‘We do not inherit the earth from our ancestors; we only borrow it from our children’ (Nelson, 1998: 189).

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter started by determining the national park ideals, goals and objectives, demonstrating that protected landscape is a place for unimpaired human access and a place for embracing protection. Such landscapes evolve but within the US the underlying principles ensured visitors could experience cultural icons and connect to places of wilderness and feelings of wildness. US protected landscape policy developed a strong cultural identity framed around wilderness allocation, and that allocation was driven by blending the related concepts of conservation and preservation; this chapter and the research of this thesis evidences just how often these concepts are used interchangeably. Commentators (see Olive, 2014) have stated Pinchot was a conservationist and Muir a preservationist, indisputably both linked to sustainable development. This chapter demonstrates that Muir blended both concepts he was a conservationist, a proponent of protection and human inclusion, yet he also embraced preservation through the protection of natural resources. He encouraged ‘proper use of nature’, he supported the legislation and he built the Sierra Club, a preservationist movement. Pinchot, on the other hand, was more akin to multi-use, often being aligned with progressive wise-use, more in terms of the movement rather than the concept (see 3.3.1). Both were proponents of corporate interests in protected lands; from Muir’s perspective, visitation or the development of tourism had to have commercial interests so that the public could experience the landscapes and wildness without themselves being frontiersmen. However, as stated in this chapter and as questioned by academics (see Runte, 1990b: 1) where is the line drawn between preservation and use?

> ‘Hardly had the first tourists arrived in 1855 when a few entrepreneurs sensing the possibilities of the valley as a summer resort, contemplated

> building the first camps and rustic hotels. By 1857 a primitive structure opposite Yosemite Falls was serving guests; two years later a slightly more elaborate structure, the Upper Hotel, had also been completed, a short distance up the valley...Hutchings returned in 1863 and purchased the financially troubled Upper Hotel' (Runte, 1990b: 17).

Runte (1990b: 7-8) has approached this discussion by looking at the numerous debates on how a national park should be managed and protected. His work went on to look at how the commercialisation from tourism is as much part of nature as the nature itself. Contemporary corporate interests would, like the first nation peoples protect it for their survival, to manage it with a healthy respect for its future. Although for millennia landscapes have been influenced by human actions, there is a need to carry forward those lands for future generations. This chapter has examined the importance of sustainable development to the national park ideals, and evidenced how protected landscape started to build a moral conscience for the American people. McKibben (2003) argued in *The End of Nature* that nature no longer existed, that humans have exploited it to its end. This thesis states there is no 'end of nature'; it is just different. Visitors of national parks today are different to visitors of national parks in the 1900's. Roosevelt's landscape defined a hunter as an outdoors-man and he wrote of man's triumphs in the wilderness. Wilderness was a place where man could be a hero, brave and adventurous. What has progressed and is different today pertaining to McKibben's 'end of nature' is how protection has evolved and how concepts of protection work as allies to uphold the national park ideals.

Blending conservation and preservation gives future generations an option, and this thesis proposes that this '…modern environmentalism entails a dramatization of the relationship between man and nature in modern culture' (Eder, 1996: p162), but this does not proclaim success or failure to either conservation or preservation. It accepts that responsibility has provided a staging post and a guiding light, but moreover it suggests a contemporary frame of wise-use has evolved to manage protection and access, one that goes beyond responsibility advancing sustainable development through resilience, driven by adaptive co-management and inclusion of relevant stakeholders and advancing stewardship:

> '…The national parks require an ethic of stewardship that focuses on passing the parks unimpaired to future generations. As a result, park stewardship is a preeminent duty of the NPS' (NPS Advisory Board, 2012: 3 and 6).

The next chapter looks at this evolving position based on the concepts of wise-use, asserting a contemporary relationship between the corporate and stakeholders where, 'corporate values, words and actions should be consistent' (Ketola, 2010: 321), consistent with national park priorities.

Chapter 3 Evolving Corporate Actions: The Demand From Tourism

3.1 Introduction

The management of protected landscape is a contentious subject, whether that is from a geographical, historical or economic perspective; this is accentuated when private capital, the corporate, is involved. The last chapter examined the conceptual theories of protected landscape as a part of nature, including how such landscapes may be seen to be no longer wild, as Turner (1991: 621-623) had claimed, being tamed by increasing management. This chapter primarily examines such management, the human influence to commodify or 'dollarise' protected lands in US national parks, investigating the evolving role of corporate actions and development alongside the demand from tourism. The chapter asserts that although such actions are often conceptualised around having negative impacts upon the natural environment, the contemporary position shows a different outcome, namely that the corporate isn't the antithesis to protection Section 3.2 advances the concepts of sustainable development (as introduced in Section 2.4), and it links and defines this in the context of global 'nature' tourism. Section 3.3 connects sustainable development to the concept of wise-use management in US national parks, examining its historical foundations in freedom and responsibility. This section then develops one of the main findings of this thesis that asserts wise-use has evolved, where a contemporary frame of resilience and adaptive co-management determines how a 'dollarable' landscape can be safeguarded. Section 3.4 examines the priorities of what wise-use advocates in the national parks, namely the management of protection and access; the management, planning and control of tourism services, visitor growth and infrastructure development. Initially, it looks at how access to protected lands was encouraged and advanced by railroad companies and automobile use, then how tourism services were provided for by the corporate as concessioners (the growing requirement for investors not owners in protected lands). This section then examines key programs and systems the NPS instigated to manage the ideals of access and sustain protection in national parks. It advances this further by examining how

capacity and growing visitor numbers are managed alongside protection through carrying capacity. The final Section 3.6 advances from the introduction that a contemporary paradigm of wise-use has evolved, to assert in more detail that CSR - Corporate Social Responsibility, should be framed as CSR - Corporate Social Resilience. This establishes a contemporary corporate frame driven by resilient wise-use, incorporating adaptive co-management and relevant stakeholder inclusion, advancing stewardship to balance protection and access.

3.2 Linking Sustainable Development With Tourism In US National Parks

This section progresses from the theoretical debate of sustainable development as introduced in Section 2.4, and positions sustainability and development within the context of tourism and its importance to the management of global strategies in the growing sphere of nature tourism. This section also acts as a pathway to connect sustainability and development to the historical and contemporary framework of wise-use in national park management. As highlighted in Section 2.4, although there are certain areas of no-development in a protected landscape (see Sections 2.4.3.1 and 6.3), the concept of sustainable tourism development provides a strategic tool to effectively manage growing visitor numbers and the infrastructures required from tourism demand. Sustainable tourism development in protected landscapes offers strategies and planning that '…moves us from the present to the future' (Eagles et al., 2002: 13). Sustainable strategies vary, as 'there is no one size fits all…' (Walker et al., 2004: n.p.); according to Zolli (2012), 'sustainability aims to put the World back into balance…' and as stated by Brockington & Duffy (2011: 48) it provides a device to address the contradictions of commodifying nature, to protect the '…environment upon which it depends for continued growth'. Thus tourism as a commodity in a protected landscape requires a development process that advances access as well as embracing protection (for its continued growth) and this (device) is sustainable development (see also Section 2.4). Such development is not a weak, politically expedient medium of non-achieving environmental protection or a 'fudge', an 'oxymoron' (see, Redclift, 2006: 66; Richardson, 1994:12) rather, as evidenced in Section 2.4 it is a strong ally to '…blending the related concepts of conservation and preservation' in national

parks. As Holling (2001: 398-399) describes, sustainable development '…requires a logical partnership': within US national parks that partnership is where private investment ensures that public lands remain the domain of public good. This advances protection and access through an inherent link, as Brown (2016: 77) states between people and nature, referring to Berkes, Folke and Colding (1998) work on socio-ecological systems. This also underpins contemporary thinking of sustainable tourism development and the connection to local communities and their 'place', their nature, as expressed by the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN) and their mission to:

> '…influence, encourage and assist societies throughout the world to conserve the integrity and diversity of nature and to ensure that any use of natural resources is equitable and ecologically sustainable.' (IUCN, 2008a).

Historically within the US, pre-dating the ideals of the IUCN and socio-ecological systems management, Congress expressed and implied the connection between people and nature would be managed through wise-use and responsible actions. Wise-use management was a concept used in the mid to late nineteenth century for European Settlers founding homesteads in the West to connect ownership of lands with responsible actions. It was advanced in the early twentieth century, particularly by Gifford Pinchot (introduced by Jon Roush in Ferrier et al., 1995: 1) prescribing wise-use as 'American values…toward freedom and responsibility', concurred by Sellars (1997: 42) as an efficient and rationally planned use of natural resources, a concept to embrace sustainable development; wise-use would allow natural resource use for '…present and future generations'.

Alongside this, with the establishment of national parks 'countryside recreation' flourished and from the 1930's became a mass tourism experience, available to most people and certainly not solely limited to the wealthy travellers - witnessed during the late nineteenth century. Tourism to nature, for those seeking the countryside and wild[er]ness as a recreational activity grew substantially and driven by four specific trends, necessitated wise-use management and the need for sustainable tourism development:

> 'Firstly, outdoor recreation, with its emphasis on the physical enjoyment of nature and open space was now a popular leisure activity. Secondly, significant areas of countryside had been set aside by both public and private agencies to satisfy and manage the demand for this type of recreation. This was particularly evident in the expansion of the park system in North America. Thirdly, through the automobile, people had discovered the joys of touring. Finally and most significantly for the subsequent development of countryside recreation, the weekend and the automobile had emerged as inseparable institutions and opened up rural areas around cities for casual relaxation on a large scale' (Bunce, 1994: 122).

As already highlighted by Bunce, (1994) the recreational demand for the natural environment (nature tourism) is divided into two groups, those that use the resource in consumptive terms and those that use the resource in terms of appreciation or love of it. As a recreational destination for both types of user, national parks continued to experience growing visitor numbers; within the US National Parks visitor numbers have increased year on year, except during exceptional circumstances such as Yosemite and the 1906 San Francisco earthquake (see Table 5). Visitor numbers show no signs of abating and on a global scale, tourism to natural areas is growing:

> 'UN World Tourism Organization projects that [the demand for nature based tourism has sharply increased] this growth will continue into the next decade and beyond (UNWTO, 2010)' (Drumm et al., 2011: 3).

Globally, tourism now exceeds one billion people travelling annually accounting for 'roughly 10% of [global] gross domestic product (GDP)' (Balmford et al., 2009: 1). In the US, the national parks in 2015 recorded their highest ever visitor number of over 305 million people (NPS, 2016b), whilst more generally nature tourism is one of the fastest growing sectors. This is also endorsed with current statements (see, UNWTO, WTC) showing the growth of nature tourism around 10-30% year on year. Thus sustainable strategies need to have strong management foundations based around integrated planning and control at all levels. This requires a strategic approach to sustainable tourism development:

> 'Effective strategic planning for sustainable tourism recognises the importance of factors that affect the broad framework within which strategies are generated, such as institutional arrangements, institutional culture and stakeholder values and attitudes' (Hall and Page, 2006: 332).

The process to engage such strategies within the national parks has been based around wise-use, but as Hall and Page (2006: 332-333) continue that sustainable planning strategies need '…to be able to adapt and change', they need to build capacity and they need to pursue '…appropriate adaptation and change which exist in the ecological relationships they are so often attempting to maintain.' Thus within the frame of national parks this section provides a sustainability pathway to connect to wise-use, where wise-use has advanced as '…an efficient and rationally planned use of natural resources…' for 'present and future generations.' The next section progresses from this understanding of sustainable development and its connection to wise-use to demonstrate how wise-use was appropriated, how it has embraced sustainable [tourism] development strategies, and how it has evolved from management by responsibility to management by resilience. As 'sustainability aims to put the World back into balance [so] resilience looks for ways to manage in an imbalanced World' (Zolli, 2012), and as Fiksel in Sunmin (2013) stated, sustainable development, 'requires resilience at many levels including…economic enterprises…'

3.3 Wise-Use Management

This section advances the aims of sustainable development by addressing two important concepts within natural resource management in the US: firstly, that natural resources could be managed wisely by private owners and investors and secondly, how creating a 'wealth from nature' actually safeguards protected lands. The first part introduces the concept of wise-use in more detail, how it was specifically linked to landscape use, and appropriated as a form of sustainable development in terms of private ownership of natural resources driven by the 'American values…toward freedom and responsibility'. This connects to the second part, which based on this research and drawing on other recent and historic works in this area, argues that the contemporary frame of wise-use management, specifically in protected lands, does not engage the conservation ideals of the wise-use movement (see in 3.3.1). Rather, it embraces wise-use as an appropriate blending of conservation and preservation, progressing adaption and co-management through resilience not responsibility; specifically to protect natural resources and to foster tourism with

a benefit to stakeholders. The third section establishes how wise-use in terms of making landscape dollarable actually acts as a strategy for protection.

3.3.1 Introducing Wise-Use

Ferrier et al. (1995) highlight that the historic connection or driving force of wise-use dates back to the 19th century, when government would allow, under contract, the conversion of natural resources into private property and then look to protect that property from afar. Wise-use advanced the values of freedom from restrictive government legislation, alongside social and moral responsibility to conserve lands and provide for local communities:

> 'In this tradition, that government is best which governs least. The right of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness includes the individual's right to appropriate wealth from nature.' (Ferrier et al., 1995: 2).

McCarthy (2002: 1283) provides a slightly later connection to wise-use, stating that the term was a 'strategic appropriation to sustainable development', derived from the thinking of Gifford Pinchot and progressed by the early conservation movement in the US. Sellars (1997: 42) similarly finds that wise-use had:

> '…come to identify the nationwide movement for efficient and rationally planned use (often referred to as wise use) of natural resources…It implied…'foresight and restraint in the exploitation of the physical sources of wealth as necessary for the perpetuity of civilization, and the welfare of present and future generations.' Sellars (1997: 42).

It was believed that economic and environmental freedom, encouraging the ownership of natural resources to appropriate wealth from them, would also encourage American values of moral and social progress and that such values would be driven by the freedom of ownership and the responsibility to the 'management' of those natural resources; the premise of Gifford Pinchot's work around the late nineteenth to early twentieth century. This was also exemplified by the rights of the European settlers in the West, encouraged to own and develop segments of land under the Preemption and Homestead Acts, to appropriate wealth from these lands and so endorse local 'responsible' ownership with contractual controls from afar:

> ‘Before the Homestead Act of 1862, the main type of sale was through preemption, which was codified in the Preemption Act of 1841. By the terms of the act, an adult could settle on the public domain and secure title to 160 acres by improving the land and paying $1.25 an acre within twelve months.
>
> That year, the Homestead Act inaugurated the era of virtually free land for the settler, providing 160 acres for a minimal registration fee and the promise to live on the land and improve it for five years, at which time a patent was issued. After six months settlers who wanted to secure title could purchase the land at $1.25 an acre (perhaps to sell at a profit later). Settlers soon had other options for securing Plains land. (Wishart, 2011: paragraph 3).

Wise-use relied on a sustainable development framework, based around agreements driven by responsible behaviour and economic gain. These initial definitions and the early concepts of wise-use lay very much at the heart of an American individual’s right or freedom. However, a precedent was being set by these initial land ‘owners’, meaning ‘anyone’ (including corporate interests) could settle and potentially claim title. Coupled with this, there was also controversy around preemption, whereby land speculators had allies in government and pristine areas of wilderness were available for development. Farms and houses and tourism developments (see *Hutchings* below; Runte, 1990b: 34; and evidence in empirical study in Chapter 5) were being built with little regard for landscape or protection; property in the developed area would rise in price and so this scenario was prone to abuse.

> Following the 1862 Morrill Act, which allocated public lands to the states for the purpose of supporting agricultural colleges, settlers could purchase scrip, which then could be used to buy land at $1.25 an acre. Again, speculators acquired large amounts of the scrip and bought considerable acreages in the Plains, which they held until land values rose and then sold for a profit. Settlers also had the option of adding to their holdings by locating in railroad land grants, which were given to railroad companies to subsidize construction. By the acts of 1862 and 1864, for example, the Union Pacific Railroad was granted all the odd-numbered sections in every township in a twenty-mile zone on either side of the tracks. Clearly, land near the railroads, the connection to markets and supplies, was in great demand; free homestead sections in the land grants were taken first, giving the characteristic checkerboard settlement pattern, until filled in by the later purchase of railroad sections” (Wishart, 2011: para3).

As time progressed, more unscrupulous landowners speculated, more corporate interests looked to develop their lands and the wise-use debate

became prominent for protected lands, so the question of wise-use and ownership needed to be addressed. Within protected lands, the priorities of use, access and private tenancy needed clearer definition, as did preemption rights. The precedent that arguably set a new definition of wise-use within protected lands for corporate interests came from the Supreme Court's ruling around *Hutchings v Low 1872*, when investment not ownership in lands would prevail:

> 'Essentially, the Supreme Court in *Hutchings v Low* [California Governor] upheld the right of the federal government to designate the unsold, unsurveyed public domain for any purpose other than settlement, including for the establishment of national public parks. The pre-emption laws provided settlers only with the privilege of being the first to bid for land if it was in fact surveyed and then offered for sale' (Runte, 1990b: 34).

In protected lands a clear definition was mandated, sustainable commercialisation would be encouraged through private investment leases rather than ownership of lands and this was also borne out in the statement of purpose within the 1916 Organic Act (see Section 2.2.3 - the defining Act for use in national parks). The main proponents of the Act, McFarland and Olmsted Jr., also ensured the 'fundamental purpose' to be:

> '…to conserve the scenery and the natural historic objects and the wild life therein and to provide for the enjoyment of the same in such manner and by such means as will leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations.' (Sellars, 1997: 38).

Fundamentally, the Organic Act '…permitted sheep, cattle, and tourists to use the national parks' and lands were authorised to be leased (not owned) for such tourism services, '…thereby perpetuating the commercial tourism that was ongoing…' (Sellars, 1997: 44). By 1916 wise-use management was integral to fostering a harmonious relationship between natural resource users and protection, accepted out of a combination of a responsible society and a culture of environmental protection:

> 'The Organic Act's statement of purpose called for the Park Service to 'conserve' the scenery and other resources…The conservation movement comprised a wide array of concerns, of which the wise use of scenic lands in the national parks to foster tourism and public enjoyment was very much a part. Expressing the hopes and aspirations of McFarland, Olmsted, Mather, Kent, and many others, the Organic Act's 'plain language'

> provided for public use and enjoyment of the parks, and was clearly utilitarian. The act even allowed consumptive use of certain park resources - evidence that the founders intended 'unimpaired' to mean something quite different from the strict preservation of nature' (Sellars, 1997: 43).

Wise-use also had a mandate for local communities to benefit from their local natural resource base, both in terms of access to and control over federally owned lands. This didn't just have a domain with the 'aesthetic', it also included logging, mining, grazing, hunting '…or enabling the performance of ethnically defined identities…some are sold…and some are the basis of full-time businesses' (McCarthy, 2002: 1285). The basis of local community engagement within the wise-use debate was not solely about the right to production on federal lands, but that federal lands are a communal resource and should benefit local communities. As McCarthy again referenced Gifford Pinchot:

> ''It is the duty of the Forest Service to see to it that the timber, water-powers, mines, and every other resource of the forests is used for the benefit of the people who live in the neighbourhood or who may have a share in the welfare of each locality' (1910, pages 51-52).' (McCarthy, 2002: 1291).

Ferrier et al. (1995) extend this historical narrative which connects to Olive's (2014: 102) lens of defining wise-use as part of a western states wise-use movement. A group who around the 1970's and 1980's looked to co-opt and redefine the traditional environmental movement, based around private ownership without too much government interference, where such freedoms evoked responsible actions. Olive (2014: 102) conceptualises the wise-use movement through the lens of Reagan's 1980's 'Sagebrush Rebellion', in particular to environmental issues. The Sagebrush Rebels offered a solution where 'government is best which governs least', in this case devolving federal power to the states. The wise-use movement was continuing wise-use as a strategic management tool, whereby stakeholders could manage themselves and manage responsibly.

> 'The movement's focus is the 'promotion of a wise-use alternative' to 'the radical, restrictive focus of mainstream environmental policy,' which illegitimately fosters 'an anti-property and anti-people focus' (Jacobs 1998, 31). (Olive, 2014: 102).

Ferrier et al. (1995: xi-xii) highlight that the wise-use movement simply gives a wider perspective to the modern environmental movement and builds toward a solution where protection is co-opted amongst stakeholders, which include local communities and individuals. The wise-use movement asserts that natural resource use should have multi-uses and not be assigned to singular protection, which concurs with the progressive voices, as historically referenced with Gifford Pinchot (see Section 2.2.5.2). However, it is important to note that this thesis does not engage with the wise-use movement, not only in the way it defines itself:

> '…mainly in opposition to the environmental movement, environmental regulations, and federal agencies governing land uses, all of which it portrayed as arrogant, ignorant outsiders intruding on local communities and denying them their livelihoods and right to self-determination.' (McCarthy, 2002: 1283).

But also in terms of its standing on protected landscapes. The wise-use movement argues for the ending of national parks, positioning that natural resources within such protected lands should not be reserved to foster tourism or protection but should be reserved by local communities for their needs, whether that be agriculture, tourism, mining or logging etc. The issue for national parks is that the wise-use movement '…is a modern counterpart to the generations of earlier national park 'invaders'' (Miles, 1995; 327). The author stated that the movement '…aspires to break up the National Park Service and open the national parks to mineral and energy production, its most ambitious goal is to eradicate the environmental movement.'

By 1931 there were discussions about how best to uphold wise-use and the national park ideals of protection and access: 'Wallace Atwood, as president of the National Parks Association agreed in 1931, in locating park hotels, there had indeed been errors in judgment…Atwood conceded…'hotels, lodges or camps should not be allowed to occupy those points [too near objects of interest]…'' (Runte, 2010: 152). These errors in judgment continued to the end of the twentieth century, highlighted by the Mission 66 Era and The General Management Plan (see Sections 3.4.3.1 and 3.5.1.1 and the empirical case study chapter 5.5.5), thus questioning the concept of wise-use as a management strategy; although it could provide a robust foundation, it required

a more robust process; it needed to go beyond responsibility. Wise-use of national parks needed to not only encompass protection, but also needed to build on their growing popularity and their value as places for people, including local communities. This next section draws on research to introduce the argument that in contemporary management this is driven not by the notions of freedom and responsibility but by adaption and co-management. This is a process and outcome framed around capacity and adaption and based around social-ecological resilience in environmental management: from a corporate perspective it advances CSR as corporate social resilience not responsibility.

3.3.2 Contemporary Priorities of Wise-Use

This thesis establishes that wise-use management (including the corporate) has evolved to be considered through a contemporary frame, specifically in national parks as a concept connecting sustainable development to protection and access, replacing *responsible* actions by advancing *resilient* actions embracing adaption and co-management. This evolution continues to uphold Congress' wishes that wise-use management should be progressed by investors not owners. As mentioned (Section 1.4), this thesis does not look to pursue a comparison or suggest there is mutual exclusivity between responsibility and resilience. It does however, advance a contemporary paradigm of wise-use and assert that a new frame of CSR has evolved; it does also accept that responsibility may still act as a moral compass or a set of principles that society can aspire to. This section briefly introduces this contemporary frame of wise-use, and in so doing provides a pathway to Section 3.6.3 which examines in more detail the concepts of responsibility and resilience relating to corporate actions, framed as corporate social responsibility (CSR) and corporate social resilience (CSR).

The contemporary frame of wise-use management (empirically evidenced in Chapter 6) includes relevant stakeholders or actors, as a part of the policy and co-management processes. These stakeholders include the corporate, local communities, NGO's and federal government (through the NPS). It advances a sustainable development framework that subjugates subjective responsibility strategies to advance socio-ecological resilience strategies. This argues a

different perspective of how the wise-use movement should perceive the wise-use of national parks, and connecting with this is the long-held, sometimes altered, tenure that investment rather than the wise-use movement's dominion of ownership in protected landscapes should prevail. The outcome defends that the 'dollarising' of protected landscapes advances access whilst also embracing protection and creates win-win scenarios for stakeholders, including the environment and local communities, driving the founding values in wise-use management. This framework engages stakeholders as participant actors to become part of the management of public lands for public good:

> 'Traditionally, the state or government is the management authority. This role is diversifying, however, and partnerships are gaining prominence (Moore & Weiler, 2009). Increasingly, the management authority is vested in alternative arrangements involving a range of actors. Prominent arrangements include parastatal models, non-profit corporations such as non-governmental organisations, public or private for-profit corporations and communities themselves…'(Strickland-Munro et al., 2010: 499).

The contemporary frame of wise-use is adaptive; it is co-management, an approach to stewardship driven by complex systems within ecological management that underpins more modern thinking towards socio-ecological systems. As McNeely (1990) highlights, these actively engage local communities who can not be excluded, also connecting to the IUCN mission (IUCN, 2008a): where planning once excluded them, '…now it is recognised that national parks need to be planned with local people, and often for and by them as well…economic links which benefit local people.' (IUCN, 2008b). This develops an understanding of the actors involved with managing, where the corporate is part of a stewardship approach (see Section 3.6.3.3) balancing protection and access as part of a wider group of actors.

As stated in the Introduction, it should be noted that this thesis is not an examination of how ecosystem services are managed or the role they play, but defines a mode of thinking that pre-dates this and has given foundation to the contemporary views on ecosystem services. This thesis relates to how socio-ecological and socio-economic systems (see Saarinen, 2015; Walker, n.d.; Cochrane, 2010) drove adaptive co-management strategies to resilient outcomes upon which ecosystem services have built.

3.3.3 Safeguarding The Dollarable

Following on from introducing the contemporary frame, this section addresses another important concept that links to wise-use in US natural resource management; namely that making landscape dollarable actually drives protection. The human influence to commodify or dollarise protected lands in US national parks has presented concerns, succinctly expressed in 1908 by John Muir (see section 2.2.5.1), who believed he was witnessing the 'retreat of conservation'; that exploitation and 'spoiling' from commodification and mass tourism meant:

> ''Nothing dollarable is safe', Muir bitterly concluded, 'however guarded' (Runte, A. [in] Muir, 1991: xi).

Muir believed 'the corrosive powers of materialism' had taken a hold (Runte, 1991: xii). However, this section demonstrates the contra view to this argument by examining the idea that dollarising national parks through wise-use (namely tourism/visitation) has safeguarded them. Dollarising national parks stems from the early ideals of tourism; Magoc (1999: 54) states that 1883 was the year that commercialisation started and Government officials took great interest to ensure development of the green dollar, and the potential of dollarising the Park [Yellowstone]:

> 'Beginning in September 1883, the Northern Pacific transported raw materials, finished goods and genteel tourists to and from the American Wonderland.'

This has continued to today and in 2015, in excess of 305 million people visited the 409 US national parks covering 84 million acres across 50 states and US Territories (NPS, 2016b). Such popularity then and now presents challenges, but national parks are valuable places to people; as visitors, as local communities and as those employed in the roles within co-management, whether private, public or NGO.

> 'Once again defenders of the national parks must find new ways to counter this old threat [referring to 'national park invaders']. The growing popularity of national parks suggests one way.' (Miles, 1995: 327).

This popularity creates a ‘wealth from nature’ and acts to safeguard protected lands; it forms an important antithesis to Muir’s conclusions concerning ‘nothing dollarable is safe…however guarded’. As protected landscape is dollarable (through tourism investment in the national parks) it actually keeps it safe; where place and society are connected by the development of tourism, an economic sense or capital value from the creation of ‘wealth from nature’ prevails, which in turn drives protection of that landscape. Preservation purists also believed that encouraging more visitors advanced greater understanding of protection:

> ‘Left without convenient transportation, the public would never support scenic preservation…preservationists rapidly made their decision. Much as they had learned to accept the railroad, they now as eagerly promoted the automobile.’ (Runte, 2010: 140).

Thus sustainable development is pursued by communities and stakeholders who are adapting and transforming to longer-term goals of protecting their lands and protecting their ‘investments’ as capital values; that is, wise-use resilient management. Nash (1982a: 208) also highlights this argument through a slightly different lens, taking a societal view that wild nature needs to make economic [and intellectual] sense for local communities to understand the need to encourage visitation, and in turn those visitors will connect to that wild nature. As urban societies become industrialised and crowded, greater appreciation of wild nature makes ‘sense’; however, one of the problems is that if local communities are divorced from the intellectual or economic sense of their ‘place’, they don’t generally perceive the true values, or the marketability, of their product. Once wild nature has a market or capital value to local communities, then as tourists wish to access and experience it, so society (communities and tourists) evolves to protect it; the dollarable landscape or the wise-use of that landscape necessitates a provision for it to be safeguarded. Nash (1982a) highlighted an example of this within Africa's protected landscape tourism, which is reliant on the need for spectacular aesthetic landscape and species. Although many African societies experience the amazing landscape as part of their daily lives, they may not perceive its true value or even its marketability until its commodification from tourism, when they will start to experience its capital value. As urban visitors escape the crowded cities, they

experience the economic and intellectual sense of the wild nature in contrast to their daily, urbanised lives and, as Mather and Muir argued, will connect with protection ideals. Thus as economic sense develops and is amortised, local communities manage landscape to protect its capital value as much as its wild nature. Whether that is morally correct or acceptable or whether a certain landscape or species has greater capital value through other means (agriculture or poaching) is not the argument of this thesis; the argument is that as the need for wild nature expands, wise-use of that nature prioritises its capital value; in other words economic sense engages protection.

Whilst this thinking is the opposite of Muir's 'nothing dollarable is safe', his comments were progressive in that they evoked further debate around the materialistic lens or commercialisation of protected landscapes, with his conclusions evolving greater thinking towards 'safe-guarding landscape'. Although the dollarable quote by Muir lends weight to wider environmental concerns and questions the outcome of human motivations, he was a visionary for blending environmental protection with access, though a complex visionary for tourism. His views were at times contradictory, at times confusing and above all as complex as the protected lands debate itself. For as well as articulating a passionate voice for environmental concerns he encouraged people to experience the national parks, (see for example, Sargent, 1971: 43), especially through the Sierra Club, part of the dollarisation. Although some (Runte, 1990b, Sargent 1971) have intimated he never conceived the true outcome of this, it can be argued that Muir saw these tourism actions as affirming every human's right to access nature, to experience 'freedom' which Muir expresses:

> 'Walk away quietly in any direction and taste the freedom of the mountaineer. Camp out among the grasses and gentians of glacial meadows, in craggy garden nooks full of nature's darlings. Climb the mountains and get their good tidings, Nature's peace will flow into you as sunshine flows into trees. The winds will blow their own freshness into you and the storms their energy, while cares will drop off like autumn leaves. As age comes on, one source of enjoyment after another is closed, but nature's sources never fail.' (Muir, 1901a: 56)

If nature was accessible for all and if networks would be expanded, then it would have to be managed; and in an attempt to try and justify Muir's concerns over tourism development, it is clear that he had become tired due to a feeling

of impending failure, where human greed demonstrated the impotence and subjectivity of responsibility:

> ‘Sorrowfully Muir wrote Helen, “…I’ve done my best and am now free to get on with my pen work…I’m somewhat run down for want of exercise, and exhausting work and worry.”’ (Sargent, 1971: 45).

Whatever the thinking, Muir’s complexities and despair would be replaced by fresh hope and advancement of the historical wise-use debate by Stephen Mather, the first Director of the National Park Service (see for example Russell, 1992: 164). Taking on the mantle that Muir was tiring from, he ‘capitalised’ on wise-use management, encouraging access and expanding revenues in protected landscapes; sustainable tourism development would be a central part of wise-use to uphold the national park ideals of protection as well as access:

> ‘Much of Mather’s success in making national parks an important part of the American landscape rested on his recognition that automobiles represented the future of American tourism…Increased numbers of visitors would give him the broad base of public support that he believed crucial to the park system’s survival.’ (Hyde, 1993: 77).

This section has demonstrated that the frame of wise-use developed a connection between society and protected landscape, it has examined how wise-use evolved from ownership of lands to investment in national parks, and it evidences that by determining a fiscal position, making landscape ‘dollarable’ actually keeps it safe. Contemporary wise-use management has become synonymous with the ideals of advancing access and embracing protection, and dollarising that use is the strategy for appropriate sustainable development in those landscapes. However, as Strickland-Munro et al., (2010: 499) stated, once wild nature is recognised, protected landscapes offer significant attraction to societies, tourism advances a ‘common use’. The next section examines how the ‘common use’ was developed to appropriate public access and ensure that such access was unimpaired but also was controlled.

3.4 Access and Development In The National Parks

The research of this thesis demonstrates that the dollarising of nature and the implementation of wise-use management upheld the ideals of US national park

priorities: protection and access. This section addresses the development and control of such access alongside the need for protection, why public access to the rural environment in the US was of importance, which is introduced briefly alongside public access in the UK (to complement the UK/US countryside ideals discussed in Section 2.3). This provides a framework to show why the demand for greater access to protected landscapes in the US granted by the enabling Acts would need to be developed through corporate actions and controlled by public governance. This section examines these corporate actions and how they developed infrastructures and increased visitor numbers, most notably from the growth of the railways and automobile use, and from the perspective of ensuring enjoyment - the provision of tourist services by the corporate as concessioners (see Box 15). This section then provides a framework of the key programs and systems the NPS employed to plan, control and manage the development of public access and to sustain protection.

3.4.1 Driving Access and Growth: Railroads, Stages & Automobiles

Throughout the 19th century, access and use of the rural environment for a 'refuge' from urbanisation was essential, in both the UK and US. In the UK, it was a relatively short journey for a factory worker to experience the rural landscape, as it was just on his doorstep; within the US it required a significant journey. However, at that time, the cost of such a journey in both countries made the visit to the natural environment a costly affair, thus it remained the domain of the middle classes, the adventurous rich and those seeking a romantic ideal:

> 'In Britain until about the 1850's leisure was largely the privilege of the affluent. There was a clear distinction between the so-called leisured classes...and the rest of society' (Bunce, 1994: 113).

However, from the 1860's a new mode of transport started to develop mass tourism, namely the railways as Bunce (1994: 114) stated, '…by the 1860's cheaper fares and more improved service encouraged growing numbers to take day-trips out of town.' Both in the UK and US, 'the railway companies were instrumental in promoting the idea of informal recreation in the countryside' (Bunce, 1994: 114). In the US, railroads had witnessed the potential economic

value of tourism and capitalised on this within many national parks and protected areas:

> ‘Tourism was widely recognized by the railroads as a good source of income and lines were constructed to the several other “gateway” communities such as from Merced to El Portal (i.e., “the gateway” in Spanish) for access to Yosemite National Park. The Los Angeles & Salt Lake (a Union Pacific subsidiary) extended lines from Lund to Cedar City, Utah, for tourists to catch busses to the north rim of the Grand Canyon, Bryce Canyon, and Zion National Parks, and to the nearby Cedar Breaks National Monument. The Utah Parks Company, (another subsidiary of the Union Pacific), also built the lodges, inns, and many other tourist facilities in these parks.’ (Butler, 2007: 1).

In the US, National Parks were becoming popular for ‘trips out of town’ and ‘informal recreation to the countryside’. Since Lincoln and Grant signed the enabling Acts, access was to be unimpaired, and that required development. Those best placed to action that were private enterprises and the established railroad conglomerates. Nash (1982b) and Runte (1990a; 1990b) highlight this, commenting on how the importance of corporate actions, alongside connections to politicians and conservationists, were to access and national park growth. Railroad companies were powerful; at a political level they had connections in Congress, and at a provisioning level they could facilitate access. In so doing they would be powerful parties to endorse tourism growth, and they would work tirelessly to achieve this to build their profits. This is further exemplified by Nash (1982b: 132) who conceptualised this connection by stating that advocates of national park ideals needed to convince politicians to legislate for national parks, and that tourism would be viewed as big business; in Southern California it was more than likely that such advocates persuaded the Southern Pacific Railroad to aid any such proposals to politicians:

> ‘In all probability Johnson [proposer to national park] received assistance from the powerful Southern Pacific Railroad, which had its eye on the profitable tourist trade Yosemite would generate…’(Nash, 1982b: 132).

The economic gain from corporate actions developed tourism within the US National Parks; the National Pacific Railroad Company (NPRRC) effectively established Yellowstone as a national park, and Yosemite too was to become part of this commercialisation of nature by the Railroads. Runte (1990b: 45-54)

also endorsed this position, highlighting that railroad companies like the Southern Pacific and the NPRRC saw the potential to gain profits from development, and both influenced the progression of Yellowstone and Yosemite as national parks. Alongside the railroad companies, stagecoach companies and private road constructors (turnpike companies) also paved the way for access. Toll roads were built in conjunction with Park officials, and stagecoaches provided the means of transport prior to the automobile. 'The stage coach is to California what the modern express train is to Indiana…vast amount of transportation carried on by means of coachers…' (Russell, 1992: 63). As Runte (1990b) concluded, the Southern Pacific Railroad was going full steam ahead for support of a National Park, seeing the riches of a federal controlled Park set up for the recreation of the people. The Turnpike and Stagecoach companies were also prioritising routes to national parks, and the invention of the automobile a few decades later (much to the annoyance of the railroads due to competition) made 'out of town ventures' a possibility to many more people. In the US the car was seen as an exciting new opportunity to pack up and head for the countryside for 'motor-camps':

> 'This dramatically altered both the pattern and extent of national park use, 'changing the wilderness from a gallery reserved for a discriminating few to a playground where all might absorb what they could' (Schmitt, 1969: 155).
>
> Although the railroads were still officially regarded as the primary mode of travel to the national parks, in 1917 more than 55,000 automobiles were registered as having visited the parks. By 1926, this had risen to over 400,000 (Schmitt, 1969: 161) clear evidence of the rapid growth in the use of the automobile for recreational travel' (Bunce, 1994: 119).

The rise in popularity of the automobile meant more people could access the national parks and in turn more people could connect to wild nature; allowing greater access improved the parks attractiveness and advanced the ideals of wise-use and safeguarding landscape. There were protestations from what Runte (2010: 140) recalls 'nature cranks', but in general Runte suggested 'those with cooler heads embraced the automobile, as they had earlier allied with the railroads, seeing in both an opportunity to bolster the parks' popularity.'

> 'Increasingly, the eyes of the preservation community were fixed on California, whose three Sierra parks-and most notably Yosemite-had already begun to experience that fundamental shift in American travel

patterns. As early as 1916, automobile vacationists to Yosemite had surpassed those arriving by rail, 14,527 as opposed to 14,251. The following season the ratio was nearly three to one, and by 1918 almost seven to one…' (Runte, 1993b: 122).

The role of the railroads and growth of the automobile were crucial to the development of the US National Parks, (see, Johns 1996; Runte 1990a; Runte 1990b and Magoc 1999); however, as time progressed the automobile became the primary choice of travel for national park visitors.

3.4.2 Driving Tourism and Growth: The Concessioners

Society believed they had 'the right to play' (Runte, 2010: 144), the right of public enjoyment, Congress granted them that right and corporates would make provision for that right. The stagecoaches, the railroads and automobiles had brought the public to the parks, and under the enabling legislation the corporate as concessioners would make provision for the visitor services in the parks. As concessioner roles and actions vary and have always varied from park to park, this section addresses the general concept of the corporate as a concessioner, and their actions to make profits in public lands and to uphold the ideals of wise-use connected to protection (as a part of the national park ethos) and sustainable development. The empirical chapters example the concessioners specifically to Yosemite National Park.

Box 15: Defining The Concessioner

'A concessions operation is a way of providing commercial visitor services such as food, lodging, and retail through a third party (concessioner) within a national park. These services, provided through the use of concession contracts, must be necessary and appropriate for visitor use and enjoyment. Concession contracts are generally valid for 10 years or less but can extend for as many as 20 years. Concession contracts specify the range of facilities accommodation, and services types the concessioner agrees to offer. The rates the concessioner can charge for these services are approved by the National Park Service and must be comparable to those under similar conditions outside the park' (NPS, 2012).

Generally speaking, the concessioner invests in the services and does not own assets (especially the built asset). However, due to a long history of administrative changes, this does have some complications and paradoxes in certain national parks. For example, certain concessioners actually built their facility at the

behest of the NPS, then the NPS would reimburse the concessioner and assume ownership; plus changes in constitutional affairs also meant changes in ownership; these paradoxes will be highlighted under the relevant examples. Added to this are taxes (possessory interest) and fees and leasehold surrender interest negotiated under the constitutional affairs of the US.

The overriding rule is 'Generally speaking, it is better for the government to own all assets in parks and to treat the concessioner as a caretaker, but…there are historic reasons why that cannot always be the case.' (Email: NPS Planning, 2015e).

Originally legislated under the Organic Act 1916, concession policy is now legislated under The Concessions Policy Act 1965, updated 1998.

The corporate had seen national park tourism as potentially 'dollarable' since the European settlers had first discovered the lands under wise-use (see 3.3.1) and the Homestead and Preemption Rights. Government had required that local responsible ownership with contractual controls from afar should be endorsed. However, at the time of the enabling Acts, many corporate actions and rights were uncontrolled, varied, unprofitable, unscrupulous and disorganised. Wise-use, particularly from the early twentieth century and the 1916 Organic Act (see Sections 1.6.2, 2.2.3 and Box 10), demanded a change so that sustainable development within protected lands encouraged corporate involvement through private investment, leases not ownership. As a result of the 1916 Organic Act, the NPS would govern the National Parks, and visitor services would be provided by the corporate as a concessioner (see Box 15), to support 'public enjoyment' - namely tourism. The concessioner was a corporate body or private individual who could provision a lease, paying ground rents and turnover commissions to the NPS (see Section 6.2 for detail within Yosemite) to provide a service to invest in park services, but not own assets or capital value. At a much later date, in 1965, the Concession Policy Act was legislated (updated in 1998) around the rules of doing business in a national park, enforcing proper and wise-use management. The core values were to control pricing, regulate hours of service and provide necessary and appropriate service. There is an interesting point here, that when the Concession Policy Act came into law, Congress did set out some new rules for doing business in national parks, which included stating that concessioners could own the assets

and they could own the buildings. In the 1980's, under Reagan's 'Sagebrush Policies', the same altered tenure was proposed, but when this was tendered it was not a favoured policy of the corporate entity; they wanted to invest in services, not own assets.

One of the fundamental purposes of having investors not owners was to control access and profit alongside the needs of protection, particularly as history had shown certain concerns: 'concessionaires would do everything allowable to maintain and expand their operations' (Runte, 1990b: 214). These included services from accommodation to rafting, swimming pool requirements to ice rinks, bear pits to firefalls. During the twentieth century the NPS was often '…accused of pandering to the public's search for entertainment' (Runte, 2010: 150). Concessioners also have other critics; Miles (1995: 328) said that they have always caused concern, and reform needs to account for controlling their interests. As Miles (1995: 328) continued, they have a monopolistic venture on public lands and pay relatively low fees for the privilege to do this. By 1931, the NPS, along with preservationist purists decreed that controls on tourist facilities needed to be put in place, that 'no building should be erected in the parks solely for amusement purposes' (Runte, 2010: 152); protection needed to be upheld as much as access:

> 'In this vein, Arno B.Cammerer, director of the National Park Service, wrote in 1938, 'Our National Parks are wilderness preserves where true natural conditions are to be found….When Americans, in years to come,' he continued, 'wish to seek out extensive virgin forests, mountain solitudes, deep canyons, or sparsely vegetated deserts, they will be able to find them in the National Parks.'' (Runte, 2010: 153).

Thus, although there are arguments against private investors making profits in public lands, and that making landscape dollarable may have been seen to be unsafe, the counter argument is that the progression of wise-use, including corporates as concessioners and investors not owners, has built a safety net. The premise of concessioners making a profit and that being acceptable endorses the thinking of long-term objectives rather than short-term gain. Heikkurinen (2010) stated that corporates that have a long-term strategy see environmental issues as opportunities not threats, and the longer-term

strategies drive competitive advantage. The views of the short-term corporates are opposite to this, they strategise environmental issues as threats.

> 'The firms concerned about their short-term profitability are more likely to resist the upcoming costs of greening and see the proliferated environmentalism rather as a threat to their business (Richter, 2001). The long-term oriented firms seem to understand the necessity of these investments and the new opportunities they hold.' (Heikkurinen, 2010: 142-143).

Of further importance here is where Heikkurinen (2010: 142-143) highlighted the work of Friedman and Friedman (2009), demonstrating that those companies that see environmental issues as opportunities may gain a competitive advantage. This progresses the concepts and ideals of wise-use in national parks. The concessioner who adopts environmental management as a part of their mandate safeguards the natural environment and safeguards their profits.

3.4.3 Developing National Park Programmes and Systems

Private investment in public lands needed planning and controls (see Miles, 1995: 328; Runte, 1990b: 214), and following the Organic Act of 1916 that was the obligation of the NPS. Mather realised the importance of developing an integrated planning system, to embrace landscape management whilst advancing the ideal of access. Complementing Mather's enthusiasm was the Assistant Director to the NPS, Horace M. Albright, who served in many national park posts (including Superintendent at Yellowstone and Yosemite - see Section 5.5.5.1) and succeeded Mather as the second NPS director between 1929 and 1933. Both visionaries recognised integrated planning would necessitate road, rail, trail and other infrastructure developments, as well as the ongoing need to improve the provision of tourist services.

In the following two Sections (3.4.3.1 and 3.4.3.2), the reader will note a jump back and forth in time, as the structure sets out discussion of the two specific systems individually, rather than a more general chronological discussion.

