CRRAG CONFERENCE 1978

Countryside for All?

A review of the use people make of the countryside for recreation

York University
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PREFACE

CRRAG is a technical liaison committee which was established in 1968 to ensure that the powers of its government agency members to undertake research and experimentation into aspects of countryside recreation were used as effectively as possible. Subsequent legislation has brought about changes to the agencies concerned and hence membership of the Group has been widened from time to time; it has also been joined by the local authority associations whose members not only rank amongst the chief 'customers' for research undertaken but also themselves carry out a good deal of research, experimentation and monitoring, mainly in a local context. CRRAG is thus concerned to keep its members in touch with current work; but the Group also publishes information on current research and statistics and holds a conference each year.

The earlier conference themes dealt with technical subjects but more recently CRRAG has taken issues of policy interest as a focus for discussion designed, inter alia, to bring to light gaps in research which member agencies or others might wish to follow up in due course.

In selecting a theme for their 9th conference, CRRAG took the view that it would be valuable to turn to the wider issues of countryside recreation thus they selected the conference theme 'Countryside for All?'

The purpose of the conference is to stimulate discussion of one of the most fundamental areas of interest about the countryside, namely the use people actually make of it for recreation. In selecting this topic for debate, CRRAG is conscious that the canvass is a very wide one. The term 'countryside recreation' is broad in compass and embraces a variety of activities which differ from time to time and from place to place and are enjoyed by a wide range of people.

Last year's CRRAG conference highlighted the need for 'the providers' (local authorities, public agencies and private entrepreneurs) to have a clear understanding of 'the market' for any particular facility, not only to ensure its operational success but also to fulfil wider social obligations. To do this 'the providers' need the right information on which to base their judgements, yet this they rarely have. Of course, many surveys have been undertaken at national, regional and local levels, but it remains to be seen whether they give more than a partial view. Do such surveys illuminate people's deeper 'needs' or explain why some people do not visit the countryside at all? These questions are likely to become increasingly important if, as predicted, people's leisure time grows.

The conference will therefore consider the development of th countryside recreation movement and how, over the years, ideas have been put into practice. It will look at the use different sections of society make of the countryside for recreation and th way in which these activities fit into the wider spectrum of leisure and recreation. It will examine historic trends and likely future developments in shifting patterns of demand. It wi pose the question as to whether it is realistic to try to provide for all sections of the community in the countryside: realistic both in the sense that not everyone is attracted to or able to take up existing opportunities - perhaps the range can be extended to cater for broader tastes; and in the sense that the fabric of the countryside, field or village, is fragile and the accommodation of future pressures requires careful planning and management.

CRRAG hopes to have identified areas where further research is necessary for planners and managers in the public, private and voluntary sectors to develop future policy.

It is hoped that a wider audience will derive value from the published report resulting from the two days spent in discussion at York University.

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SESSION CHAIRMEN

Session 1	R.J.S. Hookway Director, Countryside Commission
Session 2	Professor J.A. Patmore Department of Geography, University of Hull
Session 3	B.K. Parnell Head of Department of Planning, Glasgow School of Art
Session 4	M. Dower Dartington Amenity Research Trust

OUR SPEAKERS*

Ed Berman founded Inter-Action - the umbrella name for an association of charitable community-based companies and trusts - in 1968, since when he has worked with them as playwright, director and producer; community artist, educational film-maker and performer.

Michael Dower has worked with the GLC and the Civic Trust, where he wrote *The Fourth Wave*, a paper which influenced much of the thinking on leisure and recreation at the time. He then moved to a consultancy with the United Nations, working in Ireland, and in 1967 set up the Dartington Amenity Research Trust, a centre of ideas, information and expertise.

Martin Fitton has taught at Ibadan University, and carried out research for the Social Science Research Council into religion in rural Wales. He is now social researcher at the Countryside Commission and has been working on the most comprehensive survey ever undertaken in this country into countryside recreation.

Michael Hill is Senior Lecturer at the School for Advanced Urban Studies at the University of Bristol. He has worked in the social policy field, specifically in terms of manpower policy and the study of unemployment.

L. Matthijsse trained originally as a forester and went into provincial government service in South Holland, developing and managing recreation areas. He then worked as General Manager of the Bielse Maas water recreation park and is now head of the management department of Spaarnwoude. He is studying for a Master's Degree in economics at Amsterdam University, and takes a special interest in public expenditure problems. He has published a cost effectiveness study in outdoor recreation.

Brian O'Connor is Deputy Director of the Nature Conservancy Council and is a zoologist. He was formerly Director of Studies of the MSc course in conservation at UCL and consultant in rural land management, with concern for projects dealing with restoration and management at Kynance Cove and Ivinghoe Beacon. He also acted as ecological adviser for a tourism and recreation study in the United States, and in St. Vincent in the Caribbean. He joined the Nature Conservancy Council as Deputy Director in 1975 and still has an interest in planning and management for recreation, especially the impacts on areas with wildlife conservation interests.

Marion Shoard is a research fellow at the Centre for Environmental Studies and is working on the study of the impact of agricultural change on the countryside. Before that she worked

* The biographical details regarding the speakers were abstracted from the respective chairmen's introductory remarks. *Ed.*

for four years as assistant secretary to the Council for Protection of Rural England, and has recently completed a study of the attraction of moorland scenery to countryside activists and the way in which this has influenced countryside policy-making in Britain this century. She is the author of several articles on countryside recreation.

Roger Sidaway was originally a professional forester and worked for ten years with the Forestry Commission, latterly on recreational research. For the last four years he has been Head of the Countryside Information Branch of the Countryside Commission where he is responsible for social and economic aspects of research - and he is of course Chairman of CRRAG.

Ziona Strelitz has degrees in social anthropology and town planning from Cape Town and University College, and is at present the Assistant Director of the Institute of Family and Environmental Research in London, where she has worked for the past five years researching mainly into areas of leisure and the needs of parents. She has collaborated in the writing of two books: with Rhona and Robert Rapoport in *Leisure and the Family Life Cycle* and as co-author with them of *Fathers, Mothers and Others.*

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DISCUSSION GROUP LEADERS

Group A	T. Huxley Countryside Commission for Scotland
Group B	M.F. Collins Sports Council
Group C	W. Lanning East Sussex County Council
Group D	R. Carter Scottish Tourist Board
Group E	M.M. Masterman West Yorkshire Metropolitan County Council
Group F	C. Bancroft Forestry Commission
Group G	C.E.B. Gordon Nottinghamshire County Council
Group H	B.S. Duffield Tourism & Recreation Research Unit, Edinburgh Universi·
Group I	J.M. Fladmark Countryside Commission for Scotland
Group J	D.J. Woodman Cheshire County Council

WELCOME TO DELEGATES

by

R.J.S. Hookway

Director, Countryside Commission for England and Wales

I can claim to be the person who initiated this worthy organisation CRRAG. It is very pleasant for me to see an audience as big as this one and it takes my mind back to the days of 1966 when the former National Parks Commission which I was then serving was dismantled by Fred Willey, the Minister of Land and Natural Resources in the Labour administration then in power. All but two of the members were replaced by his new nominees under the chairmanship of Lady Wootton and the Vice-Chairmanship of the late James Fisher. They were charged to prepare the ground for the 1968 Countryside Act, both organisationally and through research and study, on what Neil MacDermot in the Parliamentary debate that preceded the Countryside Bill called 'the development of ideas, intelligence and information'. New systems of government were needed to meet a great surge of recreational activity into the countryside that was being experienced in Britain and through Europe in the late 50s and early 1960s. And that surge, though its pace has been less heavy during recent years, has continued. Our data is a bit thin - but we shall hear more about data today - but it has continued and all the scenarios that are printed suggest that we are continuing a move into an age of leisure in which the recreational use of the countryside will play an ever more important part. So 'Countryside for All' seems appropriate as a theme for this conference.

The idea of CRRAG was developed in 1967 when the putative Countryside Commission was asked by the Ministers of the day to take on a co-ordinating role for the Government agencies operating in the countryside field - bodies such as the Nature Conservancy Council, the Forestry Commission and the tourist authority. The idea was to set up a body primarily to avoid duplication of effort between the agencies, to provide a forum for communication.

Later, the terms and aims of CRRAG became firstly, to harmonise countryside recreation research efforts of member agencies; secondly, to promote countryside recreation research; and, thirdly, to provide information for public and private agencies on countryside recreation, research, studies and techniques. You will note the repetition of the word 'research': CRRAG hangs round that. When it started it had six members and I am told now that it has 17. Like Topsy, it has grown. The conference that you are attending is the ninth CRRAG conference. The first was in 1970 - a one-day affair, and it moved into a two-day conference in 1975.

It has also changed in some ways, from being a forum specifically designed to talk about research, to becoming a forum which talks about themes to which research might be directed. It has recently been suggested to me that the CRRAG conference is becoming too much a policy conference and not enough of a research conference, and that consideration should given to redirecting its efforts. This is something that you might like to be thinking about. Nevertheless, as far as one judge from members' response, we now have yet another sell-out the biggest conference of CRRAG ever. I think, and hope that you will agree with me, that the interest which this conferenc generates is a reflection of the success of the organisation i providing a forum for the exchange of ideas and for communicat generally.

We now turn to the first speaker on the theme COUNTRYSIDE RECREATION AND ITS PLACE IN MEETING LEISURE NEEDS, and it is a great pleasure for me to introduce someone who is fast becomin an 'old' friend. I have had a professional and personal association with the Dower family for a long time. Most of yo will know of the work of Michael's father, John Dower, who produced the inspirational report in 1945 which led to many of the concepts and structures of the National Park organisations that we have now. The work that he did so ably was tragically cut short by an early death. What is less widely known is that so much of the foundation of the present system was laid by th unsparing efforts of Michael's mother falling to her as Deputy Chairman of the National Parks Commission from 1949 to 1966. She worked a 6-day week, travelling the country, patiently negotiating with the public authorities and other agencies, always full of the vision that came from the thinking that she had shared with her husband; and putting into reality many of his ideas through the everyday battle of political in-fighting that is involved in such circumstances. Society owes a great tribute to Pauline.

So perhaps it is not surprising that with such inspiration Michael, when he came down from the Department of Land Economy i 1958, moved first to the GLC, where he really stirred the countr side recreation pot. From there he went to the Civic Trust for five extremely influential years, when he wrote that momentous paper called 'The Fourth Wave', i.e: the wave of leisure, a new wave of change sweeping into the countryside. This had a great deal of influence on the thinking at the time; on the countryside in 1970, conferences of 1963, 1965 and 1970.

He moved then to a consultancy with the United Nations working in Ireland and in 1967 had the courage and vision to set up the Dartington Amenity Research Trust which he has made into a great centre of ideas, information and expertise which commands respect throughout Britain and abroad.

THE PROMISE - FOR WHOM HAVE WE AIMED TO PROVIDE, AND HOW WAS IT TO BE ACHIEVED?

by

Michael Dower

Dartington Amenity Research Trust

In this introductory paper I have followed an historical vein because it helps to put this conference into context, and because there has been a fascinating evolution of ideas related to 'the promise'.

In this evolution, I see two broad (and roughly contemporaneous) historical strands:

a) The National Parks movement, including access to the countryside;

b) The campaign for urban recreation.

Accordingly, I divide this paper into these two main strands, describing each with its 'promise' up to the point where they begin to come together in about 1965; and then briefly look at the further development of ideas over the last decade or so.

The National Parks movement

The National Parks movement in this country, from which we draw much of our policy and action related to countryside recreation, is rooted in two distinct ideas - the protection of natural beauty, and the provision of access to the countryside. The call to protect natural beauty came from poets and artists like Wordsworth and Ruskin; they wished to protect nature for its own sake, not (or, at least, not only) for its enjoyment by man. The call for access to the countryside came from the champions of the pent-up city masses in the mid-19th century, who saw their way on to the open hills blocked by the game-keepers of the grouse-shooting, stag-hunting aristocracy.

It was the access idea that hit Parliament first, through the Access to Mountains Bills brought forward from 1884 onwards by James Bryce, Charles Trevelyan and others. The object of these Bills was to provide:

> "that no person should be excluded or molested by the owner or occupier when walking or being....for the purposes of recreation or scientific or artistic study on...uncultivated mountains or moorland."

But the land-owning interests in Parliament were too strong to

permit the passage of such legislation, which only reached the Statute book in emasculated form in the late 1930s.(1) Frustrat in Parliament, the campaigners for access to the hills took to direct action, notably in the Peak District; and became, as the twentieth century progressed, part of a formidable lobby - including the Commons, Open Spaces and Footpaths Preservation Society, the Ramblers Association, Youth Hostels Association, Cyclists Touring Club and others - concerned more generally with access to the countryside.

Meanwhile, the protagonists of the other idea - the protection of natural beauty - had seen with consternation the impact on the coast and countryside of growing towns, suburbs, ribbon development, coastal resorts, industries, railways, roadworks and the like. The National Trust was set up; early town planning legislation was secured; but these did not suffice to halt the attrition of natural beauty. It became necessary to form a more powerful lobby, centred on the Council for the Preservation of Rural England, and to find allies. What more natur than to team up with the powerful access lobby, with whom the natural beauty interests had long had links, and who apparently represented the population of the cities whose growth was so threatening to the countryside? With their support one could say, "We must protect nature not merely for its own sake but for the populations of our cities."

This alliance, and its implications, have a crucial bearin on our purpose at this conference. On the one hand it has stamped our National Parks and related legislation with the idea of 'countryside for all'. On the other hand, it has modifi that idea by the equal (and in some respects greater) weight given to protection of the countryside and by the emphasis upon 'access'. To make plain this duality, let me outline some of the ideas enshrined in the legislation.

'For the people' The run-up to the National Parks Act of 1949 saw a series of pronouncements that National Parks would be for the people. The terms of reference of the Addison Committee, set up by Government in 1929 to examine National Parks, referred to 'the improvement of recreational facilities for the people.' The Scott Committee, in 1942, recommended that National Parks should be established "for the enjoyment of the whole nation". In the White Paper on The Control of Land Use, in June, 1944, "The preservation of land for national parks and forests, and the assurance to the people of enjoyment of the sea and countryside in times of leisure", were indicated as part of the Government programme of reconstruction. John Dower, in his report on National Parks in 1945, said that the holiday and recreational use of the National Parks should be "for people - and especially young people - of every class and kind and from every part of the country, indeed of the world." He proposed that "access and facilities for holiday-making and open-air recreation should be amply provided, and should be available for the public at large,

not just for some privileged section or sections of the community." The Hobhouse Committee, reporting in 1947, looked to a progressive policy of management of the National Parks, "designed to develop the latent resources of the National Parks for healthy enjoyment and open-air recreation to the advantage of the whole nation." (2)

'The urban population'. Within this 'whole nation' concept particular emphasis was given to the needs of those who live in towns. This emphasis was given graphic expression by the Hobhouse Committee:

> "...it is just because this is a densely populated and highly industrial country that the need for National Parks is so pressing. Four-fifths of the population dwell in urban areas, many of them in the smoke-laden atmosphere and amid the ceaseless traffic and bustle of our industrial towns and larger cities. They need the refreshment which is obtainable from the beauty and quietness of unspoilt country." (2)

These 'needs' of the townsman had been seen by some as predominant rights. For example, Cyril Joad had written in 1937:

> "...to this need of the townsman for the country and to his right for its satisfaction every other interest must yield. There must yield, for example, the interest of the sportsman... That the desire of 'sportsmen' to insert pieces of metal from a distance into the bodies of grouse and pheasants should be permitted to prevent citizens as a whole from walking on moors and in woods seems to me offensive to morals and repugnant to common sense... That the claim of the farmer should also yield to that of the townsman seems *prima facie* a more dubious contention. Nevertheless, in those cases in which the two claims conflict - and they are, I conceive, few - the townsman, I still insist, has the greater right." (3)

The Scott Committee was more temperate, referring to the National Parks as "one of the essential factors in a proportioned use of rural land for the long-term benefit of countrymen and townsmen alike." (4) John Dower made plain that the 'national' nature of National Parks "does not mean that local interests are to be disregarded. On the contrary, the well-being of those who live and work within them must always be a first consideration." (1) But the recreational emphasis in that and other reports was on the urban population; and this is reflected in the phrase in the National Parks and Access to the Countryside Act that the National Parks would be chosen, *inter alia*, for "the opportunities they afford for open-air recreation, having regard both to their character and to their position in relation to centres of population." (5)

'Compatible use'. The generous 'countryside for all' flavour of the statements I have just quoted was, however, tempered - from the earliest days - by the alliance with those who sought to protect the countryside. Even Cyril Joad modifi his statement of the people's claim:

> "...We must give to the people as a whole such opportunities of access to their heritage as are not incompatible with its maintenance." (3)

John Dower pointed out the dilemma:

> "(The) essentially popular and democratic character of the demand and need for National Parks is simple enough in theory. It is far from simple to satisfy in practice, without harm to the beauty and quietude which are its basis."

Referring to the two dominant purposes of National Parks: protection of natural beauty; and provision for public access; he said:

> "The two purposes, while supporting and justifying each other in general, may nevertheless be at variance with and limit each other in detail. Some things that the visiting public - or that part of it which is as yet insensitive and ignorant of natural beauty - might wish to do in National Parks, and some of the more urban and mechanical facilities they might ask for, will have to be prohibited or restricted in the interest of landscape preservation. On the other hand, there will have to be, from place to place, some sacrifice of those scenic delicacies which are only possible 'among the untrodden ways', and of the completely peaceful seclusion which cannot be enjoyed by more than a very few at a time." (1)

No 'gregarious' facilities. The sense of this potential conflict led John Dower to place emphasis on types of recreation which he saw as compatible with the protection of the beauty and quietude of the countryside - and, in the process, to make assumptions about the desire of the urban population which now sound a bit odd.

> "One restriction on the type and volume of visitors is, indeed, desirable, though it should be left - and, with time and wise management, can confidently be expected - to impose itself; namely, that those who come to National Parks should be such as to wish to enjoy and cherish the beauty and quietude of unspoilt country and to take their recreation, active or passive, in ways that do not impair the beauty or quietude, nor spoil the enjoyment of them by others. The genuine demand for genuinely country holidays has grown enormously and will continue to grow; it is voiced by hundreds of thousands, and it reflects the more or less conscious desire of hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions, more; but it is very far from universal. Nor is it likely to become so. It is not just a

question of custom or of education, or the lack of it. Many people of all classes are, by taste and temperament, far better satisfied by town than by country as a holiday setting. How very many, and how well most of them know what they want, are sufficiently testified by the size and popularity of Blackpool and Brighton and a hundred other coastal and inland resorts. For all who want to spend their holidays gregariously, and to enjoy the facilities - so well provided by the resorts - of cinemas, music-halls, dance-cafes, bathing pools, pleasure parks, promenades, shopping-centres and the like, National Parks are not the place. They had far better keep away, and (some of them, perhaps after an unsuccessful experiment or two) pretty certainly will keep away - provided that any proposals to establish, within National Parks, the kinds of facilities they desire are firmly resisted." (1)

'More accessible areas'. The Hobhouse Committee picked up this idea of the counterpoint between National Parks and other places suited to more gregarious recreation, but widened the horizon to take in other parts of the countryside.

"We hold the view that it is the primary purpose of National Parks to provide country contentments in settings of unsullied beauty. It would therefore be a mistaken policy to attract into the National Parks those whose tastes are for gregarious holiday-making and urban gaiety by providing the more organised amusements appropriate to the larger holiday resorts...

"There are many areas of fine country and coast in England and Wales which are not included in our selection of National Parks but yet possess outstanding landscape beauty, are often of great scientific interest and, in many cases, include important holiday areas...their contribution to the wider enjoyment of the countryside is so important that special measures should be taken to preserve their natural beauty and interest. We recommend (their designation) as Conservation Areas*... Many of the areas proposed are within easy reach of large centres of population. These more accessible areas will provide enjoyment for people living in towns and cities more remote from National Parks, who will be able to visit and explore their Conservation Areas in shorter periods of leisure.

"It must be emphasised, however, that the areas of coast-line designated as National Parks or Conservation Areas cannot be planned in isolation either from their hinterland or from adjoining stretches of the coast which are not included in either category. For the purposes of overall 'Master Planning'

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* These became Areas of Outstanding Natural Beauty under the National Parks and Access to the Countryside Act 1949.

> the coast of England and Wales must be treated as a whole... The proper planning of urban seaside resorts and the appropriate siting of large holiday camps will relieve the pressure of gregarious holiday-making from those areas which still retain their natural beauty and solitude." (2)

'No excessive concentration'. This emphasis on quiet enjoyment, country contentment and non-gregarious pursuits led to the emphasis upon the kinds of facilities which should be provi in the National Parks. The Hobhouse Committee's view was as follows:

> "A progressive policy of Park management will be needed, to make use of the resources of the National Parks for popular enjoyment and open air recreation. Such a policy must be wisely applied to ensure that the peace and beauty of the countryside, and the rightful interests of the resident population, are not menaced by an excessive concentration of visitors, or disturbed by incongruous pursuits. There must be more holiday accommodation, including carefully placed and well designed hostels and sites for tents and caravans, so as to bring visitors within reach of the attractions of the Parks without overcrowding. For the motorist there should be good roads, but not speedways. There must be an ample provision of footpaths to take walkers through the valley farmlands or young plantations without risk of trespass or damage; there must be free access for ramblers on the mountains and moorlands; wild life and features of special interest should be protected; and country sports and pursuits (such as fishing, riding, sailing or the study or Nature) should, where circumstances allow, be made available to all who would find in them a source of health and refreshment, a new sense of adventure and an escape from the routine of their working lives." (2)

Forestry Commission and National Trust. This emphasis on access, footpaths, cheap holiday accommodation, facilities of the motorists (in moderation) and country sports and pursuits - and on the avoidance of excessive concentration of visitors or incongruous pursuits - was reflected in the provisions of the National Parks and Access to the Countryside Act; and also appears very clearly in the policies of bodies, such as the Forestry Commission and the National Trust, to which the Dower and Hobhouse reports had referred as having significant contribut ions to make to the meeting of recreational need. Thus the Forestry Commission's recreational policy includes:

> "The development of its forests for recreation and the provision of facilities especially for informal recreation and the enjoyment of quiet pursuits.
>
> "The provision of facilities for day visitors concentrating on providing car parks, picnic places, view points and forest walks, particularly where they are readily accessible to visitors from towns and holiday centres.

> "The provision of camping and caravan sites, where appropriate, for touring caravans and tents only, in order to promote forest recreation.
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> "Provision for specialist activities such as fishing and shooting, including deer stalking... Access will also be permitted, where compatible with the forest environment, for other leisure activities including pony trekking, cycling, field archery, sailing and orienteering." (6)

The National Trust, in its manifesto for Enterprise Neptune, stated:

> "Wherever it has the right to do so, the Trust will give public access and provide facilities for enjoyment, recreation and scientific study, provided such access and facilities are compatible with the needs of agriculture, forestry and the preservation of the landscape including the plant and animal life which inhabits it." (7)

These same emphases recur in the reports of the National Parks Commission and of the National Park Committees and Boards through the 1950s.

Thus we may say that one dimension of 'the promise' has sprung from the alliance of countryside preservation and countryside access. The promise from this alliance is, "The countryside is for all, but only if they use it in a way which suits our perception of the countryside in its beauty and quietude."