3.4.3.1 Master Plans

Meanwhile, protection also required the aesthetic values were not diminished; to balance protection and access would require foresight and control. During the establishment of the national park system, and complementing Mather and Albright's motivation, the American Society of Landscape Architects led by James S. Pray suggested that 'comprehensive general plans' for each park should be drawn up. As Sellars (1997: 52) states the Interior Department also became party to this and:

> '…Interior secretary Franklin Lane, who required that all park improvements be 'in accordance with a preconceived plan developed with special reference to the preservation of the landscape,' a plan that would require…proper appreciation of the esthetic value of park lands.'

By 1925, Mather had started to make headway, and by the 1930's the NPS expanded the idea of *General Management Plans*, also known as Master Plans to be a park wide system. These plans were drawn up to provide robust frameworks to strategise how developments would be controlled, to essentially support the ideals of protection and access. As expansion, public access and protection were to be integral to the Master Plans, the NPS needed manpower and funds (which it was lacking) to implement effective plans, and during the Presidency of Franklin D. Roosevelt the *New Deal* (under the 1933 Reorganization Act – see Section 1.6.2) was established to overcome the deficiencies (see Section 3.4.3.2 for funding). In 1933 the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) were tasked with park duties and employed out of work young men to engage public land conservation works. The CCC and the mandate of the NPS (under the Master Plans) progressed public use, resort and enjoyment, and developed what was in essence multi-use recreational programmes (Sellars, 1997: 205). Sellars (1997: 101) highlighted that 'The New Deal…was able to advance park development as much as two decades beyond where it would have been without Roosevelt's…programs'. The New Deal cemented the foundation for recreational development and '…fostered vast expansion and diversification of Park Service activity' (ibid: 133). Through integrated programs and systems the NPS were emerging as an instrument of governance and an ally to advance public access, to develop tourism and recreation facilities.

However, as parks developed, Mather and Albright's vision gained momentum, there was mounting concern that the ideal of protection seemed to have been cast aside.

By the 1960's the NPS came under a lot of criticism with regard to its lack of credible planning for protection, and this gave rise to a new period, the *Mission 66 Era,* to ensure protection (as well as access) was also on the agenda. The Mission 66 era provided an integral part of US national park planning policy as it introduced the ideals of carrying capacity and zoning; due to its importance to these concepts it is discussed in more detail in Section 3.5 (see Section 3.5.1.1 for Mission 66). After Mission 66 ended in 1966, a new management plan *Parkscape USA* was implemented, which sanctioned further improvement of recreational facilities and endeavoured to continue increasing park visitation. Parkscape USA was also an integral Master Plan program authorised by Congress to expand and increase the number of national parks:

> '…ten new parks were created in 1964…1965, with fourteen new parks; 1966 and 1968, with ten each; and 1972, with thirteen. Overall, between 1961 and 1972…a total of eighty-seven units came into the system, constituting nearly 3.7 million acres' (Sellars, 1997: 206).

Through integrated planning of programs and systems, Congress' wishes were advanced, to ensure public access was unimpaired; visitation and recreation was as popular as ever, and the parks through the NPS and the concessioners were expediting this. However, part of the contention of Master Plans and policies was that they needed to embrace and engage far more with protection and to offer park specific planning. This is examined in more detail in Section 5.5.5.3 which looks at how the 1980 General Management Plan embraced public opinion in Yosemite National Park in an attempt to overcome this. In summary, the planning systems would evolve to relate more to the preservation legislation such as The Wilderness Act and The National Wild & Scenic Rivers System (see Section 2.4.3.1), which includes The Merced River Plan in Yosemite (see Section 6.3.2) and to global requirements for healthy people and healthy natural environments. Such plans include *Healthy Parks and Healthy People* (NPS, 2011) and *A Call to Action. Preparing for a Second Century of Stewardship and Engagement* (NPS, 2013b).

3.4.3.2 Revenue Systems

As well as planning, the NPS and parks needed funding. Revenue systems would be derived from Federal appropriations and administrative incomes to make provision for staffing, protection and improvement of public infrastructures. It should be noted that this section is not looking to pursue an in-depth analysis of income opportunities and distributions; rather, this section introduces how the NPS progressed public funding through administrative park revenue systems. Initially when Yellowstone was established in 1872, proponents assured Congress that concessioner rents (through leases) would support the administration of the Park, and certain Federal funds would also be appropriated (this continues to this day). However, the ideal was to have self-supporting parks; by 1907 Yosemite was making a profit from concessioners, and by 1916 Yellowstone was also witnessing 'receipts exceeding expenditures' (Mackintosh, 1983: no pagination). There was much optimism:

> 'In the 1917 annual report of the National Park Service, Acting Director Horace M. Albright was equally optimistic: 'I believe the time will soon come when Yellowstone, Yosemite, Mount Rainier, Sequoia, and General Grant National Parks and probably one or two more members of the system will yield sufficient revenue to cover costs of administration and maintenance of improvements' (Mackintosh, 1983: no pagination).

However, in 1908 Mount Rainier National Park set a new precedent and levied entry fees per car under Federal guidance and the Land and Water Conservation Fund Act. The relatively small charges (around $1) were warranted on the fact that incomes would go towards improvements to the roads. Park entry fee charging tended to align with the granting of automobile access, and over the next ten years most parks endorsed charging entry fees; for example, Yosemite started charging in 1913. Fees would also be charged for usage of camp-sites and on park facilities (user or amenity fees). Research highlights that a turbulent history would follow, a history that included argument and counter argument as to where funds would be appropriated, whether charges would be levied per entry or through seasonal permits, to what use funds would be appropriated, what were acceptable charges, and whether or not it was tolerable to charge the public for entry into, and use of, public lands.

Figure 8: Visitor Showing Park Fee Entry Sticker c.1922

Source: Mackintosh, (1983: Cover Photo).

These arguments continue to the current day, especially charging the public and the fact that the public and certain politicians would continually oppose fees. However, this especially gained momentum around the 1930's and Roosevelt's New Deal, but as Mackintosh (1983: no pagination) states, 'in general, however, the public accepted the…charges'. There have also been several studies as to how and why fees should be charged, for example the NPS Recreation Fee Study, 1977 which showed that in 1976 entrance fees '…had been levied at 116 units of the system (less than half the total) and had yielded $16.9 million…(Mackintosh, 1983: no pagination). The fees were not consistent through the parks, for example some had no charge, some charged $2 and some charged over $4; by the 1980's NPS revenues (and other agencies) became even more scrutinised under the Reagan administration who wanted more revenues from the parks. Nevertheless, as the General Management Plans became established there was a general consensus for the need to have consistency in fee charging and for ongoing improvements to park facilities and amenities. The NPS looked to more effective revenue management planning to develop consistency and effective revenue systems to allow for park improvements and development; to this end in 1996 Congress authorised the Recreation Fee Demonstration Program. Little changed, there were still inconsistencies, public and political concern mounted over poor facilities and transparency of fees and by 2005 the then President of the US signed into law the Federal Lands Recreation Enhancement Act (REA). 'The Act provides agencies with recreation fee authority for 10 years, which will allow the agencies

to improve the efficiency of the program, provide better facilities and services to the visitors…' (FWS, 2016). The REA has since been updated and was due for a review in 2016, and it allows for the NPS to charge (a tiered system based on Park size) entry fees and amenity fees for facilities, equipment and services, and also allows for continuance of annual passes, such as the Golden Eagle Passports. By 2014 the total funding to the NPS was $3.1 billion, Congressional appropriations account for the majority but revenues from recreational fees (entry and amenity) accounted for $186 million and the revenues from concessioner contracts was $85 million. The NPS do also receive philanthropic donations that account for around $95 million (GAO, 2015). The NPS had developed administrative fees alongside the General Management Plans to build continuity in park management, to ensure governance of public lands was effective and to allow for controls to maintain park amenities.

This section has evidenced that corporate actions alongside public authority planning and funding have advanced the ideal of access in US national parks, yet at the same time embracing the ideal of protection has warranted concerns. Sustainable development would need to be progressed to benefit the interests of stakeholders (including the environment) and to uphold the national park ideals. Development would need to protect the product, to engage access and to protect profits in the national parks (financial and environmental): the ideals of sustainability (see Figure 6). The next section develops this concept further as it demonstrates how the ideals of protection and access were advanced through carrying capacity and zoning, the amount and type of use that can be acceptable.

3.5 Approaching Sustainable Development Through The Concept of Carrying Capacity

This section examines one of the main wise-use management tools of carrying capacity, zoning regulations and the corresponding permit systems. Initially this section examines the concept of carrying capacity, which has become an important tool to frame sustainable [tourism] development in adaptive co-management strategies, and then it addresses how zoning and permit systems

were utilised to manage carrying capacity. As Hall & Page (2006: 148) highlight, 'in many respects, it [carrying capacity] is the precursor of the much wider concept of 'sustainability…' US protected landscapes offer areas of natural and cultural resources to be enjoyed by society whilst at the same time to be protected. Visitation is growing, which as Miles (1995: 327) states, pose a threat: increasing demand of visitation causes impact, disturbance to finite natural resources and impairment to the quality of visitor experience. Yet as Manning (2002: 306) states, there are opportunities as well as challenges, the question is 'how much is too much?' Carrying capacity within national parks and protected areas addresses this to determine a sustainable outcome:

> '…carrying capacity refers to the amount and type of use that can be accommodated in parks and related areas without unacceptable impacts to park resources and/or the quality of the visitor experience.' (Manning, 2001: 93).

The concept of carrying capacity is not new; it has been utilised as a management tool for many decades, as looking at environmental values alongside visitor usage (Manning, 2001: 95) and has a broad application in environmental management:

> 'The historic concept of "carrying capacity" suggests that there are limits to the use of environmental resources, and this concept has been applied in a number of fields, including wildlife (Leopold, 1933), range (Holechek, Piper, & Herbel, 1998), fisheries (Beverton & Holt, 1957), parks and outdoor recreation (Wagar, 1964; Manning, 2007), and even the ultimate population of Earth (Ehrlich, 1968; Meadows, Randers, & Behrens, 1972; Cohen, 1995).' (Manning, 2011: 26).

The author also states (2011: 26) that within national parks the concept of carrying capacity was actually suggested as far back as the 1916 Organic Act, referenced in the statement:

> '…to conserve the scenery and the natural historic objects and the wildlife therein and to provide for the enjoyment of the same in such manner and by such means as will leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations…(39 Stat. 535, 16 U.S.C. 1).' (Manning 2011: 26).

Hall & Page (2006: 148) state that an early definition was used in the UK by the Countryside Commission in 1970, which '…embodied the dual characteristics of

protection and use…' linking to the ideals of the US national parks, protection and access through wise-use. They further suggest that carrying capacity may be identified through four main types: physical (quantitative measures, economic and multiple use of resources - linking to Gifford Pinchot), ecological (linking recreational use to unacceptable or irreversible environmental decline), social ('…defined by Pigram and Jenkins (1999: 93) as 'the maximum level of recreational use, in terms of numbers and activities, above which there is a decline in the quality of the recreational experience, from the point of view of the recreation participant.'). Manning (2001: 96) suggests other academics (e.g. Lime, 1970; Frissell & Stankey, 1972) refer to carrying capacity as being 'the limits of acceptable change', perhaps implying it to be a numbers problem, whereas certain academics including Wagar (1964) have highlighted that human values also need to be ascertained within the concept, in terms of the 'quality' of the visitor experience rather than just determining that visitor as a number. Drumm (2007) looks at carrying capacity from a responsibility perspective, confirming that as nature tourism around the World continues its rapid growth, protected areas are seeing their capacities exceeded and sustainable tourism is becoming threatened, raising concerns around 'organized irresponsibility':

> '…the use of social carrying capacity to justify excluding one group of claimants who value an area for recreation in favor of another group of claimants who value it for a different form of recreation, are suspect. As Burch (1981) contends, "The result seems to be organized irresponsibility where managers point to the 'scientific' data as reason enough for their preferred decisions…' (Becker et al., 1984: 482)

Drumm (2007: 191) continues the responsibility argument, asserting that tourism growth in national parks needs to be reduced so that natural resources are not totally depleted and thus the national park economy is maintained. Further arguments highlight that 'properly harnessed' corporate actions, managed by wise-use, to build capacity particularly in developing nations could provide effective protection:

> 'Nature tourism and ecotourism, properly harnessed, could go a long way toward closing the yawning financial gaps between current budgets of protected areas in developing countries and the minimum required to provide effective conservation and management of their resources.

> Unfortunately, in most protected areas, tourism is not being adequately harnessed in this way...But park systems in most developing countries are failing to invest at anywhere near the necessary levels to build capacity for managing the growth in park visits. As a result, tourism is now a threat to biodiversity rather than a benefit'. Drumm (2008: 782).

The main contentions with these concepts of carrying capacity lie with what is acceptable wise-use responsibility, and irreversible or maximum numbers over desires. The reality is that there is no single answer to these concerns, but as a management tool carrying capacity has been widely used since the 1960's and offers some influence to gauge sustainable activities and development.

> 'It is commonly recognised that there are no fixed or standard tourism carrying capacity values. Rather, carrying capacity varies, depending upon place, season and time, user behaviour, facility design, patterns and levels of management, and the dynamic character of the environments themselves. Moreover, it is not always possible to practice to separate tourism activity from other human activities.' (Ceballos-Lacuarain 1996: 131 in Hall & Page 2006: 149).

However, carrying capacity can be an effective tool as part of the wise-use concept, but it requires adaptive co-management rather than management by responsibility. As this thesis demonstrates (see empirical evidence in Section 6.4), that is achievable as part of the contemporary wise-use debate and dollarising the landscape and ensuring effective capacity management acts as catalysts for protection:

> '…tourism certainly has enormous potential to be a significant source of conservation finance…' (Drumm, 2007: 207)

As Drumm (2007: 191) continued, '…to ensure that tourism and recreation contribute to biodiversity conservation'. (Drumm, 2007: 191).

3.5.1 Zoning Systems

Globally, carrying capacity has no fixed value, rather the dynamic and individual character of a specific environment requires wise-use management to mitigate as much as possible the impacts of disturbance. Since the Organic Act of 1916, visitation to the US national parks grew year on year and it became the duty of the National Park Service to advance access whilst also embracing protection.

Stephen Mather was a guiding light in this development, and later from the 1930's, Conrad Wirth, a landscape architect by trade, initially became Assistant Director for Recreational Land Planning in the NPS and from 1951 to 1964 as the Director of the NPS continued much of Mather's ideals. Wirth was a stalwart of recreational tourism, and introduced ideas around zoning which resulted in the Mission 66 Era, a period of questionable development for tourism in the protected lands.

3.5.1.1 Mission 66 Era

Mather had believed that development would secure the national parks, not just for provision of access and visitation but also to protect. However, by the mid 1950's growing visitor numbers, promoted by the New Deal, were causing concern. The ideal of development needed to not only ensure protected landscape was accessible for all people, but also needed to account for controlling those numbers; managing carrying capacity through the General Management Plans (see Section 3.4.3). Under the auspices of Conrad Wirth, development advanced in a contradictory way, which Sellars (1997; 181) describes as 'the paradox of protection by development', eventually coining the phrase 'loving the parks to death'. The period after World War 2 saw this development in the most contentious policy known as the Mission 66 Era, in place from 1956 to 1966 (see section 5.5.5.2 in relation to empirical case study). This is summarised as expansion without consideration of natural or aesthetic values:

> 'The Mission 66 era…a ten-year effort to accommodate the greatly increased number of visitors to the national parks at any cost, would expand facilities substantially without taking into consideration natural or aesthetic park values. Changes in society's work force, as well as the reduction of park funding and the increased costs of building materials, necessitated a more commonplace and utilitarian style of architecture and more crowding of facilities. Placed side by side with the earlier works of craftsmen and artisans, the new buildings paled by comparison' (Pavlik, 1993: 109).

The positive aspect of Mission 66 was the fact that the NPS believed 'public use would be contained' (Russell, 1997: 181), that specified development could prevent negative impacts on certain areas whilst other areas could be set aside

for visitor use; the ideal of zoning would engage carrying capacity. Responsible development would control where visitors went and ensure they understood the need for protection; the tool to achieve this was zonal development of roads, trails and visitor services, limiting impacts to other areas. However, the contradiction to this was, as Sellars (1997: 183) continues, that the National Parks needed to prepare for 'an estimated 80 million visitors by 1966'.

> 'Wirth wrote to his top staff that continued criticism had made it 'increasingly apparent that a greater effort must be made…to present the Mission 66 program to the public in its true light.' Among other endeavours, he wanted the Service to 'strive for public understanding' of the idea that national park development in fact comprised 'zones of civilization in a wilderness setting,' and that park roads were 'corridors through the wilderness linking these zones.' (Sellars, 1997: 192).

Interestingly, the discussions around Mission 66 have offered both positive and negative connotations, perhaps endorsing the point that responsibility is subjective, so offers ineffective and relative strategies. Horace Albright was an advocate of the program and he commented that the Mission 66 Era was, 'one of the noblest conceptions in the whole national park history' (Sellars, 1997: 205). However, it was also considered as highly contentious (see Pavlik, 1993: 109; Sellars, 1997; 181;), with 'preservation dismay' (Runte, 2010: 156), and promoted almost unabated and environmentally unsympathetic developments. Nevertheless, the main legacy would remain and progress, that of managing carrying capacity and zoning.

3.5.1.2 Progressing The Ideals Of Zoning and Introducing Permit Systems

Wirth's ideals were that wilderness and visitation could be balanced, but as visitation grew the NPS progressed park zoning with master plans (see General Management Plans in Section 3.4.3) demarcating backcountry from areas planned for intensive use and for road corridors. Such 'controlled pattern developments encouraged visitors to stay within specifically designated areas.' (Sellars, 1997: 192). This was the birth of zonal planning in US protected landscapes, and in 1964 The Wilderness Act (see Section 2.4.3.1 and in empirical research in Section 6.3) created the National Wilderness Preservation

System (see, Nash, 1982b: 5; Woods, 1998: 131-138), which set out to further define and protect the backcountry (wilderness):

> ‘According to the legislators, ‘a wilderness, in contrast with those areas where man and his own works dominate the landscape, is hereby recognized as an area where the earth and its community of life are untrammeled by man, where man himself is a visitor who does not remain…’The Act went on to require that a wilderness retain ‘its primeval character and influence.’’ (Nash, 1982b: 4).

As in the time of Mission 66, such areas needed to be managed, and problems arose around what or who defines what is untrammeled, what is primeval, and with regard to visitation, how much is too much (Manning, 2002)? This is where zoning needed to be integrated into the carrying capacity strategies. It is as Nash (1982b: 6) went on to say, ‘…a spectrum of conditions or environments ranging from the purely wild on the one end to the purely civilized on the other - from the primeval to the paved.’ Eagles & McCool (2002: 107) state that as protected lands and areas of biodiversity are so variable in terms of visitor numbers, locations and temporal visitation, and as infrastructures are varied, namely the level and dependence on roads, trails and accommodations, zoning strategies are required on a specific area basis:

> ‘Zoning is not only a method of providing appropriate locations for desired or preferred recreation opportunity settings, but also a tool to direct and control the spread of visitor-induced impacts to previously determined levels (Haas et al. 1987). (Eagles & McCool, 2002: 107).

Zoning is a management strategy specific to a protected area with adequate and appropriate actions to foster conservation, defining which zones will allow greater human access, which will allow certain developments and which will remain as close to wilderness as possible. Zoning has no limitations, it is a management tool to be utilised in a ‘situation specific’ way:

> ‘Zoning laws can also restrict development near rivers or other environmentally sensitive areas. And they can even restrict lights or structures along areas that are especially valuable for the movement of wildlife between habitats.’ (Kareiva & Marvier, 2011: 128).

Zoning is an important wise-use management strategy used to this day and pertinent to this thesis is that within the US national parks specific area zoning

is also controlled by the practice of permit systems. This research does not look at specific types or methods of permit system administration as there are many in US protected landscape ranging from camping in backcountry areas to climbing specific mountains; it does, however, briefly introduce how the permit system was established. In June 1906 Congress set into law the Antiquities Act, which among other outcomes, created national monuments as part of the protected landscape. These later became part of the national park system (refer to Section 1.6.2). 'The monuments were to include areas of importance in history, prehistory, or science…' (Sellars, 1997: 13). One of the purposes of this Act was that it '…authorized a permit system, allowing excavation of antiquities within the monuments by research scientists…it was also used to set aside especially scenic lands, such as the Grand Canyon and Mount Olympus.' (Sellars, 1997: 13). This set a precedent for larger tracts of land and soon permit systems, mainly to visit wilderness or the backcountry areas, were adopted throughout the US national parks. In simple terms, the NPS describe wilderness permits as '…only issued to a limited number of people for each trailhead in order to provide outstanding opportunities for solitude, as required by the Wilderness Act.'

This section has outlined and examined how carrying capacity became an important tool for managing protection alongside access. It has evidenced that carrying capacity has ideals around responsible management, particularly in the Mission 66 Era. However, those ideals cause subjective decision-making, and wise-use needed to go beyond such frameworks.

3.6 Framing Processes For The Wise-Use Models

This section examines how the process of responsibility is defined from a corporate perspective, determined as CSR (corporate social and environmental responsibility see Box 1), and it also examines the generic use of responsibility, which has been applied to, and implied in, the concept of wise-use and sustainable development; integral to the socio-ecological management system. This section also builds evidence for the argument that a different process to responsibility frames the contemporary model of wise-use management, where CSR has shifted to represent the process of corporate social resilience, driven

by adaption and capacity: adaptive co-management and the inclusion of relevant stakeholders, advancing stewardship. As mentioned (see Sections 1.4 and 3.3.2) this thesis does not pursue a comparison or suggest mutual exclusivity between responsibility and resilience. Nevertheless, Section 3.6.1 outlines research validating that responsibility and resilience do have similar links and drivers used to appropriate sustainable development. Sections 3.6.2 and 3.6.3 examine in more detail the specific concepts and processes of responsibility and resilience relating to corporate actions and their relationship to wise-use management.

3.6.1 Responsibility and Resilience: Process and Outcome

Wise-use as a concept within sustainable development has been championed since the 19th century in that federal control would convert, under contract, natural resources into private ownership. The processes by which this could be provisioned were framed around two important values or principles, freedom and responsibility, to progress the management of natural resources, in essence a socio-ecological 'responsible' system. Initially driven by ownership of natural resources, this would in national parks be replaced with investment through leases for the corporate as concessioners. This thesis demonstrates that CSR as responsibility is not robust in its processes for managing protection and access in the national parks (Mission 66 – Section 3.5.1.1 and the Master Plan of 1980 in Yosemite 5.5.5 exemplify this) that although responsibility will as a principle remain as a moral compass or guiding light to society, the management process should be framed under CSR as resilience, building a socio-ecological resilience system. Research has shown that responsibility and resilience do have strong links; they work on a similar level, as 'precursors to sustainable development' and representing strategies driven by processes and outcomes:

Responsibility As A Process & Outcome:

> '[Thomas M.] Jones then went on to summarize the CSR debate by listing the various arguments that have been presented both for and against it…One of Jones's major contributions in this article is his emphasis on CSR as a *process.'* (Carroll, 2009: 11).

> ‘CSR is viewed as a comprehensive set of policies, practices and programs that are integrated into business operations, supply chains, and decision-making processes through the company’. (Carroll, 2009: 14).

> ‘Edwin M. Epstein (1987) provided an explanation of CSR…He said: *Corporate social responsibility* relates primarily to achieving outcomes from organizational decisions concerning specific issues or problems which (by some normative standard) have beneficial rather than adverse effects upon pertinent corporate stakeholders. (Carroll, 2009: 12).

Resilience As A Process & Outcome:

> ‘They [The Resilience Alliance, Michael Ungar, The Resilience Research Centre and African Health Service] each identify resilience as *capacity…*In addition resilience is both a *process and an outcome.*’ (Brown, 2016: 8).

> ‘Thus, sustainability prioritises outcomes whilst resilience prioritises process.’ (Brown, 2016: 20)

> ‘If sustainability is a socially-generated process, then social-ecological resilience is its mechanism…’ (Childers et al., 2015: 3779).’

It is, however, not the purpose of this thesis to prove or pursue their linkages or that the processes are similar, but rather demonstrate wise-use has evolved from the process of responsibility to one of resilience through CSR.

3.6.2 CSR: Corporate Social Responsibility

Sustainable development has been discussed as an outcome with some concerns (see Sections 2.4 and 3.2), which may well be warranted within national park wise-use management based around a responsibility system that is subjective and relies on a process of moral principles. The next sections examine CSR as corporate social responsibility and investigate what drives CSR. They then evidence the statement that ‘CSR is Dead!’ before framing CSR within the findings of this research from the contemporary perspective.

3.6.2.1 Defining CSR As Responsibility

As Carroll (2009: 12) suggests, responsibility relies upon ethics and principles, and Habisch *et al*., (2005) document the spread of responsibility within

corporate strategies across Europe as part of an intense debate about sustainability. The definitions and origins around CSR, '…referred to as just SR in the period before the rise and dominance of the corporate form of business organization…' (Carroll, 2008: 1) are important to frame how this model works. Lynes and Andrachuk (2008: 378) state that The European Commission (2002) defines corporate responsibility as follows:

> 'Corporate social responsibility (CSR) can be defined in basic terms as the voluntary commitment of a firm to contribute to social and environmental goals.'

Ketola (2010: 321) states that Corporate Responsibility was first used around 1983 and '…for over two decades it was shadowed by the anthropocentric concept of corporate social responsibility.' Carroll (2008) highlights that many early ideals of philanthropy in business - a possible emergence of CSR - started with social responsibility, which can be dated back to the 1800's. However, Carroll (2008: 2) suggests that this philanthropy may be more individualistic and involving personal gain, acted out by the nicknamed 'robber barons' like John D. Rockefeller for some of their 'unscrupulous practices'. A more contemporary view of philanthropy and business emerged around the 1950's. Carroll (2008: 5) stated that around this time William C. Frederick (an early pioneer of CSR) had three core ideas of CSR that: managers act as public trustees, they need to balance competing claims to corporate resources, and they must accept that philanthropy was part of business cause. Frederick, in some ways comparable to Pinchot's (see Section 2.2.5.2) idea of profit for the many not the few, believed:

> 'Social responsibility in the final analysis implies a public posture towards society's economic and human resources and a willingness to see that those resources are utilized for broad social ends and not simply for the narrowly circumscribed interests of private persons and firms.' (Carroll, A, 2009: 6)

Carroll (2009: 6-10) evidences that, by 1979 corporate responsibility was made up of four important elements: Corporate Social Performance, Define CSR For Each Business, Responsibility to Stakeholders, and Strategy to Responsiveness, thus defining CSR as:

> ‘The social responsibility of business encompasses the economic, legal, ethical and discretionary expectations that society has of organizations at a given point in time. (Carroll, 1979: 500).’ (Carroll, 2009: 10).

With the CSR lens focusing on 21st century thinking, Schwartz and Carroll (2003) adopted Carroll’s model and reduced it to three main elements, dropping the philanthropy category: Economic; Legal and Ethical, arguing that ‘…philanthropy could be conceptualized in both ethical and discretionary terms.’ (Carroll, A, 2009: 14). Beyond the definitions, adoption and integration of CSR is dependent on certain drivers, which in turn compound the level of engagement and its provision within the wise-use argument.

3.6.2.2 CSR Drivers

Within wise-use, responsibility from the corporate has been driven by an ethos explained more generically by Mazurkiewicz, (n.y.: 7) of ‘commonly respected CSR framework[s]’. This framework advances an outcome for responsible activities (see Townsend, 2015) and as Holmes (1976) adds, it suggests ‘outcomes’ that corporate executives may work to and be involved with. Within the corporate domain, and connecting to the responsible processes, is the fact that corporates are legal entities, composed of various actors, often with different aims and objectives. Collectively they have to work within the sets of rules and regulations of their industry, the laws and frameworks of doing business. Nevertheless, at times, this clashes with their own ideals and beliefs. Lynes and Andrachuk (2008: 377) stated:

> ‘It is within this context that the issue of corporate social and environmental responsibility sits, torn between social consciousness and shareholder profits. Increasingly, however, corporations are realizing – for varying reasons – that being environmentally and socially conscious makes good business sense.’

Making ‘good business sense’ and establishing transparency emerges from CSR, driven by requirement and determined, to some degree, by governance, within certain legislative frameworks:

> ‘Partners in business and consumers want to know what is inside a company. This transparency of business practices means that for many

> companies, CSR, is no longer a luxury but a requirement.' (Mazurkiewicz, n.y.: 2).

Within natural environments CSR has an important role within environmental responsibility; it needs to make 'good business sense', it needs to make a profit, and needs to ensure that profit also embraces protection:

> '…And this is where CER makes 'good business sense' and enhances competitive advantage. CER has its foundations in corporate social responsibility, which advocates ethics, morality and social acceptance. Now there's a greater demand, a wider remit for corporations to invest in environmental responsibility, to conserve the planet as well as engage with people and ensuring profits.' (Stones, 2014: 76).

Around the late twentieth century CSR was seen as a 'rare resource', as Stones (2014: 76) noted: '…today, corporations are being persuaded that CER [CSR] is a valuable resource, a requirement from customers, a demand from investors and a significant tool for profits'. Now, many other sectors of industry and other drivers beyond governance also play a significant role in protection, for example empowerment through NGO demands and global media attention.

> 'There are a number of key influences…not in order of importance, are: international agreements; national government policies; market forces; community groups and NGOS. These can be further broken down into a set of drivers for corporate change.' (Dummett, 2006: 376).

Companies are now on a global stage, where social media and the Internet as Mazurkiewicz (n.d.: 7) suggested 'shine a light on business practices', and the immediate 24-hour news and access to companies' strategies mean '…more and more are being judged on their environmental stewardship.' Dummett (2006: 375) suggested that global awareness, environmental activists and media attention had galvanised as drivers for environmental protection, and queried what drives the corporate and makes a corporate become aware of their environmental responsibility. The answer may well lie with the fact that CSR makes good business sense, it is better to be a leader than a follower, to set strategy as a differentiator. Wahba (2008: 89) confirmed this, stating that those businesses that consider the natural environment as a stakeholder have a positive relationship to profitability, '…that the market compensates those firms that care for the environment.' Yet, as the next section shows, the concern

with responsibility as the driver in contemporary management, particularly within national parks is that, as stated by Ketola (2010) responsibility is subjective, it is a voluntary code (see, Townsend, 2015). Without doubt, responsibility has provided a guiding light and created a staging post, one that companies can relate to:

> 'A Swedish study (Emtairah et al., 2002), of 70 companies with good environment credentials, found that 70%, said government legislation was what drove them to take greater environment responsibility. A UK study (Faruk, 2002) had similar findings: 79% of 700 mostly UK-based senior business managers surveyed said that government needed to encourage business to behave responsibly.' (Dummett, 2006: 378)

Within US national parks the corporate as a concessioner has to work with governance issues, planning controls, NPS mandates and demands from NGO's as well as visitors. Wise-use has been framed around responsibility, but as the empirical case study section shows, management plans such as Mission 66 (see Section 3.5.1.1) and The General Management Plans (see Section 3.4.3 and Section 5.5.5) have been thwarted by responsibility being an impotent process: what level of responsibility is applied, and by whom and when?

3.6.2.3 'CSR is Dead!'

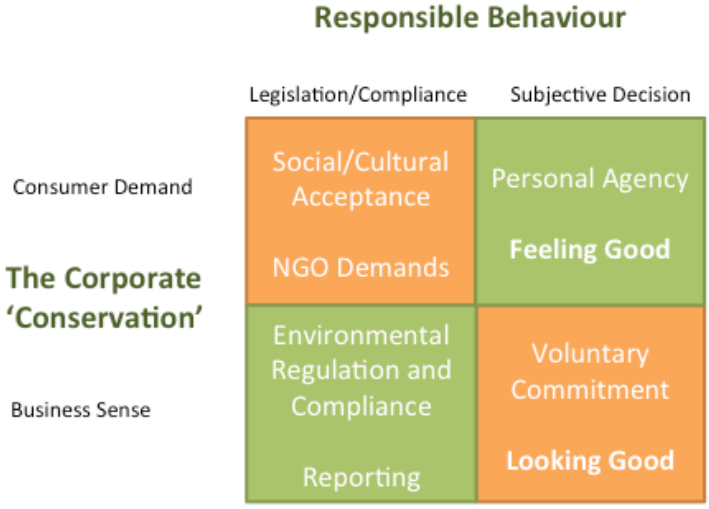
The concerns of responsibility as a subjective tool are mirrored generally and globally. Townsend (2015: 3) stated that CSR as responsibility '…is, at best a partial solution, which can be misused to create an illusion of responsibility…', that 'there is a world of difference between reporting and looking good' and that those ideals are significantly different to transforming business. Also, and importantly, the need to drive a responsible outcome doesn't necessarily equal sustainability:

> 'When sustainability is seen as absolute, it is crucial to notice the difference between corporate responsibility and corporate sustainability. Responsibility does not equal sustainability! Responsibility is relative: companies can take it a lot, somewhat, a little, or none' (Ketola, 2010: 324).

Hence it's prudent to accept that after it has taken regulatory compliance into account, a corporate's attitudes towards environmental responsibility will be

affected by its own set of parameters. Sustainability though needs to be 'integrated within everyone's role – not annexed as a separate, under-resourced department' (Townsend, 2015). Stones (2014) in Figure 9 (adapted from Post, 2011: ch. 29) demonstrates where responsible actions lie within protection, mapping out interactions between consumers, business, legislation and voluntary codes to highlight that corporate responsibility is used to look and feel good. It shows that business sense accepts profits can be made but in essence complies with national or federal laws; consumers accept what they are told, often under scrutiny of the NGO's; and the subjective decision making is taken or left as much as any corporate requires.

Figure 9: Adaption of Post (2011). Responsible Strategy



Post (2011) highlighted that a different thought process is required, moving away from the paradigm of dominion of nature to a more sustainable approach, which is the ultimate environmental challenge:

> 'Business and society share a common destiny with regard to the environment. If human beings are unable to rebalance business activity and environmental consequences, future generations will bear a heavy burden in terms of the quality of life.' Post (2011: ch. 29)

Landscape sustainability is complex and dynamic. CSR has been a significant tool, a good staging post, but this has evolved. Corporates actions have now either gone way beyond CSR, or have not adopted it at all. So, as reported by Townsend (2015), Peter Bakker, The President of The World Business Council for Sustainable Development, stated 'CSR is dead – it's over'. The reasoning is

that companies either don't grasp CSR at all or they go beyond the subjective ideals of responsibility; sustainability is not a rare concept in a business, it is a valuable strategy and should be integrated within everything a corporate does. Townsend (2015) stated that Bakker urges innovation. Investment in protection requires a strong 'sustainable development' policy, to make 'good business sense', enhance competitive advantage and protect the environment. Sustainable development requires relationships to absorb the conditions (see Eagles et al., 2002) they work in, to adapt and ultimately transform.

> 'Thus, landscape sustainability is a constantly evolving goal. We cannot predict it precisely; we cannot fix it permanently; but we must, and we can, make our landscapes sustainable by continuously improving the human–environment relationship based on what we know and what we are learning. As Meadows (2001) said so elegantly, we cannot fully understand, predict, or control complex systems, but we can envision, design, and dance with them!' (Wu, 2013: 1020).

It is important to note the positives of CSR as responsibility. As Ketola (2010) suggests, corporate responsibility 'belongs to us all', responsible actions in conservation do make business sense, which is endorsed by Heikkurinen, (2010: 148):

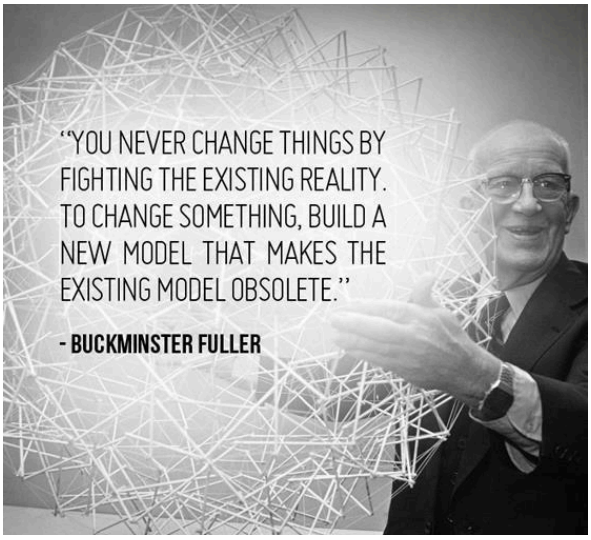
> 'CR [CSR] can increase both cost efficiency by saving natural resources and increase differentiation by adding value to a firm through favourable image creation. Accordingly, it seems that a firm can enhance its competitive position with CR.'

Ketola (2010) also addressed responsibility with 'five-leap scales' to assess a company's level of responsibility, where the highest level equals sustainability. These levels ranged from very low to low, moderate, high and very high levels of responsibility, but as this thesis argues, responsibility is subjective and sustainable development may be compromised by the lower level scales or partial acceptance to any of the scales by any of the stakeholders. Mazurkiewicz, (n.y.: 2), also had a positive outlook on responsibility, asserting that the private sector has become an active partner in conservation and, building on the premise that government can act from afar, suggests that the process of responsibility has gone some way to determine environmental protection. This research does in part agree, that CSR has acted as a staging post, companies may have determined certain levels of environmental

advocacy, and responsibility within national parks does still act as a guide to environmental principles for society. However, this research evidences that wise-use sustainable development has gone beyond the CSR responsibility drivers, it has gone beyond complex governance, it has gone beyond NGO demands or concerns over media attention, it has gone beyond looking good on the global stage. Successive development plan failures as evidenced in the empirical case study (see Section 5.5.5) warranted a new paradigm of wise-use management, not one that endorsed the multi-use strategies of the wise-use movement (see section 3.2), not one based around voluntary and subjective commitments, but one based around wise-use and adaptive co-management to drive sustainable development as a strong ally of protection and access.

3.6.3 CSR: Corporate Social Resilience

Figure 10: An Anecdote of New Models Buckminster Fuller.



Source: www.goodreads.com Accessed 2016.

This section advances a contemporary paradigm (anecdotal 'new model' reference in Figure 10) of wise-use management, and examines a new frame of CSR. It validates the findings of this thesis that wise-use within national park tourism advanced from a position of freedom and responsibility to a contemporary adaptive co-management process based around CSR as corporate social resilience. The research of this thesis asserts that resilience is a more robust process that has replaced the 'voluntary' requirements of responsibility (rather than pursuing a comparison to it – see Section 3.6) and it

has evolved as a part of sustainable development. The dynamics of responsibility have become more questionable and '…radical change in order to prevent the death of CSR by 2015…' is required (Harwood et al., 2011: 284) – a death Townsend (2015) now recites as having happened (see Section 3.6.2.3).

3.6.3.1 Defining CSR As Resilience

There are many definitions of resilience. Walker et al.(2004: n.p.) defined resilience as:

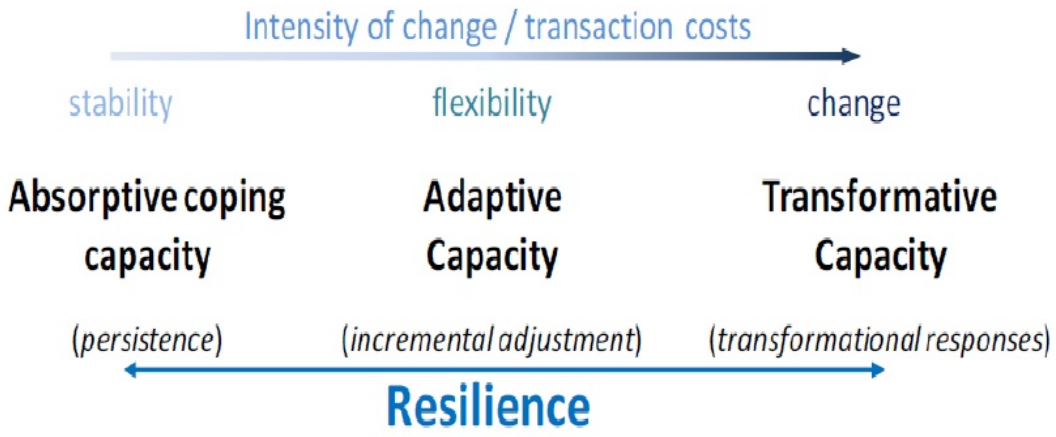
> 'the capacity of a system to absorb disturbance and reorganize while undergoing change so as to still retain essentially the same function, structure, identity, and feedbacks.'

Perhaps a more practitioner based definition comes, as stated in Brown (2016: 10), from the Rockefeller Foundation (2013): '…building resilience is about making people, communities, and systems better prepared to withstand catastrophic events – both natural and manmade – and able to bounce back more quickly and emerge stronger…'. Resilience is an important process to build sustainable development, and is often referred to as 'the new sustainability' (Brown, 2016: 19): 'It [the UN Policy Report] offers the possibility that sustainable development is being redefined in terms of resilience; it puts resilience at the very heart of sustainability.' Brown (2016: 20) highlights:

> 'Leach et al. (2010) he argues that sustainability is about defining future pathways for society in which human well-being is enhanced, social equity is advanced, and environmental integrity is protected.'

Resilience is a process that links to sustainable outcomes through adaption and transformation. It builds capacity to manage change and impact within socio-ecological systems, it drives capacity to manage change in locations where people and natural environments connect, and it links sustainable development to protection: '…sustainability and resilience are observed to privilege a conservationist agenda (Lélé 2013)' (Brown, 2016: 20). Within national parks, resilience acts as a robust wise-use management strategy, a process for sustainable development, where resilience builds from absorption, adaption and transformation as shown in Figure 11.

Figure 11: 3D Resilience Framework



Source: Béné et al., (2012: 21)

This three-stage model starts from a stage of stability, where the corporate absorbs current capacity, until it becomes evident that change will be required. The second stage describes this change to adaption, and unlike the responsible model that works on looking good or feeling good, the corporate has to transform their business model along with relevant stakeholders, which is the third stage. This is evidenced in more detail in Figure 12. This is a sustainable adaptive co-management process, one that overcomes the limitations of responsibility and builds from the adaptive capacity of contemporary wise-use in sustainable development:

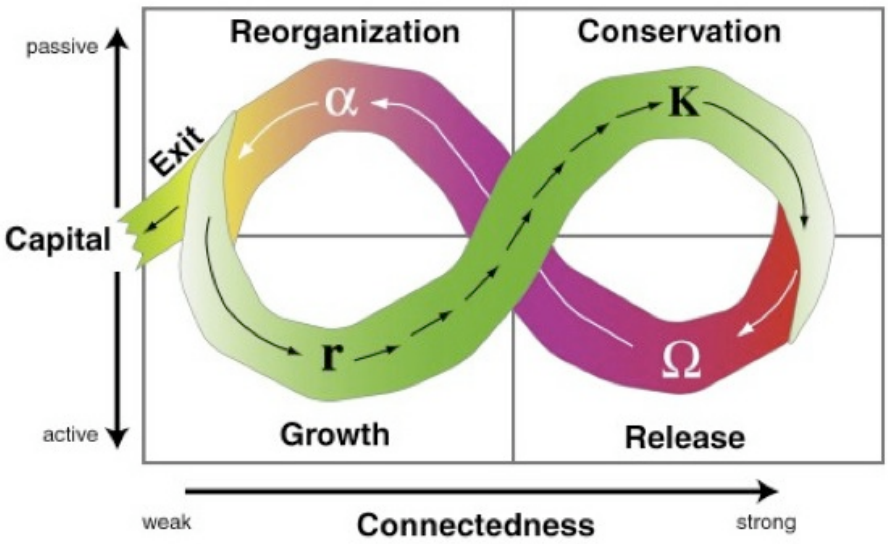
> 'A resilient social-ecological system that can buffer a great deal of disturbance, is supportive of ecological, economic and social sustainability, and can be seen as a dynamic process that requires adaptive capacity for societies to respond to change (Berkes et al., 2003)…'An integrative approach such as adaptive co-management may well be a viable approach for sustainable management of the NUP [a national urban park]. Creating sustainable management for this urban landscape requires adaptive capacity within the governance system to respond to change' (Barthel, 2004: 314-315).

3.6.3.2 Resilience a Robust Framework

The balance of managing complex socio-ecological systems or building sustainable development within national parks requires a robust process

between natural and social systems, to work with relevant stakeholders, not a subjective process based on responsibility, but one of resilient systems. Environmental resources are a requisite of livelihoods, and they depend on resilient systems, where there is '…the characteristic of ecosystems to maintain themselves in the face of disturbance' (Adger, 2000: 347). The author further affirmed there is a connection between social and ecological resilience, one that is party to the co-management models, where local communities and stakeholders, including the environment, co-operate, '…particularly for social groups or communities that are dependent on ecological and environmental resources for their livelihoods.' This connects to the adaptive co-management policies within national parks, the inclusion of relevant stakeholders (including but not limited to local communities and the environment). Environmental economists have clearly linked this approach to sustainable development (see for example, Adger, 2000 and Common, 1995) where such sustainability requires a robust process, one that has the capability to absorb, adapt and transform policy. The management system 'needs to be considered in terms of the attributes that govern the system's dynamics' (Walker, 2004: n.p.), which centre on socio-ecological and socio-economic systems (SES). Within a protected tourism area, this requires wise-use to be adaptive, it requires management to advance a process of corporate social resilience.

Figure 12: Adaptive Cycle.



Source: Holling (2001) [in] astijker.wordpress.com

Holling (2001) shows there are four phases relating to SES that move from passive and active capital requirements along as weak to strong connectivity pathway (Figure 12). These are observed system changes rather than fixed regular cycling. The arrows show the speed of cycle (slow – closely spaced arrows, long – rapidly changing system):

> '…a growth and exploitation phase (r) merging into a conservation phase (K) – comprise a slow, cumulative forward loop of the cycle, during which the dynamics of the system are reasonably predictable. As the K phase continues, resources become increasingly locked up and the system becomes progressively less flexible and responsive to external shocks. It is eventually, inevitably, followed by a chaotic collapse and release phase (Ω) that rapidly gives way to a phase of reorganization (α), which may be rapid or slow, and during which, innovation and new opportunities are possible.' (Walker et al., 2004: n.p.).

Although this cycle is most apparent for agents of disturbance such as wind, fire or disease, it has an application in the wise-use scenario of an adaptive cycle of protected area management in its '…interdependency of human and environmental systems…where stages repeat themselves in their dynamics…' (Cochrane, 2010: 175). Cochrane explained this further with regard to tourism, which can also be applied to tourism within protected areas:

> 'It will be noted that the phases of the resilience cycle accord with Butler's 1980 Tourism Area Life-Cycle (TALC) model Farrell and Twining-Ward (2004) discuss this briefly and Correia (2009) explores the analogies between the phases more fully. The reorganization stage is roughly equivalent to the 'exploration' stage of the TALC, followed by the exploitation stage of increasing orderliness, or the 'developmental' stage. The 'institutionalization' stage concurs with the conservation phase as systems become stable but also somewhat rigid, while the*/*decline' or 'rejuvenation' stage can be precipitated by a release event. McKercher's 2005 reflection on the TALC recognized that destinations resemble living ecosystems rather than discrete 'products'; as Correia (2009: 243) puts it, 'tourism destinations are not discrete entities but multi-agent, multi-level, multi-dimensional, social-ecological systems'. The Loop successfully encapsulates this complexity and goes further than the TALC in recognizing the agency of individuals to effect significant change and that 'seemingly insignificant changes to one part of the tourism system can have dramatic and unexpected ramifications on other parts of the system' (Lepp 2008a: 20). (Cochrane, 2010: 176).

This is a point highlighted in a personal communication from Saarinen (2015):

> '…many socio-ecological and socio-economic systems...are characterized by constant change, which is well demonstrated in the tourism development context by Richard Butler's (1980) tourism area life cycle model (TALC)…'

This can also be exemplified from a US national parks perspective: Yellowstone and Yosemite were first discovered by European Settlers as tourism destinations (late 19th century); they grew ('reorganization' or 'growth' stages), and built within a stable foundation of growth and increasing tourism to the 1970's ('conservation'), then went through a period framed around strengthening environmental protection ('reorganisation'), poor, reactive, management policies, litigious activity around excessive consumption of nature ('release'), then evolving new programmes of reinvention based around co-management and a new dimension of adaption and transformation, allowing a new period of ('growth') – this is empirically evidenced in Chapter 6. Although it can be hard to find a state of equilibrium as a reference point, particularly within the complex systems of protected area tourism, relationships have developed over time through adaptive co-management, which are dynamic where stakeholders are now coming together. Cochrane (2010: 179) showed this in a global context, in Laos:

> '…the resilience model [see Figure 12] predicts that after a release event there will be a period of reorganization when various forms of capital stored from previous cycles are deployed to create new situations and structures. Relationships are dynamic, with connectedness between the various elements still fluid. This explains exactly what is happening in Luang Prabang, where the situation is developing rapidly and stakeholders are exploring the boundaries of possible activities. The model predicts that in the next stage more stable structures will emerge as relationships become better established and an equilibrium between tourism stakeholders and the positive and negative impacts of tourism is achieved. Ideally, this self-regulation would occur because of the long-term benefits which will accrue to all elements in the system: McDonald (2009) explains this in terms of the self-organizing nature of complex systems.'

The Responsible Strategy laid out in the adapted Post (2011) model (see Figure 9) evidences the historical view of corporate management in national parks in the reliance on responsibility - looking good and feeling good - whereas the contemporary model has moved towards a Resilient Strategy (see Figure 13 - Stones, 2014). This focuses on adaptive co-management through a co-existence process, where the environment and local communities are seen as

stakeholders, and strategic decisions are adapted to their environment. There is a move from federal control to be adapted to more local decision-making processes, with relevance to:

> '…discuss why a series of relatively autonomous, self-organized resource governance systems may do a better job of regulating small common-pool resources than a single central authority…I discuss the advantages and limits of a fully decentralized system, where all responsibility for making decisions related to smaller-scale common-pool resources is localized.' (Ostrom, 1999: 525).

The Resilient Strategy encompasses planet (environment), people (co-existence of stakeholders) and profit (market value). Figure 13 shows this as a contrast to the adapted Post (2011) model, used earlier.

Figure 13: Adaption of Post (2011). Resilient Strategy

In this adapted model, corporate responsibility has evolved to corporate resilience, where corporate actions progress beyond responsibility to absorb, adapt and ultimately transform in response to stakeholder relationships. Here, business sense dictates that the environment is a stakeholder. The model continues to map out interactions between consumers and business, but legislation and strategic decisions are connected to a co-existence process, one that links co-management and stewardship. Profit is still an important value, which complies with national or federal laws but decisions are more localised, again within the co-existence process and building adaptive co-management. Harwood et al., (2011: 284) highlighted the work of Pettit, Fiksel, & Croxton

(2010) framing resilience as a 'competency to identify capabilities for overcoming vulnerabilities in the external environment'.

This section has evidenced how CSR as resilience is a process being utilised in contemporary wise-use management to drive sustainable development. The process requires adaptive co-management, which also involves active stewardship. The next section outlines the connection between adaptive co-management and stewardship as shown in Figure 13.

3.6.3.3 Connecting Stewardship and Adaptive Co-Management

Resilience requires adaptive co-management, which is linked to stewardship and the inclusion of relevant stakeholders, and enhances sustainable development. As Colding (2000) and Adger (2000) inferred, the viability of resilience is affected by the quality of [co-]management, the role of stakeholders and the connection to people, requiring such stakeholders to adapt to a more sustainable framework for managing. This framework maintains resilience and coherence alongside profit and the various actors play their part in the co-management process. These actors are also referred to as stewards, and stewardship has long been a part of the protection ideal, as Olive (2014: 81) stated:

> 'De Young (2011, 1) argues that a conservation aesthetic, theoretically drawn from Aldo Leopold's land ethic, can be "viewed as a form of intrinsic motivation" and "provides and affirmative strategy for encouraging environmental stewardship."'

Stewardship is part of the contemporary wise-use frame within national parks, which '…require an ethic of stewardship that focuses on passing the parks unimpaired to future generations. As a result, park stewardship is a preeminent duty of the NPS' (NPS, 2012: 3&6). Stewardship embraces corporate resilience, looking forward to manage protection alongside access. As Barthel et al., (2005: 1) from the Stockholm Resilience Centre, stated that:

> 'It involves bringing nature management closer to the citizenry and acknowledging the diversity of user and interest groups that have a stake in management.'

Not only does this underpin resilient management, but it also sits comfortably with a contemporary view of sustainable development and wise-use through adaptive co-management. This view enhances a 'rich socio-ecological system', one that is evolving through learning, adapting, transforming management systems and biodiversity as evidenced by Barthel (2004) in his work in Stockholm with the national urban park:

> 'Inclusion of local actors…in an integrative co-management programme may strengthen biological-diversity management, reducing overall cost of management and promote joint learning of how to adapt to unpredictability and change…an adaptive co-management regime is suggested as a way to sustain the resilience…as a biodiversity-rich social-ecological system' (Barthel, 2004: 306).

Manning et al., (2011: 27) also highlighted that management in protected areas required management-by-objectives frameworks; the contemporary approach to such sustainable practices would be defined through the concept of adaptive co-management. Barthel (2004: 305) noted that effective monitoring and management requires adaptive capacity that is place specific and that 'focuses on creating functional feedback loops between social and ecological systems.' Adaptive co-management or stewardship includes the local actors and stakeholders to sustain resilient management and development of wilderness or protected areas, strengthening management within all parties, whether private, public or NGO. In Barthel et al., (2005: 2) the authors stated that:

> '…stewards include individuals and groups of people involved in the management of natural resources, habitat, and ecosystems. They tend to operate at a local scale, often below the municipality level, and their engagement may be voluntary, with an interest in stewardship.'

This section has evidenced how CSR has formed an integral part of wise-use management systems, demonstrating that the frame of responsibility has evolved to a contemporary frame of resilience. Adaptive co-management and stewardship as the resilience model does have limitations, as different managers may have different agendas which can lead to conflict and tensions where different organisations may be working towards different outcomes. As Elmqvist et al., (2004: 318) stated, 'create tensions due to different perceptions and perspectives on development.' As Olsson and Folke (2004: 76) suggested,

another concern is that continuous testing and adaption may be needed to cope with change and uncertainty, especially in systems that are complex and varied. Luthe & Wyss (2014: 162) also suggested that there is '…a clear lack of resilience studies within the field of tourism…' especially where quantitative analysis is required to understand tourism resilience, particularly linking to carrying capacity (see Section 3.5). However, this section evidences that the priorities, or key elements, within the management systems have adapted the ideals of national parks and natural areas by transforming the models of protection, access and economic viability to models of resilience. Systems and key management priorities have been adapted, whereby a structured model based around stewardship, local actors and adaptive co-management is progressed to balance the social connection with the cultural dimension to drive contemporary wise-use management.

3.7 Concluding Remarks

This chapter has demonstrated how sustainable development encompasses tourism development and how wise-use was formulated as a strategy based around freedom and responsibility to manage ownership of lands. This evolved to warrant a new form of wise-use management in protected landscapes, one based around investment not ownership. However, still at the heart of this were responsible actions that would uphold the priorities of protection and access, to protect national parks as the growing demand for access and visitation continued. Congress asserted that public access must be unimpaired, and although the Organic Act of 1916 established the world's first national park agency, the NPS, they needed to implement systems that would balance development whilst also allowing for improvement and growing numbers. This chapter has examined those systems and revealed the complexities of advancing access and embracing protection. The corporate and the public authority, the NPS, developed infrastructures to progress tourism to ensure access remained unimpaired. This chapter has evidenced that rail travel and the automobile developed new forms of visitation [tourism], and in turn the enjoyment from such visitation (the provision of services) needed to be catered for and needed to be controlled. The corporate as investing concessioners fulfilled the provision of services and the NPS as the public authority

implemented the controls. The management, the planning and the controls have evolved, and this chapter has shown that the frame of this wise-use management also evolved, where wise-use is no longer framed around responsible actions but is framed around resilient actions; where the corporate invokes CSR as corporate social resilience rather than responsibility.

The historical model of wise-use management within a protected landscape was framed around the process of CSR as responsibility. This chapter evidences that this model has evolved to a contemporary paradigm of wise-use management, one that asserts a new process of CSR as corporate social resilience, managing adaption and capacity. This new process promotes robust management and establishes '…a model of good practice…' which Eagles et al., (2002: 173) suggest is imperative in protected landscape management. In terms of sustainable tourism development, this contemporary model of wise-use, to re-quote Eagles et al., (2002: 13), '…moves us from the present to the future' to manage effectively the ever-growing numbers of visitors and demands from visitation. Wise-use has been utilised and determined in other ways, as identified by the Wise-Use Movement, who look to promote responsible multi-use of natural resources, (see Pinchot Section 2.2.5.2), through a lens that champions conservation over preservation and where responsibility is managed subjectively. The conceptual work undertaken for this chapter evidences wise-use through a broader and more robust lens, where resilience management encourages decision-making from all relevant stakeholders, and looks equitably to both conservation and preservation as blended concepts to support sustainable development in protected landscapes.

As the research argues a new process of CSR, shifting from responsibility to resilience, the thesis also advances a new model of sustainable business that has much wider and broader connotations for the corporate world as a whole. This thesis applies the contemporary models of wise-use and CSR to protected landscape management. However, CSR as responsibility has many critics, (see Townsend, 2015; Katola, 2010; Harwood et al., 2011), who have laid bare a process of subjective voluntary codes that may lead to companies looking good, consumers feeling good or companies simply not adopting sustainable strategies for fear of impacting revenues. Sustainable business, and for the

context of this thesis, sustainable tourism, requires a robust 'model of good practice' (Eagles et al., 2002: 173), CSR requires 'radical change' (Harwood et al., 2011: 284), and the contemporary models of wise-use and CSR progress those requirements. They offer sustainable business managers the tools to make change and in relation to tourism ensure it:

> '…also help[s] the sustainable management of protected areas, as a market-based alternative catering to the growing number of discriminating travellers trying to find, understand and enjoy a natural environment' (Eagles et al., 2002; vii).

The conceptual research undertaken in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3 refined the methodology used to drive the empirical research. Most notably that the resulting examination of 'corporate natures' and protected landscape management stimulated the need to ensure relevant stakeholders, who are actors in the management of Yosemite National Park were included. To this end, the research questions (see Appendix) were formulated around a framework that considered adaptive co-managers and the environment as important stakeholders. The research moved away from looking at sustainable tourism being determined by responsible actions, to advance how sustainable tourism is determined by adaption and transformation, the business of change, the process of resilience. Chapter 4, sets out the methodology for the research, which draws on the empirical studies in Yosemite National Park as well as the conceptual theories presented in this and the previous chapter.

In Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 the empirical case study of Yosemite National Park, responds to and tests the objectives set out in the Introduction of this thesis, and connects to the conceptual frameworks discussed in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3. The empirical case study chapters exemplify how the historical models of corporate actions in protected lands have evolved to provide a contemporary frame, adapting to landscape protection by transforming relationships, by transforming management strategies.

Chapter 4 Researching Evolving Corporate Actions

4.1 Introduction

The previous chapters have examined the academic literatures regarding US landscape, the ideals of national parks, and the evolving corporate role within such areas. The aim of this chapter is to discuss the methodological approach taken to conduct the research, to provide a framework that underlines a methodology to identify and address the relationship between the corporate and nature, through protection and access. This is formulated around qualitative research methods, including archival research and literature reviews, which focus on recent and notable work in historical, environmental and economic geography, and business management with a social science orientation. Situated alongside this is the empirical research, conducted at Yosemite National Park, which included documentary analysis, interviews, meetings and continued engagement (longitudinal research) with all the relevant stakeholders in commercial and governance activity. This holistic approach ensured engagement with all relevant policy and commercial decision makers within Yosemite National Park. It should be noted that the qualitative research did not seek opinion from visitors, rather it engaged with the commercial policy decision makers and co-managers, as stated in the Introduction (Section 1.6). The research of this thesis is to evidence the manager partnerships or the relevant stakeholder relationships that engage co-management:

> 'Co-management can be understood as 'a situation in which two or more social actors negotiate, define and guarantee amongst themselves a fair sharing of the management functions…' (Borrini-Feyerabend et al., 2000: 1).

Initially Section 4.2 examines the approach taken to the research method, constructing a framework that sets out the foundations for undertaking ethical and relevant research that considered the stakeholders and, significantly, considered the environment as a stakeholder. Section 4.3 investigates the research methods in more detail, focusing on the construct and design of the fieldwork, which was framed around semi-structured interviews, the evolving

and continued engagement, which included 'longitudinal' discussions and correspondence with stakeholders, and the subsequent interpretation of interview data in terms of collection and analysis. The chapter concludes with Section 4.4 which highlights the discussion on the empirical research texts, how these were assembled and catalogued.

4.2 Approaching The Research Method

In Section 3.7, the work of this thesis argues that there is a contemporary paradigm of wise-use protected landscape management, where the process of socio-ecological responsibility has shifted to a process of socio-ecological resilience. In order to conduct relevant and worthwhile research to support this argument, it was important to consider and examine the roles of relevant stakeholders, including the environment, as a part of the adaptive co-management process. It was also important for the researcher to proceed depending upon:

> '…a range of factors, including their beliefs about the nature of the social world (ontology), the nature of knowledge and how it can be acquired (epistemology), the purpose(s) and the goals of the research, the characteristics of research participants, the audience for the research, the funders, and the positions and environments of the researchers themselves' (Ritchie et al., 2013: 2).

This section sets out how the research approached these values, in order to construct a solid framework in terms of both the method and the ethical practice. The section that follows this addresses the specific research methods and design in more detail.

4.2.1 Framing The Research Method

This section looks at how the research method was framed, where the strategy has been constructed around qualitative methods rather than quantitative, taking 'the human as instrument' approach (Lincoln and Guba 1985 [in] Jackson et al., 2007: 22). This qualitative approach allowed for a less rigid response from participants, as quantitative methods leave '…little room for open ended replies to questions' (Jackson et al., 2007: 22). As the thesis demonstrates, human inclusion and the individualistic nature of humans has shaped the

processes and concepts within protected land management, and it is therefore important for this thesis to ensure research follows that similar situation. Human inclusion also includes the researcher (myself), and as a practitioner in the field of business, the findings within this thesis come not only from academic research but also from ongoing empirical practitioner knowledge. This adds value to the qualitative research method as the 'self as instrument' (Jackson, 2007: 25), and such a holistic approach allows a wider interest from community and stakeholder accounts.

Through this method of research there needs to be reliability, validity and relevance and, as Pryke et al. (2003: 1) state, '…how the move is made between talking the theory talk and walking the theory walk.' In simplistic terms this is how the construct between the theoretical chapters and the empirical research chapters relate. From the theory there needs to be a relationship with the practice, so that the outcome of the research leads to an appreciation that '…something is coming out of the data' (Bryman & Bell, 2015: 398). That something is not 'preconceived ideas' (ibid), but has meaning to the research question. A simplification of this could be assumed as the research is just done, as Pryke et al. (2003: 2) state '…you just get out there and do it…you get the question, you do the empirical work, you analyse and write up…'. That simplifies the work, and the research is not a simple process, as it requires '…sets of tools for engaging' (Pryke et al., 2003: 3). As this thesis demonstrates, the research has not been a simple process; it has required tools to engage conceptual theories and empirical studies, so as to provide meaningful and appropriate evidence. The research method draws from the thinking of Stengers [in] (Pryke et al., 2003), that it has required the inclusion of relevant stakeholders (including an understanding of the protected landscape environment), and thus an important tool to the research has been to construct a balanced approach that considers and works with all relevant stakeholders (as shown in Section 1.6):

> 'I draw on the writing of the contemporary philosopher Isabelle Stengers…In particular, I work through some of the implications of her account of research as a process of knowledge production that is always, and unavoidably, an *intervention in the world* in which all those (humans and non-humans) enjoined in it can, and do, affect each other. This suggests a mode of conduct that, as she puts it in the

> quotation…demands a more rigorous sense of, and commitment to, research as a **co-fabrication** or 'working together' with those whom we are researching' (Pryke et al., 2003: 90).

The research evidences that evolving corporate actions in a protected landscape are influenced by the main stakeholders through the key economic, cultural and social drivers; they are also influenced through ecological drivers, those that protect the environment. The environment is an important stakeholder to this research and as such the research method needed to appropriate an understanding of how the environment is considered as a stakeholder alongside the national park ideals of protection and access. The norm for this would be to use the framing devices or concepts (for these ideals) of preservation and conservation, which are often conceptualised by academics and practitioners, including social and natural scientists, through a singular lens (favouring either concept) that leads to ambiguity, comparison and preference (see Chapter 2). As implied by Sandbrook et al., (2013: 1) this has resulted in an absence of clear communication and outcomes in research relating to environmental protection. However, the research of this thesis undertook a different approach to such ambiguity, comparison or preference, in that it considered the environment as a stakeholder alongside the national park ideals through a blending of these concepts, and also consideration to and from other stakeholders. This ensured that during the research process the researcher enabled the 'grand tour' (see Section 4.3.3.1 - Spradley and McCurdy, 1972) of both concepts, which warranted thorough and non-biased reflection of the environment as a stakeholder (within the frame of this thesis); such research also reflected public access. This avoided the criticism outlined above by Sandbrook et al., (2013: 1) who also added that communication between natural and social scientists in environmental research has been described as a 'dialog of the deaf'. They go on to say that the problems arise in both quantitative and qualitative research methods and of understanding and interpretation. In some ways, it can mirror the very problems of communication between the corporate and the environmental stakeholder. The research of this thesis complements the further analysis from Sandbrook et al., (2013: 1) that, 'social research *for* conservation may be thought of as sharing…to contribute to the conservation of biodiversity.' The sharing of research also continued beyond

the fieldwork, in that building an understanding of the stakeholder inputs is an on-going process:

> ‘Research on conservation is as likely to take place in the offices of a nongovernmental organization or the corridors of an international meeting as it is on the edge of a national park’ (Sandbrook et al., 2013: 2).

This thesis examined the relationship between the corporate and protected landscape, it framed the problems and opportunities and how effective outcomes are derived in the form of sustainable development. ‘Methodologies suggest how inquiries should proceed by indicating what problems are worth investigating…’ (Jackson, 2007: 23). The research looked to investigate the problems and opportunities, and required research tools to make that investigation pertinent to the discourses of managing public lands through private investment for the public good, with an outcome that allows private profits. The next section looks at how the construct considered ethical practice and conformed to various protocols for the researcher.

4.2.2 Ethical Consideration and Practice

The research practice was undertaken in accordance with the University of Exeter Ethics Protocol and the application (2015/725) was ratified under the Ethics Approval System. The British Sociological Association’s (BSA) guidelines (2002) were also used as a reference point for correct practice. Bearing this in mind, the research framework involved what Ritchie et al., (2013: 78) state as the ‘...broad consensus…’ of what ethical research requires, or as Saunders et al., (2012: 230) refer to as the ‘’codes of ethics’: that research needs to be worthwhile and relevant, and fundamentally it needs to take account of the needs, integrity and respect of and for the participants. Resources to facilitate and achieve that can vary:

> ‘Human geographers continue to study texts, to conduct interviews, to convene groups and to engage in ethnography… Thus we have to figure out what it means to engage with the world, both in methodological practice, but also in our choice of interpretative strategy and ethical aspirations (Bennett, 2001 [in] Davies & Dwyer, 2007: 2-3).

Such ethical research and coding was designed in order to develop an analysis of shared meanings and interpretation from the researcher and the researched, the participants. However, within most settings, participants and their needs vary, particularly within the management of protected landscapes, and that in itself can cause ethical issues and tensions. As Ritchie et al., (2013: 82) continued, there is a need '…to balance concern for the rights of individual participants with the wider benefits for society that arise from research.' Therefore there could be an inherent tension between the guidelines of ethical research and the practicalities of 'responsive research' (ibid); guidelines can in themselves create barriers to '…flexible and responsive practice' (ibid). Nevertheless, guidelines have in themselves also evolved and allow more flexibility, which is evident within the BSA (2002) statements, encouraging members '…to take responsibility for their own ethical practice…' and importantly noting that such guidelines are not,

> '…a set of recipes for resolving ethical choices or dilemmas, but recognise that it will be necessary to make such choices on the basis of principles and values, and the interests of those involved' (British Sociological Association, 2002: Introduction).

This point provided significant foundation to the method of research in this thesis, which strategised a holistic approach to empirical research that included semi-structured face-to-face interviews, meetings and continued engagement to provide an evolving picture of stakeholder and situational relationships, contributing to up-to-date empirical perspectives. Such perspective also accounted for ethical considerations, relating to participant involvement and to the values associated with their roles; thus, interviews were designed around individuals and their roles within the case study environment. As an example, Joe Meyer, NPS Physical Sciences Officer, has to work within the field of environmental protection, which will require a different set of day-to-day considerations as compared with the role of Jim Donovan, NPS Planning Officer. They may both work towards similar values, but their roles require different practice and the research interaction needed to take account of that.

Ethical considerations were underpinned by the set of codes and principles, signposted earlier as including integrity, respect, and as highlighted by

Saunders et al., (2012: 231), privacy and consent, including the voluntary right of participation and withdrawal. This was reflected in the research design, (see Section 4.3.2); as interviews were recorded, the interviewee had the right to request the recording to be stopped or the right to go 'off the record'. However, in considering this, there also needed to be a safeguard to ensure the research ensured relevancy, to progress research objectives. The strategy employed to preserve this was based around building strong 'longitudinal' relationships with the stakeholders. Section 4.3 highlights, not only did the method engage research through semi-structured interviews and meetings during the fieldwork but it also embraced a longer-term rapport with stakeholders; a longitudinal strategy that built relationships before, during and after the fieldwork. As relationships in this research are cross-cultural, this strategy can introduce an element of risk, but the 'codes of ethics' as referred to earlier (see Saunders et al., 2012: 230) '…are intended to avoid poor practice, malpractice and harm…as well as to promote ethical practice and private or public good.'

To conclude this section on ethics, the codes of good practice also needed to be prevalent in the analysis and reporting of data, significantly to ensure that the researcher implements the assurances of responsibility made during the research. This is expressed as:

> 'Assurances…must be upheld when analysing and reporting data. Primary data should not be made up or altered and results should not be falsified. Findings should be reported fully and accurately, irrespective of whether they contradict expected outcomes' (Saunders et al., 2012: 232).

Although this section outlines the ethical considerations and practice, reference to these codes and principles are made throughout this chapter and the next section discusses the research design, the tools used: '…how to develop appropriate data generation and how the method and ethical considerations 'promoted active coping' (Ritchie et al., 2013: 106). It also examines how the research made the logical link between the problem, data generated, analysis, and conclusions/inferences drawn' (Jackson, 2007: 23).

4.3 Research Methods and Design

As stated, this section clarifies and examines the specific methods used, their design and implementation in the research framework, and it also addresses specific concerns with regard to ethics and relevancy. Within conservation science the research processes have been questioned, suggesting little value can be gained. However, Sandbrook et al., (2013: 3) dispel this thinking by saying that they '…believe…social research on conservation can make a vital contribution…' particularly when an understanding of the social, political, and economic conditions are evaluated to frame the work of conservation. This resonates with the research of this thesis; in order to respond and test the aims and objectives and so ensure relevancy, the research required understanding and evaluation of the conditions mentioned. Thus the research was designed around a theoretical framework that included social, economic, and, to a lesser degree, political geographies and business studies, empirical fieldwork (see Section 4.3.1) that was designed around semi-structured interviews and meetings (see Section 4.3.2), continued engagement, the longitudinal participant discussions and correspondence (see Section 4.3.2.1) and empirical analysis of specific texts relating to the empirical case study (see Section 4.4). This encompassed a holistic approach, which ensured inclusion of all relevant stakeholders and evolving management strategies involved with the protected landscape management process in Yosemite National Park. Although not included in descriptive text within this thesis, the researcher also looked at other global national parks and protected areas, mainly during the various conferences and paper presentations undertaken during the research. This was done for a specific purpose; rather than acting as comparable case studies, such research was used to provide the researcher with a broader understanding of other protected area management processes.

The specific researcher-researched or face-to-face interviews and meetings within Yosemite National Park were conducted during 2012. Due to the constraints of time and travel (from the UK to California) the empirical research continued via electronic means (personal correspondence) from 2012 to the time of writing up this thesis. The combination of the fieldwork, face-to-face interviews and the continuing on-going personal correspondence, along with the

empirical analysis of specific textual material, provided an evolving picture of stakeholder relationships, contributing to an up-to-date empirical perspective. The theoretical texts also contributed extensively to an important relationship determined in this thesis, where practitioner experiences connect with 'explanational theories', '…a distinction between knowledge discovered and knowledge constructed' (Jackson, 2007: 22). As a practitioner this draws an important connection to the research work, to relate the academic texts and the industry processes to provide an effective understanding between interpretation and experience.

4.3.1 The Case Study and Fieldwork

The reasoning for a case study approach (Yosemite National Park) is based around 'investigating the field [to] speak to and inform an exploration of the task of generating research materials in the field' (Pryke et al., 2003: 4). The author relates Stengers' notion of 'mapping into knowledge' that is used to elaborate the ways in which the task of knowledge production '…might be approached as a co-fabrication between the researcher and the diverse others engaged in the research process.' This is actually constructing a qualitative research action - in the field - and focussing on where the production of knowledge is appropriated; what may be termed as discursive practices - an analysis of the dynamics and role and place of the organisations in situ. This builds the theoretical knowledge into practical examples, to examine the language used. Language is integral to the qualitative research, as Bryman & Bell (2015: 530) state, 'It is, after all, through language that we ask people questions in interviews and through which the questions are answered.' The language of the questions and answers is an important tool to this research as stakeholders include public sector, private enterprise and NGO's. These different organisations and the different actors use different language to interpret meanings and evaluate concerns, how their 'world' conforms to policy, whether federal or local. The language relates to a broad interpretation:

> 'To be fair, language is not really the issue for Foucault; rather it is the **discursive practices** – the statements which provide a language for talking about something…Discursive practices are, in his words, characterized by 'a delimitation of a field of objects, the definition of a

> legitimate perspective for the agent of knowledge, and the fixing of norms for the elaboration of concepts and theories (Foucault, 1977, p.199).' (Allen, 2003: 23).

Jackson et al. (2007: 24) provide similar rhetoric, in that '…discourse analysis is a way of examining language as it is used in specific contexts…' determining how language is used, the content, the discussion, the ideals and approaches and it is the field-work that provides a platform where individuals can discuss their ideals, skills and knowledge and provides for 'theoretical elaboration', it '…is a type of generalization in which the researcher uses a particular set of circumstances, like a case, as evidence to refine, dispute, support or detail a concept, model, or theory' (Jackson et al., 2007: 26). The fieldwork developed a narrative with the stakeholders, forming a story that can be analysed alongside the academic texts, to embrace the organisations, the people and the places. The case study and working together built from the fieldwork, a method of data collection that enabled an 'in-situ' examination of the case:

> 'The term fieldwork refers to all of the activities one does when at the physical site of a cultural group, such as listening, observing, conversing, recording, interpreting, and dealing with logistical, ethical, and political issues. Participant observation is the traditional methodology employed in fieldwork, although life-histories, oral histories, action research, and other forms of case studies and co-participative inquiries also entail aspects of fieldwork Wolcott, 1995.' (Jackson et al., 2007; 26).

In elaborating the method of fieldwork it is also important to develop an understanding of destination knowledge and 'lived practices'. 'Qualitative approaches have enabled the study of, and emphasised the importance of, seeing economic activity as a set of lived practices, assumptions and codes of behaviour.' (Crang 2002: 648). It is these lived practices and the economic activity which provides important evidence to this thesis, and to this end it is important that such qualitative approaches are targeted to the three main management stakeholders: the public, the private and NGOs.

4.3.2 Semi-Structured Interviews

One of the tools used was semi-structured interviews and meetings, whereby the latter allowed for a flexible and responsive approach to the themes.

Conceptualising the ideas or developing the framework in the design of the interviews was without doubt the building blocks of the fieldwork research. The fieldwork was not formulated around quantitative definitions or sampling revolving around probability but rather was framed around purposive sampling or 'source subjective':

> 'Purposive sampling is a non-probability form of sampling. The researcher does not seek to sample research participants on a random basis. The goal of purposive sampling is to sample cases/participants in a strategic way, so that those sampled are relevant to the research questions that are being posed. Very often, the researcher will want to sample in order to ensure that there is a good deal of variety in the resulting sample, so that sample members differ from each other in terms of key characteristics relevant to the research question' (Bryman & Bell, 2015: 429).

In some ways this can be viewed as contentious, as groups or individuals were elected for interviews and there was no random selection, but neither was there a convenience sample (within a single unit or only those willing). The research of this thesis was concerned with 'representativeness', to ensure the management stakeholders represented the differing views on protection and access, the national park ideals. It should also be noted that snowballing (those individuals 'pulled in') did not occur either, as is normally the case with qualitative research. The researched were selected as being specific to managerial decision-making and governance processes in Yosemite National Park. The interview process took account of the main processes within an interview framework: to gather different responses from different interests; to give voice to others in the research process; to form a response mechanism to assess the responses; to build stories from the storyteller and the actors. The interviews produced stories of 'lived practices' (Crang, 2002: 648), and importantly in terms of practitioner as researcher, ensured the said researcher was not positioned in isolation to the interviewee. Rose (1997: 305) had concerns over this position when commenting on the work of McDowell (1992a: 409) who stated '…we must recognize and take account of our own position, as well as that of our research participants, and *write this into our research practice.*' Rose's concerns were based around a joke made about recording an interview, and what the basis of the joke was about. As a researcher who used recorded interviews there was no such concern, the recordings were conducted in an ethical manner with all parties in full knowledge that the recorder could be

turned off at any point. The researched were also in full knowledge of the researcher's background as an industry professional as well as an academic. Interviews were relaxed and informal and allowed individuals to speak openly and challenge their roles or organisations:

> '…people, unlike any other object of study, are purposeful agents whose own understandings of their actions in the world must be incorporated into, and even allowed to challenge, research accounts of them' (Whatmore, 2003: 90).

As Whatmore (2003: 89) continued, this form of research allows meaningful 'nuggets' of data to demonstrate real world scenarios, to bring the researcher and the researched closer together. The research experience as evidenced in the empirical case study chapters demonstrates some real 'nuggets' that provide substantive case study knowledge creation. It provides for realism:

> 'The social sciences, then, emerged at a time when belief in the powers of a certain 'realism' was pervasive. The 'importance, status, impact, and truth value' that came from 'reporting' 'objective' reality (to paraphrase Richardson) was an aspiration in our field as across many others. Striving to position themselves as doing an equivalent job for the human world as scientists were doing for the physical world, early social scientists decided the best way to achieve this aspiration was to mimic the procedures of science in as many ways as possible. And that included a way of writing which was seen to be 'objective, precise, unambiguous, non-contextual, and non-metamorphic' (to use Richardson's words again): to put it another way, unproblematic and transparent' (Bingham, 2003: 148).

With regard to the 'conversations', various social scientific researchers have described interviewing as 'conversation with a purpose', in that '…they take a conversational, fluid form, each interview varying according to the interests, experiences and views of the interviewees…' (Flowerdew and Martin, 1997: 111). In an informal and relaxed environment (often created by the interviewer) such conversations offer a dialogue rather than an interrogation, they offer a stimulating debate. This shows how relevant it is that the interviewer (the researcher) is a part of the interview, rather than in isolation, which may also answer Rose's (1997: 305) concerns. However, in order for the interview to engage in the production of knowledge, it requires that '…the interview process goes 'by the book' and is non-directional and unbiased' (Gubrium & Holstein, 1997: 117) so that the researched discuss the 'unadulterated facts and details

of experience' (ibid). This is also another important reason why the researcher should be contingent to the research experience, to avoid bias. The interviews were semi-structured in a codified manner to ensure and engage reflexivity of answers and for the researched to be able to negate 'political correctness' to the questions being answered. (Appendix 1 – Yosemite Interviews shows the interviewees and questions).

The research of this thesis engages a contentious view of the protected environment debate, in that it suggests the corporate is not the antithesis to protection and that human inclusion advances environmental protection, so the avoidance of bias is fundamental to evidencing outcomes. Interviews avoided the opportunity to give the 'correct answer approach', instead allowing for a 'true answer approach'. Negating bias or the opportunity of 'false neutrality' was part of the research design, where codified answers and shortened simple dialogue were favoured over full transcript analysis. The interviews also ensured 'situating'; the researched was an 'active subject' and thus the interview could be modified ensuring both '…situated experiential realities [and] testing answers against an immutable bank of 'true' answers within the respondent' (Cloke et al, 2004: 150). Rose (1997: 306) stated that 'situating is a crucial goal for all critical geographies' and reflexivity to the situation is something that should be advocated; being reflexive in the interview allows for avoidance of 'false neutrality'.

4.3.2.1 Continued Engagement: Longitudinal Research

The use of longitudinal research in this thesis refers to the notion of continued engagement, which is distinct from what other studies may take it to mean, where it refers to a specific study over a fixed time period and allows for similar repetition. Within this thesis, longitudinal research allows the researcher to continue on-going engagement with the actors, in order to keep up-to-date with management in Yosemite. Although the interviews were conducted during the summer of 2012, the researcher made contact with the relevant stakeholders before this time, mainly from preliminary discussions with Jim Donovan, NPS Planning at Yosemite National Park. The relationship built with this person built a strong rapport between the researcher and researched, almost along the lines

of ‘a friend of Jim’s is a friend of ours’. This led to contacts and preliminary discussions with all the relevant stakeholders outlined in the research and also ensured on-going contact post the fieldwork. Management and policy is extremely fluid within the US national parks, and during this research Yosemite National Park has undergone a major policy review through the Merced River Plan (see Chapter 6).

This type of research relied on a method that utilised Skype and mainly emails (reference is made in the thesis accordingly) and was mainly used for continuing dialogue, engagement and on-going interaction. The use of electronic media for continuing engagement ‘…has significant advantages where the population you wish to interview are geographically dispersed’ (Saunders et al., 2012: 405). It should be noted that one interview with Whittaker, (2013) did use Skype rather than a face-to-face meeting as this participant is based in Alaska where he runs a Consulting Company that has been engaged in tourism development works within Yosemite National Park. The use of Skype allowed a face-to-face interview, although it was acknowledged that this had not built along the same ‘trust lines’ as other interviews. The establishment of trust with the other participants had already been gained from the face-to-face meetings and the longitudinal research of this work developed the connection and thus avoided concerns with regard to gaining up-to-date data due to distance.

4.3.3 Interview Data: Design, Collection and Analysis

4.3.3.1 Design and Collection

This Section now outlines how the data were collected, processed and analysed. Each interview was semi-structured to allow flexibility and to ensure specific qualitative approaches were focussed upon. As Bryman and Bell (2015: 479) state, the interviews were taken in totality, rather than each interview standing alone, so that they have, as Whyte (1953: 22) describes, a ‘…meaning to the researcher…in terms of other interviews and observations’. Also, the interviewee’s ‘point of view’ has significant meaning and so it was also important to ensure questions were semi-structured and to account for ‘true

reflection', 'false neutrality' of answers, accounting for cultural differences, and to avoid 'politically correct' transcripts. The purpose of semi-structured interviews was that the research allowed for 'new questions' to be used for follow up to interviewee answers; '…responding to the direction in which interviewees take the interview and perhaps adjusting the emphases in the research' (Bryman & Bell, 2015: 481). The questions related to the story apparent for each subject. The interviews were conducted during June 2012, and contact for continual updates from the main interviewees has been on-going since that time. The interviews often correlated with the thinking of the researcher, but at times new interpretations were forthcoming, allowing for what Spradley and McCurdy (1972) call the 'grand tour' and 'mini tour' of questions. In Bryman and Bell (2015: 483) the authors highlight this method having been described succinctly by Prasad in her study, which was applied to the method in the interviews of this thesis:

> 'The broad and exploratory grand tour questions gave the interviews focus and were developed keeping my research interests in mind. For the most part, grand tour questions got interviewees talking about aspects of [subject] and related organizational issues. If the interviewee touched on something that was closely connected with the symbolism of [subject] or seemed particularly concerned about certain aspects of [subject], I pursued those areas through the use of more specific and detailed mini tour questions' (Prasad, 1993: 1409).

As an 'embodied researcher' (Longhurst et al., 2008) it is important to ensure a full and rounded understanding of the positions of stakeholders in the researched area, and although semi-structured interviews allowed for this the researcher did have a clear focus of the specific research subject areas. The researcher conducted interviews with 12 practitioners representing the management stakeholder organisations, the NGO's and various departments in the NPS relevant to the research. This number of interviews was judged sufficient to support the thesis, as the interviewees represent the main management departments and decision-makers in Yosemite National Park. The central divisions of the NPS were represented and interviewed, the officers of NGOs and local community organisations were important participants, and the Concessioner was represented by the President of DN, Dan Jensen, whom was recently honoured for his involvement in Yosemite, by the House of Representatives. Thus interviewees were notably by their quality rather than by

their quantity. Interviewees were approached in full knowledge of the research agenda and were recruited, as stated earlier, through initial discussions with Jim Donovan, NPS Planning at Yosemite National Park. The interviews lasted two to three hours and took place in Yosemite National Park at various locations. The details of interviews and questions are set out in Appendix 1. Interviews were digitally recorded (with permission) and later transcribed in full, and interviewees were informed (at the time) of the process.

Recording has several advantages as set out by Heritage (1984: 238), 'it helps to correct the natural limitations of our memories and of the intuitive glosses that we might place on what people say…' The author went on to state that it allows the researcher to scrutinise several times what was discussed, and allows for an on-going and reusable analysis of the data, ensuring quality and determining whether bias formed any part of the process. Stored data may also be used by secondary researchers and so can form an important part of future scholarship. The interviews were transcribed with a '…broad-based thematic analysis of ethnographic interviews' (Jackson, 2007: 25), whereby these interviews can be used alongside the other qualitative methods. However, the researcher also noted Crang (2002: 652) who stated, '…concerns over maintaining the validity and reliability of qualitative work in business research…' when researchers are 'mining' for responses, that is to endeavor to obtain 'the ready quote'; the author suggests more codified approaches are required. This is dependent on the researcher and with small group interviews, one-on-one and maximum one-on-three, interviewees had opportunity to present their interpretations and multiple perspectives. Also to be noted is that all interviewees were offered the opportunity to have the recorder switched off at any time; 'off the record' comments were adhered to. When the recorder was switched off, which was limited in its happening, written notes would be taken. This was not a favoured approach as it is time consuming and not relevant to the methods of this thesis, but as mentioned it happened just in isolation.

The interviews were carried out alongside the prepared schedules and interview questions and the researcher addressed the subject in line with the research of this thesis, the evolving relationship between the corporate and protected landscape. During the interviews the researcher allowed a flexible approach to

discussions and questioning with interviewees to ensure they were able to advance their own and organisational thinking and motivations to the management of protection and access. On two occasions (Interviews: NPS Planning and NPS Business and Revenue), the use of focus groups was employed, as this allowed the researcher to conduct the interviews alongside observing the interactions between actors.

> 'Focus group interviews can serve as the principal source of data, as a supplementary source of data, or as one component of a multimethod approach to data collection. The primary advantage for the researcher in conducting focus groups is the ability to observe a large amount of interaction among multiple participants on one or more topics in a limited amount of time' (Jackson, 2007: 25).

It should be emphasised that these two focus groups were restricted to the specific NPS department, rather than including wider actors. It was structured in this way so as to avoid a loss of dependability of data, by not allowing the focus groupthink to be too wide:

> However, this is also the primary disadvantage, because focus groups are viewed as unnatural social settings (Morgan, 1997), and there is a possibility that groupthink may threaten the dependability of the data…' (Jackson, 2007: 25).

There was a likelihood that such focus group interviews within this research, could result in actors providing 'correct' answers, that a 'groupthink' situation could 'threaten dependability of data'. For example the NPS Physical Sciences Department may have different understandings or determine different values to the corporate nature relationship, than perhaps the NPS Business and Revenue Department. The researcher concluded that semi-structured interviews with a maximum of three actors within the various departments would be the ideal methodology for the empirical research interviews. Thus protecting the 'dependability of data'.

4.3.3.2 Analysis

The interpretation of results from the interviews and transcription was illuminating, in all around 30 hours of narrative analysis and it is at that stage the research findings emerged. The in-field findings and the data collection was

analysed and interpreted and it was important that this represented a true reflection of the corporate interaction with protected landscape management; rather than a politically correct account or ecological or corporate monologue. The data were transcribed by a professional typing agency and organised both electronically and in hard-copy. The analysis of the research provided new layers of understanding the organisational behaviour in Yosemite, allowing evaluation of the broad section of stakeholder engagement and the specific departmental commitment and inter-relational dependencies:

> 'Because experience is key to qualitative inquiry, observations of interpretive data must be able to account for varying kinds of experiences in a way that is particularized or idiographic rather than generalized and law-bound or nomothetic' (Jackson et al., 2007: 26).