The campaign for urban recreation

Let us then move to the other strand, which springs from the cities themselves. The social reformers of the nineteenth century, such as Chadwick and Booth, appalled by the dense and squalid housing conditions of the industrial cities, campaigned not merely for the sanitary improvements but for the creation of parks for the healthful recreation of the people. These parks were not generally conceived as countryside, but rather as open space within the city which a population with limited mobility could reach. Some city authorities did look beyond the city boundary for space in the countryside, witness the acquisition by the City of London Council in 1882 of Epping Forest for public enjoyment; but the main focus of the campaigning was for open space within the city. Between the wars, leadership in this campaign came from the National Playing Fields Association, with its emphasis on local open spaces and playing fields. This campaigning remained somewhat separate from the access to the countryside movement, which I have already described and which was striving to meet the needs of the more mobile or adventurous town-dwellers.

A move towards the countryside came, however, in the earl 1940s - under the same impetus towards postwar reconstruction as had finally brought National Parks to the boil - through the Regional Plans for Greater London, Clydeside and elsewhere. It is worth recalling that Patrick Abercrombie, who pioneered this planning, had been a co-founder of the Council for the Preserv- ation of Rural England, so that he represented the link between the National Parks movement and the campaign for urban recreatic In the Greater London Plan, he spelt out plainly the need for outdoor recreation for all Londoners, and advocated a system of open space which included urban parks and playing fields on NPFA lines but also green wedges piercing the urban fabric and green belts surrounding the city, with the dual purpose of preventing sprawl and providing a 'lung' of usable and accessible countrysid for the inhabitants.

These concepts, in modified form, were incorporated in the early development plans, prepared under the Town and Country Planning Act of 1947. Green Belts, in particular, were defended by Ministers (notably Duncan Sandys) in pronouncements which emphasised their recreational importance as well as their role in preventing urban sprawl. But this dual purpose of Green Belts which forms a striking parallel to the two purposes of National Parks which I described earlier, had a similar effect in limiting the kinds of recreational development which planning authorities were willing to contemplate within them. Through the 1950s, as the growth in leisure time and private car-ownership permitted townspeople in growing hordes to visit the countryside at weekend the Green Belts became (if anything) <u>less</u> accessible to them, as owners put up barbed wire and 'KEEP OUT' notices; and the main positive provision to meet the holiday and weekend invasions of the countryside was made by private landowners (with Longleat and Beaulieu in the van) and commercial enterprises. The Green Belts and green wedges remained, in recreational terms, a promise un- fulfilled.

'<u>Outdoor activities</u>'. In the 1960s, however, it became evident that private enterprise could not cope alone, that there were needs not being met. A lead came from the Central Council of Physical Recreation, which in 1957 appointed a committee under Sir John Wolfenden to "examine the factors affecting the develop- ment of games, sports and outdoor activities in the United Kingdo In their report published in 1960, the Committee implicitly criti ised the National-Parks-plus-compatible-recreation schools by pressing for acceptance of gregarious activities and for a wider look at the countryside resources which might be used for recreati

> "It is obvious that the facilities required for outdoor activities are of a different order from those needed for other sports. They are in fact mainly provided by nature - mountains, rivers, the open country and the sea - in a profusion which seems all the more fortunate when the small size of these islands is considered. One difficulty is

that many of these things have traditionally been pursued in solitude or shared with a few companions only, and some of those who walk on the hills or live and work in the country understandably feel that if too many others come to use and enjoy the countryside the enjoyment of all will be diminished, through the loss of the peace and quiet that have normally been found there. Although the feeling is a natural one, it is nonetheless selfish...the instincts of many young small-boat sailors, canoers and climbers are towards gregariousness and they have no objection to the proximity of the cheerful crowds who are doing much the same things in much the same way.

"Over the last half-century, access to open country has, through the efforts of many organisations and individuals, been fought for and in large measure achieved. The National Parks Commission and its associated Park Planning Boards and Committees have steadily opened up more and more tracts of territory which are specially suitable for most of these pursuits, though we could wish that they had greater powers and larger financial resources. Liberal-minded land-owners, by their understanding co-operation, have transformed the picture since the days when to walk over many stretches of moorland was a risky act of defiance. But more of the natural assets of our countryside should be accessible to those who will want to find healthy recreation there. For instance, as the Inland Waterways Association has always urged, there are miles of river and canal which could be made usable and available for canoers and those who like just messing about in boats; the authorities who control reservoirs could, under proper safeguards, allow many more yachting and sailing clubs to sail on waters at present forbidden to them; and local authorities could do more to lift restrictions and to provide sites for lightweight camping, which has so largely super-seded the standing canvas camps of pre-war days." (8)

'Opportunities for everyone.' From 1960 onwards, the pace of general and official thinking about sport, recreation and the place of the countryside in relation to them quickened. The Ministry of Housing called on local authorities (1961) to carry out coastal surveys for landscape and recreation and, later (1964 in a joint circular with the Department of Education), reviews of their areas in order to determine what further provision for sport was needed. In 1964, the Civic Trust prepared, at the request of eighteen local authorities, a report on 'A Lea Valley Regional Park' which took up Sir Patrick Abercrombie's proposal (in the Greater London Plan) for "a great piece of constructive, preservative and regenerative planning", and proposed that "the twenty-mile stretch of the Lea Valley, from West Ham to Ware, be declared a Regional Park (and) be developed...as an area for recreation, sport, entertainment and leisure for the people of the East End and North East London and for those who live in the counties of Hertfordshire and Essex." (9) The accent was on the

creation of opportunities for everyone, no hard boundaries bei drawn between what was gregarious and what was quiet, or betwe urban or countryside pursuits.

Linking the two strands. A similar width of view animat two documents published in 1965, namely, 'Fourth Wave - the Challenge of Leisure' (10) and the report on 'Outdoor Recreati Active and Passive', prepared by Study Group 6 for the second Countryside in 1970 Conference (11). These pointed to the rap and continuing growth in demand for a wide range of leisure activities, including outdoor recreation and use of the countr side; and to the necessity of planning for the varying needs o the whole population, bringing into perspective the full span activities (from the quiet and lonely to the noisy and gregari and the whole of the urban and rural resources of these islands These two reports thus represented an attempt to bring togethe the two major strands of thinking which I have outlined.

The evolution of ideas since 1965

Despite this convergence, the two strands remained separated in the official action which followed. It was, perhaps, significant that the report of Group 6 had been prepared in the context of a countryside conference. The Government's response as expressed at that conference and then the 1966 White Paper on 'Leisure in the Countryside', was rooted in the countryside preservation-plus-access tradition. Proposals were outlined fo a new countryside policy "designed to enable a new and more mobile population to enjoy increasing leisure time in the count side without harm to those who live and work there, and without spoiling what they go to enjoy", and in particular for the crea of Country Parks, which "would provide facilities for town-dwellers to enjoy their leisure in the open air without travell far afield and would reduce congestion on the roads and pressu on National Parks." (12)

'Enjoyment of the Countryside'. The roots in the Nationa Park tradition are shown plainly by the phrasing in the two Countryside Acts, notably their emphasis on enjoyment of the countryside and open-air recreation:

> "The functions conferred on the Commission (for England and Wales) are to be exercised for the conservation and enhancement of the natural beauty and amenity of the countryside, and encouraging the provision and improvement, for persons resorting to the countryside, of facilities for the enjoyment of the countryside and of open-air recreation in the countryside." (13)

> "A country park is a park or pleasure ground in the countryside which by reason of its position in relation to major concentrations of population affords convenient opportunities to the public for enjoyment of the country-side or open-air recreation." (14)

the key change from the earlier approach might seem to lie in the phrase, "relation to major concentrations of population" (although it will be recalled that the National Parks Act had used an almost identical phrase about National Parks - see above - yet there is no National Park within 120 miles of London).

'Readily accessible'. In their advice to local authorities on country parks, the two Countryside Commissions drew attention to this key aspect of location, but in a way which did not link it forcefully to the idea of 'countryside for all'. The Commission for England and Wales stated merely that a country park must be "readily accessible for motor vehicles and pedestrians". (15) The Commission for Scotland at first emphasised "the innate desire of the townsman to escape from his town surroundings" and the need for country parks to be "readily accessible on foot and by motor vehicles, including public transport." (16) But a review of policy, outlined in the Commission's 5th report, stated that, "having regard to the increased mobility of visitors to the countryside, the Commission is willing to consider proposals anywhere in designated countryside..." (17); and in their report, 'A Park System for Scotland' published in 1974, stated that, "The original notion that all country parks would probably be situated fairly close to the main cities and towns is no longer part of the accepted thinking on the subject." (18)

'The full scope of outdoor recreation'. In the 'Park System' report, however, the Countryside Commission for Scotland set out a concept which has crucial importance to the question before this conference:

> "...we see the park system as providing for the whole spectrum of our outdoor recreational needs, starting in the towns and cities and spreading out from there into the countryside...
>
> "In considering the preparation of a comprehensive recreation system, it is imperative to set aside any urban-orientated idea that outdoor recreation is solely to be equated with organised play facilities, athletics, golf or other activities which require built or specially laid out facilities. These must be included in recreation planning, but the full scope of outdoor recreation reaches from the back garden and local play area to remote country possessing high wilderness value." (18)

'Sport for All'. While ideas were thus evolving in the 'countryside' dimension, the 'urban' dimension too was moving forwards. The advisory Sports Council, set up in 1965, had led to the formation of Regional Sports Councils, which worked with local authorities to produce region-wide plans for sport and active outdoor recreation, including much use of countryside. In 1971, the Sports Council took on an executive role, and in 1972 launched the campaign, 'Sport for All', which had the object not merely of securing adequate facilities for all who might wish to use them but also of positively encouraging people to take part in sport and physical recreation - including active outdoor

recreation in the countryside. Thus, the phrase, "for All" came into the official vocabulary, and with a proselytising ring to it.

'Recreation for All'. It was thus only a further turn of the screw when the House of Lords Select Committee on Sport and Leisure, reporting in 1973, expressed the view that, "The provision of opportunities for the enjoyment of leisure is part of the general fabric of the social services"; gave approval to the 'Sport for All' campaign; noted, however, that, "among leisure activities, informal outdoor recreation is far more widespread (than sport) and will continue to be so;" and advocated "nationa recognition of the slogan, 'Recreation for All'. (19)

'Maximum opportunity plus personal choice'. The Committee then sought to define what such a slogan would imply:

> "The British philosophy of provision is different from that in several European countries where Sport for All campaigns have been based on the theory that the state should promote active recreation. The British tradition, instead of making everyone take part in sport, aims at making everyone able to take part... The Committee agree with this philosophy. The policy which they recommend is that of maximum opportunity to take part in sport, or other leisure activities, according to the personal choice of the individual." (19)

> "Local authorities and other public suppliers have two major criteria to meet: the criterion of maximum opportunity, and the criterion of personal choice. First they have to be convinced that their policies will create the maximum opportunity for sport and recreation; and that they are providing a wide range of facilities which will meet the needs of the greatest number of people. Secondly, people should be allowed to play what they want and suppliers cannot let their own preferences lead them to dictating what people ought to do in their leisure time. Personal choice is an inseparable part of every leisure activity." (19)

'The urban-rural dichotomy'. This is a very plain statement of 'Recreation - including informal outdoor recreation - for All': how does it relate to the countryside? The Select Committee comments (apropos the different responsibilities of the Sports Councils and the Countryside Commission) that:

> "...the dividing line between sport and open air recreation is extremely difficult to draw...they are really just different facets of leisure activity and ought not to be treated as different in kind... (Moreover) the line between, on the one hand, physical recreation in the countryside and, on the other, open-air recreation in the countryside is very narrow. Water recreation, for instance, does not belong on either side of the dividing

> line... The insistence on a restricted view of the meaning of 'countryside', which is not defined in the Countryside Act, also means a perpetuation of the urban/rural dichotomy. This is a mistake, since people in search of recreation do not split their needs into two such compartments." (19)

The span of informal recreation facilities. This broad statement of the need for a unified view of sport and recreation then prompted the Select Committee to recommend close liaison between the Sports Councils and the Countryside Commissions; Ministerial co-ordination of Government responsibilities for recreation policy; strategic planning, with "particular regard to national and regional needs, to the siting of facilities in relation to major centres of demand and to the balance between different forms of recreational provision." In relation to planning for outdoor recreation, they brought into focus the whole span of facilities from small local parks, district and metropolitan parks (which "may either consist of natural heath land, downland, common, woodland etc., or formal parts providing for both active and passive recreation"); playing-fields; facilities in the semi-urban fringe; linear parks, country parks, coastline; and National Parks.

'The urban fringe'. The Select Committee made several key comments which may help us to consider whether 'Outdoor Recreation for All' implies 'Countryside Recreation for All'. For example,

> "It is most important that, in providing countryside recreation, attention should not be concentrated entirely on the countryside; the facilities which people want can often be provided on the urban fringe with beneficial effects on amenity. The grant aiding system should not draw them into the open country.
>
> "The Committee realises that suitable sites on the urban fringe are often green belt land... A positive approach in recreational terms, making the Green Belt into a lung for the town, rather than the negative approach with sometimes threatens to convert the Green Belt into a demilitarised zone, should secure that the urban fringe is properly exploited. This the Committee recommend.
>
> "For most informal recreation out-of-doors, two aspects of the land are important: the quality of its landscape, and its accessibility in the sense of availability for public use and of nearness to the main centres of population or to holiday resorts... Most available land is in the uplands of the north and west, and there is a concentration of visually attractive land in the same areas, as the situation of the National Parks shows. Most of the population, on the other hand, is found in the south and east, away from the resources best suited to outdoor recreation.

"The growing use of the motor car and the motorway has brought more of the countryside within each person's reach, and has narrowed the gap between the resources and the centres of population. But this raises two questions: how far do people want to travel for recreation, and how far should public planning rely on long recreational journeys? The answer to the first question is that people do not want to travel far... The Committee's view on the second question is this: even if people were prepared to travel long distances, public planning should be designed to make this unnecessary. Although frequent long journeys to distant resources will be made, many forms of recreational demand can be satisfied locally... Moreover, people without the use of a car, whose numbers should not be under-estimated, may be unable to make the journey at all.

"Where there is a high urban population the policy should no longer be to divert their recreation towards the countryside but to provide day visit facilities close to the towns.

"...Country parks should not be tied to the countryside for grant purposes. As long as they are, they will draw people into the countryside. This is the wrong tendency and the Committee recommends that maximum attention should be given to the edges of towns. In order to achieve this it will be necessary to change the recreational status of the urban fringe.

"Many people are not necessarily looking for truly 'natural' countryside, but something more closely akin to a town park in the countryside." (19)

'Leisure parks'. The broad approach advocated by the Select Committee was endorsed by the Government, and reflected in the appointment of a Minister of State for Sport and Recreation, the setting up of Regional Councils for Sport and Recreation closer liaison between the Sports Councils and Countryside Commissions, and other measures.(20) The Countryside Commission began to give priority in the allocation of their grants to recreation projects in Green Belts or other countryside areas in the urban fringe; and their Chairman spoke of 'leisure parks' which he described as,

"...a relatively new concept consisting of a series of linked and varied activities which take place both within buildings and in the open... The type of facility that would fit into such a scheme might include open-air theatres, places for dancing and concerts, outdoor and indoor sports facilities, swimming pools, boating lakes and adventure playgrounds... The whole would be set in pleasant rural surroundings that would provide the setting for walking and picnicking." (21)

thus the House of Lords Committee made plain that the outdoor recreation promised in the slogan, 'Recreation for All' need not all take place in the countryside; and the Countryside Commission suggested that some at least of the facilities in the countryside might be used for gregarious activities of the kind for which the National Parks movement would not have expected to cater.

The disadvantaged. A final dimension which should be mentioned is the recent growth of interest in the disadvantaged. The House of Lords Select Committee noted that:

> "...many inner urban areas have lagged behind other parts of the community in recreational provision;...because of the nature of their environment, they are under special difficulties in making up the ground which they have lost. ...Among the characteristics of the area may be a shortage of open space, exacerbated by poor housing conditions, and a dearth of alternative facilities to compensate for the shortcomings of the urban environment. Land will inevitably be expensive. The poverty of the area creates the need for good recreation facilities but at the same time reduces the financial ability of the local community to meet that need. In order that the lost ground may be made up, extra Government assistance is called for." (17)

The Committee accordingly recommended the introduction of a scheme of Recreation Priority Areas. This proposal was taken up by the Government (18) and the Sports Council made special grants available to a number of 'areas of special need'. This action, like the recreational elements of the succession of Government schemes to assist the Inner Cities, has concentrated on provision in the inner urban areas, with little reference.

However, it raises the question of how far the gradually widening and sharpening official concern for 'Recreation (including outdoor recreation) for All' has yet affected the disadvantaged, the less well-off, the less mobile and the handicapped.

'Social Tourism' - and Social Recreation? There is little reference, in the reports which I have re-read, in preparing this paper, of "countryside for the disadvantaged." But, just as 'Sport for All' provided the clue for a wider view of recreation, so possibly the report on 'social tourism' may point us towards 'social recreation' with an outdoor or countryside element. The Social Tourism Study Group, set up by the Trades Union Congress and the English Tourist Board, reported in 1976 that:

> "...the disadvantaged have a particular need for holidays, and this must be recognised as a vital part of our social and medical programmes. The disadvantaged person should be able to take advantage on holiday of the facilities which any normal holiday-maker can take for granted in his everyday life... In view of the essential role of holidays, social tourism should be

> recognised as an important part of a general social responsibility to all of the disadvantaged groups which have been considered (the elderly, the physically handicapped, the mentally handicapped, the low-paid). The responsible authorities, both public and private, as well as the general public, should be made aware of the holiday needs of the disadvantaged." (22)

Some of the action which has followed this report - for example grant-aid to riding facilities in Cornwall for the physically handicapped - has been in the countryside. At the very least, it is well to remind ourselves that the day visitor is not the only person seeking countryside recreation; the holiday-maker may be there too, and far from his home at that.

Conclusion

I end by reminding you of the two main strands which have contributed to the promise. First, the National Parks movement an alliance of those who wished to protect natural beauty and those who sought access to the countryside. In coming together they produced a half-promise: "Countryside recreation for all, but only such recreation as suits our perception of the countryside in its beauty and quietude."

This approach is alive and well in our National Parks, as an inspection of the Sandford Report or any National Park Plan will testify.

But this half-promise has been complemented by that of the campaign for urban recreation, which has grown - and formed the beginnings of an alliance with the National Parks movement - to the point where it is saying: "Recreation (including outdoor recreation) for all, and the countryside as part of the spectrum of resources which shall serve it."

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THE COUNTRYSIDE AND THE CITY DWELLER: PEOPLE'S NEEDS AND LEISURE

by

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My colleagues and I have been developing ideas about the meaning of leisure in people's lives for some years. The first part of this presentation will deal with our conceptual work. Secondly, I shall draw on experience from our empirical study o Leisure Provision and Human Need, and suggest some possible implications linking the kinds of people we have been working w to the kinds of provisions encompassed in the countryside.

In the early 70's a conceptual evaluation of the meaning leisure was undertaken by the Institute of Family and Environmental Research. The context for this was the increase in leisu which was anticipated. Provision for this expected 'explosion' of needs relied on inventories of existing facilities and activ with fairly simple extrapolations of trend lines. The Leverhul Trust sponsored an exploratory review, aimed at looking beneath the behaviour that is manifest in leisure activities at its possible meaning to people (Rapoport and Rapoport, 1975).

The main thrust of that work was to evolve a framework for understanding people's leisure involvements in relation to other spheres of life. We proposed a framework for understanding peop participation in institutional systems (leisure, work and family in the context of the human life cycle. We intended that use of the life cycle framework would bring a neglected dimension to be in leisure research practice. This dimension, life cycle phase, was meant to supplement dimensions already studied, e.g. social class, education level, age, sex and environmental setting. The life cycle perspective cuts across social class and sub-cultural patterns. It encompasses needs and orientations that are characteristic of people at specific stages of their lives. The way they express and channel these needs is another matter. For this it is necessary to take explicit account of other variables such class, ethnicity and sub-culture.

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* This paper draws on the author's experience in the study of Leisure Provision and Human Need, undertaken by the Institute of Family and Environmental Research and Dartington Amenity Research Trust and sponsored by the Department of the Environment. I wish to thank Rhona Rapoport in particula and also Michael Dower (the project directors), Robert Rapoport, Stephen Kew, Roger Sidaway and Martin Fitton for discussions on this.

Most frequently the life cycle of individuals is closely linked with the cycles of family life. Whilst some people emphasise a view of leisure as personal and individual in its most essential qualities, individuals learn and channel many of their interests and activities through the family. The part played by the family in an individual's leisure involvements is considerably influenced by the stage of the life cycle.

I purposely stress the place of other life spheres. Meaningful interests may be located in any domain - or in all. This is highlighted by the life cycle framework. If we consider the individual's life line of development, the influences of the family are apparent. But different spheres of influence impinge in the course of the life cycle. Most individuals' lives develop along three principal strands - work, family and 'leisure' - as they live out their life careers. The character of the overall career is called a lifestyle. Lifestyles evolve in some relation to people's values, and how they cope with resistances and constraints in the environment and in themselves, as well as take advantage of opportunities and potentials. To the extent that providers of public services wish their provision to be incorporated in people's lifestyles, it may be useful to see how their interventions fit into people's lives in this way. This may help their effort to be more effective.

Whilst we consider the strands distinctly*, people's experiences in any one life strand may affect decisions and developments in the other strands. Interests can arise in any one of the strands and remain contained within it, or spread to others. Central life interests are those which provide the greatest salience. We suggested that each life strand be thought of as a helix, because at each critical status transition (like leaving school or getting married, having a baby or retiring from the occupational world) people go back over ground covered earlier.** To the extent that all the life strands are affected in any particular transition, people may develop new patterns for all the strands, not only in the one in which the transition mainly occurs. Thus, when an individual marries, not only his or her patterns of heterosexual and family relationships are likely to be affected, but also orientation to

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* This is an analytic view. Individuals may or may not differentiate their own lives in this or other ways.

** The life-revision that occurs, consciously or unconsciously, as each new stage of the life cycle is entered and a new integration brought about, gives the process a helical character. Because the points at which there are these necessary turnings of one's life involve fairly fundamental revisions, we speak of each of these points as life crises. Together, the three strands form a triple helix rather than three distinct spirals, because of the way each of the strands interacts with the others at the time of critical transitions. At these times, there is an unfreezing, or loosening of people's established patterns, and then reorganisation follows.

work, patterns of involvement in peer group 'leisure' and other activities. Whilst we have the chance at critical status transitions to affect positive changes in our lives, we are also at greater risk than usual of letting things change for the worse.

This is a context in which we may view people's 'leisure' and other activities. To have some appreciation of how activities and their meanings may vary in individuals' lives, it is useful to consider what may underlie them. At the most fundamental level, rooted in psycho-biological development, are people's preoccupation These are mental absorptions, less or more conscious, which arise from psycho-biological development. Life cycle phases may be thou of in terms of childhood, youth, young adulthood, the establishment phases, or in the middle years and the retirement period and later. The focal preoccupations change as individuals move through phases. The focal preoccupation for youth is conceptualised, following Erik Erikson (1959) as identity crystallisation, establishing a sense of who one is. Characteristic concerns in this phase include autonomy alternating stimulation and boredom; sociability; mental developmen environmental experience; physical maturation and balance. By appreciating that these underlie the mosaic of contradictions young people often present, their expressed behaviour may seem less inscr able, perhaps less confusing.

Interests arise in people's awareness. They take the form of feelings and ideas about what they want or would like to have or do, about which they are curious, to which they are drawn, through which they feel they might derive satisfaction. Using young people as the example again, their preoccupation in identity crystallisati manifest in the restlessness, search for stimulation, etc., may be expressed in a range of interests which emphasise variety; doing one's own thing; rapidly changing activities; brightness and noise; solitude and quiet; sex play; fashion; experience; exploring life, work and feelings; novelty. Various kinds of linkage are possible between the preoccupations and interests and the activities in which they may be channelled. Given interests may be channelled into various activities such as car driving, dancing, participating in or watching sports, walking a nature trail, etc. For young people attractive activities may include dancing, discos, making and listen ing to music, travelling, parading, and joining causes.*

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* Focal Preoccupations and Interests at other Life Cycle Stages

	Young Adults	Establishment Phase	Later Years
Focal Preoccupations	Identification with social institutions	Life investments	Personal and social integration
Characteristic Interests/Involvements	Occupation; more permanent heterosexual relationships; family relationships; friendship.	Concern with productivity; performance evaluation in work, family, personal and community spheres.	Concern with anticipation; realignment; life before death.

Conceptually, we have now arrived at a focus on activities from the opposite direction from that usually taken by providers. Conventionally this focus was reached from the starting point of facilities. But it makes a difference in how you think about the activity if you arrive at it from the people's side. Visiting the countryside is an example of a set of activities. Let us examine the implications of our approach to this phenomenon as distinct and contrasting to the more traditional approach. Thus, visiting the countryside may be understood to have different meanings for different people in relation to the interests they are pursuing. It may be an unwelcome bore for a young person forced to go on a school trip, or family outing, or it may be exciting when he or she visits Snowdonia with friends; it may be relaxing or a strain for a family with young removed from the daily urban routine; for the elderly it may be the chance to recapture memories of their youth, or it may be a taxing obligation. What makes the difference?

There is, of course, individual variation along these lines, based on the person's particular developmental pattern. Additionally, there are differences which arise from the individual's capacity to mobilise relevant resources and articulate interests, and in the people who related to them affecting how their interests develop. In order to understand interest development as a process we developed the need concept further (Institute of Family and Environmental Research/Dartington Amenity Research Trust, 1976; Rapoport and Rapoport and Strelitz, 1977). Felt needs refer to the needs of an individual of which he or she is aware, though not all needs are necessarily felt. Felt needs relate to interests and may be expressed via particular activities, though pursuit of an activity is not necessarily an expression of felt need. Unfelt needs may be triggered into awareness by appropriate stimuli. Requirements distinguish the needs of an individual ascribed by outsiders (e.g. doctors, social workers etc.) who may be expected to know what a person needs in a given situation and in relation to a desired end. Requirements are conceptually distinct from felt needs, but the two may coincide empirically. Except in so far as particular individuals may feel they have leisure needs, we find it clearer not to speak of leisure needs, but needs which can be translated into interests which find fulfilment in activity channels Leisure providers are particularly concerned with 'leisure' activities.

I have emphasised the view that one precondition for fulfilling needs is to find expression for interests. Among those who may have a need to get away from it all, some may express this by getting high on drugs or alcohol; or feeling anonymous in Leicester Square. For some, an interest in walking in the countryside may provide a channel for fulfilling the same need. Some people use many interest channels for fulfilling a single need - at different times. Others specialise, and still others fail to find any interest channel to fit that particular need.

Can we say what determines the fulfilment of needs in activities? It seems clear then that preference plays some part in

who expresses a given need in a particular way. Preference is partly affected by individuals' sub-culture, which incorporates their social class - origins and aspirations, their life cycle stage, their ethnic background and identifications, etc. It may also be affected by the setting in which they live - e.g. the felt need for a change will probably imply different things if we live in cities or in the countryside. All of these factors - and others are likely to have influenced what we have been exposed to, and consequently to have influenced the development of our interests, awareness of available channels for expressing them.* Nevertheless, individuals have personality. Their preferences are not determined only by their situation in relation to these variables and even if their activities conform to the type we may predict, the specifics and the meaning of the experience may be personal. This in itself does not diminish the relevance of influential factors if we wish to understand the processes involved in what people may do and not do by way of leisure activities. It is important to emphasise that class plays a particularly important part in the way interests are stimulated and developed, and in relation to the activities into which they are channelled. Sub-cultural taste is one element in this. Resources are another. We consider resources in a fuller sense than the material, including elements like skills motivation, physical capacity and education. This is not to undermine the importance of material resources.

The effects of exposure may appear quite markedly in the trajectory of individuals' lives. The Countryside Commission survey has distinctive data on exposure to the countryside earlier in respondents' lives. Whilst there is considerable variation in the extent to which individual city dwellers may have had contact with the countryside, to the extent that exposure relates to cultural influence, and opportunity, one would expect to find patterns in this. But the way these factors work depends on how active the agents are in promoting awareness of provisions, e.g. an active family or a class group, peer group, culture, etc. which emphasises particular channels of activity as favourable or unfavourable, and an individual who actively searches out the elements for choice in relation to his or her needs and values. Resourcefulness, the ability to harness resources to meet one's needs is a key element here. This is an area where providers have some scope. Efforts in the areas of animation, consciousness-raising, etc., may be feasible and effective lines of intervention.

For many of us, exposure to a particular resource once or twice is insufficient. To incorporate provisions into our awareness as options or opportunities for ourselves, we may require repeated exposure. At some times we are more likely to 'see' what is before us than we are at other times. What we are receptive to will relate in part to our life stage and situation. The expression

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* To the extent that providers of services may come from particular sub-cultures, and experience a given training or type of exposure, we may expect that their perceptions in these areas have been similarly influenced.

'the penny drops' expresses this sudden awareness, perhaps after many exposures. For example, someone without children may walk past a church where a playgroup scheme is run many times, without observing this part of the programme. This may easily alter once they have children, or even when they are expecting to have a child.

With this background, how may we address the question 'Countryside for All?' One consideration in seeking generalisations from any empirical data base is the fact of social change.* Elderly people living in cities now may have had very little contact with the countryside. There was a general lower level of personal mobility in earlier days, and less time off. Some older people may have strong recollections of countryside environments which no longer exist. This is marked in places like our study area, where much of the suburban development in the outer areas has taken place within the memory of people still living, supplanting green field areas where people used to walk. People in this older category may yearn to visit the countryside, because they have had a taste and feel it offers recollections of their youth, or they may feel it is something they have missed out on, but would like to try whilst they still have time. But the recollection of the countryside for many people in the current older age cohorts may stem from a childhood rural background. They may have a very different, perhaps negative, conception of the countryside and the conceptions of city dwellers moving into that age category now, or in ten years time, will vary also.

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* LPHN is based on a case study in a conurbation, but we believe that findings of the study may have wider relevance than for city-dwellers alone. The study is not aimed at countryside recreation, or any other specific type of recreation or activity. We have aimed to identify what activities people do now or have done in the past, what meaning this may have for them, and which of their interests may remain unexpressed, constituting what we may call unmet needs. We have attempted to elicit data about types and locales of recreating activity, and where there have been leads, to probe these further. To a considerable extent, therefore, the data we have on countryside recreation has been generated by the individuals in our samples. This may be viewed as some indication of its place in their lives overall, but had we focussed on on it as in the Countryside Commission's National Survey, countryside recreation may have appeared more focally in the data than it does now. There are two further points in the nature of disclaimers. As part of the LPHN Study we undertook a household survey of 1008 people, but some of our more illuminating data on processes derives from the intensive work with small samples. These focus on adolescent boys of West Indian descent, married women with pre-school children, elderly women living alone, and individuals in their social networks; the inferences made from such data here are illustrative, and not distributional. As regards the timing of the study, there is at present considerable material yet to be analysed systematically and to be integrated.

This brings us to focus on the different meanings that the concept of the countryside can have. Obviously there are diverse images of the countryside. These images have always been polarize by city people. Some see the countryside in idyllic terms; others see it as desolate, uncomfortable and boring. The countryside may connote the hard life of one's early days, working on the land, something to have escaped from. Or the countryside may appear to be small-scale and narrow in its vistas, parochial and restricted. A preferred model in people's minds may be more cosmopolitan and variegated in technologically more sophisticated city settings elsewhere in the world. People's early exposure may be important regarding what they bear in mind to be desirable or undesirable settings. We use the term reference environment to assess the standards against which a given image evolves. There appears to be scope for some work which draws together ranges of different countryside experiences and perceptions. This would facilitate effort to assess the potential for needs being met in specific settings.

We may illustrate the low apparent relevance of the English countryside to someone with a strongly contrasting model. Mrs. Joseph, (a pseudonym), a forty-year-old immigrant to London from St. Lucia in the Carribean, is a good example. Visiting the countr side does not appear to be important to her either in practice or desire. Low physical mobility does not seem to be a suitable explanation, as for things she wants to do, distance does not seem to be a problem. The Joseph family did have a car, but Mrs. Joseph elected to decorate their house according to her own taste as the first priority in discretionary spending. When that is completed she plans to have another car. Mrs. Joseph works long shift hours in her job as a nursing aide, but she has a flexible schedule, and sometimes prefers not to work. So she does have time off. Mrs. Joseph seems to feel she would like to go out more than she does. Mrs. Joseph has visited the seaside, in contrast to the countryside This was to Blackpool and the experience seems to have been more disappointing than gratifying. She says the main reason for going is for the children. When she engages in activities other than her occupational work, housework and family care, she displays certain tastes in what she does.

The channels Mrs. Joseph frequents and enjoys in and around London where she lives, include social gatherings with family and other people from the West Indies, dancing and drinking with them at home or in clubs and sometimes halls. She likes shopping in crowded places like Oxford Street, Portobello Road street market and Brent Cross Shopping Centre, where she finds attractive the brightness, colour, desirability of goods and atmosphere. Mrs. Joseph is very attracted by bright colour and much admires the flower gardens of urban parks and this is her main reason for visiting parks.* Here are accessible channels to absorb her energy

* This is a case where it would probably be wrong to think of the countryside as a substitute for urban parks that are frequented. For some people the only times more country-like places like Hampstead Heath in London seem to be visited are when fun fairs are held there on bank holidays and the Heath changes in character.

interest and discretionary spending. They seem to relate to cultural preference, and to be linked to characteristics of life style and environment in her country of origin. At another level, and operating on a different time scale, are visits 'back home'. Gaps between such visits may be years long but it appears to be a goal and aspiration for Mrs. Joseph to go and to send her children who were born in Britain. The place of this in Mrs. Joseph's life is more than a channel for saving. In personal reference terms it seems certainly as strong as many English people's desire to retire to a cottage in the country - to go 'back home' to favoured food and people, warm sunny weather, which is what she says her husband intends to do when he is forty-five years old.

The Joseph teenage children have different constellations of interest, though some of their activities like pleasure shopping, window shopping, church attendance and parties are similar to activities of their parents. They go to discos a lot and have intense involvements in music. They are both active in exploring environments outside their home and neighbourhood. The son 'roams' a lot in London, using his bicycle for excursions. The daughter has an interest in travel, and has been to France on holiday with her school. She has done O-level French. They have had school outings to the countryside. In general they are interested in learning about life and open to meeting and speaking to various types of people. The daughter likes reading. One would expect some similarity and also variations in their interests and their parents'. They are adolescent; their parents in the mid-years. They have had their education in Britain. They are growing up in a different physical and social environment. Some of their current interests are specific to their current life cycle phase, and their activities are partly linked to their cohort.

Through such illustrations we suggest the bearing that factors like age and ethnic cultural values may have in relation to countryside recreation. Beyond this we can see that countryside as a concept is both variable between categories and subject to change and interpretation. In our household survey on the LPHN Study, we sought to assess people's needs by gauging what underlying interests and meanings were important to them. We developed a Personal Fulfilment Index. This involved a checklist of feeling or activity states, which respondents could rate in various degrees from very important to unimportant to them. People were then asked whether they had experienced in the last week or so items they checked as fairly or very important. If we consider valued activities which were not so experienced as some indication of unmet needs, the main unmet needs suggested by the survey were:

Learning something new
Feeling of creating something
Experiencing something new
Feeling of doing something exciting
Getting away from it all
Competing against others
Feeling free from responsibilities
Feeling powerful.

There is, of course, some scope for meeting those needs in urban settings. But there also seems to be plenty of scope for meeting such needs in a countryside context. If one thinks of th broad range of activities and settings that may be encompassed by countryside recreation, one can see that the range of needs that may be met is wide. We have some evidence that people would like to have their needs met more in this way. Trips to the countryside for drives, picnics, wildlife parks, etc. was one of two activities on the LPHN survey that people said they would most li to do more of or to try. We cannot say whether any particular individual will find fulfilment in the countryside and in which w but we have some clues about which categories may feel this most strongly.

At present, people from more middle class backgrounds who pursue a particular activity associated with the countryside may predominate. As far as phase is concerned, many young people may have some experience of the countryside through school outings, b otherwise spend their time in cities. Families in the establishment phase seem to be attracted by the countryside. This is indicated in the Countryside Commission data. People in this phase m express a desire for their children to have close contact with nature. Second homes, caravans or tents may be specially benefici in this phase, though in the early years particularly, family finances tend to be tight. In addition, a pattern of passivity may set in. Parents with very young children often find it less oner to stay at home than to pack up all their children's paraphernali and manage them outside their usual setting and routine. In doin this their needs for change and openness may become quite blocked and frustrated.

The tendency to be home-centred and relatively inactive ou side the work and family spheres seems to remain with many as the phase evolves. However, people seem more open, even eager, to engage in new activities when their children enter primary school. The incidence of this in our intensive interview data is very striking. There appears to be a special opportunity for provider to intervene at such a stage, when people are specially receptive. Countryside excursions may be arranged via the school, as are activities like parents' dances which seem so popular. In the school context especially it seems feasible to offer some educational experience for parents as well as children, and also to provide for many of the needs on trips away from home that parent of younger children have. This type of initiative may stimulate some ongoing activity centred on the local school or community th may bring some country-like experiences, e.g. with animal care or growing, into the local environment. In later years people's attraction to the countryside often becomes strong.

Holidays are particularly important in relation to the nee for novelty, change, freedom and excitement. The LPHN household survey indicates that holidays away appear to be very significant for people's feelings of well-being. The countryside is a major potential channel for holidays. It seems that there is considerable latent demand. One category of people for whom this may be

specially so are the elderly. The case was feelingly put by one of our respondents - now in her late seventies - who visited the countryside when she was courting. She has been back to the same place a few times since. She distinguishes between the attractions of the countryside and those of the seaside. For her the seaside was perceived as all the same, but the countryside as different.

'I think the country's nicer. You can always see something new in the country. The seaside's all the same.'

This illustrates again how people ascribe their own meanings to specific 'objective' phenomena. The provision of subsidised coastal holidays may not meet the felt needs of many elderly people for the countryside. Nor does a day-trip that is focussed on a stately home. That may be very absorbing and enjoyable in its own way, but it is not primarily a countryside experience for them. Picnicking in fields, rather than having tea in the tea-room at some historic building, is what they may want. But this more informal experience is difficult to achieve. Where it is attainable the pleasure may be particularly great. One elderly person in our sample - well into her seventies - was taken camping for the first time by her son and his family who were eager to include her. She expressed a special sense of fulfilment in this. It would undoubtedly not have happened without this invitation, and support. An issue for providers is how to make such arrangements possible for older people without direct support of younger family or friends. The old lady who longs for an informal dip into the countryside does go on day-trips by coach with other members of the Ladies' Guild. They visit places like stately homes. Groups like hers could arrange their outings to include closer contact with the countryside, given facilitation.

Another example of what might be called 'piggy-back' facilitation may be developed in relation to families with young children. Some families in this category are drawn to the idea of farm holidays. In such settings, a little extra organisation could add the required special arrangements for child-care, separate activities for various members of the family, etc. By such enlargement, the needs of people in families with young children would be more widely and effectively fulfilled. Parents want to be in touch with nature and to put their children into such contact; to enjoy things with children and also to do some things separate from them; they want to be in quiet places, but to have some excitement available for younger children which animals seem to provide. People who have expressed such feelings may have only frustrating hints of countryside experience on day-trips to sites like Runnymede.

Not all of the unfulfilled needs which are potentially channelled into countryside recreation are of this informal type. There seems to be scope for the extension of interpretative support. Some people may not desire didactic or interpretative aids, but there is scope for experimentation. Even people rejecting the idea may find after exposure that it has enriched their experiences. Providers may be concerned that people's visions of the countryside

may become stereotyped. But people overlay images suggested by others with meanings of their own. There would seem to be scope for educating people into appreciation of the countryside, using 'educating' in its original meaning of 'leading out', and with no patronising connotation. Through educative experiences people can bring an order to unfamiliar settings. This may add enjoyment. The process is illustrated by the following example. A woman in our sample who started working in a children's playgroup found the work taxing. After doing a playleaders' course she described the work with the playgroup as being so much easier. Since 'being told what goes on in the playgroup, it all seemed to fall into place more easily'. Her enjoyment of the work rose accordingly.

In some respects providers may think of the countryside in market terms. As they are exposed to it, people may become increasingly aware of it as a potential channel for meeting their nee But as any market researcher knows, exposure can create new felt needs. We may go to the countryside for one reason - perhaps to see a castle. Once there we may experience the fulfilment of a nee say to relax, by a new form of relaxation and unwinding that was felt whilst walking in forests around the castle. We may not have realised how deeply we felt this need at its latent level, but afte. wards it may become a consciously felt need requiring fulfilment. We may become 'hooked' on the countryside for this.

People's social networks play an important part in linking needs to channels for their fulfilment. The influence of people we know on activities we may try - or not try - is great. Other peopl who are significant in our lives often stimulate our feelings of what we may like to do and where we may try it. I have mentioned the elderly lady who went camping with her son's family and the per son who had visited the countryside on account of her fiance. Ther is also the woman who likes quiet country places which she relates to what her Welsh father loves and has taught her. Network influen may play an important part in the actualisation of interests. Havi. family access to a car, or a relative or friend who invites one on trip may make all the difference between some or no experience of the countryside to people without private transport. Again, people often visit the countryside in the course of visiting relatives or friends who live out of town. We have always argued that leisure providers cannot do it all. To the extent that people's social networks influence their access to and appreciation of activities like countryside recreation, practitioners can accept that there are <u>some</u> powerful forces working independently of them. But whilst it is th positive connections which stand out from our data on network influences, it is important to recognise that such influences also play a part where people's interests fail to find expression. This is a relevant framework for providers if they wish to encourage countryside activity. There is a question as to whether their efforts should be directed to those whose interests appear to be least fulfilled - in any channel, at present.

There is some suggestive data from the LPHN household survey.

People who pursue a variety of leisure activities are more likely to have a high degree of personal fulfilment than those who do not.* The findings suggest further that those with a high level of personal fulfilment are more likely to have a high level of overall life satisfaction than those with a lower level. The intervention required is relevant on both levels. It involves stimulating awareness of interests and of contexts where these may be expressed, e.g. through television programmes on the countryside, school programmes, radio programmes, the press, magazines, etc., and improving accessibility to the countryside, e.g. through free public transport, holidays for older people, outings for young people, more provision on holiday farms for families with young children. Stimulating awareness and facilitating access should go hand in hand.

By focussing on people and their interests in the context of their whole lives, we appreciate that the countryside has some potential for almost everyone - at least at some stage in their lives. But some whose interests may be expressed in countryside recreation may be able to express the same interests in another activity channel, if this is accessible to them. For many individuals some alternative activities may be as fulfilling, or more fulfilling, in meeting their own needs. We have the knowledge now to understand some of the processes underlying substitutability, as it affects individuals, and some clues as to who may find one type of provision as suitable or preferable to another. We also have some indications of the opposite, where the countryside appears to have distinctive potential in meeting people's needs. What we cannot do at present is put this in a hard distributional frame. If we could clarify the scope and limits of substitutability on a quantitative basis, providers may be better placed to judge optimal patterns of provision. If this is the aim, and if such an exercise is feasible, a note of caution is appropriate. People's specific needs may change over time, and more so the potential of given concrete channels to provide for their fulfulment. For providers to be responsive to need it is important that they be alert to the dimensions of social change. The meanings that people experience in given activities alter with time, fashion, social and economic conditions.

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* The best single predictor of a high Personal Fulfilment Index score is a high activity score. Individuals who engage in either a large number of activities occasionally or in some activities often are likely to have higher scores than those who engage in fewer activities or participate less often in a limited number of activities.

DISCUSSION ON SESSION 1

R.J.S. Hookway

Ladies and gentlemen, we have heard two most interesting papers: Michael Dower's dealing with the issue of leadership and power and ideas in an historical context, and then Ziona has developed the theme 'The study of the 'led'' - and this is something which is new to me. I feel personally a little uncomfortable with some of the analyses and approaches and some of the language and wonder what needs of mine are 'unmet' and whether I am passing through a 'critical status transition'. In theory, we shall have the right policies, if the ideas of the legislators, relate to what the people really want. Ziona has certainly identified that there are some aspects where the two are not in phase.

J.M. Sully *West Yorkshire County Council*

I think the paper by Mr. Dower does illustrate the confusion in official circles as to what we are providing and for who we are providing it. It does seem that we have a lack of information. It is very difficult for some of us who have to make decisions to try to find out what people want and what we can do. I represent a ward in Leeds. From Leeds it is very easy to reach the hills in a National Park and be back in time for tea either by car or by public transport. But we don't know who goes to the top of hills, nobody can tell you where the people who climb Pen-y-Ghent for example, come from. What social class they are and why they have made that particular journey and the same applies to Snowdon or Scafell or any of the other hills.

We are the most socially deprived ward in Leeds and next to us is the Lower Aire Valley which is full of collieries and open-cast coalmining - it looks absolutely terrible but it could be a superb recreational area. Government and local authorities seem still to be undecided as to what they should provide for our northern industrial cities - whether they should put large sums of capital into major recreation developments and, referring to the second paper, whether people would in fact want these kind of facilities.

M.F. Collins *Sports Council*

Is Michael Dower suggesting that if the two strands of the recreation movement come together in producing ideas that they come together in policies? It is clear that the first strand has been embodied in policy but it is not clear to me whether the second strand is as fully implemented in policy both centrally and locally; and certainly not that they have come together. Related to that, at the end of her paper Ziona argues that the providers should do two things: they should stimulate awareness, and improve access and in doing both implies public subsidy.

M. Dower

Are they coming together in policy? I suppose that is what these new-fangled Regional Councils for Sport and Recreation were about, isn't it? And the great attempts at greater co-ordination effort are part of that. But the countryside recreation strand has been there a long time and is fairly well entrenched. It is not just reflected in policy, as I implied when I mentioned the recent round of National Park Plans. But you will recall that the other one was the urban recreation campaign, and that has been very well reflected in policy for years and years, through the National Playing Fields Association standards for example. It has just been a great deal more difficult to implement as a policy because it has been so difficult to find those magic six acres per thousand and all the rest. What we have seen in the last decade is an attempt to widen the latter into a marriage with the former whereby you bring into focus the whole patterns of informal recreation, not merely the urban park but the whole fabric from the urban park out into the countryside. So it should not be a matter of surprise if that marriage of the two traditions is not yet fully reflected in policy. I don't think it is, and I would regard it as a high item on the agenda of the Regional Councils for Sport and Recreation to get it articulated into policy.