Central to analysis was coding which entailed reviewing transcripts and the fieldwork notes and then giving labels to component parts (Bryman and Bell, 2015: 586). The labels were sectioned specifically to components that were pertinent to the theoretical and practitioner debates around protection and access in national parks. Charmaz (1983: 186) [in] Bryman and Bell (2015: 586) state that, 'Codes…serve as shorthand devices to *label, separate, compile and organize* data.' The labels allow for management of the data, to interpret and analyse the concepts, which in the case of this research feature thematically around (but not limited to): stakeholder interests, impact, management, protection, access, sustainable development, stewardship and adaptive co-management. The themes or '…concepts are produced through *open coding…'* (Bryman and Bell, 2015: 586) and the authors highlight that Strauss and Corbin (1990: 61) show open coding as 'the process of breaking down, examining, comparing, conceptualizing and categorizing data'. This is effectively managing the discussions, as Jackson et al. (2007: 24) highlights there is an importance to understand what was said (content analysis) as well as how it was said (conversation analysis). The former represents the ability to compare and contrast '…a set of data primarily to test hypotheses' to explore 'taken-for-granted interactions like making promises and negotiating'. During the analysis phase, the representation of the data in terms of correctness and '…the maintenance of objectivity…' (Saunders et al., 2012: 245) would be an important part of the ethical considerations and strategy. Saunders et al., (2012:

245) continued that this correctness and objectivity ensures that the coding or analysis is not selective to the outcomes that the researcher is looking for. To this end, the duty of care from, and the integrity of, the researcher are paramount to warrant that the conclusions and recommendations have been progressed from a true and correct analysis, in this case study from the 'lived experiences' (Jackson et al., 2007: 24). Thus, to safeguard objectivity the interview research process was strategised in the form of 'narrative analysis'; as Jackson et al. (2007: 24) continued, this '…provides for more structured forms where the researcher examines a given story from beginning to end whilst forming a set of aims and objectives, these provide for more lived experiences…'

The empirical chapters evidence the 'lived experiences' and provide important analysis from the outcomes of the interviews, demonstrating the application of method (through semi-structured interviews) worked for this research. Both chapters are structured around the investigation and testing of the key empirical qualitative research objectives, and rather than repeat the research outline evidenced in Section 1.5, a summary is made here of the empirical chapter framework, including the development of the headings used. Chapter 5 examines the documentary data through the ideas and concepts founded in history. It does this by providing a dedicated empirical analysis of specific textual material (see Table 2) and the headings are structured so as to reinforce the historical foundations of corporate investment in Yosemite National Park. The chapter initially introduces the case study and key themes, and defines the meaning of corporate investment maintaining public good (Section 5.1), effectively setting the empirical scene. Section 5.2 retraces the historical footsteps, Yosemite's 'discovery' by European Settlers and how the desire by growing numbers of visitors to experience the beauty and wonder through tourism led to the need for controlled management and development; in essence this lays the foundations for wise-use. Sections 5.3 to 5.4 develop the argument around the need for greater protection and how the concepts of preservation and conservation were blended in order to facilitate this. This led to certain stimuli, examined in Section 5.5, that acted as the pre-cursor to sustainable development, most notably the inter-relational and evolving roles of the NPS and the Corporate as the Concessioner. This chapter evidences the

corporate relations from an historical perspective, advancing opportunities to develop commercial activity from the national park ideals, and how wise-use development was framed through socio-ecological responsibility. The chapter also evidences failings in this process of wise-use based around responsible actions, which then leads to examining the new paradigm evidenced in Chapter 6. This chapter progresses from the historical perspective of responsible corporate relations to show how wise-use has evolved, where contemporary investment exemplifies adaptive co-management. This chapter analyses the interview data and is structured to provide a thematic exploration of this evolution, addressing the main components that provide the framework for contemporary management. The Introduction (Section 6.1) introduces the concessioner since 1993 before discussing the idea around 'Profit For All' (Section 6.2) and how profit can act as a contemporary tool for protection. Section 6.3 examines the contemporary legislative framework, one of socio-ecological resilience, and importantly how the Wild & Scenic Rivers Act and notably the Merced River Plan have evolved together with the concept of adaptive co-management and the new paradigm of wise-use (Section 6.4). Before concluding, Section 6.5 discusses how this evolution can provide a pathway for future national park management.

Within this Chapter 4, these sections have laid out the design, structure, content and analysis of the empirical research, and they have framed the methodology of the fieldwork. The next section gives an overview of the empirical analysis of specific textual material and how this formed a part of the empirical base discussed in Chapter 5.

4.4 Exploring Empirical Research Texts and Constructing The Narrative

As a part-time researcher, the work undertaken in this thesis has been carried out since 2010, during which time the documentary analysis has been extensive. This included archival research and literature reviews, based around historical geographical methodologies as well as, environmental, historical, political and economic geographies, and within a business context, management studies and organisational behaviours. These texts are used in two distinct ways; in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3 they form a part of the normal accumulation of

academic knowledge, whereas Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 specific texts are used to form an empirical analysis, to build the empirical framework. It should also be repeated that within Chapter 2 reference is made to Yosemite National Park, as this academic knowledge is distinct from the empirical analysis found in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6. It provides historical analysis of the construct of US protected landscape; thus acknowledging academic works that contribute to important founding precedents.

Rather than repeat the Bibliography, which shows over 300 texts and narrative that has been made, in terms of the construct of use, this section will initially outline two of the major authors that have contributed widely to the empirical and theoretical framework. It will then include a discussion of the systematic analysis and interpretation of historical literature that has been undertaken, with reference to historical geographical methodology and finally, provide an overview of the main texts used for the empirical research.

The works of Runte (1990a; 1990b; 1993a; 1993b and 2010) provide the researcher with a full and descriptive historical account of US national parks and Yosemite in particular. The author provides a formidable understanding of the priorities of the national parks and critiques the roles of stakeholders, looking at failings and successes, opportunities and challenges. His work, *Yosemite: The Embattled Wilderness (1990b)* is described by the publishers, University of Nebraska Press, as 'a very important contribution to the environmental history, the history of the American West, and even American business history.' The work is provocative and highlights the tensions in national park management. This is also evidenced in his work *National Parks: the American Experience (2010).* The publishers state that this work suggests national parks were designed around nationalism rather than environmental protection, which is examined in this thesis, and that this work significantly accounts for much of the environmental debates in US national park policy.

The work of this thesis began several years ago, as an idea of researching the works of John Muir (see Section 2.2.5.1) who was known as *The Father of The National Parks*. Of particular interest to this thesis are: *The Mountains of California (1985)*; *Our National Parks* (1991) and *The Yosemite* (1988). These

works are thought to be not just works of conservation but also works of literature and the basis of what the US national park ideals stood for.

An important element of this thesis has been the systematic analysis and interpretation of historical literature, which has included examining original texts and documents that emerge from the ideas and concepts founded in history:

> 'The relationship between history and geography is especially close because they represent two fundamental dimensions of the same phenomenon. History views human experience from the perspective of time, geography from the perspective of space. These dimensions of time and space are locked in a symbiotic dance, a perpetual interactive feedback loop in which one dimension is constantly affecting the other' (Maxwell Learning, 2011-2014).

The conceptual analysis and the empirical evidence, within this work, are constructed from a wide range of sources, and in particular the empirical sections examine and critique the historical geographies of protected landscape and Yosemite National Park. The object of study from an historical perspective provides a true analysis of '…the geography of a place at some time in the past, or the changing geography of a place during some period in the past…' (Baker, 1997: 232). It has also been argued that '…all geography is historical geography, either actual or potential (Darby, 1953, p. 6)…' (ibid: 231) and it is this actual history of Yosemite that provides the framework for analysis. Authors such as Runte (1990a; 1990b; 1993a; 1993b and 2010) have examined the histories of environmental geographies that are providing robust factual evidence of the interconnections between society and place. These interconnections are investigated by historical geographers through an indirect methodology, as Baker (1997: 232) stated, 'historical geographers cannot observe the past directly; they have instead to rely indirectly on the testimony of witnesses.' These connections form an important relationship for this thesis, that such historical testimonies and evidence also has relevancy to the present day analysis. What is current today, is often shaped by the events of the past, for example, the management failures of The General Management Plan 1980 (see Section 5.5.5.3) are examined through historical texts, so that there is meaning to the discussions on the current Merced River Plan 2014 (see Section 6.3.2), examined through methodologies of the present day.

The historical geographies of this thesis may have a focus to the past, but they have an important relationship to the current day, and provide a foundation for continual understanding.

Further to this, the empirical research texts have utilised a number of works specifically from within the US protected landscape debate, and they have provided significant research for the researcher and are evidenced throughout this thesis. The works in relation to the US national parks and the empirical research in Yosemite National Park are shown in Table 2:

Books and Journals:

Table 2: Selected Texts Read Relating To US National Parks

ANDERSON, K. (2005)	HYDE, A. (1993)	PINCHOT, G. (1910)
BLODGETT, P.J. (1993)	LEOPOLD, A. (1925)	ROOSEVELT, R. (1897)
BUNNELL, L. (1892)	LEOPOLD, A. (1949)	RUSSELL, C.P. (1992)
BUNCE, M. (1994)	MAGOC, C. J. (1999)	SARGENT, S. (1971 and 1975)
BUTLER, W. (2007)	MILES, J. (1995)	SELLARS, R. W. (1997)
CALLICOTT, J.B. (1991)	MILES, J.C. (2009)	THOREAU, H. D. (1862)
DOYLE, M. & GROSS, M. (2015)	NASH, R. (1982b)	TURNER, J. (1991)
FREIREICH, D. (2015)	OLMSTED, F.L. (1993)	WILSON, A. (1992)
GROSSI, M. (2015)	ORSI, R. J., et al., (1993)	WOLFE, L. M. (1979)
HENDEE, J. C., et al., (1990)	PAVLIK, R.C. (1993)	WOODS, M. (1998)

All texts were questioned in their relationship to the empirical research of this thesis in terms of supporting it or adding to it, and in particular the texts relating to other global parks and protected landscapes are relevant to this and shown in Table 3. A cross-section of work that has been used, including references to the academic material as well as more popularist media, all of which offer different and inter-relational perspectives to the research of this thesis. The structure of the Bibliography shows the cataloguing of the empirical case study interviews followed by the written texts, which are arranged alphabetically. These texts and the resulting narrative define and examine US protected landscape through Yosemite as a national park and they provide foundation to comprehend the importance of tourism, recreation and human inclusion. As mentioned, a broader sphere of research was also used to gain a global examination of other protected area management, which also contributed or linked to the main empirical research area of this thesis. The reading has been specific and focussed to address themes and concepts relevant to this thesis. Within this sphere of reading specific texts provided an important background

(certain foreign letters substituted with the 'nearest' British letter), these included (but are not limited to – see Table 3):

Books and Journals:

Table 3: Selected Texts Read In Global National Parks/Landscapes

BARTHEL, S. (2004)	ELMQVIST, T., et al., (2004)	SAETHORSDOTTIR, A. D. (2010b)
BARTHEL, S. (2008)	HUIJBENS, E. H. & ALESSIO, D. (2013)	SAETHORSDOTTIR, A. D., et al., (2001)
BARTHEL, S., et al., (2005)	JAIL, M. (1973)	SAETHORSDOTTIR, A. D., et al., (2003)
BARTHEL, S., et al., (2004)	JÓHANNESSON, G. T. & HUIJBENS, E. H. (2010)	SAETHORSDOTTIR, A. D. & OLAFSSON, R. (2010a)
BERKES, F., et al., (2003)	JÓHANNESSON, G. T., et al., (2010)	SAETHORSDOTTIR, A. D. & OLAFSSON, R. (2010b)
BOLUND, P. & HUNHAMMAR, S. (1999)	KARLSSON, G. (2000)	SIGURDSSON, O. & BJARNASON, I. (2003)
BOTKIN, D. B. & BEVERIDGE, C. E. (1997)	LOCKHART, D. & DRAKAKIS-SMITH, D. W. (1997)	SKARPHEOINSSON, O. (2008)
BRAVANDER, L. & JAKOBSSON, R. (2003)	MARIN, C. et al., (2004)	THOMPSON, I. B. (1999)
BULLER, H. (2000)	OSLUND, K. (2005)	THOMPSON, I. B. (2002)
CARLSSON, L. & BERKES, F. (2005)	PARRY, S. (2011)	TUPPEN, J. A. (2000)
COLDING, J., et al., (eds.) (2000)	PEATY, D. (2012)	WALDENSTROM, H. (1995)
DOSSANI, S. (2013)	REIMERS, P. (2010)	
EINARSDOTTIR, A., et al., (2007)	RUBENSON, S. 2000	
	SAETHORSDOTTIR, A. D. (2010a)	

The section has provided a foundation that sets out the broader methods of the thesis research, and shows how the methods have been applied from qualitative processes. Namely empirical fieldwork and the in-depth semi-structured interviews and how the reading and writing conflate, so that the conceptual chapters provide the theoretical knowledge and determine the priorities of US protected landscape, which then relate to the empirical research in the chapters that follow. Their structure and framework is examined and discussed in Chapter 1 and Section 1.5 also adds critique to this, and so to this end will not be repeated here. The purpose of this chapter has been to provide a focussed analysis of the methods used in compiling the chapters in this thesis and the following chapters now evidence and examine the main empirical research.

To reiterate, Chapter 5 details research around the key empirical qualitative research objectives, examining empirical texts that underpin the ideas and concepts founded in history, whereas Chapter 6 examines the contemporary paradigm, evidenced from the empirical fieldwork of the evolving stakeholder roles in Yosemite.

Chapter 5 Yosemite National Park – Foundations of Corporate Investment

5.1 Introduction

The following two chapters investigate and test the key empirical research objectives defined in the Introduction to this thesis (Section 1.3) and connect the ideas and concepts developed in Chapters 2 and 3. These chapters report on:

How certain catalysts framed around wise-use management have advanced the US national park ideals of upholding public access and embracing environmental protection.

The key themes that demonstrate protected landscape management in the US has advanced through blending the concepts of conservation and preservation, and asserting that wise-use management has evolved from a process of corporate social responsibility to corporate social resilience (CSR).

The evolution of stakeholder actions in protected landscapes, primarily US national parks, demonstrating how making such landscapes dollarable provides a safety net for protection.

The new process of CSR, which builds on adaptive co-management and stewardship, with the inclusion of relevant stakeholders including local communities, Non-Governmental Organisations (NGO), the Corporate, Public Bodies and the environment.

How the priorities of corporate investment maintain the public good and how public good maintains corporate investment.

The empirical research objective was fulfilled in the field at Yosemite National Park, through qualitative research methods (see Chapter 4) that included: documentary analysis, interviews and meetings with the main stakeholders in commercial and governance activity, and archival research and literature reviews. Section 4.3.3.2 discusses in more detail how the headings and themes were developed, but fundamentally, the two chapters analyse and examine the documentary and interview data. In this chapter, Sections 5.1 to 5.4 evidence corporate relations from an historical perspective, introducing how the corporate grasped the opportunity to develop commercial activity from the national park ideals; embracing the concept of human interaction and thus driving forward the opportunities to dollarise public 'protected' lands. They evidence the inherent tensions between access and protection, thus laying the foundations of wise-use management in the case study, based around the priorities of responsibility and blending the concepts of conservation and preservation; advancing private investment not ownership in public lands.

Box 16: A Note On Referencing

This thesis uses the Harvard referencing system and in the empirical case study chapters, the interviews are referenced with in-text citations as follows:

Quote: (Interview: President DN, 2012: 18).

Paraphrase: Interview: President DN, (2012: 18)

Section 5.5 investigates how certain catalysts in development progressed the ideals of access alongside protection, in particular addressing the role of the private enterprise as a concessioner, as a monopoly and examining how both the NPS and the concessioner struggled to drive forward sustainable development. This serves as an important baseline to build towards the contemporary frame of wise-use and corporate management, which is examined in Chapter 6, asserting that a resilience framework builds adaptive capacity, rather than the process of responsibility. These two chapters examine evolving priorities of protected landscape management in Yosemite, through the lens of human geography and '…the relationships, including social, economic and spatial interconnections, between people and their environments' (IAC, 2017).

The national park priorities of access and protection are examined alongside the private-public relationships and the wider stakeholder groups to provide a framework, establishing how corporate priorities and protection are managed within the public space of national parks in the US to maintain public good. The case study chapters evidence that the maintenance of such public good has evolved from private ownership to private investment, through complex federal governance to local stakeholder involvement, a shift from wise-use that embraced responsibility, to wise-use that embraces adaptive capacity and sustainable development; managing protection and access in public lands. These chapters determine that corporate investment and public good have evolved around adaptive co-management models and relevant stakeholder relationships, so as to reduce tensions and build effective, efficient and good operations. Table 4 provides a chronological summary of relationships within Yosemite National Park.

Table 4 Developing Relationships Within Yosemite National Park
Adapted from Orsi, et al, (1993:7-8)

Year	Development	Visitor Nos.
1855	James Hutchings brings first party of tourists to Valley.	
1856	Toll road built into valley by the three Mann Brothers	
1857	Galen Clark builds first 'Station' accommodation at Wawona on Merced River junction.	
1857	Lower Hotel set up by Stephen Cunningham	653
1859	Upper Hotel built. Later (1864) known as Hutchings House.	
1864	Yosemite Valley and Mariposa Grove of Giant Sequoias ceded to California by Congress under a protected status. The precedent for National Park status.	
1868	John Muir arrives into Valley	1865 2073
1869	First Transcontinental railroad built.	
1870- 1871	New hotels built and existing ones upgraded.	
1874	Coulterville, Mariposa and Big Oak Flat stagecoach roads completed to the Valley.	
1878- 1887	First campground set up by Aaron Harris	
1879/1880	Wawona Hotel set up by Washburn brothers, formerly Clark's Station.	
1882- 1883	Construction of Tioga Road	1883-1885 2361 + 388 Overseas
1885- 1889	Programme of renovations for roads, trails and services.	

1888	Stoneman House Hotel built.	
1890	Yosemite National Park created on October 01st. The Valley and Mariposa Grove remained under California state management.	
1899	Curry campground set up after fire destroyed Harris campground in 1887.	
1905-1907	Yosemite Valley Railroad constructed	1905 10,000
1905	Yosemite National Park size reduced by Congress, includes Mt. Ritter and Devil's Postpile.	
1906	In June President Roosevelt signs bill making Yosemite Valley and Mariposa Grove part of the National Park.	1906 5,414
1913-1918	Development of mechanised transport i.e. cars and roads	1915 31,000
1916	National Park Service Act passed, creating new agency under the Department of the Interior. Desmond Park Service Company (DPSC) granted 20 year franchise	
1917-1920	Yosemite National Park Company emerges and reorganised in 1920 to take over from bankrupt DPSC.	
1925	Yosemite Park & Curry Company formed, merged from previous separate companies	
1926-1932	Increased infrastructure and Ahwahnee Hotel built, Wawona Basin added to national park.	
1954	Park visitation exceeds 1 million.	1 Million
1963	30 year franchise granted to YP&CC	
1967	Park visitation exceeds 2 million	2 Million
1968	The Concession Contract Act legislated	
1970	Free shuttle bus operation starts	
1972	Wilderness permits required for back-country use	
1973	Music Corporation of America (MCA) purchases YP&CC.	
1980	General Management Plan completed	2.5 Million
1984	677,600 acres (89% of park) designated under terms of the Wilderness Preservation Act of 1964. UNESCO Designation as World Heritage Site	
1987	Park visitation exceeds 3 million	3.26 Million
1993	15 year concession contract granted to Delaware North Companies (DNC).	1992 3.75 Million
1998	The Concessions Management Improvement Act legislated, updating how concession contracts awarded.	
2008	DNC awarded extension to concession contract, due to ongoing litigation of NPS by public.	
2011	Park visitation exceeds 4 million	>4 Million
2012-2014	Merced River Plan, under The Merced Wild & Scenic River Act.	
2015	Aramark awarded new concession contract from March 2016	
2016	Aramark to start new operations – subject to contract (01st March 2016)	

5.1.1 Introducing The Case Study and Key Themes

This section highlights the key themes examined and developed throughout the two empirical chapters. First, it introduces the empirical case study itself and its relevance to the thesis argument. Second, it presents and emphasises the role of the corporate, and third, it connects the ideals of protection and access by framing wise-use management.

5.1.1.1 Yosemite National Park

Hyde (1993: 69) provides a succinct commentary of why Yosemite is distinct from the other national parks created during the same era, and it resonates very well with the reasoning and engagement on this subject. The author states that although today the US national parks share many management systems, ideals and structures, history shows a different foundation for Yosemite. It is this foundation that makes Yosemite such an engaging and interesting example for this thesis. Firstly, Yosemite was a State Park that originated the national park ideals. To recap from Section 2.2, in 1864, eight years prior to the Yellowstone enabling Act of 1872, the Yosemite Park Act (the Grant) legislated 60 square miles, including the Valley and Mariposa Grove, for preservation and public use (see Box 5). This Grant was the pre-cursor to full national park status in 1890, thus Yosemite was one of first areas of 'protected or preserved' lands in the US that set the initial precedent for tourism (visitation and access) within the national park ideal, and Table 5 shows the increasing number of visitors that Yosemite has experienced (note the drop in numbers in 1906 due to the San Francisco earthquake).

Table 5 Yosemite Visitor Numbers

	1855-1864	1865	1905	1906	1967	1980	1987	1992	2014
Visitors	653	2073	10000	5414	2m	2.5m	3.26m	3.75m	>4m

Various Sources: NPS.Org. Stones and http://www1.american.edu/TED/yosemite.htm

Secondly, Yosemite was a place to visit long before any of the other national parks, for almost a decade before the Grant it had been popular with tourists in the American West. Although many commentators credit Yellowstone with being the first National Park, Yosemite set the scene for protected land

visitation, as Runte (1990b: 14) stated, 'By the end of 1855 several other parties of tourists had experienced the valley's grandeur…' Thirdly, and very importantly, Yosemite did not benefit from railroad control and development to the same degree as had other Parks, such as Yellowstone, the Grand Canyon and Glacier. Those Parks had received significant contributions from railroad conglomerates to enable development and the provision of access and visitor services. Yosemite was the only park without railroad access to its core; the Southern Pacific Railroad had helped in the founding ideals of national park status for Yosemite, but its infrastructure ceased at the Central Valley area meaning the last part of the journey had to be undertaken by stagecoach. Moreover, although in all cases the government owned the lands, Yosemite was the only park where the railroad companies did not control the visitor services and facilities, mainly due to the fact that they didn't have access to the core. Although Yosemite was located in the heart of California it was in many ways, due to its imposing topography, quite isolated which meant the controlling State and Federal government needed to secure a different type of management to the one provided by the railroad conglomerates. This is what makes this case study so relevant to this work and the ideals of wise-use management, for the operations and visitor services in Yosemite had to be provided by smaller independent corporate private entities known as concessioners. As Hyde (1993: 69-74) deliberates, there were advantages and disadvantages without the influence of railroad conglomerates, the smaller concessioners and remoteness would impact upon tourism development and bring forth a need for greater controls and a reliance on automobile visitation. This historical precedent has positioned Yosemite as a paradigm of concessioner management working alongside public governance to lead forth to a contemporary position of adaptive co-management: the inclusion of relevant stakeholders.

Thus, the next sections demonstrate how the corporate had to emerge as an actor able to fulfil the priorities of access and use through visitation (see for example Eagles, 2002) as that was their business service, to add value in return for attempting to make profit, and to also fulfil the priorities for protection alongside maintaining public good. This was a demanding role that required a merging of private management alongside public policy, a blending of scenic

protection alongside increasing visitation, engaging one of the 1916 Organic Act's statements of purpose: 'a blending of the related concepts of conservation and preservation' (see, Sellars, 1997: 43). In so doing the corporate role would also have to evolve over time to take account of wider interests, broader inclusion of stakeholders for example the local communities to the Park, who would also become more active to park management; visitors too would engage more with environmental concerns and act as agents for conservation.

> '[Tourism development] fulfils the Park service mission of making available this incredibly beautiful place to people, to come and visit and UNDERSTAND' (Interview: President Yosemite Gateway Partners, 2012: 27).

5.1.1.2 Corporate Investment Maintains Public Good

The objective of this case study, evidenced from both academic and empirical research, is to determine how the priorities of corporate investment maintains the public good and how public good maintains corporate investment. These statements may sound similar but they differ greatly. The first is a priority of wise-use corporate management, and the second a priority of public governance. These chapters examine these priorities to define how corporate actions have evolved to be very much a part of the public good in protected lands, how corporate actions have evolved to connect with stakeholders, to drive access and to secure protection. The protection of 'scenic' lands and 'resources' is an integral part of US landscape culture; correspondingly public right of access to these lands is integral to the national park philosophy. Yosemite is complex in terms of these priorities: it goes beyond the sum of its parts; it incorporates protection through preservation and conservation and for over a century it has developed unlimited access. Integral to this culture is that public domain is maintained or serviced by private investment. This case study examines this relationship, one of private investment for public good, for protection and access. The balance between protection and access (see for example, Hyde, 1993; Pavlik, 1993, Orsi 1993; Runte 1990b) is central to developing cogency within this landscape debate. That is essential to the themes in these chapters, evolving discourses of human-nature relations; an

interaction with place and landscape; a relationship where profit is required to maintain public good.

Within US protected landscape culture Yosemite, alongside Yellowstone National Park, embraces the national park priorities and, although the enabling Acts had slight differences, as mentioned many times throughout this thesis, the aim was to protect through blending conservation and preservation, and allow access through wise-use:

> '…[Yellowstone's enabling act was to] conserve the scenery and other resources, while most early national park enabling acts [like Yosemite] called for 'preservation' of resources – a blending of the related concepts of conservation and preservation…The conservation movement comprised a wide array of concerns, of which the wise use of scenic lands in the national parks to foster tourism and public enjoyment was very much a part' (Sellars, 1997: 43).

5.1.1.3 Wise-use Management

The priority for managing has evolved through wise-use, defined in Chapter 3 and is a management concept appropriated as a form of sustainable development that historically connects priorities of responsibility and freedom to ownership and investment in natural resources (see Sections 2.4 and 3.2; McCarthy, 2002). It is also a concept that this thesis suggests has evolved from priorities based around responsibility to priorities based around resilience, framing adaptive co-management and relevant stakeholder inclusion, evidenced in the following chapter. Wise-use management is utilised to advance the ideals of access whilst also protecting Yosemite for today and for future generations. Runte (1990b: 1) suggests it is: where to draw the line between preservation and use, and it is an enduring debate not only within US national parks, but global landscape sustainability. The priority of this chapter is to examine this in context, to study the ideals and values of US national park philosophy borne out through Yosemite's history and human geography and to critique the values of corporate good in public lands, as Runte (1990b: 3) says to:

> '…help modern Americans [and all nations] as they grapple to realize the preservation ideals of their own generation.'

The Organic Act (see Section 2.2) defined multi-use in national parks but it also defined that; '…the wise use of scenic lands in the national parks to foster tourism and public enjoyment was very much a part' (Sellars, 1997: 43). Yosemite National Park exemplifies the evolution of this 'wise-use of scenic lands', where the ideals of multi-use (see also Pinchot and the wise-use movement Sections 2.2.5.2 and 3.3) were subjugated to a more focussed use, namely tourism [visitation and access]. Historically, even before the Grant tourism development had been a priority within Yosemite and as tourism and corporate development became firmly 'entrenched' the multi-use campaigners were constrained. Nevertheless, lands around the Grant were available to multi-use (see Sections 5.2.4 and 5.2.5) and the fostering of tourism also had criticism in that there was a requirement to soften the harshness of nature, whereby visitors could enjoy the landscapes and wildness without themselves being frontiersmen. There needed to be wise-use 'responsible' management:

> 'As more and more tourists sought out the wilderness as a spectacle to be looked at and enjoyed for its great beauty, the sublime in effect became domesticated. The wilderness was still sacred, but the religious sentiments it evoked were more those of a pleasant parish church than those of a grand cathedral or a harsh desert retreat' (Cronon, 1995: 6).

Wise-use under the umbrella of visitation was secured, the roads, hotels and campgrounds had become as much a part of the Yosemite experience as had the nature.

5.1.2 Setting the Scene

Yosemite National Park provides the empirical example in this thesis, engaging with the founding principles of the US national park system and framing how national parks fostered the protection of landscape whilst also encouraging public inclusion and enjoyment:

> 'The surest measure of success for the National Park Service was to demonstrate that more and more Americans were enjoying the parks. People, not preservation, confirmed that Yosemite (and others)….were worth the investment in congressional appropriations' (Runte, 1993a: 5).

As Runte (1990b: 7) went on to say, 'Yosemite Valley became the symbol of the national park ideal' - protection and access - thus setting a global precedent of national parks as places to protect and places to visit 'for public resort and recreation':

> 'Protected areas are established primarily to preserve…Tourists visit these protected areas to understand and appreciate the values for which the area was established and to gain personal benefits.' (Eagles et al., 2002: 23).

This section has set the scene for the two empirical case study chapters. It has built the frame of how Yosemite is distinct as a national park within the US system and has shown its relevance to the management systems examined throughout this thesis.

5.2 Historical Footsteps

This section defines the historical narrative of Yosemite National Park and shows how this lays the foundations to visitation and access. It demonstrates from a historical perspective how visitation has been an important priority for human interaction with nature, and evidences how this desire to experience nature needed to be managed. It demonstrates how private enterprises initially looked to facilitate services for such experiences, and how Yosemite as a protected landscape needed to be governed, in terms of size and locale. This section introduces the national park policies for corporate actions, where investment not ownership would prevail, and it provides a historical pathway to how the corporate would act as a concessioner (see 5.5.2), to complement where history and geography merge:

> 'While geography itself cuts through time at the present period, historical geography cuts through it at some preceding point…Macauley in his *History of England* (1848) stated clearly…'If we would study with profit the history of our ancestors, we…must never forget that the country of which we read was a very different country from that in which we live'' (Darby, 1953: 4).

5.2.1 Discovery By European Settlers

In Martinez, California, there is a tombstone dedicated to Joseph Reddeford Walker, which '…bears the inscription, 'Camped at Yosemite Nov.13, 1833'' (Russell, 1992: 7). Walker was a frontiersman, employed by a Captain B.L.E. Bonneville, to lead an expedition to California. It was during this trip that this group likely did gain the accolade as the first Europeans to see Yosemite Valley. A more distinct 'preceding point' for this thesis starts around 1848, when thousands of prospectors descended through the Sierra Nevada foothills in California, seeking their fortunes in gold. Along with them came,

> 'Adventurous traders [who] had established trading posts in the wilderness in order that they might reap a harvest from the miners and Indians' (Russell, 1992: 14).

Around this time in 1851, the Mariposa Battalion, led by a successful trading post owner Major James D Savage, was formed to protect these miners and the trading posts from 'renegade Indian tribes'. Although Walker's group were the first to see the Valley, this 'vigilante' Battalion actually became one of the first groups of Europeans to lead, or perhaps a better term, to stumble into the actual Yosemite Valley itself. The Mariposa Battalion, along with the other traders and miners, were intoxicated by the beauty of the Valley. Most notably one of their young members, Lafayette Bunnell, wrote:

> 'The grandeur of the scene was but softened by the haze that hung over the valley -- light as gossamer -- and by the clouds which partially dimmed the higher cliffs and mountains. This obscurity of vision but increased the awe with which I beheld it, and as I looked, a peculiar exalted sensation seemed to fill my whole being, and I found my eyes in tears with emotion' (Bunnell, 1892: p63 [in] Russell, 1992: 144).

Russell (1992: 37) goes on to say that Bunnell was so taken by the Valley that he suggested it be called Yosemite, a term used for the fleeing Indians. The true name of the tribe, the Ahwahneechee (a tribe from the Southern Sierra Miwok), had not yet been discovered. It was these accounts that started the beginnings of prospecting and visitation. Corporate prospectors would soon replace the frontiersmen, visitors would soon replace the Indigenous people and the 'intoxicating' land of Yosemite would soon be consumed:

> ‘By 1855 several accounts written by members of the…expeditions that had entered Yosemite had been published in San Francisco papers…the mention of a thousand-foot waterfall in one of these published letters awakened James M. Hutchings, then publishing the *California Magazine,* to the possibilities that Yosemite presented. Hutchings organized the first tourist party in June, 1855…’ (Russell, 1992: 47).

5.2.2 Consuming Yosemite As A Landscape

Such intoxication and desire to connect with nature led to ‘prospectors’ realising potential profits; not prospectors in terms of production but prospectors in terms of consumption; to consume the beauty, to provide for visitors would mean to gain profits. Individuals saw the potential and looked to dollarise the landscape through advancing human interaction and visitation by developing facilities. Runte (1990b: 17) states that by the end of 1855 it was recorded that the number of tourists had reached forty-two. James Mason Hutchings (see Section 3.3.1) entered Yosemite to discover ‘nature’s real gold’ – or perhaps more cynically, to utilise its beauty for potential profits. Hutchings realised the full tourism potential Yosemite could have and, along with other ‘homesteaders’, set about fulfilling this potential, fulfilment framed around the dollar. Hutchings set up one of the first hotels in the area and by 1863 had ‘claimed’ 100 acres of Yosemite’s lands:

> ‘Hardly had the first tourists arrived in 1855 when a few entrepreneurs sensing the possibilities of the valley as a summer resort, contemplated building the first camps and rustic hotels. By 1857 a primitive structure opposite Yosemite Falls was serving guests; two years later a slightly more elaborate structure, the Upper Hotel, had also been completed, a short distance up the valley...Hutchings returned in 1863 and purchased the financially troubled Upper Hotel’ (Runte, 1990b: 17).

Prior to this a Virginian settler called James C. Lamon had also claimed land and title in Yosemite. Hutchings, one of the first Yosemite entrepreneurs, promoted tourism development through media articles. He utilised the local newspaper, the *Mariposa Gazette,* concentrating on the potential for tourism rather than the real news items, such as the Indian wars or prospecting:

> ‘…in the *Gazette* of July 12, 1855, appears the first printed description of Yosemite Valley, prepared by one uninfluenced by Indian troubles or gold fever.

> Journalists the country over copied the description, and so started the Hutchings Yosemite publicity, which was to continue through a period of forty-seven years' (Russell, 1992: 49).

On realising the power of such media, Hutchings went on to promote tourism and private investment through his own magazine, *Hutchings California Magazine.* From this point around the mid 1850's Yosemite was of national interest.

5.2.3 Defining Protected Landscape Use in Yosemite

The tourism development in Yosemite was fostered and driven through unimpaired access, later legislated as 'resort and recreation', a lens of increasing use. Visitor use of the natural resources and the definitions of 'resort and recreation' has been of paramount importance to how protection has evolved in Yosemite, and has formed a key element to the private-public relationship, by 1864 it was on the agendas of prominent politicians and stakeholders. A number of prominent visitors and certain tourism operators in the Valley, including Galen Clark an accommodation provider, exemplified this. Concern was mounting about the unabated development and increasing uncontrolled commercial interests, such as the first camps and rustic hotels under private ownership, stemming from the days of the Preemption and Homestead rights. The prominent visitors wrote to California's Senator John Conness to advocate for protection for the area. This was considered by the Interior Department and by both houses of the 38th Congress and, just over 150 years ago at the time of writing this chapter and to recap from Section 2.2, a bill was drawn up and signed by President Abraham Lincoln on the 30th June 1864, creating the Yosemite Park Act (the Grant). This Act of Congress, the Grant, required that Yosemite Valley and the Mariposa Grove of Giant Sequoia trees would be ceded to the state of California. Interestingly the Grant set the precedent for the World's first National Park, Yellowstone, in 1872. As Runte (1990b: 26-27) states, 'Yosemite was in fact the first national park, the first park not only established but also upheld by Congress.' Clark and Conness had originally sought this Grant to have certain controls on unabated development, and President Lincoln also stated that there was an unquestionable condition,

> ‘As a practical matter, Congress awarded the grant…‘inalienable for all time…’ [for] ‘…public use, resort, and recreation’… (Runte, 2010: 25).

Yosemite Valley was the first natural area, or to be exact the first area of Forest Lands (see Section 2.2.1) to be set aside by a US government for protection, but more importantly, for human interaction – prioritising not just protection, but access and use. As the Grant had been ceded to the State of California, there was still one more hurdle to overcome, formal acceptance by the Californian Legislature, which was completed in 1866. Prior to and pertaining to this completion, in September 1864 the Governor of California, Frederick F. Low appointed an eight-man management team to survey ‘the locus, extent, and limits’ of the Grant (Runte, 1990b: 22) and to oversee the interests of the Park. This legislation would effectively regulate private investment to ensure that lands would ‘foster tourism’ but with some levels of protection. This rationale was also aligned with the initial concepts behind wise-use management of freedom and responsibility as sustainable options, progressing the ideals of moral responsibility to protect Yosemite. Alongside such use it was deemed that there should be a group who would oversee such management, and The Yosemite Park Commissioners were formed with its first Chair being the renowned landscape architect and designer, Frederick Law Olmsted. Olmsted was not only the first chair of the Yosemite Park Commissioners but also the person appointed to oversee the transfer of the 1864 Grant from Congress to the Californian State by 1866. Olmsted was a voice of concern around wise-use and private enterprises, around growing access and its impact on protection; his ideals of Yosemite were framed around ‘…the importance he placed on scenic values in park management…’ (Ogden, 1993: 55). The ideals of preservation and scenic beauty away from private ownership…

> ‘In 1865 Olmsted completed an advisory report on the park for the California Legislature. It opened with a commendation of the preservation idea which precluded ‘natural scenes of an impressive character’ from becoming ‘private property’’ (Nash, 1982b: 106).

Olmsted believed preservation was an important ally for protection in Yosemite, there could be no compromise, no diminishing of this ‘category’ of protection. He believed that visitation and preservation, use and access, could co-exist and this is a point that this thesis connects with, that protection blends both

concepts of conservation and preservation (see Section 2.4). However, unlike the findings of this thesis, Olmsted believed such preservation alongside access should only be managed by public bodies or the State, not private enterprises, and then only with strict rules, guidelines and a strict board of commissioners who would enforce specific developments:

> 'Underscoring the sincerity of his commitment to public use, he proposed three thousand dollars for the construction of thirty miles of trails and footpaths; one thousand dollars for cabins, latrines, stairways, railings, and other tourist amenities; and twenty-five thousand dollars to aid in the construction of good access roads to the valley and the Mariposa Grove' (Runte, 1990b: 31).

One of his main concerns was that hundreds of tourists at the start would become millions, connecting to the premise of managing desires over numbers:

> '…and in a century the whole number of visitors will be counted by millions. An injury to the scenery so slight that it may be unheeded by any visitor now, will be one multiplied by these millions' (Olmsted, 1993: 23).

The majority of commissioners did not endorse Olmsted's views and in October 1866 realising his views would not be endorsed by his colleagues, most notably Josiah Whitney (the state Geologist), he resigned as chair of the Yosemite Park Commission.

> 'With Olmsted's resignation from the Yosemite Park Commission, a most influential and knowledgeable voice for preservation in Yosemite Valley had been all but silenced. In his absence, the priority of the commission shifted subtly but unmistakably from preservation of the park for its own sake to management in the interest of attracting more tourism' (Runte, 1990b: 30-31).

Contra to Olmsted's State preservation views was the view of Galen Clark, one of the first accommodation providers in Yosemite. He was instrumental in driving forward the Grant to diminish ownership without control and he believed protection and access driven by private enterprise could co-exist. He was seen, by the commissioners, as a strong asset to take the access and use policies of Whitney and their team forward, and in 1866 he was appointed as the state Guardian (see Box 17) of Yosemite; effectively the 'first national park ranger in the USA'.

Box 17: Defining The Guardian

> '[The Guardian] Is A STATE OFFICER, appointed by the Board of Commissioners, for the purpose of watching over the best interests of the Valley, and superintending the local details connected with its management, under the Board' (Lynch, 1996: 13).

Galen Clark was different to Olmsted. Clark viewed Yosemite in its totality around access and use, including the rights of the American Indians who had lived there for centuries before the first Europeans 'discovered' it. Olmsted didn't see the American Indian practices as admiringly as Clark did; for example, Runte (1990b: 38) states, that Olmsted thought their prescribed burning (fires) were deliberate acts, to be confrontational to the European settlers. Clark was an important figure and he not only served over 22 years as the Guardian of Yosemite, but he was instrumental and effective in fostering tourism, developing access and importantly conserving Yosemite.

> 'Although plagued by inadequate funds, Clark did the best he could in supervising development, especially the construction and repair of bridges and trails. In another first in 1878, Clark oversaw establishment of the first public campground in a state park…Even his old nemesis, Guardian James Hutchings, admitted later that Clark 'will be found intelligent, obliging, and efficient in everything he undertakes. As the first Guardian and first park ranger, Clark established the ranger job as one of protector, host, and administrator. More than 125 years ago, he began the proud ranger tradition of protection and care of parks, combined with - courteous and helpful service to the visiting public. His distinguished tenure was exceptional and one that none of his successors as Guardian could surpass or even equal' (Lynch, 1996: 13).

Olmsted believed that private enterprise could only allow access and not protect, in many ways a similar view to that of Muir's towards the end of his life, 'nothing dollarable is safe'. The Commissioners and Clark saw the opposite, private enterprise could lead the way to uphold the ideals of Congress, tourism needed to be fostered and such enterprises could fulfil this, wise-use could balance access and protection; 'fulfilment framed around the dollar'.

5.2.4 Sanctioning Private Investment Not Ownership

Around this time, Hutchings and Lamon (see Section 5.2.2 and 3.3.1) caused some concern as they had by 1863 'claimed' over 100 acres of its lands, through Homestead and Preemption Rights:

> 'Preemption and the much-abused military bounty land warrants, which were designed to provide soldiers with homes but were transferable and could therefore be amassed in bulk by speculators, were the principal methods of acquiring land in areas of eastern Nebraska and Kansas settled before 1862.' (Wishart, 2011: para3).

There was, however, an important point, Yosemite had not been officially surveyed, so land claims under preemption would be null and void. Also, within the Grant, the Commissioners were required to 'manage' land claims and the development claims, particularly under growing requirements for tourism, including those from Hutchings and Lamon:

> 'Fortunately, a solution, so it seemed, had already been written into the Yosemite Park Act. In keeping with Israel Ward Raymond's original recommendations to Senator Conness, the bill authorized private individuals to apply for the privilege of building and operating tourist accommodations in the park. Leases to this effect were to be granted for ten-year intervals. Accordingly, the commissioners offered James Mason Hutchings and James C. Lamon the right to maintain their existing properties in the valley for a period not to exceed the ten years allowable under the terms of the Yosemite Park Act' (Runte, 1990b: 22).

Both Hutchings and Lamon declined acceptance of such leases, continuing to claim their land under Homestead and Preemption Rights. As the Commissioners had no authority to evict any homesteaders, they started legal proceedings, deeming the two as 'trespassers'. This action would take many years to resolve, with argument and counter-argument to preemption rights and surveyed and protected lands. They were finally deemed to be illegal in 1872 after a US Supreme Court ruling (see Section 3.3.1). As stated, the priorities of wise-use, access and private tenancy in US protected landscape, needed clearer definition as did preemption rights. The Hutchings ruling asserted investment not ownership; private enterprise, the corporate, could be a legal tenant but not owner of protected lands. Under the Grant, Yosemite was protected, albeit with the 'unalienable right' for 'public use, resort, and

recreation'. This would be a purpose carried throughout history and further enabling acts, not just of Yosemite and Yellowstone, but US National Park policy: to reserve lands specifically for this purpose, human interaction. Congress sanctioned that private ownership was superseded by *private investment* and by the end of the 1880's further private sector developments had occurred including hotels and tourism services: (italics emphasised by researcher to highlight this crucial aspect):

> 'The irony was that Congress, having *disallowed private ownership* in the park, nonetheless *openly promoted private investment* in its facilities. On the one hand, individual initiative was strictly curtailed; on the other, the Yosemite Park Act legally sanctioned and encouraged it. Only leases were to be granted for public camps and hotels; no properties supporting these concessions could be privately owned...Individuals could still profit by promoting development; they simply could not acquire the attractions themselves' (Runte, 1990b: 27).

This paved the way to a significant key point, how the private enterprises, the corporate entities, could claim title in Yosemite through investment not ownership and they would be termed concessioners (see Section 5.5.2). These concessioners were service providers not asset owners:

> 'They are, as a company, they do things where they are not owners…And so they have a long history of being contractors or concessioners…Oh they want a concessioner in Yosemite. That's kind of what we do…' (Interview: President DN, 2012: 1).

Congress saw this different title, private investment, as the way forward; wise-use had allowed certain freedoms of ownership of lands, but that had not accounted for protected lands. If private enterprise owned sections of protected lands, such protection may be hard to achieve as there would not be a safety net to 'safeguard the dollarable' as discussed in Section 3.3.3. This was evidenced by the land rights and associated problems with Hutchings and Lamon and, importantly, it meant that government could enforce greater control if tenancy agreements or leases were granted to private enterprises. Congress believed that private ownership could no longer prevail but that private investment could be a tool to achieve protection alongside access:

> ‘Thus use, rather than the resource, moved ever closer to dominating the park and its future’ (Runte, 1990b: 44).

However, there were still contradictions. The lands around the Grant had no legislated protection and farming and logging still prevailed there, visitation was growing at a rapid pace and Yosemite Valley still had to appropriate needs of visitors and local communities. The next section addresses this growth and development, which provides a pathway to demonstrate why Yosemite needed wider protection.

5.2.5 Controlling Access and Development

The difficulty in determining protection and access from the Grant was that it only included the Valley and Mariposa Grove; the backcountry and uplands were outside the scope of the Grant and thus open to multi-uses, including agriculture and livestock grazing, without any legislated protected landscape enforcements. Even within the Grant, the Meadows in the Valley were open to offer tourist facilities for horses and stagecoaches, and served as a transition area for the livestock. The farmers were simply extending the rights of access that concessioners were granted (see Runte, 1990b: 40), local residents were increasing farming activities as tourism in the Valley was also increasing. Access and use were still important priorities for Congress (see Section 2.2 for definition through the enabling acts), for the private enterprises and for people (see for example, Russell, 1992: 154; Hyde, 1993: 70-74 and Runte, 1990b). Visitation was growing and Yosemite was becoming a place of prominent interest, ‘…a visit to California was not complete without visiting Yosemite’:

> A little over eleven hundred people visited Yosemite Valley in 1869, some five hundred more than in the previous year, as Easterners flocked west on the new transcontinental railroad. Accommodations and tourist facilities, however, were still primitive. There were three barn-like, drafty, unpartitioned hotels run respectively by Hutchings, the Leidig family, and Catherine and Alexander Black. Of the Valley residents, Muir's best friends were the Blacks, who had a hotel on the west end of the Coulterville Road, as well as the one in the Valley’ (Sargent, 2008: 17).