R.J.S. Hookway

This is what Mr. Sully was saying: it is not reflected in the policy; the power of decision is not vested in one organisation.

M. Dower

Well, the major thing of course,as the House of Lords Select Committee pointed out,is that the Countryside Commission remit does not run through the towns. There is no national agency equipped with powers and monies at the moment to stimulate informal recreation in towns, except by sleight of hand where you can wriggle your way into the cities.

R.J.S. Hookway

Do you want a national agency thrust on you in Leeds, Mr. Sully?

J.M. Sully

The Lower Aire Valley runs into Leeds and where they meet is a terrible area but it could be made into a major recreational area if somebody were willing to put the funds in. Now, do you see that as countryside, or do you see 'countryside' as the Yorkshire Dales National Park, which is 30 or 40 miles away?

M. Dower

I don't think it matters whether it is 'countryside' or not. It is a resource which ought to be intellingently used; with one key provision: that all the recreational provision of the last two decades has been resource-based. People have said, "Oh, smashing, we've got a canal, we've got a country house which is on its knees financially and we must bring it into use", and most of the provision which we have been making over the last ten years is directly resource- based. We have then gone on to argue, "It's there, it's usable - it must be good for people to come to the countryside". Well, the two things just don't follow and what Ziona is saying - and I hope you picked up the key phrase in her paper - is, "We have now arrived at a focus on activities from the opposite direction from that usually taken by providers".

Z. Strelitz

The suggestions I was making do not necessarily imply subsidy, though they may imply some sort of diversion of subsidy. We are very impressed with the amount of community resourcefulness and voluntary effort that people seem to be willing to make if only it were harnessed or stimulated or directed somewhere. Sometimes there can be a broad minded youth officer, health visito or social worker who makes an appropriate suggestion that is not officially part of his or her brief that sets things ticking in the right direction locally. It is very much more awareness at that ground level by people who do not ordinarily think of this as part of their job which I think could make a huge amount of difference.

M.F. Collins

Under what circumstances can public agencies help?

M. Dower

Essentially a facilitating, rather than a doing role, and a willingness to support the people themselves rather than looking to the public providers alone to do the job.

T.J. Costley *University of Birmingham*

Until local authorities regard recreation provision as a high priority, nothing much will be done. The Countryside Commission have given the lead making parks from derelict land. In Scotland something like £10m has been put into a similar scheme. Really it is a question of political priorities.

R.D. Everett *Wildlife Consultants Ltd.*

If people are going out of town into the countryside to benefit their quality of life, is the countryside to be provided as a place of recreation for urban people, or is it the 'real'

R.D. Everett (Cont.)

countryside with agriculture, wildlife and forestry? Which resource is the most important?

Z. Strelitz

Our study is not about countryside and the detailed data comes from quite small samples so I can't put it into rigorous context, but obviously the appeal of the countryside varies a great deal between people. In a class of 9-year olds the other day, I asked the children if they had ever been to the countryside. The range of places that was mentioned included: Luton, where two children had been; one had been to Essex; one mentioned an open field in the London borough and one had been to Devon. With the adults it has been equally variable. Some people have more exacting requirements such as wilderness settings; they would like to go into Wales, to Devon; others are quite happy with sites such as Runnymede which is not far from Heathrow airport.

R.D. Everett

What I am really asking is, if you have all those options, which is the one that is going to improve the quality of life, of human enjoyment?

Z. Strelitz

I think there is scope for all facilities to make someone happy.

R.J.S. Hookway

There is no one answer, surely, to that question? Perhaps a more pertinent question would be, should there be any encouragement for people to go into the country? If we had a policy to encourage them actively and it were successful, heaven knows how we would cope.

B.S. Duffield *TRRU University of Edinburgh*

I would like to ask a question relevant not to the past or to the present but to the future formulation of policy to ensure that the slogan, 'Countryside for All' is met. Both the papers have been about families. Michael Dower's paper about the countryside *Cosa Nostra*, and the no less real families of London which Ziona has been talking about, where we have been hearing about the needs of fathers, mothers and others. I wonder how relevant it is to synthesise the two strands which Michael Dower has mentioned. Might it not be more relevant to open up the process of policy formulation to the fathers, the mothers and the others and by a process of democracy demonstrate somehow that we should let the people speak. How could this be done? Might it be done most properly through the local authorities who are

B.S. Duffield (Cont.)

answerable to the elected representatives; or is a Ministry of Leisure the answer? Should we see the end of the Quangos? What are the feelings of the two speakers on the ways in which we should address future policy formulation?

M. Dower

Well, I won't have my family flung in my face! I was in fact expressing some concern about the elitism which was implied in the way that some members of my family have been writing, which links neatly with what Ziona was saying just now: people vary enormously for all the different reasons that she was saying. They have different perceptions of what countryside is, as she has just quoted, and which will come out even more from Martin Fitton's presentation; and different perceptions of what recreation is, and different patterns of needs. It behoves us to seek to understand those things and to gear our provision to them.

Now, Brian Duffield knows what our Leisure Provision and Human Needs study is costing, and it certainly is clearly impossible on that scale of money, to start doing everywhere the kind of detailed work which we are doing in Brent. But that is not the point for us. What we are trying by generic national research, which happens to have a field base in a London borough, is to try to throw light on the processes which are at work everywhere to be able to see how the providers can relate to that. We are going to be making recommendations related to: first and most strongly the training of people in provider positions, particularly in the private sector; and secondly to the finding of mechanisms whereby the local authorities or voluntary bodies can relate at both community and family scales. Then to try and find how these mechanisms can relate to particular people and so take up Ziona's point about the change points in people's lives when they start having children, when the children go to school, when they retire, and so on. It will never be possible for the whole of the official system, to be sensitive on the individual person. But it must be possible for people at the policy-making level, if we have to have such people, to be sensitive to the needs of categories and sub-groups of people and to understand human processes enough to be able to leave the man on the ground to react flexibly to what he finds people need. By being in contact with people, not by elaborate research, by being sensitive, well-trained, able, and with a brief and freedom of action, he or she should be able to react to people within the overall pattern of provision that his policy-makers have provided.

R.J.S. Hookway

And we don't know that yet?

M. Dower

For example, Jimmy Munn in Torfaen is already operating very much in this way. The better people in the field are already doing this and we have been picking up how that is working and we will hope to illuminate it further.

Z. Strelitz

You say, didn't we know that already? I think things like just how receptive people may be, at times such as when their children enter primary school, to get out of several years of passivity, we didn't fully know before. I think that is something that stands out very strongly from our data and something which may be put to good use. I think that if people have an awareness of that kind of phenomenon amongst others, then it can be used. I think that at a detailed level we may be able to tell you quite a lot that we didn't know before.

To answer Brian, it is also useful to think in terms of vulnerable categories - the sort of people who seem to have much more difficulty than others (although the same individual may be in different categories at different times of their lives) to find opportunities for themselves; and people in vulnerable categories, which in our survey data seem to be the elderly, widowed, divorced, blacks, people from other minority sub-groups. These people cannot necessarily takeover things for themselves without an extra special awareness and a special supporting structure for them. I think one can see that this sort of concern is feeding into the system, say, in dealing with special provision for people from ethnic minorities.

J.A. Coley *Bradford College*

Even though one may encourage disadvantaged groups to begin to contribute to their own community recreation and leisure, you must take lessons from Birmingham, where Community Officers have been working, from Home Office and Department of Environment studies which have put officers in the field. Yet the people so appointed are being labelled by other political parties as 'communist operators to subvert the system'. I think a lot of education is needed among the various publics for the new kinds of policy you are advocating. You cannot enter the field thinking that everything will be fine. There are all kinds of interest groups who see dangers and subversions. Even a local councillor may see his position undermined by such operators. It is possible to be too naive.

R.J.S. Hookway

Let me on your behalf thank Michael Dower and Ziona Strelitz. These things did not just happen, you know. There are hours of work in these papers, hours of thought, and also hours of opportunity for you all to study and enrich your minds. They have put in the time and the effort, let us thank them for it.

THE REALITY - FOR WHOM ARE WE ACTUALLY PROVIDING?

A.M.H. Fitton
Countryside Commission

INTRODUCTION - THE POPULARITY OF COUNTRYSIDE RECREATION

1. Visiting the countryside for recreation is a highly popular leisure time activity. On the evidence of our 1977 survey*, over half the population visited the countryside at least once during the previous summer months. It was more popular than most other outdoor and sporting activities which could be considered reasonable alternatives - that is, activities that are undertaken at weekends and during the hours of daylight.

TABLE 1

THE RELATIVE POPULARITY OF COUNTRYSIDE RECREATION

	Percent of respondents taking part in the specified activities at least once in the previous month
Gardening	63
Countryside trips **	54
Visiting urban parks	39
Visiting seaside resorts	35
Do-it-yourself	34
Watching outdoor sport	17
Visiting town museums	15
Taking part in urban outdoor sports	9
Taking part in indoor sports	9
Watching indoor sports	7
Visiting urban zoos	5
n = 5040	

* The National Survey of Countryside Recreation is a home interview survey that was carried out for the Commission by National Opinion Polls in summer, 1977. I has a national sample of 5040 respondents. Linked with that survey the Commissi has also been building up a more qualitative picture of the place of countryside recreation in people's lives; the quotations in this paper come from that resear carried out in North London.

** Trips for a whole day or part of a day for any of the following activities: visiting sea coast, cliff tops, visiting historic buildings, stately homes, muse or gardens, parks in the countryside, visiting zoos, safari parks or bird sanctuaries in the countryside, going on long walks, hikes or rambles of at least 2 mi going on drives, outings, picnics in the countryside (including visits to village fishing in the countryside, horse riding or pony trekking in the countryside, tak ing part in any other sport in the countryside, watching any sport in the country

2. Not only did a majority visit the countryside but most went very frequently. Over a third of those questioned had made at least 2 countryside trips during the previous month and a quarter 3 or more. Overall an average of 2.3 trips were made during the month. Amongst those who had visited the countryside at least once during the month the average was 4.3 trips. This included trips made on holiday; either from home or away from home. In any one month a quarter of the sample was on holiday, however the trips made by these people comprised a third of the total trips. It can be seen that this represents a massive movement of the urban population to the countryside for recreation. The National Survey data suggests that on an average summer Sunday 14 million people visited the countryside and that during a typical summer month 82 million trips were made to the countryside.

3. Visiting the countryside is not only a highly popular form of recreation but also seems to be a central need for the majority of the population. This is suggested by qualitative research that the Commission has undertaken. In this research questions on the importance of countryside recreation have elicited responses that indicate that at the least it is seen as having therapeutic value because it provides an alternative healthier, safer environment for children and adults confined in urban areas with limited open space provision. In addition for many it is seen as catering to the important needs of relaxation, getting away from it all, feeling free from responsibility, which have been pinpointed in life satisfaction research. Respondents in describing their use of the countryside made constant reference to freedom, escape and relaxation. Whether countryside recreation is distinct in this from other forms of recreation is not clear, but it does argue that it is a central need for many, which may have little capability of being substituted for by urban recreation, or indeed by use of urban open space.

> "I must say that after the London landscape with concrete and glass it is lovely to go to the country and see thatch. When I see a thatched cottage - well, if that happens then it's made my day."
>
> Centre Lathe Operator, Harrow

> "I use the countryside mainly for relaxation, just to get me away from the traffic, to get me out of the city, to give me the open aspect rather than be always closed in."
>
> Chartered Surveyor, Kingsbury

> "It's just nice to relax and do nothing. It's nice to get away from the town. The children certainly enjoy getting away and to be allowed to run free."
>
> Teacher's wife, Highgate

> "Everything smells so different. A different world, I think. You can just forget about everything when you are in the country, forget that London ever exists. You're in a world of your own. It's an escape."
>
> Housewife, Camden

"Up there in the countryside you can relax, get away from all the stresses and strains of daily life. Everything slips away from me; I feel free and it's God's country... It brings you back to nature which is what life is all about."

Retired painter and decorator, Barnet

"When I go to the countryside I have a sense of freedom and I want it to stay like that. When I go to the countryside that's the whole idea. You're next to Mother Nature - otherwise you go to Hampstead!"

Wife of a lecturer, Camden

"In the countryside I think you unwind. You don't when you're in the park near home. I don't know why - I think it's because you're too near your own doorstep."

Wife of a factory worker, Camden

"Well, living in a block of flats and working all week, you want to get out to the countryside just for a change of atmosphere."

Machinist, Camden

WHO VISITS THE COUNTRYSIDE?

4. If visiting the countryside is a popular form of recreation much desired by the town dwellers, it is probably only since the beginning of the 1960's that the majority of the population has been able to fulfil this desire on anything like a regular basis, for only with increased income, increased leisure time and the growing availability of private transport has visiting the countryside become a leisure activity that can be undertaken relatively spontaneously and frequently. Even given this there remains a large minority who either do not visit the countryside or visit very infrequently even though there is evidence that they would like to do so. As Table 2 shows, a quarter of the population had made no trips in the previous year and of these roughly one in 10 claimed either never to have visited the countryside, or not to have visited in the last 5 years.

TABLE 2

WHEN THE LAST TRIP TO THE COUNTRYSIDE WAS TAKEN

	%	Cumulative total
In the previous week	24	24
In the previous month	29	53
In the previous year	22	75
One or two years ago	9	84
Two to five years ago	4	88
Over five years ago	3	91
Never	6	
Don't know	2	
n = 5040		

5. It is possible to distinguish a number of interrelated factors that influence the extent to which an individual visits the countryside for recreation. These include the leisure preferences that an individual holds and the extent to which he or she considers countryside recreation important in itself and in relation to alternative ways of using leisure time; and also constraints and opportunities that encourage or limit the individual's ability to visit the countryside. There are two basic sets of constraints. One set includes such things as income, car ownership, available leisure time and residential location - all of which are closely interrelated and in turn related to occupation and social class. The other set of constraints are those related to age and changes in domestic and parental responsibilities during the life cycle. Preferences and constraints are themselves linked, as preferences are developed in relation to the way in which the countryside is used and experienced during a person's lifetime, and they may also be sustained by being embedded in distinct class values relating to use of leisure time.

6. Disentangling these relationships will be difficult; it is not, however, an academic exercise because understanding the relationships between constraints, preference and social position will better enable us to estimate the likely implications for future trends in countryside recreation of changes in any one of them. Analysis of the National Survey has not yet proceeded far enough to provide a detailed picture of these interrelationships. Here I discuss some of the partial relationships with countryside recreation that have already been examined: car ownership, income, available leisure time, age and preferences as an initial basis for characterising countryside users.

CAR OWNERSHIP AND INCOME

7. Not surprisingly, access to a car has major effects on the likelihood of an individual visiting the countryside. The National Survey indicates that those who own or have access to a car are almost twice as likely to make trips as are those without; 63% of car owners made trips compared to 32% of the rest and they made nearly three times the number of trips. In addition, those with access to more than one car are most likely to make trips.

TABLE 3 ACCESS TO A CAR BY DATE OF MOST RECENT TRIP TO THE COUNTRYSIDE

No. of cars respondent has access to	Percentage making trip in last month	Percentage making trip in last year but not last month	Percentage who made last trip over a year ago
0	32	23	45
1	61	22	17
2 or more	67	21	12
Total (n = 5146)	53	22	25

8. The increased opportunity that car ownership provides to take spontaneous trips to a wide range of destinations relatively cheaply (once the initial costs of putting the car on the road is carried) are self-evident. Public transport can be used for countryside recreation (10% of all trips to the countryside are made by public transport) but it is expensive, services have been curtailed and are infrequent, and go to a limited range of destinations, taking considerably longer to cover the same distanc

9. The value of the car for countryside recreation was well appreciated by respondents to the National Survey. In response tc an open-ended question asking for what purposes a car would be missed or be most useful, countryside recreation received predominant mention of use for work activities is excluded (Table 4).

TABLE 4 PURPOSE FOR WHICH A CAR WOULD BE MOST MISSED OR MOST USEFUL

	Purpose						
	Work related	Countryside recreation	Other Leisure	For shopping	Would not, I do not, miss car	For children	Other
Owns or has access to a car	29	22	13	12	8	3	13
Has owned or had access to a car in past	4	29	8	5	42	3	9
Does not have a car	14	34	9	8	13	5	12
n = 5040							

10. The perceived importance of the car for countryside recreation was also clearly expressed in our qualitative research. Thus, the response of a factory worker who was asked how often he visited the countryside:

> "I'm afraid not very often, not often enough. We don't go at all - we haven't got the facilities to go, we haven't got transport you see... You can go by train, there's Green Line buses, there's coaches; I've been on a coach to the coast, but it's an effort to go by train or coach. Of course we'd go more often if we could."

Or the response of the wife of a nightwatchman working for Securicor with teenage children who had recently acquired a car:

> "We haven't done an awful lot of it (visiting the countryside) because train fares were so expensive. For all of us to go out for a day it wa £10 or something like that, a hell of a lot of money; we just couldn't afford the fares. So we more or less stuck to Hampstead Heath, Golders Park and places like that that didn't cost us anything and we could wal to. Now we've got the car we hope to explore it a bit more."

11. On evidence of National Survey Data acquiring a car does quite quickly lead to a shift in behaviour, though there appears to be a transition period of about a year before new owners achieve the level of visiting of existing car owners (Table 5).

TABLE 5

AVERAGE NUMBER OF TRIPS IN THE LAST MONTH BY THE TIME THE RESPONDENT HAS OWNED OR HAD ACCESS TO A CAR

Don't have a car	1.1
Less than one year	1.9
1 - 2 years	2.7
2 - 5 years	2.4
5 - 10 years	2.7
over 10 years	3.0

n = 5040

12. The likelihood of owning or having access to a car is directly related to income. In addition ownership or access to a car is not in itself a sufficient encouragement for visiting the countryside, for level of income has additional bearing on the way the car is used. Thus, the lower the income of a car owner the less likely he will be to undertake a countryside trip; clearly even if a car is available, its use will be limited by disposable income (Figure 1). It may be that this difference between income groups has increased as the cost of petrol has risen. All car owners were asked whether the increase in the price of petrol 'during the last 2 years' had caused them to reduce their trips to the countryside. Just under one third said their trip making had been reduced. However, over half the lowest income group compared to one in 10 of the highest, claimed to have made reductions.

TABLE 10

EFFECT OF PETROL COST ON TRIP MAKING BY INCOME GROUP

	Percent in each income group claiming a reduction in trip making
Less than £1,000	51
£1,000 - 1,999	43
£2,000 - 2,999	37
£3,000 - 3,999	32
£4,000 - 4,999	39
£5,000 - 6,999	14
£7,000 - 7,999	23
£8,000 -	9
All groups	30

n = 3520

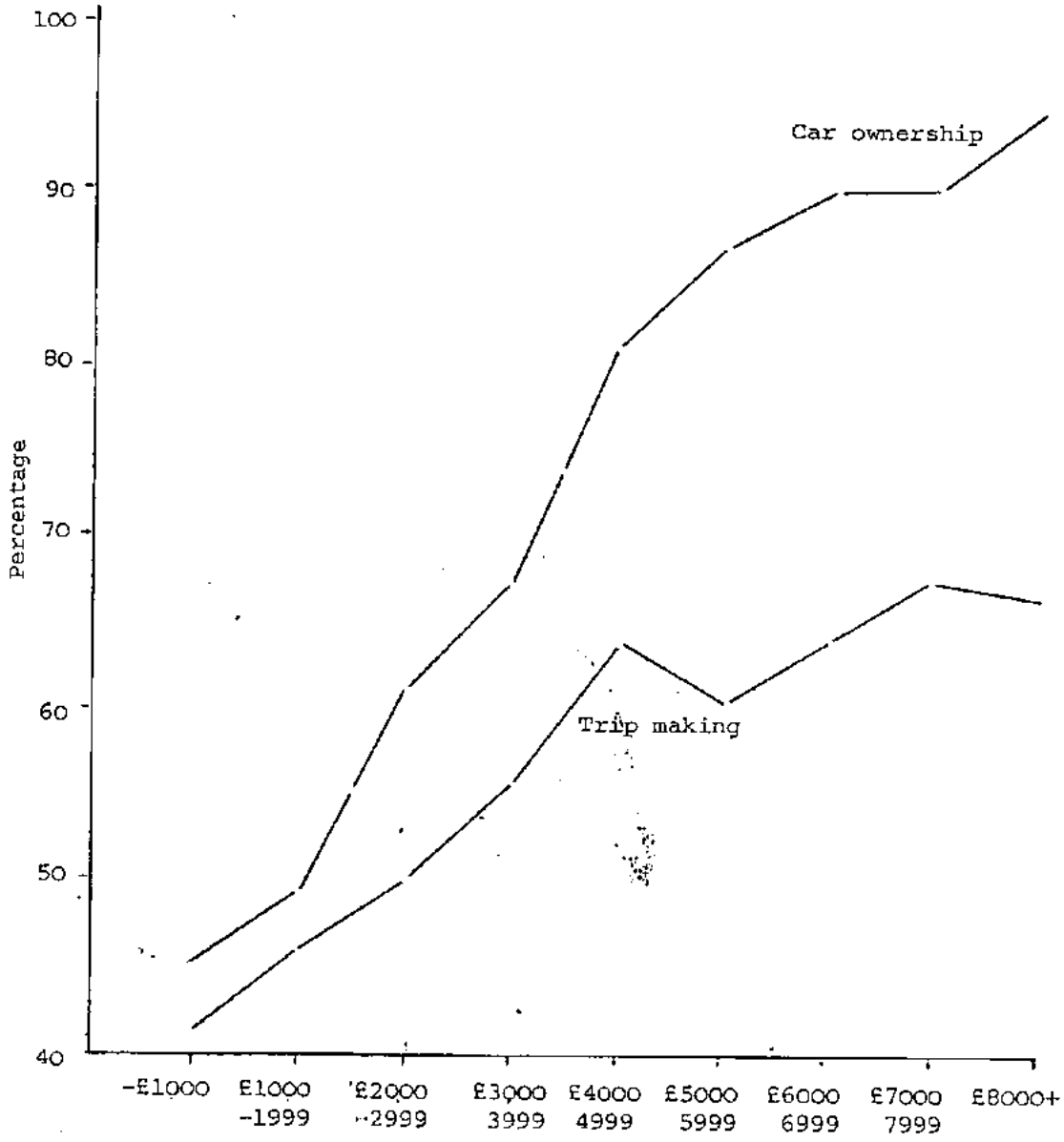


Fig. 1 Car ownership, income and trip making.

(Trip making = % of car owners in each income group making at least one trip to the countryside in the month previous to interview.)

AVAILABLE LEISURE TIME

13. There is now a voluminous theoretical and empirical literature on disposable leisure time and its use. Despite this, we know very little in detail about the relationship between available leisure time and use of the countryside. Uniquely for a British recreation survey, the National Survey provides matched information about total hours worked in the week previous to interview and total number and duration of countryside trips undertaken during the same period and the survey also contains similar data about the work time commitments of spouses. Even this data is not of course comprehensive as use of leisure time for countryside recreation will depend on other leisure and domestic commitments and will also be related to the nature and strenuousness of work.