Hutchings reported almost an eight-fold increase in visitor numbers between 1864 and 1870 to 4,936 compared with the 653 in the period 1855 to 1863 (Runte, 1990b: 38). The reason: Yosemite’s beauty was intoxicating, natural

lands were places to visit. To keep pace, road and rail provision was developed, and tourism numbers significantly increased after the First Transcontinental Railroad was completed in 1869. Nevertheless, unlike Yellowstone where the railroad had provided access to the core of the Park, the railroad in Yosemite did not go so far. The Southern Pacific developed infrastructure to the Central Valley lines, which meant a long stagecoach and horseback ride to reach the Park itself was still a deterrent. A visit to Yosemite was as Hyde (1993: 72) describes, an 'inhuman experience', but still an experience people wanted to undertake. Tourism demands meant the continuation of improvements to access and services; by 1871 there were a handful of hotels being built but infrastructure was still poor and this was a remote area with many trading difficulties and several commercial concerns. Russell (1992: 60) highlights, that for over twenty years since the first tourists arrived, people from Eastern USA and Europeans wanting to experience Yosemite encountered poor infrastructure resulting in hardship of travel and accommodation. Visitors soon numbered around 12,000 and it became apparent that better facilities and access were required. From this point, various entrepreneurs and private investors set about tourism development, including Galen Clark who developed accommodation along with Hutchings and Lamon. Many private investors also improved stagecoach and road access, most notably The Coulterville and Yosemite Turnpike Company and The Big Oak Flat and Yosemite Turnpike Company who often obtained exclusive deals apportioned by the Commissioners. Three stagecoach roads were built in the mid-1870s to provide better access for the growing number of visitors to Yosemite Valley:

> 'The merchants of the towns along the routes of approach, as well as the businessmen in the valley itself, felt the need of providing more adequately for the greater numbers that might be brought to their attractions. Foremost among the provisions, naturally, was the construction of wagon roads…To Dr. John T. Mclean, the president of the Coulterville and Yosemite Turnpike Company, belongs the honor of first making the Yosemite Valley accessible to wheeled vehicles…' (Russell, 1992: 60).

As tourism numbers were starting to increase, the 'face' of the Valley was also changing. By the 1880's the Commissioners had concerns about Yosemite as an area of protected landscape - development still seemed unabated. This was also a time of great political manoeuvring in part due to defining the line

between this lifelong objective of protection and access; how 'business was done inside the park'. Olmsted had once been the lead voice in enforcing protection and had provided the Commissioners with the report on access and use in 1865 based around his preservation ideals. Now the Commissioners required an updated position, to report on how future management should progress. They overlooked Olmsted this time, who was still adamant about the rules of preservation, to employ the State Engineer William Hammond Hall. Increasing private enterprise development and infrastructure was not a part of Olmsted's preservation ideals and this led to the Commissioners favouring a report from Hall, who saw such development as a requirement for continual improvement, where visitation would be the future of the park. Hall and the Commissioners determined that on the one hand, Olmsted's preservation ideals were too 'restrictive' and on the other, development need not continue unabated, it could be controlled, they believed there could be a balance between development and protection; they didn't have to be seen in isolation. The new agenda:

> '…struck a less restrictive balance between preservation and development…Unlike Olmsted, in other words, Hall accepted increased development of the park as both inevitable and legitimate. Tourism, as the impetus for development, was the unavoidable result of Yosemite's own fame and rising popularity. It followed that although the development of the valley must be controlled, it must still be allowed' (Runte, 1990b: 41-43).

This section has shown how the human desire to connect with the protected landscape generated significant interest from those who would facilitate services for those desires, and concern from those who needed to ensure layers of protection. Congress warranted wise-use through investment not ownership, such investors would manage under the auspices of controlling authorities, the NPS would provide such governance. This section has also provided an initial frame for the area of protection and highlighted that there was a need to go beyond the early ideals of The Yosemite Grant.

5.3 Protecting The Larger Area

Around the 1880's, the Interior Department began to offer territory on the perimeter of Yosemite Valley for sale and settlement, and alongside defining

what private tenancy would look like, there was now a need for a definition of where the boundaries of protected and non-protected lands lay, a greater classification for Yosemite in terms of the Grant and the neighbouring backcountry lands; this section addresses this. The original Grant of 1864 covered a very small area of land and soon the need to balance access for the vast numbers of tourists and protection meant that the idea of a larger area under federal control was to be deliberated. In 1872, Yellowstone, following on from the success of the Yosemite Grant, had been given the greater designation of a National Park (see Section 2.2). This designation would now be applied to a larger area of Yosemite. Initially the Commissioners wanted to encompass the watersheds into the Valley, most notably the River Merced and surrounding lands, but there were still ramifications to the protection issues raised by preservationists, like Olmsted. Yosemite needed a balancing voice; on the one hand the Commissioners were in favour of uncontrolled access and use, and on the other preservation purists were too restrictive on access and use. This balancing voice would also be progressive, one that balanced protection with access; one that encouraged people to be part of protection; one that would lead the voice of conservation. This voice came from John Muir (see Section 2.2.5.1) who had first set foot in the Valley in 1868. Muir saw tourism as a benefit; he saw people as protectors and he became a crusader of the national park ideals, to encompass protection and access. He had once been employed by James Mason Hutchings in the sawmills and had also tended sheep in the high country; later he referred to livestock as 'hoofed locusts'. In 1889 he enlisted the Editor of *Century Magazine* Robert Underwood Johnson to accompany him into the Park and to support the goal of gaining National Park status.

As Yosemite grew in tourism stature, a more solid infrastructure to facilitate greater access became of primary importance. Muir and Johnson saw that greater influence was required and that meant the backing of a strong commercial enterprise, a conglomerate with political influence:

> 'In 1889, John Muir allied himself with the *Century Magazine*, and a plan was launched which was designed to arouse a public sentiment that could not be shunted. Muir produced the magic writings, and Robert Underwood

> Johnson…secured the support of influential men in the East' (Russell, 1992: 152-3).

Such influence could follow the example witnessed in Yellowstone (see Magoc, 1999) who had employed the railroad company, Northern Pacific; thus for Yosemite this function would be supported by the Southern Pacific Railroad (SPR), who could see the potential profits of a state controlled park with the 'unalienable right' of public access.

> 'In keeping with this wagon-road building was the steady expansion of the Central Pacific Railroad [CPR was leased to Southern Pacific Railroad and later they became Southern Pacific Company]…Seven routes to Yosemite made bids for the tourist travel' (Russell, 1992: 62).

Muir, Johnson and the executives of the SPR, along with the concessioners in Yosemite, could all benefit from Yosemite gaining wider national park status. Along with seeking protection for the watersheds, albeit for different reasons, they would form a formidable team to progress full national park status.

> 'In short, the Southern Pacific Railroad had every reason to be an ally of park and conservation interests. Accordingly, John Muir and Robert Underwood Johnson, facing powerful opposition to their proposal in California and Washington, D.C., logically presented their case for a Yosemite national park to Southern Pacific executives. On March 18, 1890, Representative William Vandever of Los Angeles, either at the request of the Southern Pacific Railroad or with its blessing, introduced a bill in Congress for the establishment of a national park surrounding Yosemite Valley' (Runte, 1990b: 54).

Initially the bill called against Muir and Johnson's wishes, for a relatively small parcel of land to be included, around 288 square miles. However, with a few more weeks of contestation, on October 01st 1890, President Benjamin Harrison signed the bill into law, protecting 1,512 square miles. This excluded the initial Yosemite Grant (the Valley and Mariposa Grove). Yosemite National Park was established (definition and legislature in Section 2.2):

> 'The turnabout in Yosemite's fortunes can be laid to several factors. Above all, Southern Pacific officials themselves were committed to a far larger preserve, one sufficient to protect agricultural interests dependent on its watersheds. To be sure, the company strongly endorsed similar programs for many years afterward. Meanwhile, opponents of the project

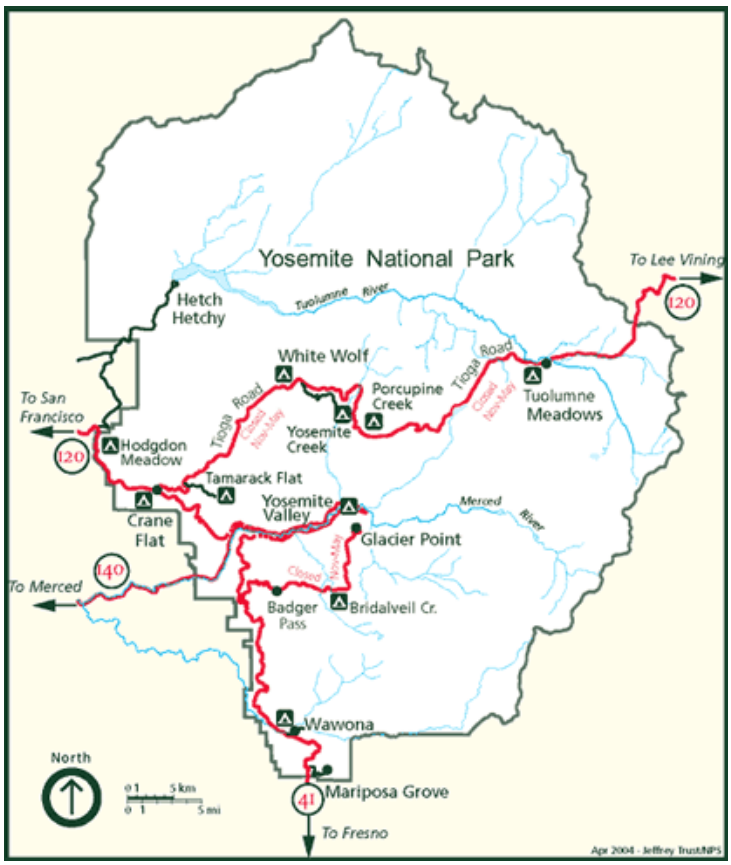
> undoubtedly were thrown off guard by phraseology in the bill designating the Yosemite reservation as "reserved forest lands' (Runte, 1990b: 55).

Of important note here is that unlike Yellowstone, the Yosemite enabling Act set out the protected area as 'reserved forest lands' (see greater detail at Section 2.2.1). Runte (1990b: 45-46) states this 'reflected the importance' of protecting 'vulnerable watersheds of the High Sierra', effectively incorporating the water-flow as important as the lands themselves. One of the reasons for this was to protect the watersheds from agriculture use and to protect the lands from timber destruction and excessive trampling of vegetation. Hall was a prominent figure to this protection and foresaw that the Commissioners could manage the lands effectively in this way:

> 'Eventually timber in the high country above Yosemite Valley could be carefully harvested and sold by the commission itself, 'in place of a few persons being enriched by skimming the cream off from the virgin mountains in their occupation as lumber dealers or wool growers.' In this manner, Hall concluded, the commissioners could simultaneously obtain necessary funds for park management while securing 'a protective battlement to your valley below.' (Runte, 1990b: 47).

By 1904 Congress approved that the Secretary of the Interior along with the commissioners, preservationist purists and conservationists, re-determine the Park boundaries as having a state park and a national park was just too cumbersome. In 1905, President Theodore Roosevelt, signed into law the new boundaries of Yosemite National Park and a year later in 1906 included the lands contained in the Yosemite Grant. In total, with some reductions, Yosemite was now around 1200 square miles (see Figure 14):

Figure 14: Yosemite National Park in 2015 - 1200 Square Miles



Source: http://www.nps.gov/yose/planyourvisit/placestogo.htm. Accessed June 2015.

And so a larger area of Yosemite became protected and embraced by the full national park ideals, albeit under slightly different terminology: forest lands. Several important decision makers had made this happen: Hall, Johnson, Congress, SPR and of course Muir. Due to the topography of Yosemite the SPR did not progress infrastructure in Yosemite as far as the Northern Pacific Railroad had done in Yellowstone; SPR's main rail line infrastructure stopped at the Central Valley. Their inclusion in the negotiations and development was most likely due to the benefit of transporting greater numbers to the area rather than the Park, whether profit motivated or not their involvement was of political expedience. As for Muir, although he had not been present at the initial Yosemite Grant, he had been instrumental in taking this ideal forward; to protect and access a larger area; to realise the importance of people connecting with nature; to ensure the corporate sector would provide wise managed services; that there needed to be a co-existence process to enhance conservation; to manage the priority of protection:

> ‘For the succeeding forty years he would observe and travel, write and speak to entice people to look at and protect Nature's loveliness. From this time on, Muir was a naturalist, a premier conservationist, and protector of all wilds, not just those of Yosemite’ (Sargent, 2008; 22).

5.4 Prioritising Protection

Throughout its history, including the enabling Acts there had been a call for protection of Yosemite through the ‘blending of the related concepts of preservation and conservation'. However, the contradiction and equivalence of these definitions created difficulties in history and contemporary understanding, both in theory and in practice:

> ‘[On the role of the National Park Service] They are to preserve and conserve. And they even use preserve. The Organic Act says conserve and they generally use in conversation the word ‘preserve’ and that’s not what the Act says’ (Interview: President DN, 2012: 13).

The differentiation of these terms and ideals is still one of the greatest contentions within any landscape debate, especially within national parks. This section looks to qualify these understandings within the Yosemite debate, and along with Section 2.4 shows that although there are more purist views of environmental protection through preservation there are, as mentioned previously, also synergies between both concepts, ‘a blending of the related concepts of conservation and preservation.’

5.4.1 Prioritising Preservation and Conservation

This thesis engages with the thinking that these two concepts work together, rather than being ideological opposites. Preservation purists may well disagree with this, as too would the progressive conservationists, but as Section 2.4 evidences the Wilderness Society and Act encouraged human visitation as did the enabling Acts and the conservation requirements of the Organic Act. As an interviewee stated during the field-work, there could be an easy answer:

> ‘The easiest way to protect Yosemite Valley is to put up gates and not let anybody in, but that doesn’t fit with the mission of the Park Service…the Organic Act that created the Park Service’ (Interview: Yosemite Gateway Partners, 2012: 27).

The conservation-preservation divide has been a long-held debate, harking back to the 1913 damming of Hetch Hetchy Valley and the subsequent differences between John Muir and Gifford Pinchot (see Section 2.2.5). Hetch Hetchy was a valley in Yosemite, which Congress wanted to dam to build a reservoir for the growing city of San Francisco. Muir was opposed to any such action that would damage or destruct landscape; he wanted human interaction to be an interaction with nature through tourism, perhaps endorsing responsible wise-use, whereas Pinchot was much in favour of a progressive multi-use view of wise-use, to utilise all of nature's resources for human actions. Ultimately Hetch Hetchy was lost to the damming.

Figure 15: Hetch Hetchy Before & After Damming

Sources: B&W: Isaiah West Taber - Sierra Club Bulletin, Vol. VI. No. 4, January, 1908, pg. 211. Colour: https://www.mountainproject.com/v/hetch-hetchy/107751068 circa 2012.

The failure to stop the damming of Hetch Hetchy Valley (see before and after pictures in Figure 15) was the catalyst, the 'environmental legend' that created the preservation-conservation divide and empowered the preservationist movement, which then went beyond 'cultism' to be more organised and to take American wilderness beyond the pioneering and romantic phases towards the environmental phase. This is highlighted by Sargent (1971: 39-41) showing Muir's reaction to the damming, a signal for the future:

> 'In October, 1909, Muir met his match…influencing William Howard Taft to act against allowing development of Hetch Hetchy…At first Taft listened attentively to the evils of devastation to Hetch Hetchy, but wearied of seriousness…he commented slyly that the Valley would make a splendid farm. 'Why,' Muir reacted with horror, 'this is Nature's cathedral, a place to worship in...' Straight faced, the President continued, 'But don't you think that since these valleys are so far from the centers of population, they

> might just as well be used commercially? Now that,' he pointed to the narrowest part of the canyon, 'would be a fine place for a dam!' Zealous Muir missed the banter, and blazed, 'A dam!...the man who would dam that would be damning himself!''

Congress, commissioners and concessioners wanted increased visitation as this would lead to greater economic benefit and would fulfil the goals of national park ideology of unlimited public use and access. Muir had balanced this ideology to develop conservation, where people are part of the process. In many ways, the use of conservation and sustainability was developed from the American Indians who had managed their lands through conservation methods:

> 'Some, such as John Marshall, referred to Native Americans as wise stewards and conservationists…' (Anderson, 2005: 116).

The Californian Indians and the Yosemite tribes (Southern Sierra Miwok) were stewards of their lands, they harvested the land, they farmed their animals and they managed the landscape for their current and future generations, including for safety and security (such as clearing scrublands and trees to make open space to see potential conflict). They maintained the fertility of these lands through such conservation methods as prescribed burning.

> 'Galen Clark, who had lived among the Southern Sierra Miwok for many years, tried, in a letter dated 1894, to convince the commissioners of Yosemite Valley to reinstate Indian burning: '…The Valley had then [1855] been exclusively under the care and management of the Indians, probably for many centuries. Their policy of management for their own protection and self-interests…was to annually start fires in the dry season of the year and let them spread over the whole Valley to kill young trees just sprouted and keep the forest groves open and clear of all underbrush, so as to have no obscure thickets for a hiding place, or an ambush for any invading hostile foes, and to have clear grounds for hunting and gathering acorns…' (Anderson, 2005: 157).

Galen Clark saw how important a role the Indigenous people had played in conservation:

> '…he saw the link between Yosemite Valley's beauty and its stewardship by its longtime residents…' (Anderson, 2005: 116).

Clark believed certain Indigenous conservation methods such as the prescribed burning should be adopted in the national park conservation policies to help manage the lands, something Olmsted was against. It would take many years before such policies would be adopted, more for political reasons than protection. However, there were those who felt preservation rather than conservation should prevail, that although there could be certain levels of development (run by the public sector), the idealistic goals of conservation (which granted unlimited access through private investment) in Yosemite would only lead to problems. The most notable of these was Frederick Law Olmsted. As discussed in Section 5.2.3 the main opposing view from Olmsted was that he wanted preservation and to allow access under the auspices of public sector management, and for that to be the focus of the Grant and the later enabling Act. Whitney, Hall and the Commissioners knew that public access and private investment were important, whereas Muir could see the invisible line between preservation and use, blending the related concepts. Concessioners would be contracted to operate the tourist infrastructure, yet, with Olmsted's opinion still circulating, the commissioners were ill at ease as to what level protection embraced development. This is still a debate prevalent today within the NPS, to what level does corporate development take priority over preservation:

> 'It is a threshold issue, when is visitation so extreme that the public will accept some form of restriction…' (Interview: NPS Business and Revenue, 2012: 2).

The complexity of the two terms, preservation and conservation, has led to a mixing of their use and this inter-relational practice causes much ambiguity and confusion. For example, as stated in Section 2.2.5.1 Muir is referred to as both a conservationist and a preservationist, and conservation and preservation are often used interchangeably (see Figure 4). However, the original Grant, the enabling Acts, the Organic Act and subsequent management systems magnify the need for protection that blends both concepts acted out under the umbrella of protection. This is also characterised by the implementation of policy over time, as outlined by (Interview: NPS Planning, 2012: 15):

> '…our [NPS] knowledge of how to implement the Organic Act has increased greatly. Often, though, looking back across the ninety years of

> the Park Service existence, our way of implementing it reflected the area in which we lived, in which those people lived…'

Protection is at the heart of national park ideals, whether it is termed as conservation or preservation it forms a philosophy within Yosemite that connects to sustainable development, '…what's the mission of the NPS? Oh,…to save this place for future generations…' (Interview: President DN, 2012: 8):

> '...to conserve the scenery and the natural and historic objects and the wild life therein and to provide for the enjoyment of the same in such manner and by such means as will leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations.' (NPS, 2016c).

Although these sections have explained the determination of Yosemite in terms of land area and creating a pathway of protection and access they have also demonstrated whilst there was a need for protection, and how that protection would be defined, there had been haphazard management from both public and private bodies. The following sections move on from this to examine the specific stimuli that advanced the public-private management roles within Yosemite with an aim to progress sustainable development.

5.5 Stimuli To Transform Sustainable Development

This section examines certain catalysts that have served to transform sustainable corporate and tourism development within Yosemite. The section creates a pathway towards the contemporary frame of management within Yosemite by investigating these catalysts that have advanced access whilst also endeavouring to embrace the ideals of protection as evidenced in the last section. Initially it examines how the NPS was established and its defining public authority management role and then takes forward the evolving role of private investors acting as concessioners, originally framed in Sections 3.4.2 and 5.2.4 and it also examines the concept of a monopolistic concessioner that is prevalent in Yosemite. The section concludes by demonstrating how both the NPS and concessioners' actions in the mid to late twentieth century were catalysts to progress the need for sustainable development, which is examined through the Mission 66 Era and the General Management Plan of 1980. This

exemplifies how both the NPS and concessioner struggled to balance the growing demand of visitation alongside the need for protection; demonstrating that public and private planning needed to advance sustainable development, not just development for its own sake. This provides a foundation for why sustainable development needed to be embraced, which is then progressed in the next chapter.

5.5.1 Public Authority Control – The NPS

This section highlights how the method of managing public good from the public authority perspective was changed and how this acted as an important catalyst in controlling the public lands of Yosemite. It exemplifies how the Park's Federal controlling authority changed from a group of State Commissioners and the US cavalry to ultimately the National Park Service (NPS). The section introduces the foundations of the NPS into Yosemite National Park and as shown in Section 2.2.3 they were based around a 'para-military' service, akin to the US cavalry or, a better comparison with a protected landscape police service.

As stated, by the late nineteenth century and into the early twentieth century the Commissioners had become ill at ease. The reality was that both Congress and concessioners wanted more people, more use and more access, especially when Yosemite had become a federally controlled National Park. By 1907 the Southern Pacific Railroad was extending its tracks as far as El Portal, just twelve miles from the Valley area, meaning that greater visitor numbers were now just a short stage-coach journey from the Park; federal control needed to evolve. The Commissioners had become obsolete and control of Yosemite would be handed over to the US Cavalry and they would be tasked to enforce park rules, hoping to also ease the minds of the preservationist purists:

> 'The Cavalry, in contrast [to the commissioners], had won universal respect among preservationists nationwide. Military tenets of strictness and discipline coincided perfectly with preservationists' own assumptions that only rigid standards of protection would save the national parks' (Runte, 1990b; 61).

Muir was also complimentary of their work, believing soldiers were far more effective than managers, and so the soldiers became responsible for managing

the farmers, the residents and the tourists alongside the concessioners operating in the Park. The Army were effectively civil guards on a 'tour of duty' and although they had many positive effects such as improving sanitation, helping with road improvements and engineering duties, there was much concern about their role. Discourse was soon proliferating about whether it was right for the Army to manage people and business, especially as their method of control was effective but harsh. There was also concern at the ever-changing guard as year on year their assignment to Yosemite (and the other Parks) was temporary including the superintendents, so it was hard to keep continuity in management. In a similar way that the Commissioners had fallen foul of this task, so the Army was also being questioned.

> '…the cavalry troops assigned to the park detail only patrolled in the summer months and were ill equipped by either training or statute to serve as civil guards…' (Blodgett, 1993: 44).

A more stable form of control in Yosemite was called for, one that could manage the ever growing number of visitors and the concessioners. In 1914 the Army's reign came to an end, and although civilian rangers initially replaced soldiers, an important catalyst had been stimulated, that through the Organic Act of 1916 a public authority would manage control in public lands. To recap from Section 2.2.3 the world's first national park agency - the NPS - was born, '…for the first time, national parks had an agency of their own to oversee the protection and enhancement of their natural resources' (Runte, 1990b: 99); By 1916 Yosemite had a dedicated National Park Service to embrace the ever growing demands of access and to sustain protection:

5.5.2 The Concessioner in Yosemite

Private enterprise, the corporate, had seen Yosemite as potentially 'dollarable' since the European settlers had first discovered it. As time passed, in particular post the Yosemite Grant and National Park Enabling Acts, the ideal was that the State would govern the National Park and the commercial interests would develop visitor services as corporate investors. These investors within the Park were known as concessioners, provisioning a lease to provide a service, and they were the catalyst that progressed corporate development through

investment not ownership. The concessioners were the first step forward from the pioneering private owners, discussed in section 5.2, who eventually evolved from haphazard management and an unreliable provision of services to a model that not only catered for the quality required but also balanced commercial interests with protection of the environment. Initially, there were many Yosemite concessioners in number and they were badly run, non-profitable, competing amongst themselves and 'fly by night' operations, and they were '…loosely supervised by the state agency governing the valley' (Hyde, 1993: 74). Of particular interest to the concessioners was operating in the Valley itself, as this is where the majority of visitors would head, and they would start to become more established as tourism numbers increased and as businesses could become larger and more profitable. Growing numbers of visitors and the growth of the national park ethos would now prevail alongside corporate investment. The corporate was looking to invest in Yosemite to deliver the ideal of protected places accessible by the people, and by the end of the nineteenth century the commissioners had approved an extensive programme of renovation to roads, trails and services to cater for this:

> 'During the forty-year period which rightly may be considered as the stagecoach era…improvements grew apace. New hotels and public camp grounds were created; trails were built; the road system was improved and enlarged; electricity developed; and a climax reached with the construction of a railroad almost to the very gates of the valley. In 1907 the Yosemite Valley Railroad changed the entire aspect of stagecoach days by bringing its coaches to El Portal' (Russell, 1992: 66-67).

However, as highlighted by Hyde (1993:73), a key point was that there were inherent problems operating a business in such a remote area. The cost of building was enormous due to the location of Yosemite and the distance to the railroads, winter degradation added significant costs, companies were disorganised, management was inefficient, the tourist season was too short and too many concessioners were competing for little reward, thus sustaining profits and maintaining quality was nigh on impossible. Endemic to this was that the concessioners operated services in the Park in a poor way, there were no real controls in place; strong businesses would not invest in the Park. The concessioner model was failing, Yosemite was continually seen as a poor business investment opportunity. In the latter half of the nineteenth century it

had lagged behind other parks on many occasions, most notably in that Yellowstone, Glacier and the Grand Canyon had railroad sponsors that invested in park access and operations. For example, Yellowstone had a luxury hotel, Yosemite had extremely rustic hotels; the grand sights and wonders really did outweigh the organisation. Although people wanted to visit and connect to the beauty, their complaints of quality and service provision fell on deaf ears, a direct question not of the beauty or desire to visit, but of the quality of management:

> 'Poor management caused many of the difficulties faced by tourists who chose to visit Yosemite during the first fifty years of its existence as a park' (Hyde, 1993: 72).

The Concessioners used the opportunity of little controls to take advantage of the visiting wealthy tourists with high charges and low quality. Hyde (1993: 70-74) mentions the hotels' poor standards, but they were also poor in financial terms, with very little financial return being possible (see Sargent, 2008: 17). However, although tourism development was being fostered, Yosemite was still a place of adventure not just for tourists but also for the private investors. Changes would be needed to overcome the dire facilities, infrastructure and haphazard operators. Yet, rather ironically, although Yosemite lacked the strong private investors and although there were significant hardships in visiting the Park, it was apparent that Yosemite could develop as a popular destination, and that would fulfil two objectives:

> 'For concessioners, more visitation might lead to greater profits; for politicians, larger numbers of tourists held forth the promise of more satisfied constituents' (Runte, 1990b: 36).

This was the time for both the state of California and the concessioners to provide the kind of improvements visitors wanted. At the outset, one of the main problems had been that Yosemite had proved a harder place to do business than most had warranted. Yet there are some paradoxes; although travel was hard, quality was poor and services were haphazard, tourists still wanted to visit, signifying at that time the natural experience was greater than the service experience. Although business was unreliable, profits were insecure and management was impotent, the corporate still wanted to invest, signifying that

numbers were the allies to corporate interests. To cater for the growing numbers of tourists, there were several concessioners (see Figure 17 for a chronological list of concessioners), one of the first being the Degnan Concession, a bakery and store, first established in 1884. There was also Camp Yosemite (aka Camp Lost Arrow), which started in 1901, and Camp Ahwahnee established in 1908 and, a little later in 1915:

> '…The Desmond Park Service Company [DPSC which changed its name to the Yosemite National Park Company (YNPC) and was reorganized in 1920] secured a twenty-year concession to operate camps, stores, and transportation service…in 1917 they built the Glacier Point Hotel' (Russell, 1992: 108-110).

> 'This company purchased the assets of the Sentinel Hotel, Camp Lost Arrow, and Camp Ahwahnee. The two camps were discontinued, and a new venture made in the former Yosemite Lodge' (Russell, 1992: 110).

Nevertheless, there was one concessioner that built a business that would question where the line was between access, use and protection; to define corporate investment, at any cost. In 1899 David Curry and his wife Jennie set up Camp Curry, which had been established to provide a unique service at that time, seven tents (see Figure 16) below Glacier Point for camping facilities. The Curry's, initially Indiana schoolteachers, became Yosemite entrepreneurs and, rather like Hutchings several years before, they realised ever growing numbers of tourists into Yosemite meant ever growing profits.

Figure 16: Camp Curry Tents c.2015

Source: MiguelVieira, Accessed 2016

The Curry's business investment was contracted on a renewing annual permit. However, David Curry had grand visions for growth and understood certain business criteria were paramount to profits, which ultimately led to many

disagreements with all the various administrations, initially with the army, then the interim administration (between the US Cavalry and the formation of the NPS), and eventually with the NPS and Stephen Mather:

> 'Even more to the point, he [Curry] openly accused park officials of trying to drive him out. The accusation was bound to win the enmity of the superintendent and his staff, who in turn saw Curry's insubordination as the product of his greed' (Runte, 1990b: 95).

As an example, the administrators, wanted to promote Yosemite to a better class of visitor '…for whom rustic accommodations on the order of Camp Curry seemed entirely inappropriate' (Runte, 1990b: 101). Yet Curry remained in the prime position below Glacier Point he continued to provide camping facilities and his business interests continued to grow. Whatever his disagreements, Curry needed to develop his business interests. He had secured an enviable position for his camp ground, below Glacier Point, and as Runte (1990b: 104) outlines, his success was based around not taking no for an answer. Another reason for Curry's success, was his ability to understand the public's wishes and what they wanted. Seventeen years after he built his business in 1917, park visitor numbers had risen from around 5,000 to around 30,000 each year. Curry provided what the public wanted, and soon he was requesting provision of other resort services. These included bowling, pool tables, Kodak supplies, and the ever-popular improvised fire falls (sending lit wood down the waterfall at dusk) that the public loved so much but which were damaging to the environment (interestingly this continued to 1968). Curry was a corporate visionary for his time; he knew Yosemite presented difficulties for traders but he was still successful. His requests to the administration included the need for longer seasons to secure greater trading periods, increased profits and to continue to provide the public with whatever they desired. However, business at any cost could not prevail, and in 1916, with the legislation of the Organic Act and the formation of the NPS with its first incumbent Director of the National Parks, Stephen Mather, business was about to change forever. Mather didn't want to develop a 'resort' with pool tables, rash promotional ideas, tennis or golf, he wanted to build on the natural phenomena to ensure the corporate balanced access and wise-use management. Mather saw tourists and fostering tourism

development as the key for protection, the key for conservation; people as agency.

> 'NPS is concerned with relevancy, concept of how will NP be relevant to future generations if they can't visit NP's. Underlying effort is to bring NPS mission…How do you make connection and so make people better stewards for the future of the Park' (Interview: NPS Business and Revenue, 2012: 3).

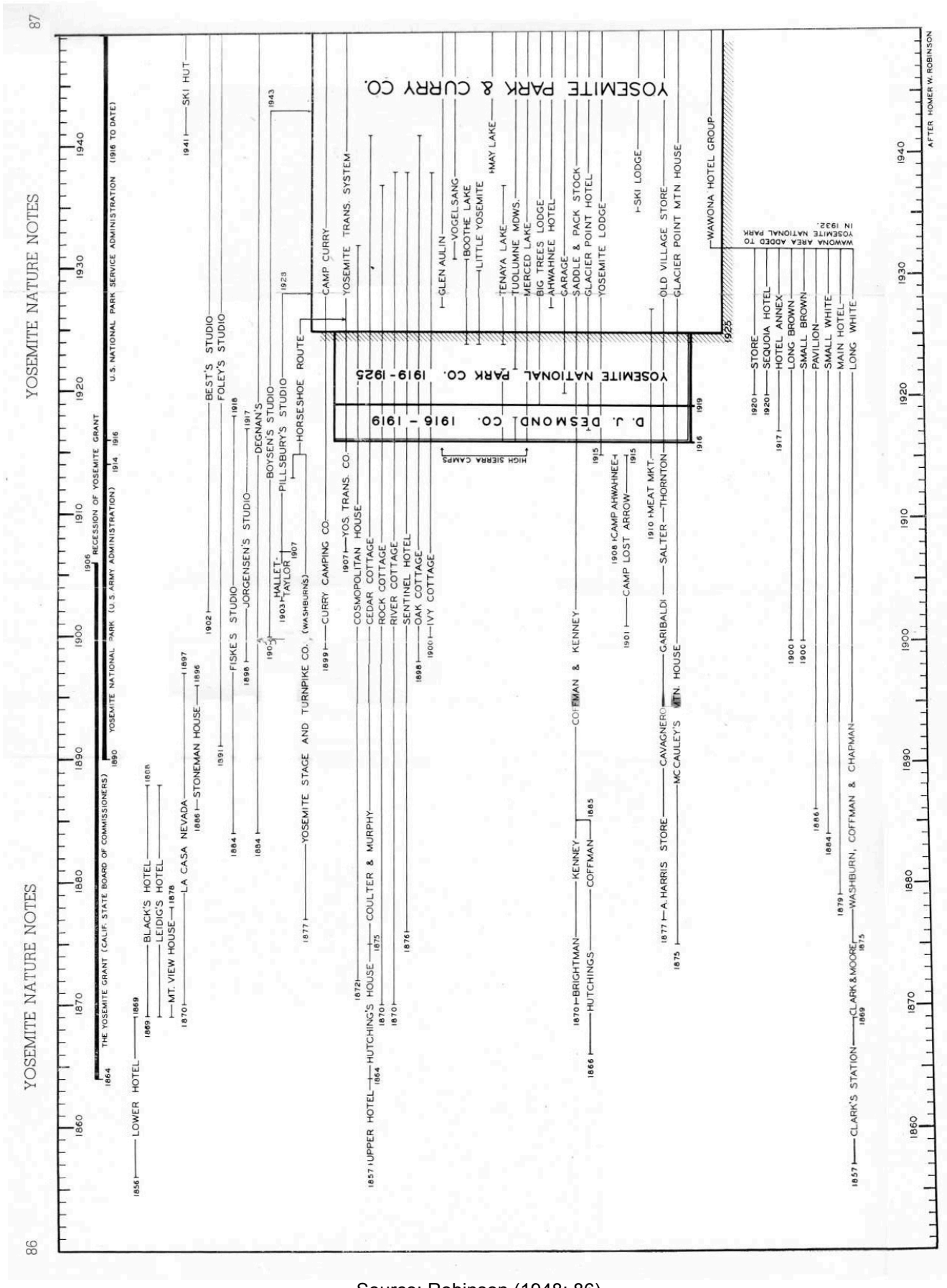
He knew, the mind of the corporate, having been a successful industrialist, but he was from a different order to Curry and so he knew that he needed to change the corporate philosophy in Yosemite. His ethos would build on Muir's 'preservation with people' ideals and engage with 'nature' tourism and he '…was attracting considerable attention to the parks as recreation meccas for the newly motorized American Traveler…' (Nash, 1982b: 184).

Firstly, though, he had to overcome the various 'fly by night' concessioners and haphazard management. On his side was the fact that he was a very wealthy man from an industrial background, and when in 1917 DPSC got into financial difficulties, he realised an opportunity to evolve his clear vision:

> 'In 1920, Mather joined forces with the powerful editor of the *Los Angeles Times*, Harry Chandler, and raised a million dollars to create the Yosemite National Park Company [YNPC]' (Hyde, 1993: 81).

Camp Curry and YNPC (formerly Desmond Park Service Company) were the two main corporates operating tourism concession services in Yosemite, alongside the handful of much smaller concessioners (see Figure 17). Yet although the past poor practices had been seen as unprofitable and unsustainable, the services were still patchy with uncertain quality and rash promotional ideas.

Figure 17: Chronology Yosemite Concessioners: 1856-1950



Source: Robinson (1948: 86)

5.5.3 The Monopolistic Concessioner in Yosemite

Attracting concessioners was not a problem: even with the infrastructure issues, the private enterprise still felt a profit could be made. The problem was that in order to make this profit quality was lacking; government needed to make Yosemite a place worth investment. Mather's idea was a contentious one: to allow a monopoly to control visitor services, the catalyst that would grant control of all main visitor facilities to just one primary concessioner, thus making the concessioner easier to control and thus ensuring quality of service. The one corporate would need good financial backing and stimulus:

> 'The greatest difficulty facing Mather was the old one of the proliferation of small concessioners, none of whom he thought provided high quality services at reasonable rates. He concluded that the solution would be to create a monopoly, making one concessioner responsible for nearly all tourist services. He hoped such a system would make it easier for officials to regulate operations in the park, as well as improve the quality of service' (Sargent, 1975 in Hyde, 1993: 80).

There were objections to this, mainly by the railroad companies and the other concessioners. Mather 'forced a merger between the two biggest concessioners, The Yosemite National Park Company and The Curry Company' (NPLAS, 2010: 3), and in 1925 with Federal agreement, they merged to create the monopolistic primary concessioner, Yosemite Park and Curry Company (YPCC). David Curry didn't see this to fruition as he died in 1917. This newly formed primary concessioner operated as a monopoly; however, in the name of a free market economy they would have to competitively tender for the contract every ten to twenty years. Notably, there were also two other very small concessions, an art gallery and retail outlet. Around the same time, the government had begun construction of a road into Yosemite that would be open all year round, giving greater access to visitors. With this construction Mather believed it was also time for a luxury hotel to compete with other National Parks. The YPCC was instigated, at the behest of the NPS (and Mather), to lead this construction, and under the control of David Curry's son-in-law, Dr. Donald B. Tresidder, work started. The Architect Gilbert Stanley Underwood and Landscape Architects, Olmsted Brothers, were commissioned. Interestingly, building on their forebears wishes of considerate development:

> ‘Olmsted Brothers developed a landscape plan in 1927 which preserved and enhanced the existing vegetation in the form of a wild garden and native plant reserve. The building was located so that the greatest number of trees would screen the building and shelter the grounds’ (McClelland, 1993: 269).

On July 16th 1927, The Ahwahnee Hotel opened, offering the luxury of a National Park Rustic Hotel, ‘a unique blend of Craftsman and Art Deco with American Indian motif’ (NPLAS, 2010: 2). Luxury accommodation was now available, without the ‘agonies’ of camping.

Figure 18: Ahwahnee Hotel December c2006

Source: Chris Dunstan. Accessed 2016.

The Ahwahnee Hotel (as shown in Figure 18) is one of the great paradoxes and complexities to the rule of investment not ownership. Although the Hotel was constructed under private funds and management, the NPS, because of concession rules under the Organic Act 1916 and agreements, actually had to buy back the hotel from the concessioner and then assume ownership of the asset. There is also a further note to this, privatisation was at the core of the Reagan Administration and following the ‘Sagebrush Rebellion’ (see Section 3.3.1) of his government, the NPS was ‘ordered’ to sell the Ahwahnee Hotel to the main concessioner (at the time the Music Corporation of America). When the new concession agreement was awarded to DN (see Box 18), ‘…the NPS had to quietly negotiate a buy-back from MCA’ (Email: NPS Planning, 2015e). Ownership of assets has not been the demand of the concessioners, who ultimately are service providers:

'You know, DNC…When you look at the politics and the policy that was going on in 1990 when the old Curry Company was put in escrow, pending a new buyer, the Concession Policy Act, 1965 Act said people owned the concessions, they owned the assets, they owned the building. When this was put out to bid, not a single operator of a single concession in the National Park System bid on the contract because they were convinced that it wasn't reasonable to take up ownership of the assets which this contract required' (Interview: President DN, 2012: 14).

Box 18: Defining DNC (DN)

Delaware North Companies (DNC) owns DNC Parks & Resorts at Yosemite Inc. (DNC) and was the primary monopoly Concession provider of tourism services in Yosemite. See Chapter 6 for greater insight into their operation. DNC isn't in the business of ownership, they are a service provider in the contracts business for food services in sporting stadiums and racetracks, and tourism services in Yosemite and Yellowstone National Parks. DNC recently changed their name to Delaware North, hence (DN).

Mather had demonstrated his commitment to access for all, not just the wealthy classes, and he fostered tourism by encouraging camping, hotels and lodges. He believed that to advance quality and consistency, there was a need for a monopoly to provide those services and Table 6 shows the history of Yosemite's primary 'monopoly' concessioner.

Table 6 The History of Yosemite's Primary Concessioner

1899 Curry Camping Company Established
1915 Desmond Park Service Company (DPSC) Established (financial difficulties)
1920 DPSC reorganised To Yosemite National Park Company (YNPC)
1925 YNPC merged with Curry Camping Company to form Yosemite Park & Curry Company (YPCC)
1963 YPCC Granted 30 year concession to 1993
1973 YPCC bought by Music Corporation of America (MCA)
1990 MCA bought by Matsushita Corporation of Japan
1990 Control sold to National Park Foundation – against foreign ownership
1993 New concession granted to Delaware North Corporation (DN) on 15 year concession
2008 - 2015 Extensions to Concession due mainly to litigation over the Merced Wild and Scenic River Plan.
2015 Concession granted to Yosemite Hospitality, LLC (a division of Aramark).
2016 Yosemite Hospitality, LLC to start operations (01st March)

Source: Stones (2016)

Yet there was also another catalyst that aided his ideals and the ideals of access into Yosemite, the birth of the automobile.

5.5.4 The Independent Traveller: Camping and the Automobile

The birth of the concessioner and the advancement of a monopoly had been the catalysts to drive forward corporate investment in Yosemite, but there was another important stimulus to corporate development, one that predated the birth of the NPS and the monopoly: the use of automobiles. Around the late 1800's and early 1900's visitor numbers were growing, but the obstacle to greater numbers and a form of tourism that embraced all travellers (rather than only the wealthy) had been the poor infrastructure. Although the railroad did go to areas just outside the Park, there was still a rather eventful stagecoach and horse ride into the core of the Park:

> '…tourists who wanted to see the valley took stagecoaches for most of the journey and then mounted horses…Most visitors in this era were wealthy easterners and Europeans…and in John Muir's words, they clung to the horses like 'overgrown toads''. (Hyde, 1993: 72).

This lack of comfort and costly affair continued until two main factors increased visitation substantially. Firstly, the concessioners offered camping facilities and secondly, the birth of the automobile changed the face of tourism into national parks forever. This was a new era, camping meant visitation was not expensive and the automobile meant travellers could be independent:

> 'The automobile, camping, and the new middle-class traveler created significant shifts in travel patterns and in what Americans demanded from the National Parks' (Hyde, 1993: 75).

No longer did travellers have dependency on the railroad, as Hyde (1993: 74) stated 'the automobile liberated the traveler'. Automobiles were considered a great way to get more people to the parks:

> 'The thinking at the time was open it up for cars, let's get people in these places a) so that they could physically get to see the places and b) because the thinking at the time…was we want people to come to the parks because those people will like the parks' (Interview: NPS Planning, 2012; 18).

In 1910, 500,000 Americans had an automobile car, by 1920 this figure was 8 million, and by 1927, there was 'one car for every 5.3 persons' (Hyde, 1993: 74).

Camping and the automobile were to transform tourism in the National Parks. No longer was it the destination of the wealthy, now middle class people could visit and by 1928, 136,689 cars entered Yosemite Valley. As ever, Yosemite wasn't paved in pleasant experiences, even as a car driver:

> 'For almost fifteen years, however, Yosemite motorists were forced to drive on unpaved, dusty, gravel roads, and the increasing numbers of motorists made driving in the valley a most unpleasant experience…Superintendent W.B. Lewis in 1923 called for the improvement of the entire road system…Lewis's call for action was answered in part, however, by a congressional appropriation of $1.5 m. for improvement of the Yosemite road system' (Pavlik, 1993: 100-101).

At the outset of the arrival of the car, management was still very sketchy, but with the outbreak of WW1, many more Americans would visit as they turned their backs on Europe. The ever-present preservation purists saw the car as the destruction of the wilderness, and the ever-present pessimists saw the failings of the poorly managed concessioners. Hotels feared camping, railroads feared cars, progress would be possible but it would take time. Nevertheless, the car opened the Valley to all forms of tourist and as shown in the previous sections, Camp Curry was instrumental in welcoming the 'car camper' and building from this market. Further to this, the expositions (national trade shows) in San Diego and San Francisco in 1915 meant Yosemite was promoted to thousands of potential new 'car' tourists and cars were being adapted to cater for the travelling camper (Figure 19):

Figure 19: The Dupont Camp Auto c1910

Source: Photograph from Library of Congress (1910).
http://www.theroamingboomers.com/travel-nostalgia-1910-stoddard-dayton-camping-car-baby-boomer-travel/

Russell (1992: 47) highlighted 'the possibilities that Yosemite presented' and these were being advanced and developed. The traveller wanted tourism facilities, the purists wanted protection of the natural resources, the concessioners and railroad companies wanted profits and Government wanted to embody the ethos of National Parks; 'resort and recreation' for the people.

> 'President William Howard Taft summed up these ideas in a message to Congress, stating that 'every consideration of patriotism and the love of nature and of beauty and of art requires us to expend money enough to bring all of these natural wonders within easy reach of the people' (Hyde, 1993: 77).

5.5.5 The Struggle For Sustainable Development

Development was a necessary outcome of growth, and as Yosemite was becoming more accessible to more Americans once the car and 'car camping' had taken hold, such development would require considerate planning and management of numbers and desires. The actions of both the NPS and concessioner in the mid to late twentieth century were catalysts to progress the need for sustainable development. As evidenced in Section 3.5 such development would lead to new management perspectives of accommodating growing visitor numbers and controlling visitor numbers for the benefit of present and future generations. The role of the NPS and the actions of the concessioner in Yosemite were based around wise-use and the concept of responsibility. Although the guiding concept, the struggle was that responsibility is relative and corporate responsibility is voluntary as described in Section 3.6. In particular the concessioner was not forced to act responsibly and as evidenced in Section 3.4.2 concessioners were always searching for new entertainment ventures (see Runte, 2010: 150), had 'rash promotional ideas' (see Section 5.5.2) and were a monopoly on public lands (see Miles 1995: 328), responsible actions had not been evidenced in their history. Responsibility didn't embrace the concept of corporate actions adapting to the environment and transforming business actions. However, the contemporary position (see Chapter 6) demonstrates a different model. Part of the historical problem for the NPS was that they were caught in the middle ground. As Interview: NPS Business and Revenue stated (2012: 2), 'the NPS has to implement the will of Congress', and this will requires the need to protect but also drive greater

numbers into Yosemite (and other Parks); 'Remember', he continued, 'we are in the National Park Service; we are the stewards for this place' (Interview: NPS Panning, 2012: 25). The ideals of responsible wise-use management as already demonstrated in this thesis alongside the strong leadership of Mather were undoubtedly important staging posts, and this planning and management issue stemmed from the need for infrastructure development as outlined in the next section. Over the next decades, development would be advanced through General Management Plans (see foundation in Section 3.4.3.1) and in particular for Yosemite, The General Management Plan of 1980, which set an important precedent for future planning, the inclusion of public opinion. Also important to planning and policy was the Mission 66 Era, which connects to the idea of carrying capacity and zoning (see Section 3.5). These plans and policies acted as catalysts, setting precedents relevant to concepts used in contemporary management (see next chapter).

5.5.5.1 Developing Infrastructure

One of the main priorities and visions from Mather and the NPS was to develop visitor services and facilities under private investment and infrastructure development under the public sector. This had also been the vision of the first Yosemite National Park Superintendent, W.B. Lewis, and this is born out from the earliest 'Statement of Policy', which was written in 1918 by Mather and co-author Horace M. Albright (see more detail Section 3.5.1.1):

> 'In the construction of roads, trails, buildings, and other improvements, particular attention must be devoted always to the harmonizing of these improvements with the landscape. This is a most important item in our programs of development and requires the employment of trained engineers who either possess a knowledge of landscape architecture or have a proper appreciation of the aesthetic value of park lands. All improvements will be carried out in accordance with a preconceived plan developed in special reference to the preservation of the landscape…' (Pavlik, 1993: 97).

As already noted the period between 1913 and 1933 saw substantial growth in development in Yosemite driving a 90% increase in visitor numbers. In turn this meant that new roads and buildings needed to be constructed to accommodate the growing numbers of visitors. About 29 miles of roads were improved in the

valley and 110 miles of general park roads. In 1925 the federal Bureau of Public Roads and the NPS agreed on inter-agency co-operation, which lasts to this day, whereby the maintenance and construction of all roads is a function of the Department of Transportation. Although concessions were run by the corporate, the construction and maintenance of infrastructures such as sanitation, restrooms, development of trailheads and visitor facilities were normally carried out under the remits of Government through the NPS. Section 3.4.3.1 outlines the General Management Plans which along with the *New Deal* evidence that in 1933 Franklin D. Roosevelt set up the Civilian Conservation Corps, who were overseen by the NPS, to develop these infrastructures. Funding also continued under government initiatives including the Public Works Administration and the Civil Works Administration and these initiatives facilitated many improvements in Yosemite, from roads to residences.

> 'The twenty-seven year period between 1913 and 1940 was an era of revolution in the human landscape of Yosemite National Park' (Pavlik, 1993: 108).

Funding had become an integral part of the NPS systems and from 1913, once cars were prominent in Yosemite entry fees were charged. Prior to this, Yosemite had some public funding from Congress appropriations and incomes from concessioner leases, making a 'profit' in 1907. Stations were set up at various points (along the entry roads) in Yosemite to administer the charge for entry fees, camp grounds also charged for pitch hire and by 1976, fee income from entry was gaining some relevance:

Table 7: Example of 'Funding' Revenue in Yosemite 1976

Yosemite NP	Revenue $1,132,554	Visitors 2,682,422

Source: Mackintosh (1983: no pagination)

The General Management Plans also addressed funding, to alleviate or to look at the concerns from certain members of the public over charging, and how and where fees could be charged. The 1980 General Management Plan (see Section 5.5.5.3 for detail) had some specific recommendations from the public over funding, and opinion highlighted concerns over elitism from charging entry fees:

> ‘People from all income levels, many respondents feel, should be able to enjoy all that Yosemite National Park has to offer. Offering up a vision of the park as a ‘country club’ for the economic elite, these people worry that existing park entrance and other fees will limit access to all but the wealthy. They ask that the National Park Service consider lowering fees associated with visiting Yosemite’ (NPS, 1980: 104).

Rather than make such changes, proposals suggested that entry fee charges into Yosemite would simply alter from a $1.50pp charge to a $3 per car charge. No decrease in charges. However, as discussed in Section 3.4.3.2 it was always considered that American people as a whole would accept entry and fee charges that enabled greater access, infrastructure improvements and to sustain protection. This is a method of charging that has remained to this day, although in 2016 the per car rate is $30 (see Section 6.2). As stated before, this thesis is not looking at an in-depth analysis of park funding but to give an overview of the system. More detail of funding is discussed in Section 3.4.3.2 and there is greater detail of incomes and the importance of visitors to local community economies in Section 6.2, as this relates to ‘profit’ in public lands.

5.5.5.2 Yosemite and The Mission 66 Era

During and after WW2 Congress had undertaken little support for the national parks, yet after WW2 visitation was growing quite dramatically (see Table 5) so in order to earn greater support of the public sentiment, Congress looked to devise a new plan of development; from 1956 to 1966 the Mission 66 Era prevailed (this is evidenced in section 3.5.1.1). The idea behind Mission 66 for Yosemite was to foster a ten-year development period that was hoped would cater for the ever-expanding visitor numbers. This is summarised by Pavlik (1993: 109) as expanding facilities without considering natural values, but the NPS believed development could also be embraced alongside zoning, ‘public use would be contained’ (Sellars, 1997: 181). Responsible development would be managed through zonal development of roads, trails and visitor services, which in turn would mitigate impacts to more sensitive or pristine areas.

> ‘…park development was ‘based upon the assumption’ that ‘when facilities are adequate in number, and properly designed and located, large numbers of visitors can be handled readily and without damage to the

areas. Good development saves the landscape from ruin, protecting it for its intended recreational and inspirational values.'' (Sellars, 1997: 181).

Within Yosemite the idea was that such zoning and specific development would expand the capability and capacity of facilities and infrastructures, yet this simply didn't harmonise with the natural scenery. One of the objectives of Mission 66 was to develop automobile infrastructures, which included the widening of roads and the development of more car parks, to cater for the growing numbers. Most notably the Tioga Road that linked West to East along the Northern area of Yosemite would be widened, thus impacting the shores of Lake Tenaya. The Sierra Club opposed this and along with reductions in park funding, increasing costs of raw materials and a changing work force, standards of harmonising fell; a period of bland low-cost architecture and inappropriate development took over. However, to recap there is also a contra view to this, that the second NPS Director Horace Albright, stated Mission 66 was one of the 'noblest conceptions in the whole national park history'. Many felt Mission 66 allowed for a 'range of uses' and 'a kind of recreational multi-use' (Sellars, 1997: 205) to ensure Congress' wishes that people would connect to the parks and recreation would achieve this. However, repairs to the once rustic and harmonious buildings were completed in the same way as new facilities, blights on the landscape and pressure was mounting to ensure wise-use meant not only developing access but also ensuring protection. The NPS was struggling to balance Congress' wishes, the concessioners needs and the purists' demands. This was further exacerbated a few years later with the ideals of a new Master Plan.

5.5.5.3 Yosemite: The General Management Plan 1980

The Mission 66 Era had caused significant concern to uphold the ideals of protection and access and had acted as a catalyst for greater understanding of development. This was further evidenced with The General Management Plan of 1980 (see Section 3.4.3.1 for detail of how these Master Plans were a park-wide concept) first discussed in 1971 and eventually actioned in 1980, after an amendment that set a new precedent for public inclusion. At the heart of the General Management Plan (also known as the Master Plan) were on one side the actions of the NPS and the concessioner, and the other the view of

preservation purists that Yosemite could not just be a free-for-all in terms of visitation. The initial Plan ideas (1970's) stressed the need for changes in development and diminishing of numbers, with restrictions placed upon accommodations, automobiles and visitors. However, the initial Master Plan took on a different perspective to the one outlined in the Mission 66 Era, for example by progressing discussions in the early 1970's that instead of developing 'better' infrastructures to accommodate cars, the idea was that cars themselves would be eliminated from certain areas and that a new cableway system from the valley to Glacier point could be built. The preservationist purists felt elated and deflated:

> 'The stage had once more been set for sharp disagreement regarding the purpose and future of Yosemite National Park. Debate intensified in 1971 when preliminary reports revealed that the National Park Service planning team had seriously reconsidered two controversial proposals for controlling park access.' (Runte, 1990b: 203).

In 1973 the concessioner YPCC (see Table 6) was purchased by the Music Corporation of America (MCA) and the new owners wanted to enhance development and promote greater facilities in the Park and certainly not hinder access by eliminating cars and diminishing numbers. The NPS curtailed their initial Master Plan looking to lessen certain restrictions, which in turn incensed the preservation purists with claims of significant influence from the concessioner. Runte (1990b: 204) highlights that Edward C. Hardy, the Chief Operating Officer of the newly acquired concessioner stated that the costs of eliminating cars far outweighed any marginal benefits and any failure was effectively down to a lack of car parking development and the failure of Mission 66. The new concessioner wanted development: visitors, cars and the cableway were part of those plans, and so under considerable pressure from the concessioner the NPS looked to accommodate this. After much debate including protestations from the Sierra Club, the initial Master Plan was rejected in 1974, and a new plan was proposed for Yosemite that for the first time would set an important precedent, the inclusion of public comment and workshops.

> 'If you are really interested in public input, back when the 1980 General Management Plan was done, they actually had a questionnaire they would send out and the questionnaire says 'Are you interested in more accommodations, less accommodations?' And there was kind of an

> itinerary of choices, that people could actually vote on, that they could have some level of input that was easy to understand and relate to.' (Interview: President DN, 2012: 11).

Runte (1990b: 205) states the new plan proposed a number of '…choices regarding the future of park transportation, visitor use, resource management, and operations…[and also]…providing stricter preservation through more limited access…' It also allowed for public sentiment on charging (see charging concerns in Section 5.5.5.1). For the first time, public opinion was encouraged and around 60,000 people contributed. In 1978 a revised Master Plan was formulated, and on October 30th 1980 the General Management Plan for Yosemite was implemented. Although implemented, Runte (1990b: 206) highlights that very little would change (exemplified by funding) some 'non essential structures' would be taken down, 'otherwise only slight reductions or readjustments would affect accommodations and visitor services.' Certainly the exclusion or limitation of cars was not going to happen:

> 'The 1980 General Management Plan says the problem is there's too many cars, so let's get rid of all private cars. You can't get rid of all private cars. I'm coming up to camp, I've got a bunch load of crap in my trunk, I'm supposed to get off and put that in a bus and you are going to drop me where to get my crap together…I mean. There was no way that was ever going to work' (Interview: President DN, 2012: 24).

Development would only be curtailed in terms of new structures but expansion would still be possible but under strict guidance.

> 'Essentially, the plan called for maintaining the status quo. Other than modest reductions…in obviously non-essential buildings, facilities, and visitor services, nothing radical had emerged over five years of public input' (Runte 1993b: 126).

As Runte (1993b: 126) states, although the General Management Plan was instigated it was thwarted by lingering debate over public input, the fact that Congress would not diminish visitor numbers and the fact that the concessioner had significant demands for improving services and encouraging growing visitor numbers to maintain profits. Quite simply, Congress, the NPS and the concessioner knew that 'starving it [the Plan] for funds' would make it impotent, which was the case until the Merced River Plan 2014 (see Section 6.3.2). Then

another problem for The General Management Plan of 1980 arose. In 1990, The Matsushita Corporation of Japan purchased MCA, and YPCC was in foreign ownership, the crown jewels were held by Japan. The then Secretary of the Interior, Manuel Lujan ensured that YPCC was taken out of Japanese ownership in order to maintain US tenure (Matsushita did agree to sell) and it reverted to the National Park Foundation a charitable trust overseeing donations, until 1993 when DN took over the franchise:

> '…Nevertheless, leading the opposition to foreign ownership of a national-park franchise, Secretary of the Interior Manuel Lujan demanded that Matsushita sell the Yosemite Park and Curry Company back to American Investors' (Runte 1993b: 128).

This entailed a period of some difficulty and shows some of the boundaries to private investment in public lands. In short, MCA handed over title to a trust organisation to be held in escrow, whilst a new concessioner bid for the contract – an American one.

Table 8 Yosemite's Primary Concessioner 1963-1990

1963 YPCC Granted 30 year concession to 1993
1973 YPCC bought by Music Corporation of America (MCA)
1990 MCA bought by Matsushita Corporation of Japan
1990 Control sold to National Park Foundation – against foreign ownership

Source: Stones (2016)

The infrastructure developments through the management plans and policies (including Mission 66) acted as significant catalysts for a need for sustainable development, in particular because there are many stakeholders involved with protected landscape management. Initially it was a debate for the NPS and the concessioner, with demands from the preservation purists. The General Management Plan heeded environmental concerns but also looked to include the wider public.

This section has advanced the understanding of important catalysts that have effectively changed development in Yosemite. These catalysts include the public good, the private provision and a changing world, most notably the introduction of the automobile. This now framed the end of the beginning, responsible actions were proven to be relative, the inclusion of public opinion in

the General Management Plan set new precedents where stakeholders would need to be involved and development would entail an evolution of wise-use management.

5.6 Conclusion

Achieving public good in Yosemite was underpinned by corporate investment alongside public governance, both of which are demonstrated in this chapter to be haphazard and contradictory. At the core of policies lay the ideal that access and protection needed to be managed together, yet history shows they were quite often two distinct elements of national park policy. There are a number of factors shown throughout this chapter that combined to facilitate that; most notably, Yosemite was a hard place to do business and a hard place to visit. Yet for both visitors and private enterprises it has always been a place with which to connect and to invest. The chapter has importantly demonstrated that Yosemite upheld Congress' wishes of increasing public inclusion. Between 1906 and 1967, visitor numbers rose from 5414 to 2 million, and again from 1967 to 2015, visitor numbers rose 2 million to more than 4 million per annum. As Yosemite became more comfortable with better accommodation and better infrastructure, the type of visitor changed. As Runte (1993b: 122) states, Ansell Adams, the renowned photographer who owned one of the two smaller concessions (Art Gallery – see Table 10) wrote in 1957 that no longer were visitors coming for the *experience of the place,* new comforts meant Yosemite was open to all.

> 'For example, Adams noted, Yosemite's park concession, '…has become a 'resort' enterprise to which people are attracted for other reasons than the simple experience of the Natural Scene' (Runte, 1993b: 124).

For Adams and certain purists like Joseph Wood Krutch, and before him Olmsted, the only way forward was to reduce the comforts, restrict access and development. Yet the vision of the NPS, Mather and Wirth was that development would protect, as Russell (1997: 181) states, 'development would save the parks'. Tourism was seen as the catalyst for protection where wise-use management was advanced through responsible actions, where visitors themselves would act in a responsible way, to enhance protection and to enjoy

the natural wonders. This chapter has provided a historical narrative to this, but most importantly it has set out key themes, connecting the concept of wise-use management framed around freedom and responsibility as well as determining how wise-use should be implemented. The chapter has also progressed the key themes around protection, most notably conservation and preservation and shown that although many commentators may view them as conflicting concepts, wise-use management builds a more harmonious relationship in protected landscape management, that there is 'a blending of the related concepts of conservation and preservation'. Greater access was always the commitment of Congress, greater numbers was always the commitment for the corporate and blending these two concepts was the commitment of the NPS. This is US national park philosophy, the right to access, the right to enjoy, alongside the right of protection. This chapter has evidenced that rustic and wild were replaced with comfort and sophistication, yet it has also shown this as part of an evolution. This takes time to develop considerately, especially where the privatisation of visitor services would maintain the public good, and especially when private investment is often viewed through the singular lens of profit:

> 'Obviously, anyone holding a concession had constant incentive to promote rather than discourage that flow of new business' (Runte, 1993b: 125).

Muir had warned that 'nothing dollarable is safe, however guarded' (Muir, 1910: 263 and Muir, 1901a: xi). Runte (1993b: 125) exemplifies the ideal of 'dollarable' in another light highlighting that, in the US National Gallery of Art visitors come for art not for resort activities, not for 'vaudeville' nature shows, and this should also be applied to the natural wonders like Yosemite. However, as the Interview: President DNC, (2012: 2) stated, the 1965 Concession Policy Act (see 3.4.2) and 1998 update defined wise and proper management, there are controls in place including that the services have to be appropriate, that pricing has to be fair, that hours of service are necessary. Certain catalysts have also been evidenced, advancing the application of wise-use and this chapter has investigated the main stimuli, how the NPS evolved to provide governance and control, how the corporate investor developed as a concessioner and progressed as a monopoly and most notably how the automobile facilitated greater human access. Sustainable development would need to embrace

stakeholders and this chapter has laid down the pathway of how twentieth century management plans progressed from Mission 66 to the General Management Plan, setting new precedents of zoning and the inclusion of public opinion.

This chapter determines a need for sustainable development especially as people want to experience those natural wonders. The numbers of visitors are now in excess of 4 million and growing. Future generations may regard such development as obscene, many may heed the purists' unsustainable view, but one of the senior managers in the environmental NGO, Yosemite Conservancy stated:

> '[tourists] they require a lot of infrastructure…I love that we invite the World into this place' (Interview: Yosemite Conservancy Director, 2012: 13).

The American people and global visitors need to define what the primary purpose of a national park is. As Runte (1993b: 124) stated, it wasn't going to be possible to examine every person's legitimacy for visiting Yosemite, but it could still be questioned:

> 'Has the system been truly reformed or has the government once again merely switched the players, perhaps modifying, but not *eliminating*, the fundamental sources of Yosemite's long history of conflict and controversy…deny resolution until Americans decide, once and for all, what the *primary* purpose of the national parks ought to be?' (Runte 1993b: 128).

This chapter has laid the foundations of Mather and Wirth's strong beliefs of access, which led to '…people loving this place to death', yet this chapter has shown that certain important catalysts attempted to blend protection and access, and in the next chapter the empirical research evidences and argues how the key concepts and stimuli introduced in this chapter have been advanced to drive a new paradigm of wise-use management. This contemporary model replaces the voluntary and subjective principals of responsibility to build adaption and capacity, where adaptive co-management and the working relationship of the public, private and third sectors are now delivering wise-use management through resilience.

Chapter 6 Yosemite National Park - Contemporary Investment

6.1 Introduction

This chapter responds to the key empirical research objectives defined in Sections 1.3 and 5.1, to assert that a contemporary paradigm of wise-use management has evolved from its foundations framed around freedom and responsibility, to a new frame of resilience through adaptive co-management and the inclusion of relevant stakeholders, (including the NPS, concessioners, NGOs, the environment, and local communities). The chapter forms a key component (along with Section 3.6.3) to providing both academics and practitioners with a model of reframing the concepts of CSR and wise-use, that may be extended from Yosemite National Park to other protected landscape management models and a broader audience, where CSR is central to management strategies. Whilst, the last chapter identified and examined key historical concepts and catalysts in the empirical case study, this chapter progresses the historical perspective of responsible corporate relations to advance to one of corporate resilience. As outlined in Section 4.3.3.2 the chapter analyses the interview data and is structured through thematic headings that explore how corporate natures have progressed in the management of protected landscape. The headings address the main components that provide the framework for contemporary management. The chapter conceptualises a methodology that evolves wise-use within a contemporary framework where stakeholders invest in protected landscape management, driven by resilience through adaptive co-management. This chapter examines the key points of such adaption whereby management systems 'serve a broader variety of stakeholders' (see Section 6.4) where public, private and third sectors co-exist:

> 'In recent decades, the boundaries between the private, public, and non-profit sectors have been blurring. Some businesses have been dedicating more resources to delivering social and environmental benefits and to

> serving a broad variety of stakeholders beyond shareholders. Social Marketing, Sustainability, Corporate Social Responsibility, Community Investing and Green Businesses are examples of this trend. At the same time, some governmental and non-profit organizations have become more business like, adopting earned-income strategies and a market orientation' (Sabeti, 2009: 6).

Sections 6.1 and 6.2 introduce the contemporary concessioner and demonstrate that profit is a priority for protection, how adaptive co-management works with upholding the public governance models of 'doing business in the national parks', and how inherent tensions between private investment and public good are positively managed. Pertinent to this is the fact that in 2015, Yosemite underwent a major legislative change as set out by The Merced River Plan (MRP). This is examined in Section 6.3 alongside the contemporary model of corporate development in natural areas; rather than a voluntary code of responsible actions, the MRP has laid foundation to a more resilient framework. Although as narrated in the last chapter, federal legislation and regulatory compliance provides a framework of doing business in Yosemite, this chapter also advances this legislative model to progress the concepts of the corporate being an investor in services not owner of assets and to build a harmonious relationship with other stakeholders' requirements as evidenced in Section 6.4:

> 'I mean, going back to the old Curry Company [formed 1899] to today…The private company's role is to be effective, efficient and good operators in full compliance with the different laws and to go above and beyond…' (Interview: President DN, 2012: 18).

The final Section 6.5 summarises and takes forward the new frame of CSR and wise-use management to provide a pathway for future management in Yosemite and in so doing introduces the new concessioner from 2016, Aramark (see Box 20).

6.1.1 The Concessioners Since 1993

This very brief section is simply intended to bring the reader up to date with regard to the primary concessioner contracts. The concessioners in Yosemite have been important stakeholders and the primary concessions (monopoly) contract is awarded on leases that have ranged from 38 years (due to

extraordinary circumstances) to around 15 years, although there have been amendments to this. In 1993, the concession lease was granted to a wholly owned American company, the Delaware North Companies, now known as Delaware North (DN) for the tourism services; with a slight change, contracts would now be awarded for 15-year periods. There were extensive floods in Yosemite in 1997 and, due to litigation over carrying capacity and the Merced Wild and Scenic River Plan a new development plan of 2012-2015 was set out to plan Yosemite's future. This meant DN's lease was extended on two occasions leading up to 2015. In June 2015 it was announced that a new concession contract had been awarded for the next 15 years and Table 9 highlights the concessioners since 1993. In true free-market style, DN lost the contract to a new provider for Yosemite, the Aramark Corporation, trading as Yosemite Hospitality LLC.

Table 9 Yosemite's Primary Concessioner 1993 -2016

1993 New concession granted to Delaware North Corporation (DN) on 15 year Concession
2008 To 2015 Extensions to Concession due mainly to litigation over the Merced Wild and Scenic River Plan.
2015 Concession granted to Yosemite Hospitality, LLC (a division of Aramark).
2016 Yosemite Hospitality, LLC to start operations (01st March)

Source: Stones (2016)

Table 10 shows two very small concessioners that still operate in the park.

Table 10: Yosemite's Other Small Concessioners

Kari & Sons – Retail Outlet
Ansell Adams Gallery - Art

Source: Stones (2016)

6.2 Corporate Investment and Public Funding: 'Profit' For All

This section examines the evolving role of the corporate and the importance of profit to embrace protection and access and also how revenue generation for the NPS, including the park and amenity fees (see Sections 3.4.3 and 5.5.5.1) sustains this. This advances from the discussion in Section 5.5 for the need to progress from the 1960's and 1980's to a more contemporary position, where stakeholders adapt and build managerial capacity. The National Park ideals

meant public access would be unimpaired and all Federal administrations have always upheld this ideal:

> ‘Proposals to limit visitation in Yosemite were also contrary to the views of the new federal administration, led by President Ronald Reagan…’ Runte (1993b: 126)

The corporate investors ensure the provision of services and the National Park Service governs such provision alongside other non-profit services. Thus endorsing Congress’ wishes of visitation. Throughout history, preservation purists have looked for a decrease in access and a need to prioritise and police greater protection, yet Congress has determined that protection and access must be harmonious partners, and a greater understanding of sustainable development and managing carrying capacity is required. The problem has been just how this is achieved. The US Cavalry ‘policed’ Yosemite before the Organic Act, whereas the NPS moved away from ‘policing’ to a more managerial style of governance. This has led them to a middle ground since they took on this mantle. On the one hand they need to protect and on the other they need to ensure increased access (that is the requirement from Congress):

> ‘Although caught in the middle, the Park Service itself still seemed to side with its traditional mandate to promote access. In the future, as in the past, denying anyone the privilege of seeing Yosemite would be condemned as selfish and elitist’ (Runte, 1993b: 128).

Capacity progresses the debate around sustainable development as evidenced from a conceptual standpoint in Section 3.5. The demand is that protection and access is managed as a threshold issue, or as stated in Interview: NPS Business and Revenue (2012), ‘part of the big smile’:

> ‘It is a threshold issue, when is visitation so extreme that the public will accept some form of restriction…(Interview: NPS Business and Revenue, 2012: 2).

When addressing the threshold issue it is not just a question of looking at the will of Congress, the enabling Acts or environmental protection, as there is a need to consider the wider perspective: that as well as the authority of the NPS, the needs of the corporate and the demands of the purists, local livelihoods also

depend on actions in the Park and local communities survive due to visitation; to reduce visitor numbers may well threaten local economies.

6.2.1 Profit For Protection

The end of the twentieth century started to witness the end of the beginning, and a new era was dawning, an era of contemporary models of the private-public relationship. This era still held the principal ideals of access and use, but it advanced Mather's concept that tourism development maintains protection, sustainable development maintains protection and access. From the twenty-first century, the corporate role was being even more scrutinised; the controversial outcome of private profit in public lands was becoming more prominent:

> 'Do they [the corporate] have the will to have Global good over profit? How much profit do they need? Public private partnership is beautiful. Part of the concessions contract is for the NPS to make sure concessions follow this' (Interview: NPS Business and Revenue, 2012: 1)

The corporate is making a profit, a profit that people question because of the concern of making profit out of public space. However, the two main stakeholders determine profit in different ways. The NPS ensures that the national park ideals profit (they gain income from fees used for park resources) and the concessioner needs to balance these ideals with economic profit (profit remains in their enterprises). The NPS ensures strong governance and structured funding is in place, but it is not tasked with ensuring the concessioner makes an economic profit or not. The concessioner, being a corporate body, is tasked with providing services and in so doing manages its own profits; in turn it is not tasked to ensure the public body implements good governance. Concessioner activities often fall under a requirement to provide, which can mean a loss rather than a profit. There is a requirement to mix the 'good with the bad':

> 'When you go to National Park Service School and learn to be an administrator or somebody in the National Park Service, they don't teach you marketing... Some of the poorest money managers in the world are physicians and dentists…Nobody taught them how to run a business…And if you don't have any idea how to run it…So that's part of the problem here, is how do you run this business which is charged with

anything other than being a business?' (Interview: President Yosemite Gateway Partners, 2012: 22).

The public, through the NPS, knows the statutes and research with the President of the then primary concessioner DN confirmed, private enterprise knows what people want and how they behave, they know how to run a business and the NPS knows how to run a national park,

'…but people question, you know, 'what do you mean there's a company making profit at a national park? That seems wrong to me.' You know, so when people express that to me, my comment is always, okay, how would you like the Department of Motor Vehicles cooking your food in Yosemite? There are some things the private sector is better at and some things the public sector is better at, and the private sector is better at those kinds of things that we do in Yosemite - making beds and cooking food and doing all these sorts of things.' (Interview: President DN, 2012: 15).

This position provides an insight as to why private investment offers a different set of skills that enable quality of management for visitor services and facilities rather than Olmsted's view (see Section 5.2.3) that the public body could do this. This was also exemplified in the empirical research, where the private investor a for-profit organisation warrants greater influence to managing visitor services and facilities than the public authority. The Ahwahnee Hotel has often been the centre of investment and ownership limitations (see Section 5.5.3) and further critique evidenced how a private for-profit company operated versus a public operator:

'I'll use an example. The National Park Service refusing to take fee money to put a fire… a sprinkler and alarm system in the Ahwahnee Hotel. They came to us. And fee money means it's money at the park gate, they keep the money at the park gate. So they would have been the contractor, they would have done the work, they would have done it. So they came to us and they said, "We want to do this project using fee money to put in a sprinkler and alarm system. We've got 8.2 million dollars that we think we can do it with and we want to close the hotel for seven months." I said, "a) You want to do it over a timeframe that we can't do because we've got reservations over that period, and b) did you explore options besides closing the hotel for seven months?" I mean that's devastating when we've got 300 people here. The Ahwahnee Hotel contributes about 20% of the operating fund to Mariposa County for the taxes that are paid here. And so we said, "How about we use the CIF money which is the fee we pay and that we contract for the work?" So we give the Park Service the money and request permission to do the project. So I said, "How about we do that?" So we did that, we did an 8.2 million dollar project for 4.2 million

> dollars and we closed the hotel for three weeks.' (Interview: President DN, 2012: 10).

This case also offers another example (foreign ownership being one – see Section 5.5.5.3) of limitations on private investment rather than ownership and it is clear that the operations of public and private differ, as they offer different models based on for-profit or not-for-profit operations. However, having stated that, the concessioners do not see themselves just as profit seekers, firstly they enjoy and experience Yosemite as any visitor, as stated to me in the Interview: President DN, (2012: 50), 'So, I tell the Park Service, look, I like Yosemite a lot better than I like DN.' Secondly, in the same Interview: President DN (2012), affirmed that 'most of what we do…we are required to provide…it's a matter of contract' where you 'take the good with the bad…where some are loss making'. This effectively builds a joint role, where there is a strong relationship between private and public through a co-existence, an adaptive co-management process. This is also aligned to a contemporary model and the outcome of the MRP within Yosemite, as in the past the concessioner often influenced the NPS into what is best for the concessioner (see Section 5.5.5.3) what their definition of responsibility is; perhaps responsibility meaning 'rash promotions' or any recreational activity that makes a profit. Contemporary management addresses the needs of private investment and the requirements of maintaining public good:

> 'You know, we get a lot of chances to talk to the Park Service about operations…we work them all the time…to meet with them at anytime…in any form and walk them through operations so they could better understand what the cause and effect/impact is of some of their options' (Interview: President DNC, 2014: 3-5).

Mather and Wirth were both convinced that concessioners could embrace protection as well as access, that profit does not have to be the antithesis to protection. The failing was often that the concessioner had too much influence and prior to the General Management Plan there were binary attitudes towards protection and access, the role of the NPS and the role of the concessioner. Very seldom was there a harmonious relationship that viewed profit and protection as 'partners', rather viewing profit as a force over protection. This is exemplified by the conservationist Ansell Adams who built on the need to make

a profit when in 1972 he inherited the Harry Best Studio and moved from conservationist to businessman. Through this he established the new Ansell Adams Gallery, one of only two other small concessions in Yosemite. He had once been against development (See Runte, 1993b: 124) but now stated:

> 'Any attempt to reduce Yosemite Valley to a wilderness area would be futile – socially and politically – and would be a real disservice to the people at large…The maximum appropriate number of people should see Yosemite and should experience its incredible quality. To shut it off from the world would be somewhat similar to closing St.Paul's Cathedral for the sake of the architecture' (Runte, 1993b: 125).

Legislature and good governance form a framework of planning and management systems, and the public-private relationship can only profit when there is an understanding of the balance required, based around Olmsted's vision to 'dignify scenery', to choose stewardship over expedience. Profit is not just economic, it is about sustainability, as discussed in Section 2.4. Economic profit benefits all, including protection, as the concessioner activities and NPS revenues drive funds for conservation projects and the running of Yosemite from a public perspective. In 1990 concession contracts paid (to the NPS) 3/4rs of 1% of gross tourism receipts to the Park; by 2011 the concession contract under DN was paying 25 cents for every $1 spent, thus generating for the NPS revenues over $125 million each year. This increasing revenue continues:

> 'Gross revenues from Yosemite concessions – hotels, gift shops, restaurants and other services – are expected to range between $129 million and $146.6 million in the contract's first year, starting in 2016, National Park Service documents show. Over the last three years, documents show, gross revenues have averaged $131.5 million' (Grossi, 2015).

As examined in Sections 3.4.3.2 and 5.5.5.1 the NPS have structured funding systems not only generating revenues from concessioner contracts but also revenues from park and amenity fees. These incomes provide valuable sources of funding to administer the service in Yosemite and sustain protection. The charging today is different to that of the past, not just in entry charges ($30 a car in 2016 opposed to $20 set in 1997 and $3 in 1976 or $1 in the early to mid 1900's) or camp fees (in 2016 from $6 a night to $50 a night) but is now more structured as a part of the REA of 2005 (see Section 3.4.3.2). Park fees are

tiered and structured according to size of parks nationally rather than set at a local level, Yosemite is classified as a Group 4 park, one of the larger ones and all fees are set in a fair and equitable manner. Also, the REA 'authorized 100% of the revenue generated by charging fees to be returned to the National Park Service, with 80% remaining at the site where it is collected' (NPS, 2015c). The 80% spent on Park goes towards supporting infrastructures and visitor service development:

> 'Examples of recent park projects funded with fee revenue include projects to reconfigure Yosemite's South Entrance Station, upgrade the water system that serves the Crane Flat Campground, and to improve accessibility by providing an American Sign language interpreter and converting campsites into accessible sites' (NPS, 2015c).

In essence these fees along with charitable donations provide valuable economic resources on top of Congressional allocations as shown in Table 11:

Table 11: Yosemite NPS Revenues 2014 ($ in '000s)

	Visitors	Entrance Fee Collected	Amenity Fee Collected	Cash Donations Collected
Yosemite	3,762,065	$15,425	$3,365	$2,857

Source: GAO, (2015: 47)

Profits and funds contribute to the local economies as well, within and around the park boundaries, in the form of economic reward and also job creation. Profit goes beyond income receipts:

> 'A new National Park Service (NPS) report shows that 3,882,642 visitors to Yosemite National Park in 2014 spent $405,223.4 million in communities near the park. That spending supported 6,261 jobs in the local area and had a cumulative benefit to the local economy of $535,379.3 million' (Email: NPS, April 2015).

Although society questions profit and charges in public lands, once they have greater inclusion, once they are part of Mather's ideal connecting to nature they tend to understand the need for profit; when they know how much investment goes into the facilities and protection they will begin to accept and understand:

> 'Then when people hear that [concessioner activities are beneficial to local communities] they kind of go, 'Yeah, I guess I kind of get it now.' But the

> initial reaction…you know, if they hear me talk, well, 'Of course you have that view because you are making money there'' (Interview: President DN, 2012: 15).

Economic success, whether through public sector funding or concessioner profits is important to environmental management. The history showed a model where the private-public relationship was creating tension, as evidenced in the General Management Plan 1980, the concessioner often coerced the NPS into the best practice for them. Runte (2010) and Miles (1995) suggested the concessioner would simply build mass tourism resorts that could be viewed by the concessioner as responsible; how they can make a profit to sustain protection and access. That is a view not upheld in contemporary management within Yosemite; the position is more structured towards stakeholders and this has evolved from legislation that embraces resilience.

6.3 Evolving Legislation For Social-Ecological-Economic Resilience

The purpose of this section is to set out the foundation to the 'rules of doing business' in Yosemite, the rules that stakeholders, including the corporate, now have to work to and rules that this thesis argues are pertinent to the ideals of both conservation and preservation and to uphold the contemporary perspective of sustainable development. This thesis first examined this in Section 2.4.3.1, which stated 'thus, preservationists required a more robust legislative mandate to secure wise actions…' as Nash (1982b) highlighted, '…to empower responsibility.' Such legislature has also embraced General Management Plans, which had historically proven impotent, but legislature has provided an important mantle to the contemporary policies for management, and has built from the early ideals of 'blending of the related concepts of conservation and preservation.' Legislation values rules, as Higgins (2012: n.p.) says: 'That is all that law is – rules of the game of life, rules that we humans have put in place'. This section examines the legislature that has endorsed stakeholder inclusion and set out the rules of doing business and how to move forward from the thwarted plans of the 1960's to 1980's to build towards sustainable development.

6.3.1 Access and Protection: Concessioner Policy and Zoning

The concession leases and development of tourism activities were legislated under the Concessions Policy Act 1965, updated 1998, which '…mandated numerous policies and procedures regarding concessions operations' (NPS, 2016d). In 1998 the Concessions Management Improvement Act was set up, to amend certain policies on how the contracts were awarded. For example, the preferential right situation (to give preference to a bid made by the incumbent concessioner which had been so beneficial to YPCC) was abolished to be replaced by new competitive bid requirements and increasing accountability. History had shown that haphazard and poor quality concessioner management had been detrimental to wise-use management and the 1998 Act looked to ensure contracts for visitor facilities and services complemented protection policies and to…

> '…be limited to those that are necessary and appropriate for public use and enjoyment…and that are consistent to the highest practicable degree with the preservation and conservation of the areas…' (NPS, 2016d).

The concessioner has to conform to the rules as laid down by legislation and implement the requirement of policy - to recap that means:

> 'Most of what we [concessioner] do here, we are required to provide, so it's a matter of contract…you have to take the good with the bad…1965 Concession Policy Act set the rules for doing concessions in national parks…DNC's contract now mostly conforms to the law.' (Interview: President DN, 2012: 1-8)

Further to the rules that concessioners needed to adhere to, there was also legislation that looked to support the ideal of zoning. As Section 3.5.1 highlights Conrad Wirth implemented zoning when he was Director of the NPS, and in particular through Mission 66 (see also Section 5.5.5.2). Zoning prescribed that wilderness and visitation could be balanced, '…with master plans demarcating backcountry from areas planned for intensive use and for road corridors. Such 'controlled pattern developments' encouraged visitors to stay within specifically designated areas.' (Sellars, 1997: 192). Although the legislation was in place it was the interpretation of this that assured the Mission 66 was thwarted. In 1964, The Wilderness Act created the National Wilderness Preservation System (see,

Nash, 1982b: 5; Woods, 1998: 131-138), and after the inadequacies of the General Management Plan of 1980, this piece of legislation was to be enforced within California and so Yosemite, and from this came The California Wilderness Act 1984:

> 'President Reagan signed the California wilderness act of 1984. The Yosemite Wilderness was 677,600 acres, or 89 percent of the Park…' (Miles, 2009: 260). This did not include the 7 square mile area of the Valley.

The purpose of this Act (interestingly Yosemite became a UNESCO World heritage Site in the same year) and certain statutes to the various enabling Acts, was to drive a wider implementation of zoning, again bringing preservation legislature alongside conservation governance. Runte (1993b: 130) also addresses zoning, suggesting that the implementation and management of these Acts has tried to create some sort of fairness, '…there are developed and undeveloped zones, thereby accommodating everyone's perception of dignified scenery'. Under the Wilderness Act, 89% of Yosemite is designated wilderness, so just 11% is set aside for greater 'resort and recreation'. This fairness ensures the concessioner may do business but also ensures certain areas remain undeveloped. There is a balance required between adaption and capacity:

> '…we would turn to the Wilderness Act, which states that commercial enterprises should only be allowed to the extent necessary to fulfill the purposes of the Act, okay. So we are wrestling with this concept right now in this very national park' (Interview: NPS Planning, 2012: 21).

The US system is unlike many other systems around the World in the fact that in Yosemite there are no 'no go zones', only limits on the numbers allowed within the wilderness areas, controlled through permits (see Section 3.5.1.2):

> 'Free wilderness permits are required year-round for any overnight stay in the Yosemite Wilderness. Permits are not required for day hikes (except if hiking to Half Dome). Wilderness permits are only issued to a limited number people for each trailhead in order to provide outstanding opportunities for solitude, as required by the Wilderness Act. Since many trails are very popular, reservations are recommended ($5 per confirmed reservation plus $5 per person). Of each daily quota for a trailhead, 60 percent can be reserved ahead of time while the remaining 40 percent is available on a first-come, first-served basis no earlier than 11 am the day before your hike begins as long as permits are available' (NPS, 2015b).

Within the Wilderness Act there is a point that refers to solitude and the concept of zones provide for this as well as zones of recreation and within the wilderness area access is allowed under the permit system. This follows the mantra of wise-use and allows access for all, but there has also been cause for concern and litigation from the purists who feel the legislation does not protect enough. This was raised from the various Master Plans where simply purists felt nothing had been achieved in terms of protection, responsibility was impotent (see outcome of General Management Plan 1980 Section 5.5.5.3), thus purists quite rightly questioned the legitimacy of wise-use and responsibility; especially where development meant increased visitor facilities, thus new legislation was called for, and the MRP was developed so that concessioners…

> '…can't build your way out of things, you can't have a lot of infrastructure to accommodate use in the wilderness, so there's really strong limits in the Act itself about that. But where the subjectivity comes in is how much use from a social perspective, is too much…' (Interview: NPS Planning, 2012: 19).

The MRP has frameworked the new model of adaptive co-management and stakeholder inclusion and as a form of governance through the WSRA (see Section 6.3.2) protecting watersheds, it actually connects very well to the enabling Act of Yosemite: to protect forest lands and the watersheds (see Section 5.3).

6.3.2 Wild and Scenic Rivers Act (WSRA) and The Merced River Plan

In 1968 Congress passed the Wild and Scenic Rivers Act, a designation to protect certain rivers and their unique characteristics, '…so that they could be preserved in their free-flowing condition for the enjoyment of present and future generations…'(National Park Service, 2013a). This was similar in many respects to the Wilderness Act, notably as it required Federal agencies including the NPS to enforce strict governance around river values, but also in keeping with the national park ethos, that public use was important:

> 'Specifically, WSRA directs federal agencies to protect and enhance designated rivers, allowing for public uses that are protective of river values while preserving a river's free-flowing condition…' (National Park Service, 2013a).

In 1987 Congress recognised that the General Management Plan was in disarray and that the zoning ideals of Wirth offered acceptable 'rules' within national parks; so they added 81 miles of the Merced River (which flowed through Yosemite National Park – see Box 19 and Figure 20) to the Wild and Scenic Rivers System. This laid the foundations to the Merced River Plan (MRP), which was to advance from where the General Management Plan and Mission 66 had left off. Throughout the US the qualifying rivers also include their immediate environment, normally about ¼ mile either side, and the length of the river is zoned into wild, scenic, or recreational areas, depending on certain factors (as shown on Merced River Plan, (see Figure 21).

Box 19: Defining The Merced River

The 145 mile long Merced River flows through the state of California, and its fast and steep course runs through the southern part of Yosemite National Park, and in particular through Yosemite Valley. It has significant importance as is designated under the Wild and Scenic Rivers Act.

Figure 20: The Merced River in Yosemite

Source: Chensiyun - "Yosemite national park valley view". Accessed 2015

The MRP retained and adapted important aspects from the historical plans and policies and from statutes within the Wilderness Act: the ideals of zoning, carrying capacity and public inclusion. However, the MRP also came about as a result of lawsuits filed against the NPS from members of the public:

> 'There's a husband and wife who live in one of the local communities, Oakhurst, and they just want to be able to experience the valley as they always had since they were young…one is, he's a rock climber. My understanding is he worked his life as a pharmacist in Fresno and he's always loved Yosemite Valley, comes up here a lot so he's just passionate about keeping things the way they have always been, in his mind' (Interview: NPS Planning, 2012: 5-6)

These members of the public took on the purists' mantle, to them there was no responsibility in the form of environmental protection, plans, policies and legislation continued to allow unprecedented growth, which in turn allowed unprecedented developments. Purists felt there was no real policy to address carrying capacity, the MRP would overcome this:

> 'And we are required by law, by two different laws to address carrying capacity. And one of those laws is the Wild and Scenic Rivers Act…And we are required to develop a plan for the Merced River and the plan has to address carrying capacity; the law is very clear about that. So we are doing that. This is a plan that's been litigated a couple of times, we've been working on it for a while. And what I'm getting at is we've identified outstandingly remarkable values[scenic, recreational, geologic, fish and wildlife, historic, cultural or similar values]…We have to make those the highest priority for protection,' (Interview: NPS Physical Science, 2012: 6).