14. Only initial analysis of this data has been carried out. In relation to the working week it suggests that the distribution of leisure time during the week rather than the actual number of hours worked will have most influence on the number and duration of trips. Thus, an examination of the relationship between hours worked in the week previous to interview, including overtime (paid and unpaid) and travel to work time, and the number of countryside trips made during the same period shows that there is only limited effect, with those working 40 hours or under making slightly more trips. The effect, however, is not marked and there are several variations in the pattern. (Data in Table 7 and subsequent 'leisure time' tables refers only to working males).

TABLE 7

COUNTRYSIDE TRIPS AND THE WORKING WEEK

Hours worked in last week	Average No. of countryside trips in the week	Hours worked	Trips
36 hours or less	.4	45 hours	.4
36 hours	.35	46 "	.6
37 "	.36	47 "	.16
38 "	.39	48 "	.14
39 "	.49	49 "	.3
40 "	.40	50 "	.27
41 "	.26	51 "	0
42 "	.19	52 "	.32
43 "	.2	53 "	.46
44 "	.3	54 "	.21
		55 hours or more	.25

n = 1661

15. It might be asked why the amount of available leisure time does not more clearly act as a constraint, especially - as will be shown below - since the majority of respondents specified limitations on leisure time as the most central factor that would influence their use of the countryside in the future. The most likely explanation for this is that, on the evidence of various time budget studies, working males have between 15 and 24 hours of disposable daylight leisure time during the week. Even those groups spending most time in the countryside are committing only about a third to a half of this time to trips. Nevertheless, this must severely constrain their other leisure choices. Also, these most active groups must, given the inelasticity of time, be near to saturation in the amount of time they devote to countryside recreation.

16. Shift work and working at the weekend have some impact, but the effect is not great and may not be significant. As Table 8 shows, shift workers are slightly less likely to make trips during the week and to make few of them. Weekend work has a similar effect but only for those working beyond Saturday morning, (Table 9). Overall, the impact on the countryside will hardly be appreciable as only 14% of the male population work shifts and of those who work weekends only a quarter work more than Saturday morning. The amount of holiday time available to an individual has, however, a more appreciable effect on trip making (Table 10).

TABLE 8

THE EFFECT OF SHIFT WORK ON TRIP MAKING

	Percentage making trips	Average number of trips in previous week
Did shiftwork in previous week	20	.27
Didn't do shiftwork	23	.33
n = 1661		

17. The constraints specified above, with exception of the length of the working week, are both closely interrelated and related to occupational status. Individuals in low status occupations are more likely to have low income; lack access to motor vehicles and the financial resources to use them for countryside recreation; are more likely to work shifts and at the weekend; and to have shorter holidays. This is reflected in the number of trips made by different occupational groups and in the amount of time spent in the countryside. This is shown in Table 11

TABLE 9

THE EFFECT OF WEEKEND WORKING ON TRIP MAKING

	Percentage making trips	Average number of trips in previous week
Didn't work at weekend	24	.33
Worked Saturday morning	24	.36
Worked more than Saturday morning	19	.19

n = 1661

TABLE 10

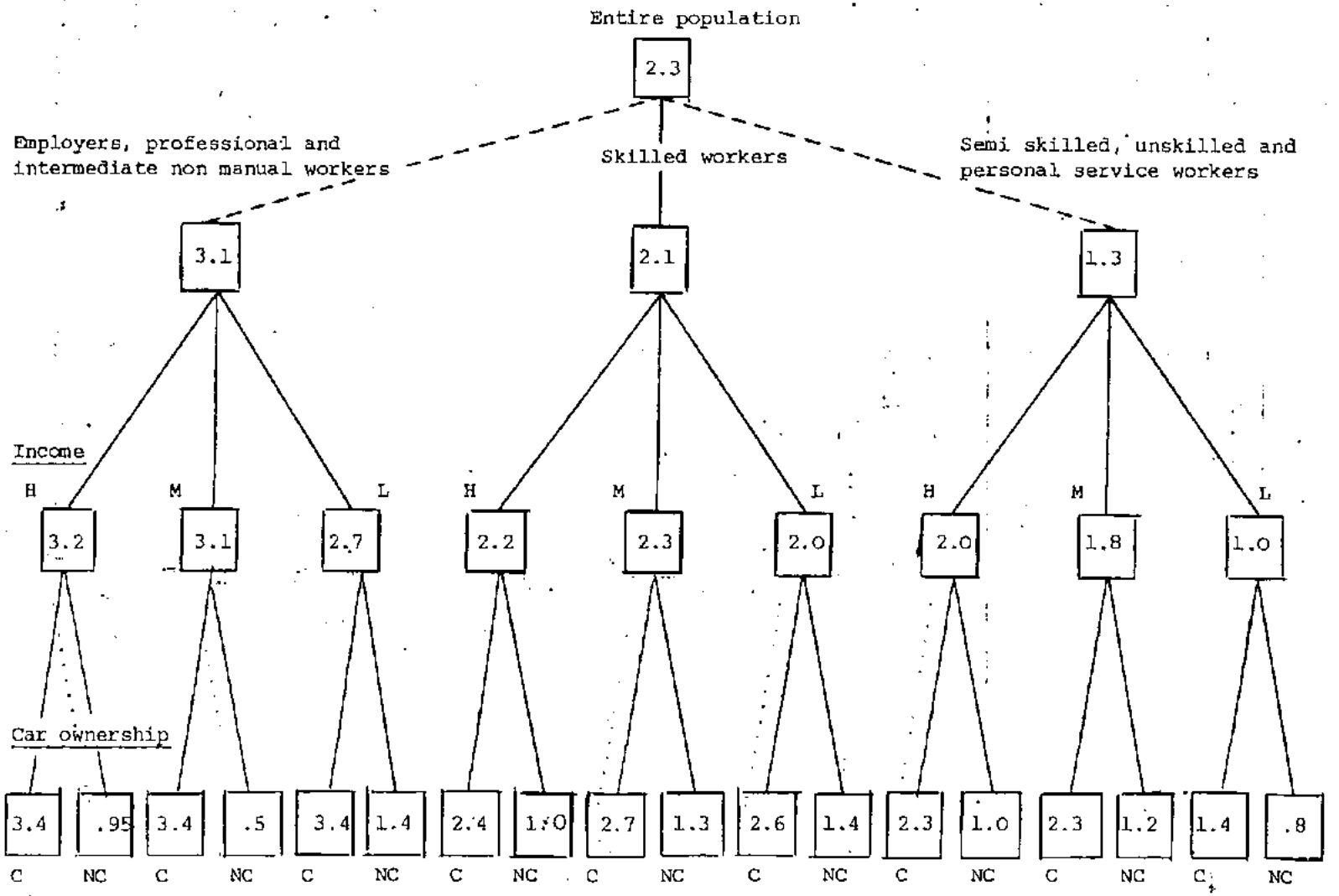
NUMBER OF DAYS' HOLIDAY BY NUMBER OF TRIPS IN THE MONTH

Days	Trips
1 - 7	2.7
8 - 14	1.9
15 - 21	2.1
22 - 28	2.3
29 - 35	2.5
35+	2.9

n = 5040

18. As might be expected, the effect of these various factors is cumulative: those with high income, high status occupations owning a car being the most likely to make trips, whilst those with low income, low status occupations and not owning a car being the least likely. The combined effects of car ownership, income and occupational status are illustrated in Figure 2. Disposable leisure time also has a bearing, though as suggested above, the length of the working week is not in itself a constraint. Indeed, high status occupational groups who make trips are also more likely to work longer hours than the remainder of the population (Table 12).

19. The amount of holidays that different occupational groups have do, however, influence the number of trips made. It does not provide a total explanation; though high status groups with most holidays make most holiday trips, they also make a greater number of trips from home (Table 13).



Income L = up to £2,999, M = £3,000 – £5,999, H = £6,000 and more. Car ownership C = Car owners, NC = Those without cars.

Fig. 2. Average number of Countryside Trips by Occupational Group, Income and Car Ownership

TABLE 11

OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AND COUNTRYSIDE RECREATION

	Percentage of group making at least one countryside trip in the previous month	Average number of trips in month	Average amount of time spent in the countryside in the previous week (Hours)
Employers and managers	66	3.2	3.2
Professional workers	69	3.0	3.2
Intermediate non-manual workers	67	2.9	3.1
Junior non-manual workers	55	2.1	2.1
Self-employed non-professional	58	2.4	2.5
Foremen and supervisors	62	2.8	2.2
Skilled manual workers	53	2.1	2.4
Personal service workers	44	2.2	1.6
Semi-skilled manual workers	41	1.3	1.5
Unskilled manual workers	31	1.1	1.4
All groups n = 5040	54	2.3	2.4

TABLE 12

TIME SPENT WORKING AND TRAVELLING BY OCCUPATIONAL STATUS

	Working hours	Countryside trips
Employers and managers	58	3.2
Professionals	50	3.0
Intermediate non-manual	45	2.9
Junior non-manual workers	46	2.1
Self employed non professionals	57	2.4
Foremen and supervisors	51	2.8
Skilled workers	50	2.1
Personal service workers	51	2.2
Semi-skilled workers	47	1.3
Unskilled workers	45	1.1
All groups n = 1661	50	2.3

(Working hours = average number of hours worked in week previous to interview including overtime and journey to work time ; Countryside trips = average number of trips made in month prior to interview.)

Eight Average number of Countryside Trips by Occupational Group, Income and Car Ownership

Income L = up to £2,999, M = £3,000 - £5,999, H = £6,000 and more. Car ownership C = Car owners, NC = Those without cars.

TABLE 13

HOLIDAYMAKING AND COUNTRYSIDE RECREATION BY OCCUPATIONAL STATUS

	Average No. of days holiday in the year	Average No. of trips taken in month prior to interview	
		Holiday	Not on holiday
Employers and managers	36	1.1	2.2
Professionals	33	1.2	1.9
Intermediate non-manual	32	1.0	2.0
Junior non-manual	19	0.8	1.3
Self employed non-professional	na	0.6	1.8
Foremen and supervisors	23	1.0	1.7
Skilled workers	22	0.7	1.3
Personal service workers	16	0.5	1.0
Semi-skilled workers	20	0.4	1.0
Unskilled workers	18	0.3	0.6
All groups n = 5040	na	0.8	1.5

20. The data presented above provides clear evidence that constraints relating to occupational status limit countryside trip making and thus provides one basis for describing who visitors to the countryside are; even so, occupation is not a very clear discriminator. For if, at the extreme, differences are marked, with managers being more than twice as likely to visit the countryside than are unskilled workers, overall the variations are less great. Thus, foremen and skilled workers who make up the bulk of the manual working population are not markedly distinct in their behaviour from non-manual groups.

21. The data then does not sustain an argument that solely middle class interests are being catered for in the countryside. Indeed, because of their proportion in the population, just under half of all trips to the countryside are made by manual workers. Nor, as will be shown below, is their rate of use of the countryside markedly different from the remainder of the population (Figure 3).

PREFERENCE

22. If the variation in trip making between occupational groups is largely the result of constraints, it may also in part be the result of preference, with lower status groups giving less emphasis to countryside recreation because of greater interest in alternative forms of recreation. The National Survey contains a number of questions on attitudes and preference but analysis

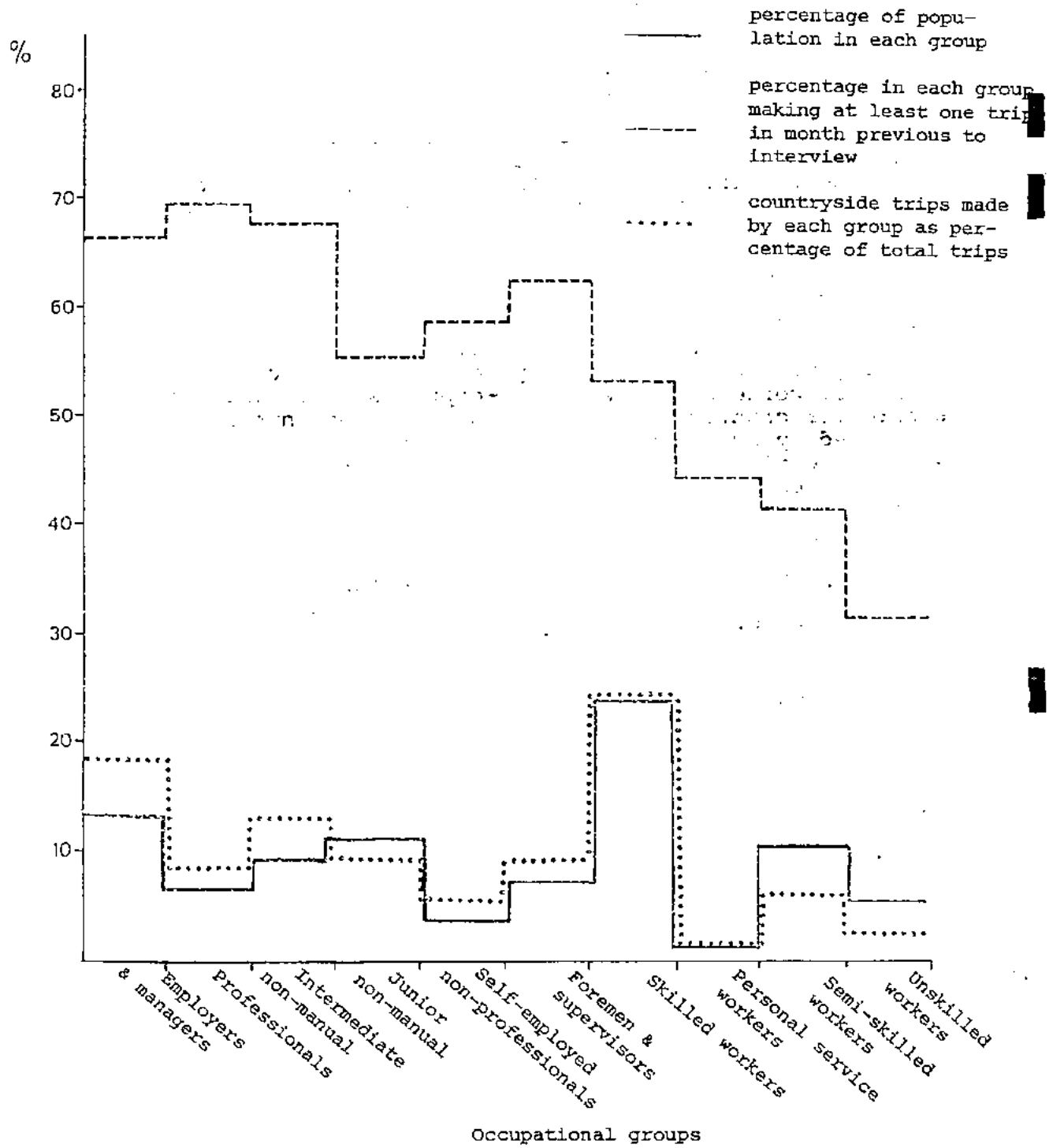


Fig.3 Countryside recreation and occupational groups

has not yet proceeded far enough for us to assess the relative influence of either in any specific situation. We have, however evidence that preference is both related to behaviour and varies across occupational groups.

23. This can be illustrated by reference to one attitude quest ion. Those interviewed were asked whether they preferred "to' spend their leisure time in the town or the countryside." Of thos making trips to the countryside in the month, 90% preferred the countryside compared to 75% of those not making trips.

24. At the same time, manual workers were more likely to favou town recreation (Table 15). However, in both cases the variation was slight and overall a large majority preferred the countryside a pattern which suggests that preference is not a major factor in limiting visits to the countryside except perhaps for semi and unskilled workers, and which re-emphasises how ubiquitous the desire for countryside recreation is. That this is so is further sustained by examining respondents' future aspirations for countr side recreation. For clearly if those not visiting the country- side at present do so by choice they will be unlikely to expect t go more frequently in the future or be concerned about whether th do go or not.

25. In order to assess this, the people interviewed were asked both whether they expected to visit the countryside often "in the next two or three years" and, if not, whether they would wish to go more often. Overall the population split roughly into three parts, just under a third expecting to go more often, just over a third not expecting to go but wishing to, and the remainder who did not expect to visit more and were not concerned about it. Within this there were some variations between the different occupational groups: manual workers were less likely to expect that they would visit more often in the future and more likely not to be bothered about this. However, the differences were not great and the proportion of those desiring but not expecting to visit was almost identical across all occupational groups. In essence, though there is variation in present levels of trip making between the occupational groups, there is much greater similarity in their future aspirations (Table 15). The majority of the population, regardless of occupation, would like to visit the countryside more often.

TABLE 14

PREFERENCE FOR SPENDING LEISURE TIME IN TOWNS BY OCCUPATIONAL STATUS

	Percentage agreeing that they "preferred to spend their leisure time in the town rather than the countryside"
Employers and managers	10.0
Professionals	10.0
Intermediate non-manual	10.5
Junior non-manual	18.5
Self employed non-professional	10.5
Foremen and supervisors	13.4
Skilled workers	21.1
Personal service workers	18.4
Semi-skilled workers	25.5
Unskilled workers	31.0
All groups n = 5040	17.2

TABLE 15

EXPECTATION OF FUTURE VISITS TO THE COUNTRYSIDE BY OCCUPATIONAL STATUS

	Expect to go more often	Wish to go	Don't care	Total
Employers and managers	36	36	28	100
Professionals	41	32	27	100
Intermediate non-manual	42	38	20	100
Junior non-manual	32	42	26	100
Personal service workers	31	49	20	100
Foremen and supervisors	37	36	27	100
Skilled workers	32	38	30	100
Semi-skilled workers	26	40	34	100
Unskilled workers	20	42	38	100
All groups n = 5040	32	38	30	100

AGE AND COUNTRYSIDE RECREATION

26. Age has a bearing on recreational activities because people's preoccupations and interests change during their lifetime mainly in relation to changes in their social environment, and through the decline in physical capabilities that come with ageing. With regard to out of home recreational activity in general, participation tends to be highest in the younger age groups and to decrease steadily for successively older groups. These effects are apparent

for countryside recreation but are not very marked. The National Survey shows that countryside trip making is very evenly spread throughout the different age groups (Table 16).

TABLE 16

AGE AND COUNTRYSIDE RECREATION - PERCENTAGE TAKING PART IN LAST MONTH

Age group	16-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54	55-59	60-64	65-70
Countryside trips - %	57	54	57	60	59	59	52	47	52	48	43
Average no. of countryside trips in month	2.4	2.0	2.1	2.6	2.7	2.6	2.4	2.0	2.1	2.1	1.7
n = 5040											

27. Nevertheless not all age groups are equally active and there is evidence of slightly increased involvement amongst those in the 30 - 44 age groups. This peak is probably related to the fact that at this stage in their life most married couples have dependent children. Having children clearly encourages visits to the countryside; on the evidence of our qualitative work, both to let them play in unconstrained circumstances - "It gives them a change of scenery and allows them to run wild for a bit of a bawl and shout "I can relax and the children can do what they like without annoying anybody"; and because it is a necessary part of a child's development - "They should be taken and taught to respect it;" "It's good for them to get out into the countryside; it forms their mind; it's part of their education."

28. The effect of children can be illustrated by looking directly at the difference in recreational behaviour between those having children and those without (Table 17). In addition, those in the 30 - 44 age groups are much more likely than the rest of the population to visit the countryside in a family group (Table 18).

29. Compared to earlier surveys, the National Survey shows a greater likelihood for adolescents (16 - 19 year olds) to visit the countryside and a slight tendency for the elderly to remain more active. It is possible that there has been some shift in the adolescent age group, perhaps generated by an increase in countryside activities in the school curricula. Moreover, this age group is the first generation to have been born and brought up during the 1960's, a period which saw the expansion of countryside recreation brought on by the widespread availability of personal transport and their behaviour might reflect that. The general Household Survey which was also conducted in 1977 shows a similar trend.

TABLE 17

FAMILY PARTICIPATION IN COUNTRYSIDE RECREATION

	Percentage taking part in last month
Single	
Under 40	59
Over 40	41
Married	
Under 40, no children	54
Pre-school children	61
Pre-school and school age children	60
School age children	61
Further education or working children (including younger)	50
Working children only; and over 40 with no children	52

n = 5040

TABLE 18

TRIPS MADE BY PARENTAL AGE GROUPS

Age group	16-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54	55-59	60-64	65-70
Percentage visiting the countryside with spouse and children	5	12	45	66	61	55	33	17	4	3	1

n = 4341

30. Further evidence of the central influence of age and family responsibilities was given by the respondents themselves when they were asked whether they had visited the countryside more or less in the past. Of those who indicated that they had visited the countryside more often, just over half referred to the effect of having children; that they had gone more often in the past when the children were younger or still at home.

HOW IS THE COUNTRYSIDE USED?

31. The National Survey contains considerable information about trips that people made to the countryside. This included the purpose of the trip, the type of place visited, when the trip was made and with whom. Detailed analysis of this data is not

yet complete. Here a number of issues are drawn out which are relevant to understanding present and potential use of the countryside.

32. The countryside is used for a wide range of recreational purposes. For a small minority it is a place to pursue specific sports ranging from potholing to hang-gliding, horse riding or fishing. A larger proportion visit facilities provided for recreation such as stately homes, or safari parks, or the non-urban coast, and one in five visitors use it for walking, hiking and rambling (defined in the survey as walks of two or more miles). For the majority, however, it is a place for casual activities like pleasure driving, picnicking, admiring the scenery, strolling around and similar pursuits which are indulged in throughout the countryside. In the following table these are categorised under 'drives, outings and picnics'.

TABLE 19

THE RANGE OF COUNTRYSIDE ACTIVITIES - THE PURPOSE OF THE LAST COUNTRYSIDE TRIP TAKEN

	Percent of total respondents undertaking the trip for the specified countryside activity
Went on drives, outings or picnics	35
Went on long walks, hikes or rambles	20
Visited the sea coast, cliff tops	15
Visited historic buildings, stately homes	13
Watched sport in the countryside	4
Visited safari parks	4
Went fishing in the countryside	4
Took part in sports in the countryside	4
Went horse riding or pony-trekking	1

n = 4342

33. The survey can be seen as confirming the findings of earlier research that the countryside is overwhelmingly used for casual activities, in contrast to more active or specific purposes like riding, fishing or other sports. It is also in line with the initial argument that for the majority the countryside is simply used as an environment, as distinct as possible from the urban environment, in which to relax.

34. This can be well typified by the following descriptions, the first provided by the wife of a retired factory worker, the following by parents of young children.

"It makes a break from sitting in the garden and there is different scenery to look at... We would find a small clearing where you put out your chairs, have your sandwiches, where you can enjoy it without being a nuisance to anyone else or without anyone else being a nuisance to you... Then we'd say thank goodness for that, flop out and go to sleep."

"We just watched the boats on the lake and sat out on the seats - that's about all... It was a rest, that's all. My wife loves going."

"We just walked around having a look at everything. The children were climbing over the tree stumps... We are just lazy - it is just nice to relax and do nothing."

Respondents to the National Survey were asked what activities they had undertaken the last time they visited the countryside. Seventy-five percent of activities described were of this casual, informal nature.