6.3.2.1 Detail And Acceptance of The MRP

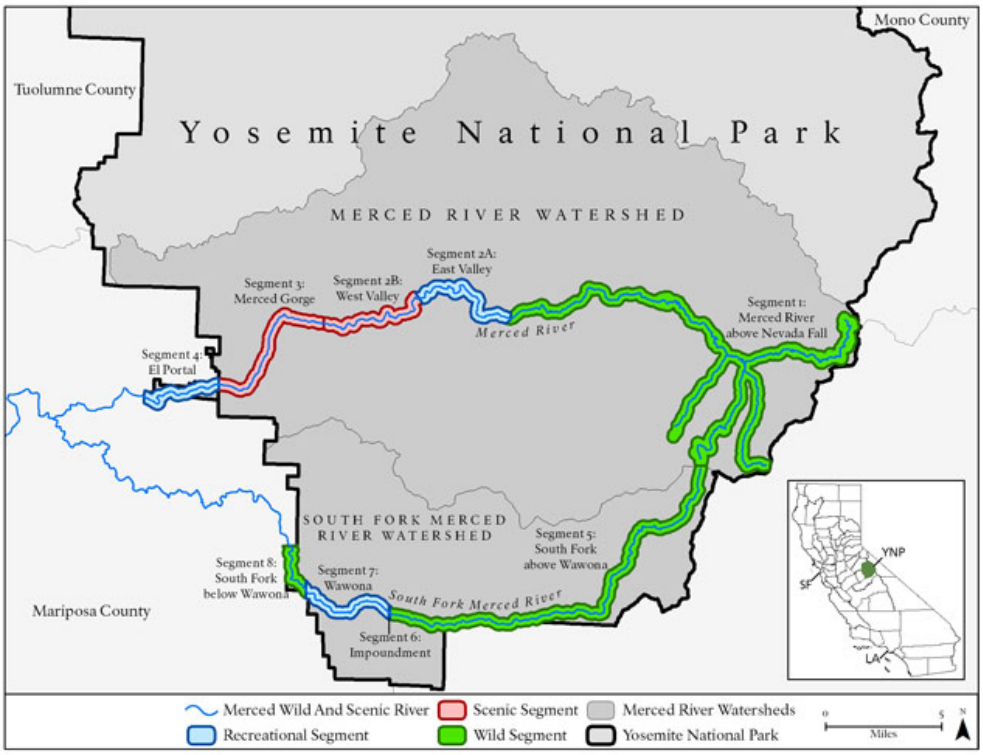
As stated the MRP advanced from The General Management Plan and set out six Alternatives for protection and development, that were open for consideration by stakeholders. As detailed from the Email: NPS Planning (2014), in summary the MRP offered:

Alternative 1 - No Action, that the current system would remain;
Alternatives 2-4 – That restoration of natural areas would be of primary importance;
Alternative 5 - Enhanced visitor experience and essential riverbank restoration.
Alternative 6 - Increased development in terms of visitor facilities, with minimal natural restoration.

Alternative 5 was the final preferred and accepted outcome, as this was believed to offer the greatest chance of balancing access and protection. This alternative offered restoration of nearly 200 acres of riparian and meadow, a near 40% increase in campground facilities, 5% increase in lodging, and modifying the transportation system in an attempt to alleviate congestion in Yosemite Valley. The purpose is to enhance recreational opportunities, to protect and restore natural resources and to reduce or eliminate unnecessary facilities and services in the river corridor, such as the sports and merchandise

shop, the ice-rink and abandoned infrastructures including the temporary and substandard employee housing from Yosemite Valley. Interestingly, although it was discussed that the ice rink should be removed, it was later decided that it should simply be relocated away from the river area (see more on this in Section 6.3.2.4). Alternative 5 also proposed the removal of campsites within 100 feet of the river and required the NPS to protect and enhance the scenic, recreational and wild values in Yosemite. As Don Neubacher, the Superintendent of Yosemite said, 'This plan will protect the Merced River and its outstandingly remarkable values into perpetuity and provide quality visitor facilities and access' (Repanshek, 2014).

Figure 21: Merced Wild & Scenic River Zoning



Source: NPS, (2013c)

The zonal river designations are categorised as thus:

> **'Recreational:** 'Those rivers or sections of rivers that are readily accessible by road or railroad, that may have some development along their shorelines, and that may have undergone some impoundment or diversion in the past.
>
> **Scenic:** Those rivers or sections of rivers that are free of impoundments, with shorelines or watersheds still largely primitive and shorelines largely undeveloped, but accessible in places by roads.

> **Wild:** Those rivers or sections of rivers that are free of impoundments and generally inaccessible except by trail, with watersheds or shorelines essentially primitive and waters unpolluted. These represent vestiges of primitive America' (NPS, 2013a).

The MRP required protection and enhancement of the river values for which it was designated, (see Interview: NPS Physical Science, 2012: 6) and wise-use would be managed through the various zoned restrictions. This prescribed a balance between access and protection, namely that recreation and visitor use could be enhanced in certain areas, but with the limitations and exclusions as set out in Alternative 5 and the allocated zones.

6.3.2.2 Legislation Endorsing Adaption and Transformation

Since the enabling Acts, access and protection have been prerequisites of national park policy, but over time there has been considerable debate as to the appropriate level of carrying capacity. Yet the vagueness of this and the vagueness of who governs responsibility meant a succession of planning failures, resulting in tension between the private-public relationship and litigation. A new set of rules has been legislated, ones that embrace sustainable development, ones that commit to carrying capacity, ones that look for adaption of stakeholders and transforming management perspectives, ones that effectively embrace stakeholders including the environment:

> '…What comes first? And that's basically been answered for us by the courts, through the courts and so we are, kind of, rewriting our policies and I think they've been rewritten, actually. And they say that protection of resources comes first. If there's a conflict between visitor use and protection of resources, protection of resources come first, particularly if we are talking about losing a resource, something that we call impairment' (Interview: NPS Physical Sciences, 2012: 3-4).

In 2014 The Merced Wild and Scenic River Final Comprehensive Management Plan and Environmental Impact Statement was released after years of deliberation and debate. There had been two previous editions of this Plan, but again lawsuits stipulated greater emphasis on carrying capacity:

> ‘Two previous editions of [the Plan] and NPS lost two court cases based on carrying capacity. Issue was the NPS provide indicators and standards but action not taken to mitigate – only after the impact has happened…Use a system to monitor for future planning. The Courts feel there needs to be shown a specific number of people the corridor will hold, so plans have to follow this…’ (Interview: NPS Business and Revenue, 2012: 2).

6.3.2.3 Legislation Embracing Stakeholder Interests

Previous catalysts paved the way for this legislation that ensured zoning and carrying capacity upheld wise-use, that Yosemite’s natural values remained protected. Also and importantly the MRP advanced the ideal, first promoted in The General Management Plan, of the public and local community as important stakeholders to contemporary wise-use management. The NPS received over 30,000 public comments (hearings, meetings, letters and debate rather than just questionnaires as the earlier General Management Plan had allowed), which formed an important ‘pillar’ in the process of the inclusion of local communities:

> ‘We spent thousands of hours reading and responding to comments to make sure we understood everyone’s concerns. The preferred alternative was modified to accommodate many of the changes requested during the public review,” stated Kathleen Morse, Yosemite Chief of Planning. “This final plan integrates the ideas of a passionate public with proven stewardship practices and the best available science to create a powerful vision for the future of the Merced River and Yosemite Valley’ (Email: NPS Planning, 2014).

The importance of this legislature in the context of this thesis is that, it embraces wise-use not solely for protection but also for access, promoting many recreational activities and backpacking into the backcountry whilst ensuring a connection with nature:

> ‘West Yosemite Valley will retain its overall natural character with limited facilities and services provided. This peaceful setting will continue to serve as a destination for low-impact recreational activities such as hiking, rock climbing, photography, and wildlife viewing….Families will enjoy expanded camping opportunities in East Yosemite Valley, with new walk-in campsites provided east of Camp 4, at Upper Pines, and at the location of the former Upper and Lower River campgrounds…More drive-in campsites (including some RV sites) will be provided in new camping areas at Upper Pines and Lower River (adjacent to the road) and at El

> Portal. Housekeeping Camp will continue to offer an alternative to camping, with improved access to the nearby beach and picnicking area' (Email: NPS Planning, 2014)

Throughout history the automobile has had paramount importance to Americans' enjoyment of visitation, but there have been protestations about the use of the car that the NPS has had to address several times. The MRP interestingly allows more drive-in campgrounds and better car access and parking, also the infrastructures benefit the local communities as roads allow wider appreciation of the Park:

> '…the people in their cars. And they love to drive over the Tioga Road and watch the scenery from their car and pull over maybe and get out for five or ten minutes. You had the same going on in Yosemite Valley, where because people can get there and experience a scenic drive, that's all they want to do and they are content to limit that experience and leave'. (Interview: NPS Planning, 2012: 18).

This is a plan for the future, to invest in local communities and natural environments; to build co-operation between stakeholders. It is a plan to endorse resilience, adaption and capacity management and it subjugates the contradictions of the past policies to develop a framework for future relationships, to advance sustainable development. The MRP builds from historical ideals such as Mather's thinking of including the people, and it endorses contemporary thinking of involving local communities where opinion matters, rather than simply 'looking good' to local communities. It strengthens the NPS position of not being in the 'middle ground', they have a solid legislative framework to work on and it evolves the role of the corporate to provide relevant and profitable services. There are some concerns over the MRP from purists who see the MRP and the preferred Alternative 5 of simply endorsing Albright's vision of 'recreational multiple use' (Sellars, 1997: 205), and the fact that any development and policy that allows for growth of numbers will have detrimental impact. The MRP did look to curtail certain recreational use and facilities, such as camping by the river, the removal of the ice-rink and to demolish certain buildings, and to this end there are also concerns from the corporate perspective, which are discussed in Section 6.3.2.4. Nevertheless, it is very early days to assess this but in defence, the MRP provides a foundation for relevant stakeholders to have 'real' input, whereas past policies created a dualistic management process, the NPS and the concessioner. In the

contemporary model stakeholders have an important part to play in Yosemite's future; the path is laid for a resilient adaptive co-management system.

6.3.2.4 The Impact of The MRP on The Concessioner

The concessioner operates within a free-market tender, all bids are assessed by the 'Public law 105-39, Concessions Management Act 1998' and different factors are addressed, such as protection, visitor experience, franchise fee and environmental management. The lens that the corporate looks through today is different to that of the early 20th century, no longer viewing the binary of access versus protection, and no longer, as witnessed in The General Management Plan of 1980, able to 'influence' policy decision making. From the MRP, the roles now build through adaptive co-management, with stakeholders working together:

> 'So I think, though, a lot of it, they are taking clues or cues from us [NPS]…They [concessioner] work in consultation with us and with our resource management science staff to figure out how to help but definitely they reinvest quite a bit. I mean, they do have a programme and I think maybe even we require that they spend some of the proceeds on park projects to kind of improve the visitor experience' (Interview: NPS Planning, 2012: 25).

The MRP undoubtedly caused concern to DN as the primary concessioner where certain commercial activities were terminated or were moved, like the ice-rink and shops. Some of these were profitable operations which DN were loathe to lose, but there had to be a give and take situation to set a future for Yosemite, '…so it's a matter of contract…Many of the things that we are required to provide are a loss…' (Interview: President DN, 2012: 1-2 and 5). The MRP has a requirement to build a more robust connection between the stakeholders and significantly between the NPS and the concessioner. The NPS did not diminish certain services to be obstructive, but to ensure sustainable development: 'The concessions prospectus was drafted with the intent of helping us eliminate excessive or unnecessary commercial uses' and importantly the NPS stated: 'The new concessioner will play a very important and cooperative role in the completion of these goals over the next fifteen years…' (Email: NPS Planning, 2015d). However, the concessioner didn't

always see it that way, they felt they could have had greater impact on the MRP by greater inclusion at the outset:

> 'A frustration to me is we know a lot about it [managing in Yosemite] and I know they [NPS] pursue a lot of stupid ideas, that if they would just come, I could say, look, that's way hard and that one is way easy. And if you tell me what you are trying to accomplish I can help you figure out what you are trying to accomplish because what you are describing will create 500 problems. So I don't know what you are trying to fix but that will create a lot of problems.' (Interview: President DN, 2012: 3).

The concessioner was included like other stakeholders and members of the public with an opinion, but they didn't have direct influence as witnessed in the 1980's. That policy doesn't imply concessioner actions are implemented through their responsibility, it implies they are considered as a stakeholder and provide service as a part of the adaptive co-management process. This research demonstrates that the NPS are now impartial to the concessioner demands, that mitigates any repetition of the General Management Plan, but the concessioner believes the NPS are too divorced from the visitors to allow such impartiality:

> 'But I am very critical of the park planning process and the planners. And I say that in the context of, they've come from other locations, they are here, they live and work in El Portal, they meet there and they don't honestly know the valley, the valley preferences anywhere near, in my view, well enough…Well, they know the law and they know the law about resources but they don't know how people act/behave and the relationship of the things to one another in the park.' (Interview: President DN, 2012: 4).

Within the resilience framework this is one of the concerns, that different managers and different organisations will have different agendas (see Section 3.6.3). The challenge is to ensure services are correct and proper. This is where the 'grey' line appears between what the MRP prescribes and what is relevant. This was apparent in the original discussions to remove the ice-rink in Yosemite, which had been part of the service infrastructure since 1928 and an important attraction for winter visitors. The value of the ice-rink lies in the recreational experience but has no value in law, as the Interview: President DN, (2012: 8) stated:

> ‘there’s no legal value given to your experiential relationship to the ice rink…what does that hurt skating around Yosemite for four months of the year?...And last year the ice rink, and I pointed out in my letter to the Park Service, that was named one of the best three ice-skating places in the world and it wasn’t because of the great skating, it was because of the history and views.’

The outcome of this challenge was decided by political lobbying by the concessioner to a Congressman and to have further Congressional discussions with the NPS and local communities: the ice-rink was allowed to stay but be relocated, to not interfere with river values. The ice-rink has formed an important part of the research evidencing that the concessioner can’t influence NPS policy directly as MCA did in the 1970’s, whereas stakeholders as a group work to endorse a new frame of wise-use based around adaption and capacity. The relocation upheld the MRP in terms of river values, but also upheld recreational use and unimpaired access.

This section has framed an important pathway, linking the catalysts and key themes of the previous chapter to the contemporary management and planning in Yosemite. The question is undoubtedly framed around whether this management is continuing wise-use as a responsible concept or wise-use as a resilient concept. Certainly legislation has adapted to ensure natural values are protected, and progressed from past failures by incorporating opinion and proposing policy based around relevant stakeholder inclusion. Although the concessioner does have concerns and perhaps would prefer greater influence, the inclusion of relevant stakeholders as important co-managers means that the proposed outcome of sustainable development is generated through a socio-ecological-economic resilience; adaption and managing capacity.

6.4 Adaptive Co-Management: Resilience and Wise-Use

Moving forward from the planning ideals and associated legislation, this section examines who the stakeholders are and the relationships they have with each other through adaptive co-management with the purpose of connecting wise-use to resilience rather than responsibility. This research asserts a contemporary role of wise-use, a new frame to CSR that builds stewardship based around adaptive co-management, where stakeholders work together:

> ‘Co-management can be understood as ‘a situation in which two or more social actors negotiate, define and guarantee amongst themselves a fair sharing of the management functions, entitlements and responsibilities for a given territory, area or set of natural resources’ (Borrini-Feyerabend et al., 2000: 1). The idea is that an agency with jurisdiction over an area (usually a state agency) might develop ‘a partnership with other relevant stakeholders (primarily including local residents and resource users) which specifies and guarantees their respective functions, rights and responsibilities with regard to the (area)’ (Borrini-Feyerabend, 1996: 8)’ [in] (Carlsson & Berkes, 2005: 66).

Borrini-Feyerabend (1996) succinctly highlights the point discussed in this thesis, that ‘partnerships’ are developed, most notably with ‘relevant stakeholders’ including an agency (the NPS) and the local communities. The following section examines these relationships and who these actors are in Yosemite.

6.4.1 The NPS and Concessioner: Adapting to Co-Management

Yosemite’s stakeholders have adapted to embrace sustainable development where future generations may experience that ‘the total of all…values, be as high or higher than that of the current generation…’ (Kennedy, 2003: 1861). This is developed from adaptive co-management and stakeholder/stewardship relationships:

> ‘NPS is concerned with relevancy, concept of how will NP be relevant to future generations if they can’t visit NP’s. Underlying effort is to bring NPS mission to communities around Yosemite. How do you make connection and so make people better stewards for the future of the Park. We must focus and concentrate on stewardships’ (Interview: NPS Business and Revenue, 2012: 3).

Barthel (2004) suggests: ‘Adaptive co-management is an integrative and place-specific approach that focuses on creating functional feedback loops between social and ecological systems’ and this adaptive approach is part of the resilience concept as outlined in Section 3.6.3. Within Yosemite this has been an evolutionary process; the relevant stakeholders’ functions evolve and this is translated very well in the relationship between the NPS and the concessioner - those actors of 2016 are very different to that of 1916. Stakeholders are now stewards, adaptive co-managers of Yosemite, where the Parks are democratic

places and available to ‘all people’. Access is the people’s right (Interview: NPS Planning, 2012: 30) but the relevant stakeholders have to also embrace protection and the contemporary model is based around such actors, to progress business sense and access, to advance profits and to sustain protection. Relationships have played an important role in developing national park ideals and historically the problem has been that managing those relationships has been ‘patchy’. This is exemplified through the historical relationship between the NPS and the concessioner established when Mather implemented the monopolistic model. The idea was that this model would make it easier for the NPS to control or govern one corporate body rather than several, but the concessioner had too much influence on policy. Nevertheless, it is a model that works well with adaptive co-managers, where relevant stakeholders are policy makers, and the NPS is happy with that model:

> ‘I think park to park though, the Park Service would prefer to have one or, you know, fewer, one or slightly more concessioners, it makes it easier for us operationally…‘I think the big concession companies like it…’ (Interview: NPS Planning, 2012: 8 and 15)

However, there have been conflicts mainly around restrictions placed on a profit making business, exemplified by the ice-rink concerns (see 6.3.2.4), as Email: DN (2015) confirmed: ‘Certainly the role of a for-profit concessioner will never be understood and there will always be a distrust of that system in a national park. We see it frequently.’ Yet also evidenced, is when this is discussed thoughtfully perceptions change (see Section 6.2) and the evolving relationship is that co-management is adaptive, to build alongside other actors. So too, stewardship (see Section 3.6.3.3) has become an integral strategy of the concessioner:

> ‘A philosophy of stewardship guides our operations all over the world. Simply put, we want to do more than merely operate in Special Places. We work to ensure that everyone who visits them understands their significance. We also strive to safeguard these places for the generations that will follow us…This sense of environmental stewardship eventually was articulated in a formal environmental management system (EMS). And thus for DNC, GreenPath® was born’ (DN, 2010).

Stewardship and adaptive co-management require the need to progress ‘a partnership with other relevant stakeholders’ (Carlsson & Berkes, 2005: 66).

Relevancy is important in Yosemite, where relevancy relates to the roles of the actors:

> 'Yes, especially in these days of shrinking government budgets, there is no way the NPS could ever provide the visitor services necessary (i.e. beds, food, etc.) for our millions of visitors to enjoy their time while visiting the National Parks' (Email: NPS. Business & Revenue, 2015f).

Again this point endorses why Olmsted's view of preservation (see Section 5.2.3), where the public authority manage visitor services would be difficult to implement. The empirical and conceptual research evidences that the problems of balancing access and protection haven't been escalated by policy or legislation alone, but have been a problem combining policy and legislation with implementing effective wise-use. Today the NPS is adapting to a co-manager approach, and they have divisions specifically for these co-management relationships:

> 'Part of the requirement of the business… it's called Business and Revenue Management, it's the department of this division of the National Park Service that is responsible for contract compliance and we interact with them virtually every day as it relates to contract compliance issues. And this Concession Policy Act I referred to, it describes the business requirements that we are required to meet…So there's a huge level of interaction and involvement as it relates to the quality nature and consistency of services that we provide to guests, and the rates charged…Then the other divisions we work with…' (Interview: President DN, 2012: 5).

The actors within Yosemite have a passion for the park itself. The NPS understand the needs of the concessioner and likewise the concessioner realises the constraints on the NPS, '…based on my 20 years of experience working for the NPS and managing concession operations…it is possible for both to understand one another and I have seen the NPS evolve…' (Email: NPS. Business & Revenue, 2015f). The outcome is that actors are evolving as good stewards and adapt to resilient management processes. However, these processes go beyond the NPS and concessioner to include a wider group of actors including local communities and non-profit organisations.

6.4.2 Developing The Wider Actor Roles

This thesis has discussed the importance of relevant stakeholders, those that are a part of the management of protection and access. Historically the concessioner provided the visitor services and the NPS provided the governance and this led to tensions, conflict and a subjective undertaking of wise-use. In many ways it was a binary view to protection and access, one does one part and the other does something else, the concessioner was established before the NPS and they came along '…later to protect natural and cultural resources from poorly-behaved park guests, and to do the things that are not profitable' (Email: NPS Planning, 2015e). The Sierra Club and the Wilderness Society as NGO's were also a part of the processes, but were impotent against Congress' wishes to ensure public access was unimpaired. Also, local communities were effectively excluded from policy until around 2004 (see Section 6.4.2.2). Today, there is a different story, the relevant stakeholders manage capacity and the NGO and local communities have also become integral to policy-making. This section examines such roles.

6.4.2.1 Non-Governmental Organisations

The relationship between the corporate, the public and non-governmental organisations (NGO – see Section 1.6.3) is important to adaptive co-management to build fairness and drive adaptive capacity, thus integrating the W7 philosophy:

> '…neoliberal conservation moves beyond a world of win-win solutions to a world of win-win-win-win-win-win-win (or win7 if you like) solutions that benefit: corporate investors, national economies, bio-diversity, local people, western consumers, development agencies and the conservation organisations that receive funding from those agencies to undertake large interventions' (Grandia, [in] Igoe and Brockington 2007: 435).

Although several NGOs cooperate with planning and protection issues within Yosemite, there are two that this research evidences for the purposes of this thesis. Firstly, Yosemite Conservancy (YC), who were established in 1923, are a non-profit organisation and, they are an integral part of the co-management:

> ‘So, every national park unit has what’s called a Co-operating Association…and they are a non-profit that helps the park do things that the Park Service cannot do. The very first park to have one of these associations was Yosemite…And then some of them have membership functions, some of them publish a magazine, some of them publish books about their park unit, some of them lead education programmes, coordinate volunteers, some of the bigger ones have a fundraising development function too and that is our big strength, is contributing about 10 million dollars a year to the Park Service from people who love it. So many people have an attachment to this park and they want to help take care of it. And you can’t just hand money to a ranger or write a cheque to National Park Service…’ (Interview: YC, 2012: 1-2).

YC are a fundraising and education arm in Yosemite. They give public donations to the Park Service for projects that they request specific help with, ‘…whether it’s resources or visitors or some of its maintenance but usually it’s the more visible thing that really is going to affect the visitors’ (Interview: YC, 2012: 3). YC has a co-operating agreement with the NPS, a very different contract to DNC, ‘…it’s an arrangement overseen by the US Congress…’ YC provides educational resources with strong education programmes to reach out to the visitors. In 2011, 24,000 children were part of these programmes, YC fund conservation education and natural history walks, to build more informed visitors:

> ‘Give them the idea that this place belongs to them and it does have a responsibility, like you do if your grandfather gives you his old pocket watch – it’s your responsibility to take care of it, not neglect it. You inherit a family heirloom’ (Interview: YC, 2012).

Secondly, the Sierra Club has also occupied an important position within protection in US landscape (see Section 2.4.3.1) and their organisation develops awareness of wider environmental issues:

> ‘When the Sierra Club began in 1892, its first order of business was to defeat a proposal to reduce the boundaries of Yosemite Park. The Club’s efforts helped transition the park from state to federal management, ensuring full protection for Yosemite as a National Park.
>
> In 1904, the LeConte Memorial Lodge was built by the Sierra Club and today still serves as an educational resource for the public, by providing information about the Park and increasing awareness of environmental issues’ (Sierra Club, 2015a)

They do still engage in certain policy within Yosemite and manage the LeConte Memorial but in general are relatively relaxed about park management as they feel the running of the Park is done well by the NPS and the concessioner contracts.

> '…They asked me to be on a session with the representative of the Sierra Club from San Francisco. I'd never met the person. I didn't know the person. So they said, "Will you go on radio on a talk show?" and it might not have been national public radio because I did several of them, but anyway, it's national public radio I believe. And so he asked these questions and I would give my response and then ask the Sierra Club guy and he would give his response. After about 20 minutes, the radio commentator says, "Well, there doesn't seem to be very much difference in your guys' answers about what you would do with Yosemite." And I said, "No." And any range of continuum he would find that we are in the mainstream of what goes on. And the Sierra Club guys says, "We don't really have a big problem with what the company does up there…' (Interview: President DN, 2012: 15-16).

Although Nature Bridge is another NGO that works in the national parks and engage education and stewardship programmes YC is the main conduit for this in Yosemite. The next section looks at the role of local communities, once a group excluded from national park policy worldwide (not just Yosemite) and the IUCN (see Sections 1.2 2.4.2 3.2 and 3.3.2) now actively encourages local communities to be a part of park policy.

6.4.2.2 Local Communities

The General Management Plan had sought the input of local opinion but without any real uptake of such opinion, and even then local communities simply completed a questionnaire, rather than being included as managers or planners:

> '…About eight years ago, the Park Service had a reputation, and this is true of most US government agencies, as being very insular. They didn't talk much with the communities; they didn't talk much with the surrounds…' (Interview: President YGP, 2012: 2).

The NPS were not deliberately ignoring local communities, they were just not seen as part of a co-management plan. This was also true in other Parks: '…the problem with park management is that they think locals don't understand or

appreciate the environment. We do. We grew up here knowing how to conserve' (Igoe & Brockington, 2007: 443). The other problem was that to exclude local communities built a wall, which inevitably led in Yosemite to lawsuits as private individuals litigated against the NPS: '..they [the NPS] would make some major decisions they'd get sued by people…because they were left out…' (Interview: President YGP, 2012: 2). In light of this, adaptive co-management took another step forward, when circa 2004 the NPS reached out and spoke with local communities, '…it was an honest effort to reach out to the communities and the people in the communities that surround the Park' (Interview: President YGP, 2012: 2). Around Yosemite there are four gateway towns which you have to pass through to gain access to Yosemite: to the North the town of Groveland, East is Lee Vining, South is Oakhurst and West is Mariposa. The NPS set up Yosemite Gateway Partners (YGP) with these communities, which it would have no control over but would ask to develop as a conduit for the public and private sector without political persuasion:

> '…Yosemite Superintendent Don Neubacher. 'National park tourism is a significant driver in the national economy, returning $10 for every $1 invested in the National Park Service, and it's a big factor in our local economy as well. We appreciate the partnership and support of our neighbors and are glad to be able to give back by helping to sustain local communities' (Email: NPS, April 2015).

As Interview: President YGP (2012) stated, YGP provide a 'forum to discuss the visitor experience'. The NPS and concessioner both attend the YGS quarterly meetings:

> 'So when Dan Jensen takes time to come and spend most of the day with us at one of our quarterly meetings and when the Superintendent takes the day and spends it with us together with half a dozen of his senior staff, and another six to twelve other staff, somebody thinks what we are doing is important' (Interview: President YGP, 2012: 3).

YGP has a strong voice in planning and, for example, is now tasked with finding ways to alleviate the peak period congestion, so the Superintendent of Yosemite National Park, Don Neubacher, asked YGP to assist, 'And so what I need to do is to find out ways of trying to reduce traffic peaks here' (Interview: President YGP, 2012). This forms an interesting relationship with the concessioner; in some ways, the Gateway towns compete with Yosemite for

visitor stays, whilst also depending on Yosemite for economic stability. That economic gain is now very important, as already evidenced in Section 6.2.1, and to repeat a statement made there:

> 'A new National Park Service (NPS) report shows that 3,882,642 visitors to Yosemite National Park in 2014 spent $405,223.4 million in communities near the park. That spending supported 6,261 jobs in the local area and had a cumulative benefit to the local economy of $535,379.3 million' (Email: NPS, April 2015).

Their ideal is for people to stay in their towns and take the bus into the Valley, which eases the congestion and provides economic return for the towns but of course with economic gain as detailed there mission is to also work within the park boundaries. The issue in Yosemite is that the Valley holds so much of the aesthetic beauty and that is where the visitor wants to be. Although it may be seen as a competitor for visitors, the role of YGP is to provide opinion to help benefit policy making by the NPS and the concessioner to, 'improve the economic conditions in the region' (Interview: President YGP, 2012: 26). YGP is part of the adaptive co-management community.

A further interesting but highly contentious element to local community engagement as a component of socio-ecological resilience (albeit from a historical perspective) concerns the role of the indigenous peoples - who were so influential to conservation practices (see Section 5.4.1). It is not the focus of this thesis to examine the politics or the absence of indigenous peoples from Yosemite. Perhaps though, some light can be provided to add foundation to how their methods and peoples (the Sierra or Southern Sierra Miwok) connect very well with local community, within the CSR as resilience model. To discuss any role of indigenous peoples may cause some controversy, particularly within the US where there would need to be a complete '…paradigm shift in…thinking…' as Anderson (2005: xviii) suggests. This fact was reflected during the empirical interviews for this research, when it was obvious to the interviewer that interviewees felt uncomfortable about discussing such roles or futures; fundamentally no interviewee elaborated on this position. Today, in Yosemite there is a small Indian Village, representing the past cultures. It is intriguing, engaging and it provides an excellent tourist educational attraction; yet this author's understanding, is that it is staffed by a sole American Indian

representative. Local community fosters a strong relationship in the socio-ecological process, and the actions and inter-connections of these [historic] actors should be seen as an important element to the new process of CSR as resilience:

> 'At the heart of many attempts to build capacity within communities so that they become more resilient are action-oriented approaches promoting collective and individual changes towards more effective social interaction, including problem-solving exercises, conflict resolution and possible inter-linkages between community resilience and various forms of human and environmental capital (Fazey et al. 2007)' (Robinson & Carson, 2015: 2).

This connection goes beyond the social relationships, to also provide a better understanding of the connection of indigenous peoples and the more recent local communities to protection and access. As Anderson (2005: xviii) states, 'those who peopled California before the arrival of Westerners are some of the best teachers.' The Southern Sierra Miwok were not only the original local communities and great stewards of their lands, but they also provided alternative ways of conserving lands:

> 'Much of what we consider wilderness today was in fact shaped by Indian burning, harvesting, tilling, pruning, sowing, and tending. This fact suggests an alternative way of conserving the lands that have so far largely evaded…the impact of modern society: manage them by applying the traditional ecological knowledge and traditional resource management practices of California's indigenous peoples' (Anderson, 2005: 8).

With this knowledge of conservation and stewardship, the US system may well be bolstered by the inclusion of the indigenous peoples, under what Anderson (2005: 8) goes on to prescribe as, the 'indigenous management model'. Simply enhancing the human-ecosystem connection by 'restoring' and 'maintaining' lands as they were before European Settler discovery. In some ways this has been mirrored in other parts of the World, most notably in Australia, which has created an adaptive co-management model based around 'joint management' - the inclusion of Aboriginal communities. As Smyth (2001: 1) elaborates, 'joint management' agrees a management model, which includes and preserves '…the rights, interests and obligations of the Aboriginal owners of the Park.' Importantly, this co-management model also includes other stakeholders, including NGOs and government who also embrace the needs of the non-

Aboriginal local communities. As with any co-management model there is a need to balance the requirements of the various actors that will have different goals attached, but that is down to effective management and planning, in order to meet the aspirations of all stakeholders. That is achieved through the CSR resilience model, not based on each actors understanding of what constitutes responsible actions, but on the ability to adapt and transform in order to manage capacity - to protect and to provide access.

In the US, the NPS engages local actors, it engages a better understanding of stewardship in order to maintain the national park priorities; to reiterate what has already been referenced, the motivating principle of the relationship between the NPS and local community is to make a better connection '…and so make people better stewards of the future of the Park' (Interview: NPS Planning and Revenue, 2012: 3). Perhaps it is now the time to engage wider discussions that those people may include the first nation peoples, as well as the more recent local community inhabitants.

6.5 A Pathway For The Future

As this thesis has already mentioned there is not a pursuit to compare or suggest mutual exclusivity between responsibility and resilience, it is advancing a contemporary paradigm of wise-use management and asserts a new frame of CSR as corporate social resilience, managing adaption and capacity, a shift from the subjective voluntary strategies. This section summarises the model of CSR as resilience in the contemporary management of Yosemite, which also provides a pathway for its future management. In doing so, it presents in more detail the new concessioner in Yosemite, Aramark and suggests that this is the beginning of an exciting and innovative journey.

6.5.1 Advancing Resilience

Resilience embraces local actors and the development of adaptive co-management, it implies that control from afar through complex governance and federal domain is moving (and needs to continue to move) towards a more localised system of stakeholder inclusion. Historically, this had been framed through responsible actions, and as evidenced in Mission 66 and the General

Management Plan of 1980, (and repeating the words in section 3.6.2.3) that progressed subjective decision-making. Much of the decision-making was implemented through two parties, the NPS and the concessioner, where the latter had influenced policy to develop 'recreational multi-use'. Contemporary influence offers a different perspective, as Interview; YC, (2012: 7) highlights, the concessioner has adapted and builds capacity that others need to follow: 'They exceed what the Park Service does…and the Park Service and the Conservancy…should be trying to catch up to the standard DN sets for sustainability, environmental sustainability of their operations'. However, the research of this thesis evidences that the inclusion of those stakeholders, the local communities and NGO's actually improves the undertaking of the concessioner. That although the primary concessioner has improved environmental management, there is still concern they would engage 'recreational multi-use' to build profitable operations for the sake of profit and this is where transforming their business model to engage and embrace relevant stakeholders is paramount. Since the MRP, there is a stronger foundation to aspire to, where stakeholders work together, and that is framed around adaptive management and carrying capacity. Although the NPS is required to enforce some very strict rules, which in turn will warrant some concern with a for-profit provider, there is now a more harmonious relationship to progress sustainable development:

> 'DNC have done a fantastic job [as it is a very difficult balance], the Park Service has done an awful lot on sustainability, especially in recent years and we, you know, you can always do more, you're never done with that endeavour…So DNC, I think that's one way of being a good concessioner and they do have a good attention to… even though they have a monopoly, to serving the visitors' needs'. (Interview: YC, 2012: 7)

Stakeholder inclusion has provided a clearer lens, public opinion, local communities, NGO's and the concessioner have had meaningful input to the MRP, that wasn't the case in the past. The situation is evolving; park management combines public good with private investment:

> I do believe that corporations can indeed serve the public good and that we public employees have no other choice but to respect the role that they serve and to work constructively with them. Services in the earliest national parks were provided exclusively by private enterprise, before

> there was a National Park Service. From the beginning, the national park system was conceived as something where the parks are essentially co-managed, with "creature comforts" (food and shelter) provided by companies and individuals. The park service came along later to protect natural and cultural resources from poorly-behaved park guests, and to do the things that are not profitable. It was a long, hard struggle to get the U.S. Congress to make the investment they have in the parks and to protect the parks, and it remains a struggle to this day. Clearly, the Congress expects us to leave room for commercial enterprise in national parks, and wants to limit the role of government in providing services directly to visitors and keep operating expenses low. What's happening now is that the park management is becoming more sophisticated in the use commercial service contracts to the benefit of the park. In the past, I believe park managers thought of concessioners as fully independent entities and were not exercising enough restraint in keeping activities under control. But that's because the law was unclear, until recently.' (Email: NPS Planning (2015e).

As mentioned in the Introduction (see Section 1.4) and implied in various paragraphs (as above and 'recreational multi-use' concerns) this thesis is not asserting that the concessioner and this contemporary model has progressed to a definitive position, rather it has evolved and is starting out on a new journey. Section 3.6.3 demonstrates that resilience offers a strong framework by adapting to change and transforming business policy, to the point that the concessioner is now seen as a good steward (see Interview: YC, 2012: 7). Responsibility allowed actors to look good rather than adapting and transforming. It is a voluntary code (see Section 3.6.2) and history shows that the concessioner would want to increase resort activities (see Runte, 2010; Miles 1995) those that make greater profits. The argument could be that they have just become more responsible, yet in purists eyes they have not, and to what level of multiple-use? That is subjective. This thesis proposes that is not the frame that CSR aspires to in this contemporary model; it asserts that the framework has shifted. It now encourages relevant stakeholders to be included, that the concessioner acts as a partnership with such actors and they adapt and they work together. There are concerns over resilience and these are examined more generally in Section 3.6.3 and in particular how different agendas are managed. However, as stated this is the start of a journey and resilience needs to progress. Adaptive co-management needs a longer-term future to embrace sustainable development.

6.5.2 Resilience For The Future

There is now another complexity in Yosemite's private-public relationship: DN's concession contract expired in 2008 but was extended to the end of February 2016 due to the litigation against the NPS and the subsequent development of the MRP. As of June 2015, it was announced that DN lost the bidding to renew a 15-year concession contract, which was awarded instead to Yosemite Hospitality LLC, a subsidiary of Aramark (see Box 20):

Box 20: Defining Aramark

Philadelphia based Aramark, listed on the NYSE, has gross revenues in excess of $14.8 billion, operates globally in 21 countries and employs over 270,000 people delivering '…experiences that enrich and nourish people's lives through innovative services in food, facilities management, and uniforms' (Freireich, 2015). Currently they hold eight NPs contracts grossing over $110 million in 2013, Lake Mead, Glen Canyon, Mesa Verde, Olympic, Denali and Glacier Bay. Yosemite will represent by far the largest contract grossing an estimated $2 billion over the next 15 years.

> ''We are honoured the National Park Service has selected us to serve as concessioner for Yosemite National Park,' said Bruce W. Fears, president of Aramark's Leisure division. 'The NPS is a longtime and valued partner and we look forward to enhancing Yosemite's guest experience with a variety of distinctive hospitality and service offerings and educational and interpretive offerings'' (Freirich, 2015).

As of 01st March 2016 there is the change not because of failures of DN but perhaps a changing and adapting landscape where DN represent the past. Yosemite has undergone a major change through the MRP, the NPS is evolving and although DN grossed over $146 million in 2014 (Grossi, 2015) and enhanced many aspects of the Park such as refurbishments and upgrades to hotels and lodges, the changes require the MRP looks to a new concessioner. The selection was made independently:

> 'The selection was made in accordance with the provisions of the National Park Service Concessions Management Improvement Act of 1998 (1998 Act). Offers in response to solicitations for concession contracts in the NPS (Prospectus) are evaluated by a panel of NPS employees and technical advisors, none of whom work at the park. Offers are evaluated based on their response to the Selection Factors outlined in the Proposal Package section of the Prospectus and a recommendation is forwarded to

> the NPS Director. The panel's evaluation is not shared with the park' (Email: NPS Business and Revenue Park Manager, 2015).

Yosemite National Park Superintendent Don Neubacher, endorsed the change of concessioner:

> ''We're very excited about bringing on Aramark to operate our primary concessions…Aramark, brings tremendous resources to the table, and has extensive experience in operating concessions at many other national parks. We believe they'll be a great partner with us at Yosemite as we work to implement the vision of the Merced River plan'' (NPS, 2015a).

However, there is another view perhaps suggesting that existing concessioners often fail to win follow-on contracts. The 1998 Concessions Management Improvement Act is as Email: NPS. Business & Revenue (2015f) stated, '…designed to be objective and not give preference to existing concessioners.' Nevertheless, the President of DN reiterated there could be no bias, no favourable consideration, it is won on a points system and the updated Act of 1998 is meant to encourage such competition:

> 'The Concession Policy Act of 1998 is supposed to encourage competition in the award of concession contracts. The best way to prove there is competition is to pick someone who is not the incumbent. Recent contracts have all gone to non-incumbents…' (Email: President DN, 2015)

He continued that Aramark's bid 'went above and beyond the requirements contained in the prospectus', and from the NPS:

> 'I don't think this should be viewed as a repudiation of DNC's work or legacy here. Under concessions law, contracts are supposed to be limited to 15 years, and they've had a good run at 22 years. The new law was partly intended to break the stronghold that corporations sometimes appeared to exercise over parks. Yosemite was criticized in the past as an example because of the 75-year agreement that the agency approved for the Yosemite Park and Curry Company in 1918. The law was also updated to encourage competition and to give the agency more authority to get a better deal from the concessioner. So the law compels the agency to look forward and determine what it the best proposal for the park and for park visitors, rather than to look backward and judge a company's past performance' (Email, NPS Planning, 2015d).

In essence however, the concessioners are professional concession providers, they move between the Parks and they contest against each other; the main

ones that are taken seriously enough to win NPS contracts, are DNC, Aramark, Xanterra and Forever Resorts. As Email: NPS Planning (2015d) stated:

> ‘Concessioners may not win repeat contracts, but they do move around. DNC has bested several other companies and taken on responsibilities in other national parks, such as Yellowstone and Grand Canyon.’

The winner will hopefully be Yosemite, for protection and access will be determined for the future through the MRP and the concessioner will continue to provide the services to the public and also achieve: ‘…several operational improvements including reducing vehicle traffic in Yosemite Valley, increasing water conservation, reducing electricity and fuel usage, and enhancing food and beverage operations for visitors…’ (Email: NPS Planning, 2015d).

This section has advanced the conceptual theories of CSR progressing from responsibility to resilience. It asserts that a frame around adaptive co-management now connects wise-use to national park management. It has demonstrated that stakeholders take management forward not in isolation or with solely the NPS and concessioner controlling interests, actors look to adapt and drive capacity and to manage desires and numbers. The MRP has built a new framework; it is up to the stakeholders to take this forward.

6.6 Conclusion

National park policy does not legislate a place of non-use as valued by preservation purists rather it is a place of protection and a place for visitors. The corporate role is to ensure there are facilities and a provision for visitors to experience the national park. The MRP has now designated that such provision offers for example, an ice-rink and skiing in winter, using accommodation and consuming food, rafting on the river in summer, and experiencing solitude in the backcountry. It has progressed from the ideals of zoning and carrying capacity to designate certain parts of the river for certain uses. Demand is at the core of the services provided by the concessioner, and supplying that demand is at the core of the governance of Yosemite, the rules that the NPS need to employ. The NPS has had to absorb these demands and through change it has transformed delivery to engage local communities, embrace NGO’s and work

effectively with the concessioner. The concessioner has adapted to policy changes, NGO demands, Federal legislation and local community involvement; that adaption has come because wider stakeholders are included and because a succession of planning failures meant wise-use needed to be more robust. Wise-use requires adaptive co-management; that develops stewardship between the NPS, the concessioner, the local communities and the NGO's:

> 'Part of the concession contract is for the NPS to make sure concessions follow this – global good over profit…get it right…' (Interview: NPS Business and Revenue, 2012: 7)

> The Corporate's job is '…to be effective, efficient and good operators in full compliance with…laws…' (Interview: President DN, 2012: 18).

> 'The Park Service has done an awful lot on sustainability, especially in recent years and we, you know, you can always do more, you're never done with that endeavour…' (Interview: YC, 2012: 7)

The wise-use relationship has adapted, it is a relationship embracing resilience rather than responsibility it has led to the '…public private partnership [being] is beautiful' (Interview: NPS Business and Revenue, 2012: 1). The NPS and concessioner also endorse interaction and connection with people for Yosemite and this is engaged through policy most recently endorsed in the *'The Call To Action'* (for all national parks), connecting parks to people, and *'Healthy Parks for Healthy People'* (see Section 3.4.3.1). Building from the early ideals of Mather, the MRP encourages the NPS to move away from the middle ground, it encourages stewardship between stakeholders. One of the main concerns will be as outlined in Interview: YC (2012: 13) about the future and funding, '…it will be interesting to see what happens with federal budgets over the next few years…' With shrinking government budgets, the role of the NPS in Yosemite may have to change, perhaps to be conceded in part to the concessioner. However, in the field-work that question was answered 'off the record [not naming the interviewee]' as being like the 'fox guarding the hen house':

> 'I don't really envision it that way. I think people value a great deal. It's one of these American icons like the, what do you call them, the guards with the big bear hats, in front of Buckingham Palace? [Interviewer Reply: Oh yeah, yeah. The Household Cavalry]. Yeah, so the Park Rangers maybe are our equivalent, that they're in their green pants and their grey shirt and

> they've got that shiny gold badge and they've got that flat ranger hat. And that person is who greets you when you arrive and who answers your questions in the Visitor Centre and who does the camp-fire programme. It would be hard to imagine replacing that with a commercial operator who took your money at the gate or the non-profit. I'm sure it's possible but I don't really think that scenario's a likely one' (Interview: YC, 2012: 13)

To conclude, the corporate connects people to Yosemite, whereas the NPS connects Yosemite to people and the NGO and local communities act as a channel for all. Corporate social resilience is building the pathway for Yosemite and has shown that the stakeholders interviewed all have one common asset: they live and work for the best for Yosemite, not solely for the job they do:

> 'I was here for 14 years and left for 15 years and am now back. So I tell the Park Service, "Look, I like Yosemite a lot better than I like DNC," and I tell DNC, "Look, I like Yosemite a lot better than I like DNC, but I also know how to run a business, so you guys ought to use that to your advantage, that both of you can get what you want. DNC, I can run your business. And Park Service, I can figure out how to take care of Yosemite." And I think that perspective is very useful and I do think that… I think that the interest groups recognise that maybe it's me as a person but maybe it's DNC corporately and I think that both have an interest in the wellbeing of the park. We may disagree on certain nuances but, in fact, in terms of the wellbeing of the park, we are not very far apart on the kinds of things and activities' (Interview: President DN, 2012: 5-6).