THE TYPES OF PLACES VISITED IN THE COUNTRYSIDE

35. A wide range of places are visited in the countryside, ranging from safari parks managed exclusively for intensive recreation to agricultural fields. The National Survey provides data on this but, given the difficulty of getting respondents to describe sites, some of the categories are rather general. They are set out and roughly grouped into facilities managed specifically for recreation and those not (Table 20).

36. One-third of trips were made to facilities which it can be assumed are specifically managed for recreation, and this matches the proportion of trips where an entrance fee or car parking charge was paid. An additional 50% of trips were made to villages and country pubs. It can be assumed that the majority of the remaining trips (44%) were made to facilities not specifically managed for recreation or to the open countryside. The survey suggests, however, that recreational use of agricultural land is relatively small; certainly only 4% claimed to have visited farmed fields. The attraction of water is also apparent from these data; 32% of all trips were either to the seaside or inland water. The proportion of visits to sites assumed to be managed specifically for recreation is much in line with that recorded in the Study of Informal Recreation in South East England (SIRSEE) in 1973.

37. It has sometimes been argued that the increase in those making countryside trips has led to the recruitment of people "who are not necessarily looking for truly 'natural' countryside but something more akin to a town park in the countryside." [1] If this were true it might be expected that there would be some variation in the types of sites and facilities used and preferred by different occupational groups and that those in low status occupations, the most likely source of new recruitment, would

tend to use sites managed for intensive recreation. The National Survey provides some evidence that this is so. Unskilled workers are slightly more likely to visit country pubs, safari parks. They and other manual workers are considerably more likely to visit rivers and canals (probably a reflection of their greater involvement in fishing). However, overall variations are not great.

TABLE 20

PLACES VISITED IN THE COUNTRYSIDE

Main stop on trip:	Percentage of total trips made in the month	
Stately homes etc.	12	
Country parks and gardens	8	
Safari parks	5	
Sports grounds in country	4	
Picnic sites	3	
Ruins and ancient nomuments	1	(33)
Sea coast, cliff tops	20	
Riversides, canals	8	
Lakes, reservoirs	4	
Open farmed fields	4	
Hills, mountains	3	
Roadsides, laybys	1	(44)
Villages	10	
Country pubs	5	
Other	8	
n = 4167		

38. Indeed, our qualitative research suggests that desire for the countryside to remain 'natural', to have only minimal recreational provision made within it, is widely spread through the population. In part this is because provision and facilities are seen as the antithesis of what countryside is perceived to be about; that it is not man-made, it is not planned and not organised. Related to this, especially among the higher status groups, is a concern that provision will attract more and the 'wrong' sort of people into the countryside. However, some amongst these groups are prepared to argue that provision is justified for 'them' in order to preserve 'our' countryside.

39. These attitudes were not, of course, held unanimously amongst those interviewed in the qualitative research. Some respondents, mainly semi and unskilled workers, admitted that they found the countryside boring and were thus less averse to the provision of major facilities in the countryside. On the whole, however, on the evidence of this admittedly tentative research, most present and potential users of the countryside desire only limited provision to be made in the countryside.

FAMILIARITY WITH THE COUNTRYSIDE

40. The majority (75%) of trips to the countryside are made by people to places that they have visited before, most on several occasions. This conservatism seems to be the result of wanting to ensure that a countryside trip is enjoyed by returning to sites that have given satisfaction previously; of lack of knowledge and information about alternative sites; and also because of feelings of insecurity about new and unknown countryside. The following quotations from the qualitative research illustrate these points:

> "You get too used to one thing and you are frightened to change. It's like being used to a certain brand of soap powder - you know what to expect. Unless someone actually recommends somewhere different, you tend to plod along to the same place."
>
> 30-year-old housewife

> "If I enjoy a place, I like to go there and go back again. Then I feel at home. If you don't know an area, you don't know where you can go or what you can do. You have to know an area before you feel that it is countryside."
>
> 60-year-old housewife

41. Some types of facility are less likely to have been visited previously than others. This is especially true of stately homes, safari parks and ancient monuments. In general, sites not managed specifically for recreation are more likely to have been visited previously. Managed facilities like stately homes are also more likely to be visited on holiday than are non-managed sites, and these two things are obviously related (Table 21).

TABLE 21

KNOWLEDGE OF COUNTRYSIDE PLACES

	Percentage that have NOT been visited previously
Stately homes etc.	55
Country parks and gardens	34
Safari parks	49
Sports grounds in the country	26
Picnic sites	26
Ruins and ancient monuments	65
Sea coast, cliff tops	26
Riversides, canals	25
Lakes, reservoirs	25
Open farmed land	33
Hills, mountains	33
Woodland	30
Roadsides, laybys	53
Villages	36
Country pubs	41

n = 3298

42. As suggested above, part of the reason for this behaviour is uncertainty about what parts of the countryside can and cannot be visited. Just under half of those interviewed in the National survey agreed that it was "difficult to know where you can stop or walk in the countryside," and this was reflected in the qualitative research where a number of respondents were explicit about not liking to use farm land or footpaths that were not clearly marked, preferring areas that were specifically given over to recreation, even if this meant using urban provision as in the case of the following quotation:

> "My children can't go across fields as those fields belong to people. So I'm forever looking for public footpaths. And it's very difficult. Kids just want to climb over fences, so that can be quite a headache trying to keep everybody to a single track. So they're no better off. At least if you go to Parliament Hill everything in front of them is open to them."

Such views are a marked contrast to the popular image of town dwellers as potential trespassers who show little regard for country life.

43. Conservatism also results from lack of knowledge and information. Almost without exception, respondents interviewed in the qualitative research showed extremely limited knowledge of countryside amenities outside their immediate area, though most seemed to want to find out what was available. Most seemed to visit sites known to them since childhood or to rely on word of mouth recommendations as opposed to information services. It seems that a considerable information need remains unfulfilled.

WHEN IS THE COUNTRYSIDE VISITED?

44. As might be expected, the weekend is predominantly the time when the countryside is visited with Sunday being the most popular day. However, just under half of the trips (44%) were taken on weekdays. The distribution of trips across the week and any changes that might occur in this has an obvious bearing on the pressure that recreation puts on the countryside. It is therefore useful to examine who is making weekday trips and how they compare to those made at the weekend. Of the weekday trips, about half were trips made on holiday both at home and away from home (compared to 20% of the weekend trips). Twenty five percent were evening trips and the remainder were made by the retired, other people (mainly women) not working, and by shift workers.; The 1967 Planning for Leisure Survey shows that only 25% of trips to the countryside were made on weekdays in that year compared to 44% in 1977. This change is most probably the result of the overall increase in holidays during that period, thus giving a disproportionate growth of weekday trips. It is likely that this trend will continue.

TABLE 24

PERCEIVED CONSTRAINTS ON VISITING THE COUNTRYSIDE

	Not enough time	Don't have a car	Can't afford to visit the countryside	Can't afford public transport	Other
Employers/managers	64	5	3	0	28
Professionals	73	4	5	0	18
Intermediate non-manual	56	6	6	0.5	31
Junior non-manual	48	16	4	2	30
Self-employed non-professional	66	2	0	0	32
Foremen and supervisors	50	9	7	2	32
Skilled workers	57	11	6	2	24
Personal service workers	39	29	4	2	26
Semi-skilled workers	45	18	7	3	27
Unskilled workers	37	16	10	0.5	32

n = 5040

TABLE 25

THE GENERAL HOUSEHOLD SURVEY: PARTICIPATION IN COUNTRYSIDE RECREATION - BY OCCUPATIONAL GROUP. 1973, 1977

	% participating at least once in the previous summer month	
	1973	1977
Employers/managers	55.8	55.2
Professionals	57.1	54.1
Intermediate & junior non-manual	48.7	49.3
Foremen & skilled	41.7	45.4
Semi-skilled manual	35.6	34.5
Unskilled manual	32.2	31.6
Total population	44.1	43.1

The implications of this are that growth is most likely to come from within the skilled working class. How large this will be depends both on changes in levels of disposable leisure time and on the condition of the economy.

64. Overall this data suggests that over the next decade growth in countryside recreation will not be as great as sometimes supposed and that for some groups saturation might already have been reached. In addition it seems likely that growth, insofar as it does occur, will be predominantly increased in the use of the countryside by manual workers. While this will put increased pressure on the countryside there is little evidence that this group desires markedly different provision from those already visiti

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2. M. Young and P. Willmott 1975 The Symmetrical Family. Penguin Harmondsworth, pp 144-147

3. See for example E. Bott, Family and Social Network (2nd Edition) Tavistock Publications, London 1971.

4. See for example J.H. Goldthorpe et al. The Affluent Worker in the Class Structure, Cambridge University Press, London 1969, chapter 4

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J.M. Sully *(West Yorkshire County Council)*

I have done a quick calculation and I think on a 95% confidence level the sample error is about 1.5%. In other words, those percentages that you have given us would seem to be as accurate as you are ever going to get for what people are doing in the countryside. Therefore, if we are making decisions, those figures would seem to be correct.

A.M.H. Fitton

I wouldn't do anything till you see our final report -

J.M. Sully

When the National Opinion Polls try to find out who is going to win the election they take a sample of 1,200 or 1,300 and they are usually accurate to within 2%, so that your sample of 5,040 would seem to be reasonably accurate as a basis for decision-making.

Could I turn to Table 1: 9% take part in indoor sports and 54% visit the countryside. Local authority spending tends to be in the area of indoor sports - eg squash courts rather than on the countryside. The figures you give support what many of us know to be the case, that much of our spending on recreation is benefiting the minority rather than the majority.

In Table 20 where you give data on where people have been, first of all the sample size is 4,167 as against 5,040: can I assume that the difference is explained by people who have not done any of those recreational activities during that period? Do I also assume that you have given percentages to avoid double counting, ie where people have been both to a country park and to a mountain you have counted them only once? Also, 20% visiting country parks would seem to imply again that the area where local authorities have the greatest contribution is in the countryside - country parks, picnic sites, etc. That is where the money needs to be spent.

A.M.H. Fitton

On the technical question, the survey contains information on the percentage of the population participating and about the two most recent trips they made. The base figure for Table 20 is for those two trips combined and the percentages refer to the 'main stop' only. (About 5% of total trips did not include a stop and these - the so-called 'pleasure motoring trips' - are exclude from the percentages). Obviously people stopped at other places.

I agree with you about countryside. I have made the point about the desire for 'true countryside' and yet, as I also said, people often feel insecure and constrained on farm fields. Ironically, given the policy of concentration which country parks were supposed to foster, people find country parks very palatable because they are open areas with little provision except areas to walk and play and do your own thing - and they are relatively under-used. In some of the work we did at the outskirts of Londo we found that people living 3 or 4 miles away from Aldenham count park had never heard of the place. It is not surprising actually if you go to the wrong gate of Aldenham it says, "You can't enter this side; go three miles round," and that is in a park of 500 acres.

I really reinforce Brian Duffield's point: it is about time somebody started asking people what they wanted. It's all right for the Countryside Review Committee to suggest 'country leisure parks', but who did they ask about that? Nobody. I know of market research on whether people like thick or thin cigarettes; there is an American firm trying to foist soy-bean bacon on to the longsuffering British housewife, and on those two pieces of research more money was probably spent than has been spent in the last 15 years on finding out what people want in the countryside.

J. Bostock *(Countryside Commission)*

I am sure that your survey, which covers a very broad spectrum of recreation, masks the preferences of different social groups. Our work at Cannock indicates that if we are dealing with a population that is actually in the countryside there are distinct differences in what they are doing and therefore what kind of provision you would want to make. What partially comes across to me is that we have lots of pressure groups for this, that and the other which are highly organised, but that voice of the man in the country park is not heard, although the last thing he wants to be is organised into a 'voice'; but someone has to do it.

J. Carr *(Sports Council)*

I find it difficult to reconcile the suggestion that more money should be spent on countryside recreation facilities and the need, that Martin has suggested, for giving some opportunities to the socially deprived groups. I think any sort of comparison

of the figures in Table 1 would be invidious. One should consider what opportunities there are to take countryside trips as against the opportunities there are to take part in sports.

S. Housden *(R.S.P.B.)*

One piece of this information that I find very informative and encouraging is Table 22 where, as you see, the general sample is quite heavily of the opinion that there is too much pollution or there are conservation problems in the countryside. I wonder whether we can conclude that some of the areas of habitat that people actually visit are the most threatened. Could it be that people recognise that large numbers trying to get their rods out along a reservoir bank and boating and so forth are causing various pressures? And is this awareness going to direct people elsewhere - are they really going to take conservation matters into account when they plan their future trips?

A.M.H. Fitton

I did say at the beginning of my talk, and I repeat it now: the conclusions based on this data are tentative. The data in Table 22 are really saying that there is a general predisposition towards being concerned about the countryside, being worried about what is happening there. It does not necessarily indicate - rather the contrary - that there is a depth of knowledge and information about countryside matters. It is a generalised, somewhat amorphous base on which to build a feeling that the countryside is a good thing and we are in danger of losing it. The relationship between the two tables is not really there at all.

C.E.B. Gordon *(Nottinghamshire County Council)*

Following on John Carr's point, it is fair to say that there is inequity in the distribution of sports facilities and other recreation facilities over the country as a whole, and some of the answers to John's points may be found by analysing the information on a regional or still smaller scale. Is that likely to happen?

A.M.H. Fitton

Table 1 is presented to put countryside recreation into perspective. However, as Michael Dower says, buying land in the urban fringe and inner urban areas to put into recreation is very expensive and no doubt people who want to go to sports centres feel constrained because there are not enough to go round and more people would go if there were more centres. Obviously I am biased because the organisation I work for want to see money put into green open spaces where people can do their own thing, rather than a lot of high prestige sports centres.

D.E. Hogan *(West Yorkshire County Council)*

Did any of the people you interviewed in your survey show any awareness, in using the words 'nature', 'natural' etc. that the countryside landscape that they were no doubt imagining was as artificial and as man-made as canals, roads and factories?

A.M.H. Fitton

The attachment to the countryside is deeply embedded, but without much real knowledge about it. Time and time again reactions crop up such as, "The countryside is wild." People don't perceive the countryside in an organic way. I take your point.

M. Dower

Martin Fitton said that it might have been interesting to know who does not come to the countryside. It would certainly be helpful to providers to ask, "Who does not come that we should be worried about not coming?" I wondered whether his combination of quantitative and qualitative evidence was beginning to point him towards those groups who do not come but who have a palpable desire to do so.

A.M.H. Fitton

I think we are all very much aware of that question - though what we are going to do about it is another matter. The immediate and simple response is to put them in buses and take them out. But it is not as simple as that, is it? I think there are clear points of social equity with which we should be concerned.

B. Bellwood *(Tyne and Wear County Council)*

I would like to go back to your interviewee who enjoyed going to Cockfosters. Cockfosters is hardly the sort of countryside we were talking about a moment ago. It has a golf course, equestrian centre, Trent Park Training College, various football pitches - it has an underground station just across the road - and yet this meant 'countryside' for that person. I would question what we mean when we talk about countryside.

A.M.H. Fitton

We hope to do a detailed analysis of images of the countryside. We did a lot of work in relation to Trent and, although those things are there, they can be ignored or avoided if you prefer. The nature of the management of Trent Park means that, especially if you come in by some entrances, you are almost in the sort of countryside I am describing. The whole area of countryside images is very interesting and unresearched. Ziona Strelitz made the point about urban images, and we need that sort of data for the countryside. One interviewee described Cockfosters as "the first real bit of countryside as I go out of London".

B. Bellwood

Focussing on the urban fringe, in many people's minds it is a place where all the services are - power lines, sewage and transport systems. If we visually can make it more like the countryside, would that be a place where people would want to go?

R.M. Sidaway

That is exactly why we started the qualitative work, because that was the question we wanted to answer.

J. Casson *(North West Water Authority)*

Table 1 does not seem to include taking part in any rural outdoor sports. Is it less than 1 in 5,000? Demand for sports is constantly expressed for the use of a resource, whether it is angling, hang-gliding or whatever, and it competes with informal recreation.

A.M.H. Fitton

Table 1 should be read in relation to Table 19. Table 1 lumps together all recreational activities that take place in the countryside. Table 19 disaggregates that and provides the answers for some activities.

A.J. Coley *(Bradford College)*

I just want to ask Martin or anyone else here whether research is being undertaken into basic psychological and biological drives which underlie the fashioning that the environment and the cultural traditions and all the other constraints have on such drives.

M. Dower

Some work on this was written up in 'Leisure Provision and the Family Life Cycle'; and the whole set of concepts that Ziona was talking about was based on the idea of preoccupations related to the biological life cycle. We are going on to extend that to a larger sample but I don't think we are greatly extending the conceptual depth because we are trying to cross-relate it into the field of provision, and how people relate to provision dialogue rather than pursue it a great deal deeper as a psycho-biological matter.

J.M. Sully

Paragraph 40 on familiarity with the countryside: you refer to a lack of knowledge. You may be aware - if you have interviewed people as far north as West Yorkshire - that knowledge on access to the countryside is dealt with in booklets

produced by the Ramblers' Association. If you happen to do one of those walks with a book, you can almost guarantee to find several other people with a book doing the same walk. Another example is the Lake District and the guides written by Wainright. I wonder, when you say that 75% show lack of knowledge, whether you include this kind of publication?

A.M.H. Fitton

A guide was written to Snowdonia pointing out a route that was never used, and as a result of it the farmers were having to come in at the dead of night to get their tractors up and down. Obviously aggregate data like this covers up material which, locally, is important. As far as the survey data is concerned, it is interesting that, while there is a variation between higher and lower income groups in the use of newspapers and books, even the majority of those in higher income groups are really flying by the seat of their pants.

D.R. Vaughan *(Edinburgh University)*

I was wondering whether you were considering doing a similar survey in winter because it struck me that there is probably some bias in your percentages.

R.M. Sidaway

If you remember the analysis of the leisure questions in the 1973 General Household Survey which covers the whole year, the relative popularities of sport and countryside recreation are much the same although the overall levels of participation are lower in the winter.

J.R. Duffell *(Hatfield Polytechnic)*

I was particularly interested in the last illustration, the comparison between 1977 and 1973. You mentioned that the massive increase could depend on disposable leisure time and the condition of the economy. Some of the reasons given for not going to the countryside such as, "Haven't got the time", certainly match the fact that people might not also have the disposable income to visit the countryside. I believe from my own researches of the effects of changing petrol prices, that petrol prices do explain to some extent reductions in trips in recent years, but not sufficiently compared with real disposable income.

The other interesting thing which you may or may not know is that the monthly indices of traffic flow, from which it is possible to gauge whether pleasure trips are increasing or not, have not appeared for about 16 months. There is normally a time lag of about four months between the monthly index and the date of publication.

In some other work we have been doing this year, we have studied the use of firms' vehicles which suggests that access to a firm's car does increase trips made to the countryside. In asking people their response to events post-1973 my impression is that only 10 to 15% said that they had reduced their car journeys and yet this does not bear out when you examine petrol sales. There is a great danger in asking these questions, as to how much you can rely on the data, particularly the farther it goes back in time.

A.M.H. Fitton

Our survey questionnaire contained more information about car ownership and use than I have been able to present and a lot of additional analysis is proceeding on the survey anyway. Various consultants are involved including Brian Duffield, who is working on that data at the moment. It will be interesting to see how our findings are related to yours.

FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR WORK AND LEISURE

by

Michael Hill

School for Advanced Urban Studies, University of Bristol

I think futurology is altogether a very risky business and it is not normally one of my sports. But I think that I have reached that stage in my life when I want to try a few risky sports I have not already tried, before I get too old for them, and this is what I am going to try to do tonight.

I have not been personally engaged in trying to map out the future employment prospects of this country. However, a number of other people have been doing so, and what I want to do is to try to digest some of the things they are saying and to suggest what I hope will be some pertinent points for your discussion.

There has very recently been a number of attempts to look at the future of the labour market and to examine future employment prospects in this country. Notably, Colin Leicester at the Institute of Manpower Studies in Sussex has given considerable attention to this. You may well have seen an interesting television programme which tried to map out employment trends up to the year 2001, in which Colin Leicester participated. Similarly, at the University of Warwick there is a Manpower Research Group which has very recently produced a report on Britain's medium-term employment prospects. Various other economic commentators such as the Cambridge School of economists at the Department of Applied Economics in Cambridge - have also made predictions about the term. Of course, needless to say, the government dabbles in this sort of exercise from time to time and one of the consequences of the new structure of manpower services in this country, with a Manpower Services Commission (MSC) is that rather more official attention is being given to future employment trends. The MSC has published, in the Department of Employment Gazette, various interesting figures on future employment prospects. Those, then, are the main sources for my speculations this evening.

I don't think I have any specific axes to grind about trends. I find some difficulty in commenting particularly on the economic and technological aspects of future predictions. I am not alone in that: nearly all the publications on predictions tend to offer you consequences of different packages of policies. Quite which package of policies the government will opt for is really anybody's guess, and in any case they will probably opt for a peculiar combination that is not quite like anything that anybody else expects. It is clearly very difficult to try to look ahead with any degree of certainty.

The main ingredients in future predictions are first of all a serious of demographic facts about which there is a reasonable measure of agreement. There is reasonable agreement because the predictions are about people who are already born! It is when demographers try to predict who is going to get born that they start to get into difficulties.

The ingredients that are fairly clear at the moment are first of all that we have an ageing population. It is also the case that the elderly are living longer. But one of the curiosities about the present situation is that despite an ageing population, it is nevertheless the case that the numbers of people who are going to retire in the next few years are really comparatively low, at least by comparison with the numbers who are going into the labour market. This is explained when you bear in mind that 65 years ago it was 1913. Hence the generation who will retire in the next few years are those born in, or around, the time of the First World War, when births were really very low. Hence a relatively small number of people will be leaving the labour market in the immediate future.

Secondly, and much more frequently commented on, is the bulge at the other end of the labour market of large numbers of people currently in their teens. This 'bulge' is proceeding through the secondary schools at the moment, and will move into the labour market over the next few years. Therefore, we have two opposing trends in the population: people only very gradually coming out of the work force while large numbers want to come into it.

The third factor we need to take into account is not so straightforward, but is clearly of enormous importance, it is a fact that I am going to refer to a number of times during the evening. It is the extent to which women increasingly participate in the labour market. This is a trend that goes back to the Second World War and there is very little evidence that this trend is abated. Those who look ahead broadly predict that the female 'participation rate' will continue to rise over the next few years. I think this third factor is of some importance to the nature of the labour force. I want to come back later on to suggest that it had an important impact not merely on the nature of the labour force, but clearly upon family resources. I think that this has been one of the key factors in boosting the incomes of that group of people, whom Martin was earlier suggesting, were participating inleisure rather heavily. The skilled manual worker group in the population, is clearly the extent to which there are increasingly at least two incomes in many families nowadays.

My main point here is to stress that here we have three factors which are increasing the numbers of people seeking work in this country. These factors are in some respect of greater importance in looking at the future than any of the more controversial facts about what is happening to the economy.

The first of my tables gives you some evidence from the Department of the Employment Gazette showing figures for the current labour force and their predictions for a rise in the labour force over the period up to 1986. Here we see a jump in the number of people who want work from 26,246 million in 1978 to 27,781 million in 1986. There is most notably a continuing rise in the number of married women in the labour force.

TABLE 1

ESTIMATES OF TOTAL LABOUR FORCE (Thousands) (DE Gazette June 1977, page 587)

Year	Males	Married women	Unmarried women	Total
1978	15,971	6,965	3,310	26,246
1981	16,164	7,129	3,441	26,734
1986	16,603	7,705	3,473	27,781

TABLE 2

CHANGES IN EMPLOYMENT (Thousands) (From University of Cambridge Department of Applied Economics, Economic Policy Review, March 1978)

	1973 - 1977	1951 - 1977
Agriculture	- 61	- 688
Mining and quarrying	- 14	- 517
Manufacturing	- 479	- 415
Other industries	- 201	- 36
Private services	+ 271	+ 1,878
Public services	+ 385	+ 1,648
Total employment	- 99	+ 1,870

Clearly the extent to which there will be problems in providin work for this rising labour force depends considerably upon the way in which the economy develops in the next few years. Crucial for this is the development in the role of the manufacturing secto in the labour market.

The second table shows estimates of changes which have occurre recently in participation in the various parts of the economy. The right hand column gives the whole pattern of changes between 1951 and 1977. It will be seen how, in offsetting the decrease in the total availability of employment over this period, the growth in

service industries, both in the private and in the public sector, is of great importance, and must be compared with the decline in the other sectors.

The other column gives the trend over the very recent past, and is therefore clearly related to recent economic conditions. The decline in manufacturing appears from this set of figures to have been primarily a very recent phenomenon. Up to the early seventies, manufacturing just about held its own. But recently, its downturn has been very marked, yet it is still partly compensated by a continuing rise in the public services.

Essentially most of the arguments about the future are arguments about the relevance of this particular trend. They are particularly arguments about the extent to which manufacturing industry can pick up in a way that will help to absorb increasing numbers from the labour force.

If you examine the overall trend since 1951 it really looks rather unlikely that manufacturing is going to pick up and absorb many new entrants to the labour force. But, it may be that the striking downturn of manufacturing is a phenomenon of the present economic difficulties and that the government's attempts to reflate the economy will in due course improve the role of the sector.

So the arguments revolve very much around that issue. Indeed, there are increasingly voices being heard which suggest that an upturn in manufacturing will not occur. To the contrary, they suggest that even if the economy revives, manufacturing industry will continue to decline as an employer. Of course, such arguments are very much tied up with the discussion about Britain's competitiveness in the world and about the need for increased capital investment in industry. There are clearly suggestions here that the kinds of developments that will produce growth in this country, will in fact be capital intensive and will have very little impact on the labour force. Some people go so far as to suggest that they will have a negative impact on the labour force: that the most productive new developments will employ fewer rather than more people.

So the picture of the future that has been produced by these various economic surveys suggests that at very best there will be problems in absorbing the increased labour force, and at worst there may well be a continuing decline in the level of employment which will accelerate the rate of unemployment even faster than might result from natural growth in the labour force alone.

Therefore it is in this context that we are now getting, increasingly on the political agenda, discussion of various work-sharing measures. Yet one of the most difficult elements in any prediction of the future is to try to assess the feasibility of work-sharing measures.

What are the various alternative 'models' of the future? The first one, perhaps the most likely one, is what I will call the 'more of the same' model. Let us assume that the government has some success, in the medium term, at securing some measure of growth in the economy. Let us assume that growth is broadly on the present pattern. What we will then have is a continuing process of growth in the public and the service sector, very little change in the manufacturing sector and rising unemployment. One important feature of the present situation which will continue to be very much with us, is high female participation in the labour market. This would tend to be accompanied by growth in two-earner households with the creation of more no-earner households.

It is important to put it in those stark terms, and I think it has very great imporance for leisure, because it is more likely than the preferable alternative, role reversal where one sees increased female participation in the labour market, balanced by increased male participation in the home. The problem with that is that in those households where this is probable, the job prospects of both the man and the woman are really quite good.

Unemployment is concentrated amongst the low skilled, the lowly educated, to some extent the ageing, and now also the young, new entrants to the labour market, particularly those with no skills. Most marriages are between people in similar socio-economic circumstances. Hence those with low job prospects are likely to have spouses who are similarly disadvantaged. I think that we may have had something of a pattern in the recent years in which the wives of skilled manual workers are driving low skilled men out of the labour market. Of course, that is a crude way of putting it because many other changes are also occurring. Indeed, women are now getting jobs in situations and in places where heavy manual work is being replaced by lighter, more routine forms of factory work. It is not simply direct competition.

Many of the efforts to tackle unemployment in development areas, have involved the replacement of heavy work, mining for example, by light work, which may be undertaken by women. This is a trend that may be intensified in the future, particularly in as much as service industries replace manufacturing ones.

However, there are alternative ways of looking at the whole problem. It is clearly possible to adopt a very much more optimistic view. Some observers suggest that there will be a renewed expansion of manufacturing. I have already suggested that the key problem would be that investment may well come in the form of capital intensive industry with higher productivity and without an enlarged labour force. Another aspect of the most optimistic predictions for the future, is the suggestion that there will continue to be a very strong expansion of services industry. If this is the case it will certainly have some interesting implications for patterns of leisure, particularly

since one of the arguments about the expansion of services in this country is of course an argument about the extent to which they can be import earners. Of course, one of the dramatic changes in recent years has been the extent to which we have been identified as a country to which other people might come as tourists. Maybe one of the ingredients included in the pattern for the future is the continuation of that pattern of the development of services, and indeed its growth.

An alternative of the future suggests that we will achieve more effective economic recovery through import controls, through a measure of protection. This may well have implications both for travel to this country and indeed for travel from this country abroad.

Finally I want to concentrate on those views of the approach to the future which rest upon solving the problems of unemployment through various forms of selective withdrawal from the labour market. There are a number of variations on this theme. Trade Unions are now increasingly talking of shortening working hours. There is talk of longer holidays, earlier retirement is on the agenda, and there are also various possibilities that some of those who are at the moment participating in the labour market will perhaps do so to a lesser extent in the future. The most obvious kind of change that is going on at the moment is a reduction in youth participation rates. I think we are going to see increasing efforts to attract young people into various forms of training, motivated as much from the political desire to get them out of the labour market as from any particular concern about the most appropriate training for these people.

One clearly could have a view for the future that would involve declining female participation rates in the labour market. I saw in a newspaper today a suggestion that there is an upturn in the birth rate, that will have its own effects, upon the labour market in due course!

As far as the key ideas of increased leisure are concerned, there are some very real problems about the ways in which that leisure will be distributed. The Warwick researchers put their finger on this very well talking of these various options - "the difficulty underlining them all is that if they are not to involve increases in labour costs or government expenditure of one kind or another, these measures would mean a loss of income to the majority of those taking part." They go on, "thus in recognising that work is a social process in which many wish to participate who cannot at present do so, we much face the fact that without supplementary measures to subsidise enterprises or transfer income directly to individuals, any policy to redistribute employment opportunities will also redistribute income".

I think that is crucial. I am not in any way attempting to attack the good faith of those trade unionists who argue for shorter working hours. Many of these proposals are sincerely

meant. But actual problem with their implementation will be the extent to which individuals will seek to circumvent their effects by endeavouring in various ways to make up for any income loss involved. Whether that would be done directly through collective bargaining over the basic rates, or whether it would be done by the seeking of overtime, or whether indeed it would be done by the increasing extent to which the individuals go 'moonlighting' (take on second jobs) is immaterial. But I think there will be a whole series of the things that individuals will in fact do to try to counterbalance the effect of income loss as a result of increased leisure.

It is because of this that we then run into a series of alternative problems. These are that the leisure gains are particularly made by the lowest earners; this is one of the effects of increased overtime, increased moonlighting and so on, just as it was an effect of the increased female participation in the labour market. Some workers indirectly drive others out of employment altogether.

Other measures would lead even more directly towards leisure gains for the lowest earners. Early retirement is the most clear cut case. There is increasing talk of this, and yet for those people for whom it is primarily on the agenda - mainly relatively low-skilled manual workers - it is early retirement onto a fairly minimal subsistence income.

I am somewhat pessimistic about the various work sharing measures. Therefore I believe we have to bear in mind that to a considerable extent the alternative consequence that we are talking about is an increase in unemployment. As I have suggested, unemployment is largely (self-evidently) associated with low income, but it is equally clear that most of those who experience unemployment are those who have been in relatively low paid employment before losing work.

I am offering a fairly pessimistic model of the future. I have resisted it for a long while, but have become impressed by the huge weight of opinion that says that it is going to be very hard to pick up employment in any way. It therefore seems that the most effective alternative is the development of work sharing. But I am far from sure that the forms of work sharing that we would get will enable leisure to be increased on a fairly uniform basis throughout the population.

While indeed talking about the nation as a whole, I have left out all sorts of complications for my analysis. Clearly, for example there are important regional variations. There are also important variations likely between the experience of different occupational, or social class, groups. Certainly some people will achieve a pattern of both more income and more leisure, and for some there will be less income and more leisure. But as far as many families are concerned, a lot of peopleare likely to continue to opt for the more income/less leisure alternative.

You will want to take some of these items further in terms of the separate but related relevance of leisure and income. Clearly the existence within a household of two relatively high income earners can have quite dramatic effects on their leisure behaviour, at least at certain times of the year such as weekends and holiday periods. This is a very different kind of effect to some of the others that I have been talking about. I am not trying to suggest that those who increase their income increase it to the total detriment of their leisure altogether. What I am rejecting is the very simple 'more leisure for all' scenario as the picture of the immediate future.

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Professor Patmore

Thank you very much indeed Michael for that very balanced, if not entirely, a cheerful view, with its obvious implications for providers in varying forms. I did wonder at one stage if we got to the point where future recreation might indeed be under the countryside rather than in the countryside and for all.

A.A. Oldfield *(Water Space Amenity Commission)*

Michael Hill prefaced his remarks somewhat lightheartedly by saying that he wished to try a risky sport before he got too old. I am wondering whether, more seriously, there is any prediction about the age level at which people undertake sport and carry on sport? This may be possibly a research topic for the Sports Council. Certainly, in athletics and cross country running, the age at which people take part has gone up to the point where one has national championships for over-forties, over-fifties and over-sixties. One's general observation is that there is not the tendency to give up sport at such an early age as one did a few years ago.

Michael Collins *(Sports Council)*

I think that the answer to Tony's question is that there are more opportunities for people to continue with sports, constrained considerably by the total capacity of the facility available. I don't think there is an effective prediction for the continuation. More people are now trained to play sports at school: there are very few of the over-forties who were trained to play sport, other than PT, but many of them were not given any of the basic skills in playing sport. They learnt those - if they learnt them at all - in clubs after leaving school. But more of the school population now obtains some basic skill, more or less effectively, or sometimes they are given an innoculation against it which lasts for the rest of their lives.

I don't think that in the social policy terms in which Michael has been talking sport looms large in the argument at all and sport

is always going to be a minority activity. It is quite possible that the total number who participate in some sports activity for a fair amount of their lives will go up quite considerably. But the total numbers for the particular activities in national terms are a few hundred thousand spread over many millions. If I may turn from comment to question, I wondered what the implications were for this increased entry of the female labour force, because obviously one can anecdotalise from experience, either a family experience or friends. But within the constraints of family life, having the wife go out to work, particularly if there are children, leads to a five and a half day week for the man, and a six day week for the woman. Furthermore it exacerbates the countryside recreation problem by concentrating more of the trips into the weekends.

Michael Hill

I very much agree with that summing up of the situation. The growth of the two earner households is a factor in the changing social structure of this country that has been given little attention. People have been rather too keen to leap to the alternative conclusion which points to the greater prosperity of middle income groups, without looking at the crucial link between that and female work.

John Casson *(North West Water Authority)*

The first point is a very simple one. I wonder why Michael didn't examine the three day week notion, and so I'd like him to do that. The next point I want to make is that we have seen Spain come up from the bottom of the European economy in fifteen years: perhaps they now have a better economy than ours, I wouldn't know, and based on tourism. What we see in Spain is the development of craftmanship, some of which is pretty terrible, but a great deal of employment generated. I was reading that it takes £10,000 to generate a job in tourism in Britain now and £350,000 to generate one in industry. These are approximate figures and I stand to be corrected. I lived in York between 1965 and 1975 and saw a very big change in the economy here with tourism. It seems to me that the British are are too proud to learn a lesson and accept tourism as a major industry. I believe we think it's a humiliating industry to work in and that we should be making Rolls Royces and jet engines and so on. Our heritage could generate tourism and jobs in a similar way to Spain.

Finally if we look at the amount we are paying out in dole, job creation programmes are actively engaged in restoring water mills, or in taking people on to repair all the stone walls on our properties. It is possible to do more in the environment, now than it has ever been possible in our most prosperious periods.

Michael Hill

With respect, I did touch on them all but perhaps rather tentatively. The first and the third are tremendously tied up with some of the questions about the nature of the British economy. There are major problems about increasing public expenditure against a background of no growth. I think a lot of people here will believe in the 'no growth' scenario and basically I do myself. But the crucial stumbling block of the no growth view of the future is that you are expecting the various kinds of work sharing while individual income falls. Withdrawal of work from five days a week to three days a week will not create two days work for other people, if it's accompanied by measures to preserve the income of the individual who drops two days work. It will create very much less than that and this is the problem.

As for tourism, I just don't know enough about the room for expansion here. We haven't got Spain's climate, but as you say, we have other assets. Maybe there are other people here who are very much more qualified than I am to suggest to what extent tourism could be expanded in ways that would contribute to the national economy. The crucial thing that makes acceptance of visitors from overseas different from the opening of leisure facilities in this country is that it earns money for the country. I don't know what its capacity for expansion is.

Robert Hall *(British Waterways Board)*

I have found your comments very interesting particularly when combined with those of Martin Fitton. It seems that the position may arise over the next ten years when those who have got the money - professionals - don't have the time to enjoy it, while those that have the time - the other classes - don't have the money. So I am wondering whether you can make any useful comment on what you see as being the demand over the future for expensive minority sports.

Michael Hill

Well, I don't really think I can.

Professor Patmore

Well, at least he's honest about it!

Jim Butterfield *(Leeds Polytechnic)*

I think the growth in two income families means that these people will have less time to enjoy their leisure. They are likely to go for a more capital intensive form of leisure, which presumably means more equipment: more camping, engines for hang gliders etc. In fact, the trend which emerges presumably sharpens conflicts of interest in the countryside, which we seem to have put

Jim Butterfield (Cont.)

the table this afternoon when we discussed countryside for all.

Michael Dower

Two policy related ideas from abroad. In Tanzania and Tunisi unemployment is illegal. In Ireland, at least until recently, if you were a woman in the Civil Service you had to resign when you married. We should face the implications of having two incomes in the family and potentially putting another man out of a job. That I would think is rather more conceivable in the politics of this country.

I want to nip in the bud the implications of this idea, that you have leisure for the less well-off. Unemployment and leisure are not the same word and should not be used in the same sense please. That is one thing that the work in Brent is teaching me. But while there are some people who deliberately go unemployed in order to use the leisure time that they get, they do regard it as useable leisure time creatively. For example there is a young West Indian who is using 'unemployment' to become as top an athlete as he can. He can only do that if he has the full time that unemployment gives him. There are others, typically West Indian youngsters just coming out of school, who are so bitterly preoccupied with the societal and parental rejection of which unemployment is one part, that no aspect of leisure provision will meet their need. Their need is not a leisure need, it is a bitter, inner need for recreation and fulfilment. That is not going to be met by regarding their unemployment as leisure time to be well spent. It is to be recognised as what it is, which is unemployment.

I hope also that we can keep in mind the other dimensions of interlock between work and leisure. We have already looked at some of them. For example, the two jobs mean not only extra resources, but extra pressures on the household. There may be problems with looking after the youngsters. Perhaps the need to buy in help to look after the youngsters. There may be problems with leisure provision, nursery schools and a whole range of other issues like that. But the work/leisure relationship is a very subtle thing.

One point that I hope to find in Martin's paper is how people conceive the work/leisure relationship. For example, one of the reasons why vast numbers of people have gone fishing on the canals is because it is such a relief from the noise and tedium of a factory floor. In moving over to service industry, maybe we are going to change the circumstances of work to which leisure activity has been a marked contrast. I hope that we shall not look at this in a simple mechanistic way by changing the pattern of work we are also changing the whole pattern of a person's life.

Professor Patmore

Thank you very much indeed for that comment. I will now draw this particular session to a close. Perhaps because we are eating into what might for some of us normally be 'leisure time' we have tended to take a rather gloomy view this evening. But I think the important thing is the very careful way in which Michael has presented these issues to us in a very thoughtful and remarkably wide ranging paper. A lot of it gives us little scope for comfort, but it has given us a great deal for thought, and not least in some of the points that have been brought out by speakers. Thank you very much indeed Michael for your contribution.

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ACCESS: CAN PRESENT OPPORTUNITIES BE WIDENED?

by

Marion Shoard

Centre for Environmental Studies

George is 85 years old. He lives in an old people's home in Kilburn, north London with 90 other people. His sight was impaired during the first world war, and he now suffers from Parkinson's Disease. When I interviewed him this summer, he told me: "I've always lived in London except when I was away in France and Belgium during the First World War. Where I live now it's busy, with main roads. I like the country: the beauty of it. Before I was taken bad I used to be driven down to the country every weekend by a couple who live near me. We used to go to Buckinghamshire, where they had relatives, and walk round the villages. I liked the country, the fresh-air and the beauty of the country. I'm fond of trees: the beauty of them, changing with every season. But since the husband died three years ago I've hardly been out at all - except with 'Contact'".

'Contact' is a voluntary organisation which takes elderly people on car trips to the countryside on one Sunday afternoon each month. There are now 221 local groups of volunteer drivers and helpers in Great Britain each catering for 12 elderly people. I went out to a farm in Surrey last August with one of the London groups of Contact, and it was on this trip that I met George.

Despite his physical disabilities, George said he would certainly use a bus service to the country, if there was one that called at the home where he lives, and the fare was not too high: he only gets £3 a week pocket money.

George shares his love of the countryside, his difficulty in getting into it and his ambition to overcome this difficulty with many elderly people in Britain today. A sample survey of the population of Greater London and the Outer Metropolitan Area in 1970 found that 84% of households in which the head of the household was aged 70 or over had no car. Public transport services from London to the surrounding countryside are poor: it is almost impossible to reach the countryside from London in less than one hour's travelling time by public transport and large areas beyond 15 - 18 miles out are attainable only after more than or and a half hours travel, if at all, according to a survey carried out by the GLC in 1970. There is reason to believe that elderly people without cars would jump at the chance to visit the country-side if they were given it. An indication of attitudes to the country lies in the finding by K.K. Sillitoe in 1969 that people aged between 61 and 70 who are fortunate enough to possess cars go on excursions to the country and seaside more often than any

other age group. What all this means is that there exists within our society many old people whose lives could be much enriched if opportunities were created for them to visit the countryside. This is perhaps not the gravest social problem confronting Britain. But it is a matter about which something could be done - easily. And it is not only old people who would benefit from the improvement of access to the countryside from towns: many younger people, especially perhaps, children, one-parent families, and the unemployed would be certain to welcome the chance to go to the country.

Why is it, you may wonder, that such an elementary facility as the bus to the country has been allowed to wither away? The answer is that Britain lacks any strategy for ensuring that the countryside gives people what they want and need from it. Planners have been content that the countryside should be regarded in principle as a food factory. The odd recreation facility may be superimposed on the agricultural infrastructure. But there has been no real attempt to reconcile or assess competing claims to land.

But although there has been no considered analysis of just who wants what from the countryside, there has been a prevailing view of what recreation policy should be aimed at.

It was the 1949 National Parks and Access to the Countryside Act which laid the foundation for post-war countryside planning. During the debates on the Bill, Henry Strauss, MP for the Combined British Universities, declared: "I personally have nothing against other places, but enjoying, as I do, the solitude of great tracts of wild country - a view shared widely by Members in all parts of the Committee - I do not think that we should be snobbish about those who enjoy Butlin's camps..... What we have very much in mind is the preservation of great tracts of open country in their natural state, in which people can enjoy solitude or go with a few friends, and not with 'the community as a whole'." To Henry Strauss there were only two types of countryside user: the wilderness seeker tramping the fells and mountains alone or with a few friends but in general away from his fellow human-beings, and the rest of the community who wished to spend their leisure time en masse, with the rest of the herd, and who could not be expected to appreciate landscape.

In these words, Henry Strauss encapsulated the countryside recreation planning orthodoxy of his time. Established by the leading lights of the countryside movement of the 30s and 40s, this orthodoxy, required that the recreation activites for which the government and local planners should provide should be rock climbing, hill walking and other mainly solitary activities on the wild moors and mountains of the north and west. Britain's first major post-war recreation facility was the Pennine Way: a 250-mile footpath from the Peak of Derbyshire to the Scottish Border, providing strenuous, high-level walking through predominantly wild countryside. Tom Stephenson, who first proposed the Pennine Way,

describes the terrain it crosses in a guide he wrote for the Countryside Commission: "Here are great stretches of shaggy moorland; long ridges dipping sharply to the valleys and gently swelling heights repeating themselves with minor variations into the blue distance; vast solitudes with no sounds other than of running water, or of the wind swishing in the heather or rustling in the grass." Stephenson's words reflect not just the scenery of the Pennine Way but also the type of landscape and recreation experience which the National Parks Commission nurtured.

The one person who influenced countryside recreation planning more than anyone else between 1949 and 1968 was John Dower - the author of a report to government on national parks published in 1945. Dower, a founder member of the Friends of the Lake District and the Standing Committee on National Parks, loved to tramp the moors and mountains of Yorkshire, Northumberland and the Lake District, usually on his own. So important did Dower consider the uplands that he confined his search for national parks to what he called 'wild country' on the grounds that it was only in such country that people wanted widespread access or could satisfactorily be given it. In the 1949 National Parks Act Parliament abandoned Dower's insistence that national parks should be confined to 'wild country'. But all but one of the areas Dower put forward for priority consideration for national park designation have since been so designated. These all reflect his insistence on 'wild country' and embody only three main landscape types - moorland, mountain and, to a lesser extent, sea-cliff.

Another figure who influenced the choice of our most protected landscapes and the types of recreation activity to be encouraged was Vaughan Cornish. Cornish - perhaps the most prolific writer of the 1930s on countryside matters and a leading figure in the CPRE - was a typical child of the Romantic Movement. He thought the supreme forms of landscape were mountain peaks soaring to the clouds and "the bold headland wreathed above in driving mist and drenched below by the spray of battering waves." Cornish was not interested in the lowland agricultural landscape - our most typical scenery - which was redeemed in his eyes only by the element of drama provided by buildings, especially church steeples.

Leading countryside activists of the 30s and 40s believed 'sublime' scenery did people good by providing a form of inspiration with which the sourthern woodlands, for instance, could not compete. Devotees of moorland still rely on the cult of 'wilderness' to support the case for the preservation of this type of country rather than other types which may have wider appeal. But as well as the landscape preferences of the countryside establishment and the cult of 'wilderness', four other main factors helped to ensure that the National Parks Commission would more or less ignore the lowlands to concentrate their energies on the moors, mountains and, to a lesser extent, dramatic coastal scenery. These other factors were: first, the precedent of North America, where national parks started and where they have always been used to preserve and open up for public access

spectacular and wilderness landscapes; second, the feeling that only areas containing extensive tracts of land over which people could wander at will were appropriate for national park designation; third, the existence in the late 19th and early 20th century of an access to the countryside movement focussing on the need to secure public access to moors and mountains; and lastly, the post-war tendency to give priority to food production, which worked against the designation of national parks in the lowlands which were known to have considerable potential for agricultural improvement, and in favour of the uplands where agricultural prospects looked much bleaker.