The adaptive co-management programmes are evolving with the foundations of sustainable development at their heart, where planet, people, profit are treated with equal importance, where the process relates to economic growth, consumer demand and protection. The harmonious co-existence process is sustainable if the relationship between the landscape and human interaction is balanced. This is where Yosemite is now positioned, a shift from federal domain to local actors to progress, a balance not corporate dominance, nor preservation in its purist form; access and protection for Yosemite is now more aligned to a position to ' …share a common destiny with regard to the environment…' (Post, 2011: 12).

Chapter 7 Conclusion

Throughout this thesis the priorities of US national park policy have been examined, with particular attention to the evolving role of the corporate alongside other relevant stakeholders. These priorities of unimpaired public access, and protection through the provision 'for the preservation' of natural resources '…and their retention in their natural condition' (Statutes at Large, 1878: 32) have determined a need for sustainable development and the implementation of wise-use. The comprehensive qualitative research of this thesis has investigated the management of protection and access within Yosemite National Park in California, and it has interpreted the perspectives of practitioners involved with the governance, planning and execution of wise-use. The outcome of this work demonstrates that managing public lands to maintain public good has many complexities, which are accentuated when private profit is involved. This thesis has provided interpretation of the difficulties, tensions and actions of such management, and it has investigated the stimuli and examined the outcomes, which have evolved over 150 years of national park management, thus offering a significant contribution in human geography and business studies.

The purpose of this chapter is not to give a step-by-step analysis and summary of the chapters before, as each one of those has a conclusion in itself. Instead, Section 7.1 discusses the main contribution of this thesis and Section 7.2 summarises the three conceptual themes, which have been central to the arguments: firstly, blending conservation and preservation, then discussing the contemporary paradigm of wise-use, and thirdly, outlining the new frame of CSR. This is followed in Section 7.3 by a short discussion on limitations of this work and future research recommendations, and concludes in Section 7.4.

7.1 Thesis Contribution

The fundamental style of this work has been to construct a theoretical framework complemented with practitioner perspectives in a case study, with a focus on the meaning and priority of protected landscape management in the

US. The research of this thesis provides an understanding of how protected landscapes are managed through wise-use and what role 'corporate natures' have in this management process. This work has added to the academic discussion on sustainable development and the processes of responsibility and resilience in wise-use management, critiquing these through the corporate lens (CSR) and their application to socio-ecological management systems. From this critique this thesis evidences from both a theoretical perspective (see Section 3.6) and a qualitative research perspective (see Section 5.5.5) that wise-use and the frame of CSR as responsibility has struggled to uphold sustainable development and, as described by The President of the World Council For Sustainable Development, Peter Bakker, that form of 'CSR is dead'. The resulting outcome, and thus the main contribution of this thesis, is that it evidences a contemporary paradigm of wise-use management, which asserts that a new frame of CSR has evolved. This frame shifts CSR from the process of corporate responsibility (relative and subjective) to a more robust process of corporate resilience, which is advanced through adaptive co-management and the inclusion of relevant stakeholders (including local communities and the environment). This work does not argue for a comparison of responsibility and resilience, that is not the objective of this thesis. However, it is important for academic explanation, that research in this thesis validates that responsibility and resilience do have strong links; they do work on a similar level, both as 'precursors to sustainable development' and both representing strategies driven by processes and outcomes (see Section 3.6.1). The work of thesis also accepts that responsibility may still act as a moral compass or a set of principles that society aspire to, but it also argues that wise-use as a contemporary corporate management strategy should not be framed around a subjective or relative process; a process that a 'profit seeker' can use to 'look good' rather than transform their business model.

This work contributes to discourses around sustainability through the lens of tourism and to advance a broader acceptance of responsible tourism, to progress a more robust concept of wise-use management. Sustainability and tourism have relied on responsible actions, yet there is a demand to go beyond the ideals of philanthropy, which relates back to responsibility (Section 3.6.2):

> ‘For tourism to make that critical difference, we need, in 2017 International Year of Sustainable Tourism for Development, to encourage …Sustainability that is an intrinsic part of a company’s opus operandi, not simply part of a philanthropic effort’ (BEST EN, 2016).

Current debates concentrate discussions on sustainable tourism through the lens of CSR as responsibility (evidenced in Section 3.6.2) and there is also much work on socio-ecological resilience (evidenced in Section 3.6.3), yet there is a gap in connecting CSR to the frame of corporate social resilience. This thesis fills that gap as it contributes to a new paradigm of CSR as resilience. This thesis argues that the adaptive co-management processes applied in the case study have gone beyond responsible actions and it should be viewed as resilient actions, which fills a gap within the debate on environmental sustainability and tourism resilience. Evidence suggests (Section 3.6.3.3) that there is an absence of ‘…resilience studies within the field of tourism…’ (Luthe & Wyss, 2014: 162) in particular connecting to carrying capacity (see Section 3.5) and this work contributes to this gap. It provides a new mode of thinking to CSR, interpreting it through a model of resilience within tourism studies, and as such has laid new foundations for understanding tourism and resilience. It provides a ‘new brick in the wall’ of academic knowledge that is of interest to social scientists and to business studies and their interaction between and with each other.

This research contributes to academic knowledge with environmental sustainable development and as such offers a significant contribution to social science, especially within environmental and economic geographies. It also contributes and adds knowledge to business studies, by addressing the connection between advancing knowledge through social science and advancing practical application in management; this work will impact upon management thinking and policy decision-making. This is true not only in national parks but also a broader audience of those involved with environmental and sustainable management. It does this by providing an investigation into the social and cultural connection of protected landscapes and the practitioner management of corporate natures, fulfilling the requirement that:

> ‘…any professional investigation in social sciences is to clarify our understanding of the segment of the social world that is of interest’ (Lindblom & Cohen, 1979 [in] (Sharma, 2004: 1).

Through a broader lens, the work of this thesis also engages wider landscape settings, for example, the urban ‘green’ landscapes and their social, economic and ecological drivers, which offer similarities to rural ones, as Wu (2013: 1003) states:

> 'Urban green spaces are…dynamic, formed by biophysical and ecological drivers on the one hand, and social and economic drivers on the other (Pickett et al., 2001 [in] Barthel et al., 2005: 1).'

These similarities suggest that the work in this thesis offer a significant contribution to urban landscape studies, especially as by 2030 the UN predict that over 70% of the World’s population will live in cities (UN., 2008).

> ‘Urban ecosystems are becoming increasingly important as nodes of interaction between humans and nature. Sustainable management of urban ecosystems is therefore a crucial issue that needs to be analysed' (Barthel, 2004: 305).

Although the main contribution of this thesis is through the lens of tourism in protected landscapes (in rural settings), there are, as already stated, wider audiences to which this work also contributes. For example, it has much to say to political ecologists, economic geographers and to industry practitioners, where the framework of CSR as resilience can be applied to how lands are governed in a range of contexts, from minerals exploitation to agriculture to mining to residential development. These lands are not limited to protected or reserved spaces, they encompass public and private lands and, on a global scale, lands that are threatened from a variety of activities and industries. What is prevalent, is that the threats to landscapes are increasing in stature, they are more visible and there is a continuing demand to ‘unlock’ these lands and protected landscapes for extraction and developments (Milman, 2016). At present within the UK there is much debate about energy exploitation from fracking, and the possibility that the UK government may allow such extraction from below the national parks.

> ‘The new rules allow fracking 1,200 metres below national parks and sites of special scientific interest, as long as drilling takes place from outside protected areas. This comes despite the government previously pledging an outright ban on the controversial technique for extracting shale gas in such areas’ (Perraudin, 2015: 1).

This threat is also apparent in the US national parks, exemplified in Theodore Roosevelt national park, where the superintendent Wendy Ross, stated, ‘It’s easy to feel besieged here’ (Milman, 2016). The siege is coming from oil and gas drilling on the outskirts of the park, which is impacting the park in terms of its natural values and experiences. Away from the protected landscapes, threats are just as apparent. Within the US, the Sierra Club has major concerns over development and industrial threats to natural environments and local communities:

> ‘A small group of Native Americans established a prayer camp last spring near the confluence of the Missouri and Cannonball rivers. Their goal was to stop construction of the Dakota Access pipeline, which would pass just north of the reservation of the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe in North Dakota. They prayed that their community -- and the water source it depends on -- would not be sacrificed for the sake of another dirty fossil fuel pipeline’ (Brune, 2016: 1).

The extraction and development industries pose significant threats to these landscapes, as MIT (2016) state, extraction, particularly from mining is ‘invasive’ and the impact is wide, it goes beyond the mined area and it may damage lands for many years to come. The work of this thesis contributes to the effective management of these threats and concerns to landscapes from wide ranging industries; for it argues for a process that goes beyond what is prescribed as responsible, which ‘…can only ever be an adjunct to the main purpose of business’ (Townsend, 2015). This thesis argues that well managed stakeholder involvement can have a beneficial outcome, by applying a new process of CSR as resilience, which will act as a strong catalyst for sustainable development. Such socio-ecological resilience provides a framework that transforms business models through adaptive co-management, providing more robust working relationships in order to counter these threats. Robust in that CSR as resilience goes beyond subjective ideals and looking good, to ensure all relevant stakeholders and capacity are part of environmental sustainability and management. CSR as resilience advances processes and drivers linking

human and environmental capital, it engages adaptive co-management and interactions between people and the environment and it builds stewardship. Within the mining context, the stakeholders may well be similar to the stakeholders in the tourism context; they are the actors or stewards who participate in adaptive co-management and represent, the private or public land owners, the local communities, the environment (NGOs), federal and/or local governance and the corporate. CSR as resilience engages adaption and transformation and it engages all stakeholders to embrace long-term planning, '…to take a holistic look at an ecosystem' (Milman, 2016).

As such, this research will continue to engage wider global audiences where CSR and wise-use management form an integral part of sustainable development and environmental management. Social scientists and business practitioners should now take forward the findings that a contemporary paradigm of wise-use management has evolved, which views CSR through a new lens, one that drives the contemporary model of environmental management and one that is represented through the process of corporate social resilience (see Sections 3.3.2 and 6.4).

7.2 Key Conceptual Themes

7.2.1 Blending Concepts of Protection

The work of this thesis has examined the concept of protection and in particular that the US national park ideals required 'a blending of the related concepts of conservation and preservation'. The early enabling Acts and the Organic Act of 1916 offered an interpretation of protection through both preservation and conservation, and those terms have been used rather ambiguously for some time. An argument could be made that such ambiguity may have been prevalent due to a lack of clear differentiation in the mid to late nineteenth century, but that is unlikely, as examination has shown that proponents of national park policy were clear on their definition. Muir believed a spiritual harvest from nature was forthcoming for the people. He actively promoted tourism and saw visitation as a method to strengthen conservation; this form of conservation was singular – tourism. A more progressive form of conservation was practiced by Pinchot who believed, like the wise-use movement, in multi-

use of natural resources, that profit was available for every person from all that nature offered; this is conservation in its most liberal form. On the other hand, Olmsted clearly defined protection through the stricter form of preservation, demanding that public authority management controlled any limited development with the exclusion of private profiteers. To add another layer of complexity to this, Muir has often been described as a preservationist and towards the end of his life became concerned at human materialism. Preservation purists have long-held similar beliefs, further endorsed in the 1960's through environmentalists such as Rachel Carson, that preservation can only mean the exclusion of humans from such protected areas. The research of this thesis asserts that there is not so much ambiguity within this debate, moreover the concepts are used interchangeably – as evidenced by Muir - to represent a priority of protection and a need to address sustainable development, where both concepts blend to offer acceptable methods of environmental management. A point of centrism exists between the two concepts, one that is bound together through the 'unalienable right' of public access. Access is the binding agent for preservation and conservation, which exalts Mather and Wirth's ideals that the number of people who visit equals the number of people who understand protection. Determining protection through conservation and preservation requires some sort of middle ground, where conservation is not based around progressive multi-use and preservation does not call for human exclusion. Preservation organisations such as the Sierra Club and The Wilderness Society prescribed this 'business as usual' scenario where the Wilderness Act (see Box 14) stated '…where man himself is a visitor who does not remain' (Nash, 1982b: 5). This form of preservation warrants human inclusion so as to engage protection through understanding, to make humans better stewards.

Since the inception of the Organic Act in 1916, stewardship and enjoyment of special places has been the vision of the NPS, a vision of how the public sector and citizenry should embrace protected landscapes. This thesis has demonstrated that throughout history, protection alongside access has provided a binding agent for sustainable development, in that blending preservation and conservation safeguards the needs of current and future generations, and that both are considered with equal testament; protection has called for:

> '…a blending of the related concepts of conservation and preservation. In its broader sense, conservation included preservation as one of many valid approaches to managing resources' (Sellars, 1997: 43).

7.2.2 Wise-Use Management

McKibben's (2003) work *The End of Nature* suggested 'nature' is dead or at least dying. This thesis does not engage with that view, rather it states nature is - over a temporal scale - different, and will continue to be different. Access and protection change over time as the human-environment relationship evolves, and in US protected landscape policy that relationship has been managed through wise-use. As this thesis has evidenced, wise-use originated with private land claims in the US where European settlers were expected to act responsibly in return for freedom to build their livelihoods, to own and develop their lands. This became a complex and multifaceted policy when the corporate became involved, where profit could be made by companies rather than simply appropriating personal improvement. *Hutchings* was one of the first to develop land title for tourism businesses in national parks and the subsequent Supreme Court ruling (v *Low* – the then Governor of California*)* legislated a new form of wise-use in protected landscapes, whereby the corporate would have certain freedom taken away and be limited to private investment rather than ownership. However, the premise still relied on the main priority of wise-use, that the corporate would act responsibly. At a recent CSR conference in Germany, (BEST EN 2016) Dwyer (2016) stated, '…corporate responsibility is like 'saluting while the ship sinks''. Through the case study there is evidence upon evidence of the ship sinking, where a complex relationship between the NPS, who need to govern policy, and the corporate as a concessioner, who need to ensure profits, are mismatched. Mission 66 and The General Management Plans showed how policy could be manipulated for development to subjugate any form of management of carrying capacity; for all intents and purposes wise-use simply meant to ensure unimpaired access. As Runte (1990b: 214) stated, concessioners would do almost anything to develop profits and expand facilities, as Sellars (1997: 205) confirmed, a sort of 'recreational multiple use prevailed' and as Miles (1995: 328) suggested, controls on their [concessioners] interests were needed. Could wise-use prevail to uphold these concerns? The NPS was effectively the protected landscape police service, yet they were

impotent to concessioner demands, which clearly upheld Congress' wishes; unimpaired public access. From the 1980's it was clear wise-use would need to evolve, litigation against the NPS resulted in questions over carrying capacity. What are the limits? What is the maximum number? Just how well does national park policy fit with legislation dictated under the Wilderness Act and The Wild and Scenic Rivers Act? Questions around wise-use and impacts upon stakeholders have been raised not only in the US but globally by the IUCN, in particular to local communities and their inclusion in policy. The answers perhaps lie with the findings of this thesis, blending Mather's original ideals alongside the contemporary paradigm of wise-use. That access could enhance protection, that creating a wealth from nature, dollarising it would safeguard it and that adaptive co-management will provide resilient policy making; the inclusion of all relevant stakeholders. National parks are valuable places to society, a value to visitors and a value to local communities through employment and wealth creation; linking back to the original values of wise-use, to uphold personal improvement.

This thesis demonstrates that the contemporary paradigm has taken account of these limitations of wise-use framed around responsibility, it evidences through the Merced River Plan that actors within national park management have adapted to work more closely together, that stakeholders have become stewards of national park management. This has advanced a contemporary paradigm of wise-use, which upholds adaptive co-management and requires the inclusion of relevant stakeholders to policy-making. These actors include the private-public relationship as local communities and NGOs, who look to progress sustainable development beyond the relative mandate that wise-use requires responsible actions. The contemporary frame of wise-use management advances where the corporate co-exists alongside local communities, government (NPS) and local NGO's to manage 'public resort and recreation'. Management strategies have developed beyond the win-win of an environment-economic scenario, to identify more with a win-win-win scenario (see Wu, 2013) that includes planet-profit-people. This scenario progresses contemporary wise-use management, building adaptive strategies and resilience so the emphasis is no longer on public lands maintaining private capital but on stakeholders maintaining protected lands.

Referring back to Dwyer (2016) he stated, the emphasis of responsibility was 'promotion by push' where the orientation pointed towards shareholder interests and the growth of business, a 'duty of care' that any corporate has, whereas the contemporary paradigm suggests 'promotion by pull'. In this model, relevant stakeholders work together, where one stakeholder's value of responsibility is not set against another, it is about co-management that adapts to the environment, it manages capacity and blends conservation with preservation; the inclusion of people and the acceptance of preservation legislation. The ice-rink in the empirical case study provides a good example of this. A recreational facility that promotes access and provides valuable incomes to the concessioner in winter months, it was also positioned nearby the River Merced and some preservationists felt was just adding to the multi-use scenario that Alternative 5 of the MRP endorsed. After consultation with Congress and relevant stakeholders it was agreed the ice-rink was an important asset and should remain but be relocated. Part of the reasoning behind this was that it is a seasonal facility, ice-skating uses natural elements and it was not similar to a facility such as a putting course or 'fire-fall' that has or had far less connection to the national park.

The US model of wise-use built from responsibility and freedom, which has created a staging post, but also created tensions and complexities. It kept the NPS in the middle-ground of attempting to uphold access whilst also sustaining protection. This thesis advances wise-use and asserts a new frame, one driven by adaptive co-management and capacity, where wise-use requires resilience as a process. It is about the future, the very essence of sustainable development policies, as Leopold believed one that ensures,

> '…the richest values of wilderness lie not in the days of Daniel Boone, nor even in the present, but rather in the future' (Nash, 1982b: 199).

7.2.3 Re-Framing CSR

This thesis challenges the ideals of CSR as a mechanism to appropriate wise-use through responsible corporate actions, as that only offers a voluntary code with subjective principles; 'after decades CSR is insufficient to drive sustainable development…' (Strasdas, 2016). As a practitioner, the researcher has on-

going empirical experience of CSR in the work place and far too often it is used, as Townsend (2015: 3) stated, as ‘a partial solution’, a strategy that can be ‘misused’ to simply look good, and as Ketola (2010) remarks, responsibility doesn’t equal sustainability. Sustainable development has often been viewed as impotent and a politically expedient term to legitimise the use of finite natural resources, but sustainability is the goal, it is the outcome, and this thesis argues that rather than sustainability being questionable, it is the strategies or the processes that are questionable. Wu (2013: 1020) succinctly expressed this by stating that landscape sustainability is an ‘evolving goal’ and to have any chance of reaching that goal we must continuously look to ‘improving the human–environment relationship based on what we know and what we are learning.’ The author went on to say that complex systems can be more effectively understood and managed if we re-design and ‘…dance with them!’ The research of this thesis establishes that within Yosemite National Park there has been a re-design of wise-use management, evolving from the inadequacies and impotency of plans and policies such as Mission 66 and The General Management Plan of 1980. This thesis has demonstrated that the contemporary paradigm of wise-use reframes CSR to replace responsibility with resilience whereby relevant stakeholders are part of adaptive co-management. The MRP includes the relevant stakeholders as co-managers, not always at every level of the policy or decision-making process, but through opinion and planning it has considered relevancy and strategy. Responsibility is still referred to within the management systems, for that is the historic tool they use (as do most organisations today), but this thesis asserts that responsibility has been a guiding light or a staging post and the new frame has shifted to one of resilience, where CSR should be strategised as corporate social resilience.

Resilience takes on many forms and has many definitions but within this work it is framed around socio-ecological-economic resilience, a process to determine environmental sustainability and the role of corporate natures. The corporate is not the antithesis to protection but has evolved to be a good steward of protection. However, the corporate is not a perfect model of environmental management as the ‘duty of care’ the corporate holds to shareholders and employees requires increasing profit, which at times means its actions within environmental management may be challenged or questioned. Sellars (1997:

205) made the comment that Albright believed Mission 66 to be one of the 'noblest actions' of the NPS and that the concessioner would benefit from 'recreational multiple use'. History has evidenced that concessioners have a requirement to provide services that visitors enjoy, which in turn will embrace Congress' wishes of increasing public access. To what level is recreational development responsible? To go back to the now renowned ice-rink, that is a facility that provides for public enjoyment in winter and is a famous attraction within the US national parks. It provides visitors with an attraction and the corporate with profits, yet it is questioned in terms of whether it 'fits' within a national park. From David Curry's operation in the 1900's to MCA in the 1970's and DN in the 2000's, concessioners want activities and infrastructure that builds public satisfaction and enjoyment, and that makes a profit. For many in the protected landscape debate that is seen as contentious and obscene, so there should be controls in place to overcome this, but those controls have been absent for many decades. For example MCA looked for a responsible outcome from the General Management Plan 1980 that related to their needs of development, rather than the needs or responsible ideals of all relevant stakeholders. To determine environmental management through a voluntary code is absurd, the concessioners' ideal of responsibility may be different to that of the purists, or to that of the public or of the NPS.

Re-framing CSR as resilience also upholds the concept that profit for protection goes beyond economic profit and 'dollarisation' in the US parks; it does, as suggested in Section 6.2.1, offer another notion, where profit has a broader context – that of social profit, to support the ideals of national parks. The Oxford Dictionary defines profit through two meanings, firstly, as 'a financial gain' and secondly, as an 'advantage or benefit'; it is this latter meaning that this social profit engages with. This thesis has examined such advantages and benefits through the conceptual themes associated with protected landscape management, investigating the frameworks of place, feeling and the ideals of protection and access. The outcomes evidence that financial profits and the dollarisation of parks provides a safety net (see Section 3.3.3), this in turn endorses environmental protection; linking to a social profit (benefit). As discussed, the corporate and the NPS actually want to ensure landscape is protected, that it is 'safe'; as it is a space where society is connected to

wild[er]ness through the development of tourism. Thus bolstering a wealth from and a wealth for nature; this 'wealth for nature' is a concept that the preservation purists have also engaged with, that social profit may ensure wider protection. Such profit endorses resilience alongside social cohesion, alongside the social and environmental networks, as Brown (2016: 92) suggests, '…social cohesion is thus a combination of social support and social capital.'

This notion of wider protection through social profit upholds the work of Mather, Muir and Wirth, and it also connects to the contemporary paradigm of wise-use management – engaging all relevant stakeholders, including the environment. It is a concept that may be taken forward for future generations, offering a broader global appeal alongside financial profits.

Legislation has also played an important role within CSR and wise-use management, to provision a framework of protection whilst also endorsing unimpaired public access. However, as with much legislation it is ambiguous and complex, which has created tensions and difficulties. To give an example of this, the Wild & Scenic Rivers System designates certain rivers for protection of their remarkable values, yet some of these Rivers within the US actually go through the heart of cities, e.g. Boston, even though there is meant to be no development within a ¼ mile of the River itself. However, where the MRP differs to previous legislature is that it addresses carrying capacity and endorses the need for improved zoning of recreational areas, scenic areas and wild areas. The latter are protected to 'represent vestiges of primitive America' (NPS, 2013a) whereas recreational zones allow far greater multiple uses. Wise-use requires that legislature and good governance form a framework of planning and management systems, and since the MRP there has been greater adaption and transformation of these systems and greater inclusion of the actors relevant to such decisions; reframing the process of CSR.

Rather than pursuing a comparison or suggesting mutual exclusivity between responsibility and resilience, this thesis advances a contemporary paradigm of wise-use and asserts that this frame of CSR has evolved to represent corporate social resilience. It should be noted that this thesis accepts that responsibility may still act as a moral compass or a set of principles to which society can

aspire, and it could be argued that actors have become more responsible. However, responsibility is not an effective strategy to advance sustainable development, and Ketola's (2010) 'five-leap scales' to assess a company's level of responsibility go some way to cement this point. The levels range from very low to very high, responsible strategy cannot be effective if different actors have different levels, as history continually demonstrates they do. In the contemporary model, actors may still have different levels of responsibility (as a moral compass) but each actor, in particular the corporate, determining a level of responsibility does not define policy or strategy - there is no such level. Instead policy and corporate management are determined through relevancy of stakeholders, the ability to adapt to manage capacity and importantly to progress the process of co-management. It is adaption and capacity being co-managed (not responsible actions being determined) that define and maintain policy. The corporate model is transforming and as such this thesis argues that CSR as resilience should be the frame used for wise-use management and to progress sustainable development.

7.3 Limitations and Future Research

This section considers certain limitations of this thesis in order to suggest how research, evolving from this work, may be progressed. Although not a limitation in itself, a point should be made that one of the difficulties of this research has been that the researcher is part-time and self-funded, researching and writing this thesis over the last six years alongside running a business (owner Director).

This thesis examines protected landscape management and the founding ideals of US national parks through definitions relating to Yellowstone National Park and the case study of Yosemite National Park. As such one of the main difficulties integral to this research was the ability to explore the entirety of all US protected landscapes. In many ways this created an ideal situation as Yosemite (and Yellowstone) were the founding parks they set the precedents for others to follow, and so much of the critique and intricacies of management were projected by Yosemite. For example the management of Yosemite was defined through a number of haphazard investors known as concessioners, whereas rail conglomerates determined other parks such as Yellowstone.

These concessioners have provided an in-depth analysis of corporate actions over the last 150 years and set the scene for wise-use management. Another limitation arising from this, was that as many concessioners have evolved throughout many of the US Parks, it has been impossible to investigate the actions specific to each of the Parks' concessioners. To research them as individual organisations and the substitutability of their policies between Parks and each other has not been possible. Future research could look at how CSR, corporate management and wise-use has evolved in other US Parks and how this can be substituted to parks and protected landscapes globally. This also suggests another limitation of this work, that there is a 'mosaic' of different global landscape environments that this thesis has not researched, particularly where protection and access combine and where, 'when humanity is considered a part of nature' (Bolund and Hunhammar, 1999: 294). For example, as outlined in Section 7.1, this thesis can contribute to urban 'green' landscape management and thus the substitutability of policies between rural and urban landscapes is interesting for future research.

Substitutability of concepts and policies between urban and rural, natural and protected area systems and management processes is an important area for future research into sustainability. Daly (1995 [in] Wu 2013) identified an interesting future research question to this concept of substitutability, whether it relates more to complementarity:

> 'Daly (1995) further pointed out that complementarity, not substitutability, is the key to sustainability. Strong sustainability...achieving a balance among the three dimensions of sustainability means creating so-called ''win–win–win'' situations' (Wu, 2013: 1003)

As such future research could take forward this examination of complementarity and/or substitutability with examination between rural and urban park management. For example, The Stockholm Resilience Centre and their research within Stockholm's National Urban Park (RNCP) have undertaken a lot of the work attributed to adaption and capacity within urban protected area management. The researcher did investigate some of their work and found that within the RNCP there are around 24 local stakeholder associations and sixty-five organisations that represent recreation and utility management. Between

them they provide a diverse range of adaptive co-management within the urban landscape, and it would be interesting with future research to gain further insight into the substitutability between a national urban park and a national 'rural' park. This example moves away from the traditional ideal of National Parks, that fundamentally their location is rural or within an area of wildness and pristine natural environment. This substitutability of protected landscape ideals looks at urban areas through a different lens, to magnify the ideal that as well as wildness creating tourism, that tourism too, could also create wildness: a new creation of national park, the national urban park.

Since the enabling Acts wise-use in Yosemite has advanced the requirement of private investment not ownership. Since that time there have been certain concerns and difficulties with such a system, most notably foreign investment (in 1990 when the Matsushita Corporation of Japan bought MCA), the operation of multiple private investors rather than a monopoly (this has never materialised), and whether private ownership may well offer a future alternative to investment. While this thesis has highlighted some of these limitations, not all were covered. Future research should investigate foreign investment of protected landscapes globally, particularly as history had shown in the US Congress would not allow this. Although application is global, a further interesting field of research within the US would be whether investment by indigenous peoples (especially as American Indians' history forms such an important part of national park development) would be possible. Alongside this, such research could also examine how individual private investors and small business operators could ever maintain the primary concession, or whether the foreign and small investors could undertake more of the concessioner duties and to diminish the monopoly. This question was asked during the fieldwork, Interview: President YGP, (2012: 26):

> 'No, I don't think so. Because then they start competing with each other. So it's only every few years that they have a competition to figure out who the next concessioner is going to be. But otherwise you wind up with these competing businesses and then you wind up with a place that is replete with ads and stuff like that. 'No, don't go to Degnan's over there for Pizza, come over here to Round Table.''

However, this point was not researched to any great degree, as it would be highly unlikely that a small local operator would be able to compete for the primary concession agreement against the major hospitality companies. As to a complete change of the ideals of investment not ownership this in itself would warrant a thesis in its own right. Future research would provide an interesting examination of how wise-use would evolve in these situations and whether that would increase or alleviate tensions.

CSR has many applications in many industries connected to environmental management and this thesis has not been able to address all of these. For example, other future research could examine CSR and wise-use where agriculture, extraction and energy sectors impact upon natural environments. A question arising out of that research could be the substitutability to the work of this thesis and tourism in protected landscapes. The work of this thesis has addressed CSR in terms of protected landscape management, and this should be taken forward to address the entire concept of CSR for all sectors and industries in environmental management.

7.4 Concluding Remarks

This thesis has examined corporate actions and wise-use management in US protected landscape through the lens of corporate responsibility and it has asserted a new frame of CSR. Undoubtedly there will be contestation to this assertion, especially in that responsibility can still exist alongside resilience. However, CSR is not simply a set of principles, it is designed to build important strategies to uphold sustainable development. Responsibility will continue as a moral compass for society but this thesis demonstrates that it should not be used as a corporate strategy in environmental management, because it is impotent as a strategy. Moreover, the contemporary paradigm of wise-use has evidenced that CSR as responsibility has already evolved to a more robust process of resilience. It necessitates a different set of parameters where stakeholders have to adapt and co-manage to build protection alongside access.

This evolution continues to uphold Congress' wishes that wise-use management should be progressed by investors not owners, and emphasises

that complex federal governance and domain is moving, and needs to continue to move, towards private enterprise, liberalism and adaptive co-management programmes, to develop the ‘fostering of hybrid environmental governance’:

> ‘…transnational intergovernmental and NGOs have fostered norms of state responsibility for environmental protection, through the creation of international conventions and by grooming state actors in developing countries to become champions of conservation (Frank et al. 2000). They are supposed to have also fostered new types of 'hybrid environmental governance', in which states, businesses, NGOs, and communities share responsibility for conservation. In addition to its putative positive conservation outcomes, this type of governance holds the promise of being democratic, efficient, equitable, and profitable’ (Lemos & Agrawal 2006 [in] Igoe & Brockington, 2007: 433).

This is where the adaptive co-management model builds transformation rather than responsibility as a process, and endeavours to advance access and sustain protection. In doing so, the primary purpose of a national park will allow visitors to connect with nature to ensure that visitation for future descendants will be as memorable and as close to wild as it is for current generations.

Appendix 1 – Yosemite Interviews

CONTACT DETAILS FOR RS MEETING SCHEDULE AT YOSEMITE – JUNE 2012

NAME	POSITION	GROUP	CONTACTS
Dan Jensen	**President DNC Parks & Resorts At Yosemite** The primary concessioner in Yosemite.	DNC	209-372-1484 (office) 321-287-0052 (cell)
Jim Donovan	**Planning Division**	NPS	209-379-1450 209-631-6393
Jim Bacon	**Planning Division** Is dealing most directly with visitor use, user capacity and transportation.	NPS	209-379-1450
Mike Yochim	**Planning Division** Another planner is Mike Yochim, who is currently managing the Tuolumne River Plan. Mike recently is about to publish his second book based upon his four years as a planner in Yellowstone. The working title is "Protecting Yellowstone." His first book covered the controversial use of snowmobiles in the park. He's done a lot of work to reconcile park use with socioeconomic issues affecting local communities.	NPS	209-379-1450

Donna Sisson	**Public Involvement & Outreach** Gateway and regional collaboration (primarily tourism related) Public outreach Public involvement for plans and projects. Some commercial services management items.	NPS	209-372-0249 209-756-8991
Marty Nielson	**Management Asst. To Superintendent** While currently a Management Assistant to the Park Superintendent working on concession contract prospectus development, transportation and transit coordination and implementation, and a variety of other specific issues as a member of Yosemite's Executive Leadership Team, I have served for many years as the Chief of Business and Revenue Management involving concessions management, fee management (entrance station and campground fee operations), and specially permitted functions such a commercial filming, special events, and commercial activities.	NPS	209-372-0274
Annette Catamec	**Concessions Management Specialist** My work/role as a Concessions Management Specialist is concession contract administration and compliance, operational oversight, and Prospectus development. In other words, I work closely with the park concessioners and other National Park Service staff.	NPS	209-372-0312

Joe Meyer	**Planning Division – Science Division** Our planning liaison to the Resources Management and Science Division is Joe Meyer. Joe is the RMS branch chief of physical sciences. He has long time experience here and worked on prior river plans. He has been working to coordinate research efforts and deliver findings and recommendations to the planning team on behalf of all scientists involved in the planning effort.	NPS	209-379-1450
Bob Asquith	**Yosemite Gateway Partners – President of the Board** Yosemite Gateway Partners – founded in 2003 - is a coalition of government agencies, non-profit organizations, individuals and companies who acknowledge the interdependence of Yosemite National Park and the surrounding community. It seeks to expand the diversity of visitors and to enhance the visitor experience while helping to encourage a healthy, vibrant and sustainable economy in the region. It does this through awareness of and consultation on a range of interrelated issues. It seeks to create new opportunities that are presented by the large number of local, national and international visitors that come to the park passing through the surrounding land, roadways, recreational areas, towns, watersheds and communities. It acknowledges a wide range of interests and individuals that span tourism, education, industry, the arts,	YGP	209-962-7990 (H) 650-303-3564 (C)

	retirement and recreational activities. It does this while maintaining an appropriate attitude towards the environment and the preservation of the natural beauty. It develops and implements strategies that will be mutually beneficial to visitors, the coalition partners and to others who live or work in the region.		
Linda Eade	**Yosemite Research Library** Providing access to documentation and literature during visit.	NPS	(209) 372-0280
Pete Divine	**Yosemite Conservancy** Providing for Yosemite's future is our passion. We inspire people to support projects and programs that preserve and protect Yosemite National Park's resources and enrich the visitor experience. From www.yosemiteconservancy.org	YC	(209) 379-2317

Interview	Question
Dan Jensen Role President DNC Concession	1) The history of DNC's concession development in Yosemite and how the management of this has changed/adapted over the years since 1993? 2) What started DNC involvement in Yosemite and in protected area concession development, what was the initially impetus? 3) What are the range of concessions that DNC operate – their relative strength / weaknesses as generators of income – have there been any concessions that DNC no longer develop or wish to let go – why – are there any concessions DNC would like to develop in the future? 4) How you see this progressing for the future especially with the Merced River Plan Concepts? How do DNC feel this will progress? 5) What is DNC role in this (Merced Plan) process, if any? 6) How DNC develop and progress relationships with the NPS/Environmentalist Groups/Stakeholders whilst ensuring you meet your objectives and fulfill customer expectations? 7) How do DNC think they are viewed by these different bodies and client groups – are DNC seen as the 'opposition' (as developers) by environmentalists and if so, how – if at all – might they counter that? 8) What do your customers want when they visit Yosemite (e.g. a 'Resort' or to be closer to Nature Tourism) if elements of both then do demographics specifically fit one or other? Ice rink is great example (historic and based around natural elements)? 9) Do you feel DNC supply what your customers want or are you constrained in responding to customer demand in the way that either they (the customers) or you, might want?

	10) For the future do DNC see that your business model should be guided to promoting and/or facilitating education and nature based tourism and is this something DNC should be getting into]? 11) Do DNC see that enjoyment for today is as important as protection for tomorrow? I believe people should be encouraged to be 'part' of Yosemite to enjoy the experience today so they know what it is they are conserving for tomorrow. 12) What is DNC responsibility for public interest and access and moreover, how do DNC define 'public interest and access' – how public should it be – is it too public, is there room for more private recreational provision or is this out of place here in Yosemite? 13) Do you see DNC as a public interest or public good provider. Capitalism v Balance. Presumably, if concessionaire companies were only involved in private goods, there would be more hotels with swimming pools and the like, so clearly there is some responsibility here to provide private goods that are compatible with the public good of the National Park – what are the limits to this? 14) DNC have interests in American wilderness/National Parks, is that part of a corporate strategy (green or 'national treasures') or fiscally dominated? 15) If so, how does the Yosemite experience contrast with these others – what particular issues here compared with the others? 16) What do you feel is the role of private companies in protection? 17) Do you feel it is problematic or potentially controversial that a private company is making money out of public access to a National Park or public good. Presumably not, but again, the issue is really one of how far can this go? 18) Where are the limits to private development within a National Park and how should those limits be set?

	19) Do you feel that DNC has a role in the governance of the Park. Are you regularly involved in management decisions. If not, do you think you should be? Stakeholder meetings? 20) Is DNC part of the 'supply' or the 'demand' or a bit of both?

Interview	**Question**
Jim Donovan	1) Have corporate actions through planning enhanced protection in Yosemite?
Jim Bacon	2) What is the type and range of corporate actions in the Park – some sense of this is important?
Mike Yochim	3) How does Yosemite compare with other Parks in its use of corporate finance/actions – is there a limit to how far these actions ought to go, or the sorts of activities that should be permitted? Who decides?
<u>Roles</u>	4) What do you think the public demand for these sorts of corporate actions is?
	5) Is that demand met or is it not met for a reason – Disneyfication perhaps – what is the NPS' role in anticipating
NPS Planning	and meeting (or not meeting) public demands for amenities and access – ice rink?
	6) What is the role of planning department to tourism development? Protect or promote access?
Merced River Plan	7) How do NPS balance public access policy v legal (W&SRA)? Contradictions in law?
	8) Has the role of NPS to public access changed since 1916?
Tuolumne RP	9) Monopolistic concessions – is that the way forward? Is Yellowstone Pluralistic?
	10) User management – fee concessions to hiking/cycling in/hybrid cars/max pax in cars?
Visitor Use & User	11) Merced River Plan – Why is there no policy to stop cars?
Capacity	12) Certain tourist activities like ice skating to be removed from all 5 concepts – why? Doesn't allow choices

	13) Is the role of NPS to protect, conserve or preserve the National Parks? 14) NPS would it really reduce numbers when policy is to promote access? 15) In planning terms why is Valley given over for 95% wilderness? Would it not be better to open up other tourism zones? 16) Does NPS act as an intermediary between corporate actions and environmental concerns? 17) How 'wild' should wilderness be, how wild can NPS Planning keep it? 18) Do you see the corporate bodies/interests as part of the governance of the Park or part of the things that need to be governed? What relationship do you have with them? 19) Is 'wilderness compatible with tourism – what are the limits: guided mass walks, bungee jumping, rock climbing. What is not compatible?

Interview	**Question**
Joe Meyer	1) Does corporate development enhance protection?
	2) Is it compatible with the notion of a public good, a 'national' park ? – what are the limits to this compatibility?
Role	3) How have corporate actions changed the landscape of Yosemite? For good or bad - examples of each – or examples of neutral impact?
NPS	4) How do you balance ecology and ecosystem services with NPS policy to promote access and tourism development? Draw attention to the limits – are we a long way from the limits or are we getting close to upsetting this balance
Physical	5) How is climate change affecting flora and fauna in Yosemite?

Sciences Environment	6) Do cars affect 3) and flaura and fauna? 7) Is there tension between Environmentalists/NPS/Corporate Development? What is NPS role to control? 8) Do you see the NPS role as that of arbiters between conservationists and developers in that you need to protect the wilderness but also help the area survive economically? 9) Co-management programmes – would/do they strengthen ecosystem management and biological diversity? 10) Is there a value to ecosystem services? Fiscal or Perceived? 11) Is there an order to these? i.e. Flora v Fauna? 12) Native American peoples should/do they encouraged to be part of Yosemite life. Do they operate any of the concessions If not, is this deliberate or not appropriate?

Interview	**Question**
Donna Sisson Marty Nielsen Annette Catamec <u>Roles</u> NPS	1) Have corporate actions in tourism enhanced public perception of Yosemite? 2) In your opinion, how do the corporate bodies operating concessions balance the need to make a viable profit with the needs of protection? 3) Do they get the balance right. What is your role in impacting upon how they address this balance? 4) Do these actions develop capital investment or environmental concerns to the public? 5) Do local public visit park regularly and partake in activities? Are these public against development and if so, do they partake in activities? 6) The GM Plan of 1980 60,000 views from public and orgs. Has very little changed?

Public Outreach & Involvement	7) The two River Plans will public voice be heard? What is this voice, for or against corporate actions/tourism development?
	8) What is objection by public to restriction of cars rather than use electric buses?
Concession Management	9) Have concessions modified their corporate actions to enhance environmental concerns?
	10) Has nature been commodified by concessions and corporate actions?
Transportation Co-ordinator	11) Entry fees – increase to reduce numbers or decrease to increase numbers and promote access, what is NPS view?
	12) User management – fee concessions to hiking/cycling in/hybrid cars/max pax in cars?
Controls & Implementation	13) Is concession contract about nature tourism or is it about 'disneyfication' – McDonalds – YoseMite?
	14) Ice rink or ice cream? What activities are too commercial for sustainable tourism in Yosemite?
Fee Management	15) What is the process for allocating concessions: how is this operated, governed, is there a lot of competition or is it by invitation?
Commercial Activities	16) What criteria for assessing bids?

Interview	**Question**
Bob Asquith	1) What is the role, function, history of the YG Partners?
	2) What is YG relationship to a) NPS, b) DNC, 3) YC & Others?
Role	3) Is visitor experience enhanced by corporate development and corporate actions?
	4) Should visitor experience be promoted into 95% wilderness if really enhanced?

Yosemite Gateway Partners Gateway Communities Diversity of Visitors Enhance Visitor Experience Sustainable Local Economy	5) How could this be done as requires corporate development? 6) Do corporate actions enhance local community sustainability? Without tourism local community would not flourish or would it? 7) Has corporate development protected Yosemite and the local community? 8) Do DNC do a good job? 9) What do they look for in a good corporate concession provider? Do they regularly assess that provision? How is it regulated or governed? 10) Do NPS do a good job? 11) Is Merced River Plan a) Viable, b) Realistic, c) Like GM Plan of 1980's? 12) What can/should corporate development bring to the Park, to the Wildlife Experience, to meeting visitor demand? 13) How to balance new business opportunities and the need for a sustainable economy with wilderness protection? 14) Is the balance right, if not where and why not? 15) Should there be more concessions, where and in which domains? 16) Are there User Groups – Friends of Yosemite? 17) How many people live in YG radius? 18) How many people make living from Yosemite NP?

Interview	Question
Pete Divine Role Yosemite Conservancy	1) Could you just tell me a little bit about Yosemite Conservancy, what it is set up for and…? 2) Are you working predominantly with tourism? You are sort of enhancing people's experience within Yosemite. 3) Do you think that tourism is actually protecting in Yosemite? 4) What would you say is the way to overcome unsustainable development? 5) What is the balance, how do you get a balance in Yosemite? 6) Do you think they should be going further to exactly what you're saying, that you have got to say to people, "Look, if you want Disney, if you want to sit on a beach, if you want to go on a pedalo, there are some fantastic places to go to, but if you want to connect with nature and see the peregrine falcons, if you want to go out on a trail and experience what nature really is, then this is it. But, also, at the same time, don't drive in here between 10 o'clock and 2 o'clock, please." 7) In other parts of the world there are parks that don't allow people in, and that's exciting and interesting, and there are other places where it is still 'people, anything goes' how should Yosemite advance? 8) Do you think your role is to try and get more people to go out and experience that? Do you think it will be good to get more people away from the valley and say, "Look, a national park is not just this"? 9) Do you think that DNC have got the balance right as well? 10) Is YC like Yosemite Gateway partners, that they don't employ policy making decisions for Yosemite? 11) What would you see as being a good concession provider? What would they be, the type of organisation who would be a good concession provider?12) User management – fee concessions to hiking/cycling in/hybrid cars/max pax in cars?

	13) Although you're not a profit organisation, you are, in some respects, a concession, aren't you, within in the park? 14) If the Yosemite Conservancy could look at developing tourism, how would you enhance the wildlife experience to meet what the visitors were wanting as well? 15) Cars are causing the major concerns – is that true and how would YC overcome this? 16) Should entry to a national park be free? 17) What would you say is the future of Yosemite Conservancy…where is the organisation going? What's your aims for the future? Where do you want to be? What do you want to be doing?

Interview with Doug Whittaker was done via Skype at a later date.

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