As a result, all ten of our national parks came to be located in the uplands, and the claims to national park status of apparently suitable tracts of lowland countryside were largely ignored. So too were the needs of people living in the large centres of population in the Midlands and the South East: the Commission never established a national park in the South East for example: the nearest national park to London is the Brecon Beacons, 125 miles away.

So the lion's share of the money available for landscape conservation and recreation provision between 1949 and 1968 went to only one kind of countryside: during these 19 years, the national parks absorbed £XX million of government money, leaving £YY million to be spent on the rest of the countryside.

Of course, many people who are not fell-walkers and who do not live in Leeds and Sheffield have benefited from the national parks and long-distance paths the Commission provided. But the parks were not selected to accommodate the whole range of things people want to do in the countryside - from canoeing and bird-watching to motoring - but merely a small number of activities favoured by a minority. The National Parks Commission's sole gesture towards the rest of the community was to issue the Country Code, telling them what they shouldn't do in the countryside should they ever get out into it. They made no attempt to open up lowland England to townspeople, to tell them how to get out to it, or to secure rights of access for them inside it.

Recently published structure, local and regional plans suggest that this kind of limited attitude to the ways in which people seek to use the countryside is still influential. But there is a difference. The second group - most of us - are now seen as a serious threat to the countryside - because since 1949 many such people have got themselves cars.

The early 1960s constituted a turning point for British countryside recreation planning. It was also a time when planners had greater faith than they have ever had since in their ability to predict population and economic change in the long-term. In 'Fourth Wave' by Michael Dower, which was published in 1965 and probably had more influence than any other single thing on the

form recreation planning has since assumed, Dower pointed to projections of extremely rapidly rising levels of population, income, free time and car ownership. He established the now familiar relationships between these four factors and leisure, and predicted that the demand for active leisure in Britain could treble by the year 2000.

Dower warned planners and conservationists that this growth in demand for somewhere for people to spend their leisure time would put enormous pressure on the face of Britain. He advised planners to "see people like ants, scurrying from coast to coast, on holiday, swarming out of cities in July and August by car, coach, train and aeroplane to a multitude of resorts and hidden places throughout the isles of Britain.". The toughest problem, considered Dower, was the "invasion of those who pour out of cities by car, coach and train and converge on coast, riverside, commonland and forest for a change of scenery." 'Can we enhance the lives of our people without ruining the island they live upon?" he asked. Countryside recreation planning in Britain (like that in the United States) was at a cross-roads. Which way would it turn?

For more than a hundred years the majority of English people have been cut off from the countryside in conurbations. Ordinary people working in factories and offices in our towns and cities have had to travel long distances mainly on public transport to reach the countryside. They have tended to know little of what the countryside has to offer and how they can get into it. The mobility ordinary people were about to acquire could have enabled them to reach the countryside from which they had been cut off. The power of the landowners was waning and the political muscle of townspeople was on the increase. If planners had taken advantage of these conditions to open up the countryside to the people so that they could enjoy it to the full, a generation of country-loving Englishmen might have grown up whose political weight would have enormously strengthened the band of countryside conservationists.

But history took a different turn. Michael Dower rejected the idea of meeting countryside recreation needs by spreading "a thin layer of gambolling humanity across the whole island." Instead he proposed that visitors be concentrated into what have now become known as 'honeypots', so leaving the moors and mountains for the wilderness seeker. "We must discriminate", he said, "fitting each feature and region to the recreation it can best satisfy, gathering the crowds into places which can take them, keeping the high, wild places for the man who seeks solitude."

As a matter of fact, the projections on which Dower based his assessment of future recreation pressures on the countryside have proved wildly wrong - like most projections made during the early 1960s. Dower thought the population of England and Wales would zoom from 52 million in 1965 to 70 million by the year

2000. Now at an estimated 54 million, most demographers now agree that it will almost certainly not go over 56 million before the end of the century.

The assumptions of car ownership on which Dower based his warnings of 'battalions of cars' have also proved wildly askew. He assumed that by the year 2000 almost every other person in England and Wales (including children and elderly people) would have their own car, and the number of cars in Britain would more than quadruple from a mere 7 million in 1965 to 30 million by the year 2000. In fact,however, the number is now only 14 million; Department of Transport projections suggest the number will reach only 24.3 million by the year 2000.

However, in the early 60s, only a tiny handful of people doubted the projections on which planners planning anything from Britain's new town programme to countryside recreation facilities were working. And as the decade wore on, more and more people and organisations joined with Dower in warning of the enormous damage the teeming 'fourth wave' of leisure seekers could wreak on Britain's fragile countryside.

During this period little reference was made to people's recreation needs, let alone the ways in which the countryside could best meet them. Instead, people were seen as a threat from which the countryside had to be urgently protected. Established rural pressure groups - naturalists, landscape conservationists and farmers - took up defensive positions against the recreationists which they have maintained to the present day. And the attitude of the National Parks Commission became more aggressively custodial: they frequently asked for wider powers over countryside recreation provision as a whole but these were justified primarily in terms of the need to protect the national parks from the recreation threat. Lord Strang, the Commission's chairman, called for the setting aside of core areas within existing national parks as 'wilderness' areas, so reinforcing the priority accorded to solitary walking over other ways of enjoying the countryside. Gradually the new orthodoxy emerged complete: there has been and will continue to be a dramatic increase in the already large numbers of car-borne visitors forging their way into the countryside; as a result, many areas of mountain, downland and clifftop will be eroded to bare rock with serious gully erosion; the seashore can absorb millions of visitors with less damage and possesses an infrastructure of facilities, so people should be steered towards it. In the countryside, country parks and picnic sites should be established as buffers between town and farmland; these will be near towns and will decoy people into places where they cannot do much harm.

The 146 country parks and 188 picnic sites that have been established in England and Wales since 1968 do of course fulfil a valuable function in reducing the risk of damage to remote and solitary places by easing visitor pressure on them and in providing recreation facilities close to towns. But if we are to begin to

use our countryside to its best advantage, country parks and picnic sites need to be complemented by a whole host of other measures. Local authorities must attempt to open up countryside of the highest quality as well as providing playgrounds in drabber, if more convenient, places. Only if this is done, is there any chance that the mass of England's people will develop the commitment to her countryside now shared by only a few. ..And it is only if the majority can be mobilised in support of England's countryside that there is any hope of protecting it in anything like its present form.

Sadly, however, planners are failing to exploit imaginatively the possibilities the countryside offers. Fear of the damage people might inflict on the countryside seems to underpin countryside recreation policies in most county structure plans so far published. The Herefordshire Structure plan, for instance, published in 1974 and approved with modifications by the Secretary of State in 1976, proposes that agriculture shall be protected from 'the unnecessary interference and disruption arising from the large and increasing number of visitors to the countryside by a positive policy of promoting facilities for recreation in areas where conflict will be minimised, while protecting more sensitive areas by a deliberate policy of discouragement.' So the areas to which people will be steered for recreation will not necessarily include the countryside from which they might be expected to derive the most enjoyment. The county council point to disused mineral workings as an example of the type of countryside on which they intend to develop recreation facilities, and say that in general recreation needs will take second place to the needs of agriculture, local communities, nature conservation and landscape.

Like the Herefordshire countryside, that of Buckinghamshire with its wide range of beautiful landscapes could provide a haven of spiritual refreshment for millions of people crowded together in a nearby conurbation. Its attractions range from the rolling wooded hills of the Chilterns in the south, through the dramatic Chiltern escarpment clothed in lofty beechwoods and rough chalk downland northwards, to one of the most compelling landscapes of south-east England - the gently undulating plain of central and north Bucks with its chequerboard of hedgerows and hedgerow trees, interspersed with woods and parklands concealing peaceful lakes, dotted with the church towers of lovely old villages, and pierced in the north by the Great Ouse which winds its way east-west across the country, bordered by lush green meadows and weeping willows. But in spite of its charms, South Buckinghamshire contains relatively little public open space, according to the 1976 report of the Standing Conference on London and the South Regional Planning, on London's Green Belt. Furthermore, the Buckinghamshire countryside is difficult to reach from the metropolis by public transport: a study in 1971 by the GLC showed that large parts of Buckinghamshire can be reached from London by public transport only after more than one and a half hours travel; the countryside north-west of London is even more difficult to reach than the south, east and west of the capital.

Sadly, however, Buckinghamshire County Council are doing little to make their countryside more accessible to townspeople seeking recreation. In their draft structure plan, published in November 1976, they take a similar approach to Hereford and Worcester Council. The underlying objective of Buckinghamshire County Council's countryside recreation policies is to "seek to ensure that those recreation needs as must be met in the countryside are met with the minimum of conflict with the interests of agriculture, forestry, local residents, landscape, archaeology and wildlife conservation", say the Council. To this end, the Council say they will "encourage the concentration of countryside recreation in the Colne Valley Regional Park and centres around Milton Keynes and other urban areas". (The Colne Valley Regional Park is wedged between Buckinghamshire and London). No policy is put forward for recreation provision in the rest of the county's countryside apart from the Chiltern Hills Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty, from which recreation pressures will be diverted. There is no mention of plans to secure public access to the forbidden territory of mid- and north-Buckinghamshire's thousands of acres of glorious private parkland and woodland. Nor is there any suggestion that efforts will be made to restore weekend public transport services from towns to the countryside which have virtually collapsed in the country.

When Michael Dower wrote 'The Fourth Wave' it seemed that the feature of the countryside most in need of protection from visitors was its visual character. In the late 1960s, however, wildlife came to be considered even more seriously at risk than landscape. Now, in the current crop of structure plans at least, agriculture seems to be regarded as most in need of care and protection from the ravages of recreation, and, as we have seen, recreation policies reflecting fears for agriculture are now being put forward. Some structure planners seem to regard the threat recreation poses to agriculture as comparable to that posed by mineral extraction. But just what evidence is there that recreation does damage either farming, landscape or wildlife significantly?

The answer is that there is much less evidence than might be supposed. It is certainly true that different forms of countryside recreation can change ecosystems - indeed it would be surprising if they did not. Walking and picnicking on grassland, for instance, can cause species changes; those species most resistant to trampling or to nutrient enrichment gradually replace those less resistant. In very heavily used spots - like Boxhill and Kynance Cove - even resistant species are unable to survive the trampling they receive and the bare ground which is exposed may be eroded by wind and rain.

This however, seems to be the only really significant identifiable ill-effect of recreation in the countryside. And it is a very small problem indeed. Very, very little countryside is actually trampled away. Damage to landscape or wildlife caused

by recreation pressure pales into insignificance when compared to that resulting from say, herbicides, building or pollution.

One reason why it is widely assumed that recreation does pose a very serious threat to the wildlife and landscape of England's countryside is that research on the subject has tended to be of the same, very limited type. Most projects have been carried out at heavily used sites, or on public paths, or on sites of special natural history interest. The findings of these studies have very little relevance to what happens in the countryside at large. What we do know is that careful management of visitors can make it possible for huge numbers of people to go to a small area without damaging it. Millions of people visit Kew Gardens every year, for instance, without reducing it to dust. Daffodils and crocuses still manage to flower in abundance each year on the lawns of St. James's Park despite the countless throng of Londoners and tourists who visit it each year.

It is a combination of the misleading research data and the excessive projections of future population and car ownership levels which were being made when the current recreation planning orthodoxy was taking shape which have inflated the threat of the damage people might inflict on the countryside. In fact, the impact of all forms of recreation seems to have much less impact on landscape and wildlife than many other activities accepted as a normal part of country life - like stubble burning.

For several years now farming organisations have protested about the havoc which they say urban visitors wreak on the agricultural life of the countryside. And, as we have seen, fear of the damage visitors might inflict on farming is the main reason. why structure planners seek to decoy visitors into country parks near to towns. Alice Coleman has even gone so far as to propose that all land on the interface between country and town should be turned over to development without the need for prior planning permission because trespass and vandalism by townspeople make this land impossible to farm. But once again there is little evidence to support such a policy.

What the handful of surveys that have been carried out so far suggest is that some few farmers have isolated problems in particular places. Serious difficulties caused to farmers by townspeople visiting the countryside seem to be no more widespread than the problems recreation can cause for wildlife or landscape. None of the surveys indicate that farmers as a whole incur severe financial losses as a result of trespass, vandalism, sheep worrying and so on: such losses as do occur are estimated to be no more than one or two per cent of a farmer's gross income. What's more, Alistair Blair of University College, London's 1973 survey of Essex farmers, shows that farmers can make quite a lot of money out of proximity to large centres of population. Twenty-five per cent of Essex farmers sell produce through the farm-gate, for instance; and Mr. Blair found that

the average percentage contribution to total farm sales by value from all types of direct sale - that is, farm gate sales, deliveries, and 'pick-your-own', amount to 19.65 per cent for the whole of Essex. So the familiar stereotype of the farmer constantly harassed and driven to the breadline by unruly, destructive townspeople he is powerless to control seems to have little basis in reality.

The Select Committee of the House of Lords on Sport and Leisure, which reported in 1976, considered that "the needs of leisure have been seriously underestimated in this country, and the significance of recreational provision has not been appreciated "Too often", they said, "recreational facilities are treated as an optional extra." The Committee recommended that provision of opportunities for the enjoyment of leisure should be seen as part of the general fabric of the social services, and that "Society ought to regard sport and leisure not as a slightly eccentric form of indulgence but as one of the community's everyday needs."

The nearest we have ever come to working out how the countryside could best be used to serve people's recreation needs and to increase the quality and quantity of places where people can enjoy themselves out of doors were the surveys of 'open country' and access requirements local councils were asked to carry out under Part V of the 1949 National Parks and Access to the Countryside Act. But these surveys were of limited use.

Since the early 1950s (when most of the 'open country' surveys were carried out), nobody in the UK has even begun to work out how the countryside as a whole could best be used to serve the recreation needs of all sections of the community. So instead of finding a range of facilities to improve his enjoyment of the countryside, the average citizen is confronted by a hotch potch of facilities designed for purposes other than enhancing his enjoyment: to minimise the impact of people on the countryside (like country parks and picnic sites), to enlist support for farmers (like farm open days), or to make money (like safari and wildlife parks, stately homes and 'pick-your-own' fruit farms).

To what extent has the population nonetheless benefited from the limited recreation facilities that have been provided? Has public access to the countryside increased during the last 30 years? Has the range of places people can get to for recreation and the enjoyment they can find at each site increased?

THE PLIGHT OF THOSE WITHOUT CARS

For the beginnings of an answer to these questions we must turn to the Countryside Commission's national household survey of countryside recreation. Despite the numbers of facilites that have been provided, the Commission found that a quarter of the

5,000 people they interviewed had made no trips to the countryside at all from August 1976 to August 1977. The people who never or only rarely visited the countryside were not scattered evenly through the sample population - as they might be expected to be if they reflected the unpopularity of the countryside. The Commission built up a profile of those least likely to visit the countryside: low-income manual workers, who work long hours, left school early and who do not own a car. Of these interrelated factors, the Commission felt that car ownership was the most important - and it is also of most relevance to planners as the only factor whose effects they can do much to mitigate.

The Commission found that people with access to a car were twice as likely to visit the countryside as people without access to cars. Yet in 1971 (the most recent year for which figures are available), 48% of households in England and Wales were without a car. The position is generally worst for people who live furthest from the countryside - in conurbations. Sixty-six per cent of households in Tyneside, for instance, were without cars in 1971. And of course not all the members of car-owning households have unlimited use of a car, neither is there any prospect of general personal transport. Department of Transport projections indicate that, even in the year 2000, with optimistic assumptions about growth, 60% of the population will not own a car

Car-ownership not only affects the numbers of trips people make to the countryside; it also limits the variety of the sites visited. And because Sunday bus and train services have declined dramatically in England and Wales since the rise in car-ownership in the mid-60s, the position of would-be visitors to the countryside without cars is a great deal worse than it was only 15 years ago. The amount of railway track in England and Wales has declined dramatically, particularly during the last 15 years. What's more, on those lines that have survived many country stations have been axed. Figure 1 shows the railway network that existed in Somerset in 1938 - it is taken from a booklet entitled 'Rambles and Walking Tours in Somerset' which the Great Western Railway published in that year. During the intervening 40 years, approximately 102 miles, or 63% of the amount of track that existed in 1938 have been axed. Most of the gentle country rambles put forward in the 1938 booklet are now virtually out of the question for the half of our population who do not have access to a car. The line through the Mendips, from Yatton to Wells, which provided easy access from Bristol to Cheddar Gorge, was closed in 1966. The Taunton to Minehead line, providing access from Taunton to the northern part of Exmoor and the Quantock Hills was closed in 1971. The Taunton to Chard service folded in 1962; and the line from Taunton west through the Vale of Taunton Deane to Dulverton on the southern slopes of Exmoor was closed in 1966. It is not only villages from which more than half our population are barred easy access: lovely country towns like Glastonbury, Wells, Wellington, Ilminster, Chard, Wookey and Dulverton, easily accessible by rail 20 years ago, are now without railway stations.

East Kent: Trying to Get to the Country Without a Car

To try and appreciate the impact of the decline in bus services on countryside recreation, I looked in detail at the changes to the route network in East Kent between 1965 and 1978. The East Kent coastal resorts of Ramsgate, Margate, Broadstairs and Herne Bay, which grew up in the 1860s, still attract thousands of holidaymakers each year. Most of them travel down from London and the bigger towns of the south-east, like Luton, in coaches and trains; they stay mainly in the hundreds of guest-houses that line the sea-fronts. Of the resident population of Thanet as a whole, 56% were without a car, according to the 1971 census.

In Roman times, Thanet was an island: the Wantsum Channel, which run about seven miles behind Margate and Ramsgate, cut off Thanet from the rest of Kent. The Isle of Thanet provides a rural hinterland to the resorts where most of the people in East Kent live - residents and visitors. Its landscape is flat, open and bare with enormous fields of wheat, potatoes and cabbages. There are virtually no hedgerows, trees or any other such features. Only on the other side of the silted up remains of the Wantsum Channel about seven miles inland from Margate and Ramsgate is there anything other than buildings and intensively cultivated prairies. Since Roman times, the Wantsum Channel has gradually dried out: a network of dykes around Chislet in the north and Minster in the south provide almost the only remnants of the Channel. Although of no special landscape or wildlife importance, the Chislet and Minster marshes provide the first break in the monotony of the Isle of Thanet landscape. Children go bird-watching and fishing there.

Further inland, the East Kent landscape becomes more varied: there are some sheep, mainly on the lowland alongside the river Stour, and there are orchards and tree plantations - although there are no natural woods of more than a few acres. Bustling, working villages with a variety of building styles and usually an ancient flint church are dotted throughout the East Kent countryside. The only landscape that could be termed 'wilderness' is Sandwich Bay: nearly four miles of sand and shingle backed by sand dunes and marshy fields and, unlike any of East Kent's other beaches, no buildings except a golf club-house. Other distinctive landscapes in East Kent are a four-mile stretch of lakes and reed beds - the remains of a flooded, disused coal mine and gravel pits - running east from Canterbury along the Stour. The reed beds at the tiny village of Stodmarsh are a national nature reserve; at Fordwich the flooded gravel pits attract birdwatchers, anglers and yachters. Two miles further up the river and about eight miles behind Ramsgate and Margate, at Grove Ferry, the county council have provided a picnic site. There are no country parks in East Kent: the nearest is at West Malling near Maidstone, 45 miles from Ramsgate.

Figure 2 illustates how Sunday bus services in East Kent changed between 1965 and 1978. During this 13-year period, the

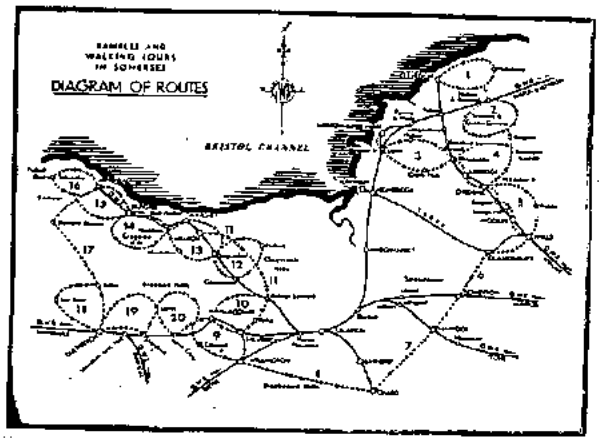

Fig.1

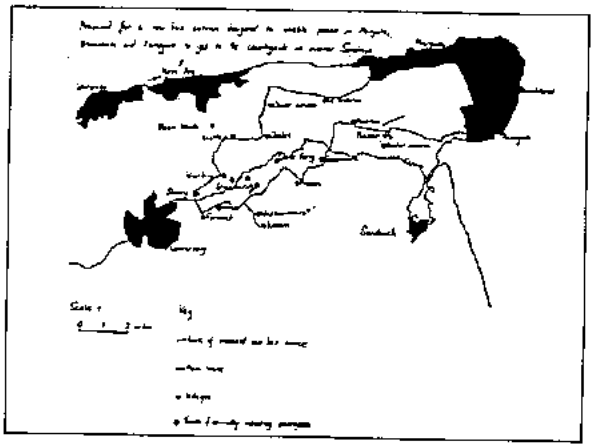

Fig.2

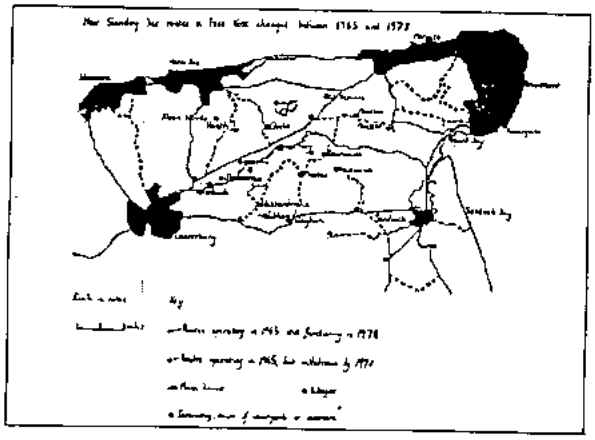

Fig.3

mileage of roads along which Sunday bus services regularly run declined by 60% - from 134 miles in 1965 to 80 miles in 1978. Nineteen sixty-five seems to have been the turning point: most of the services which existed in that year had been operated by the East Kent Road Car Company since its foundation in 1926. The services that have been axed have largely been those running into the heart of the countryside: services along the main roads connecting Canterbury with Herne Bay, Sandwich and Margate, Ramsgate and Broadstairs still run fairly frequently.

In the south-east corner of the study area, the three-mile bus link from Sandwich to Sandwich Bay was discontinued in 1966. This beautiful bay is now accessible only to car-owners able to pay a 50p toll or to people prepared to walk the three miles from Sandwich. Drivers are allowed to park their cars on the dunes; on a typical summer Sunday 1,000 cars pass through the toll-gate and parking on the dunes is causing substantial changes to their structure and wildlife.

In 1965 a Sunday bus service ran from Canterbury into the heart of the East Kent countryside through some of its loveliest villages - like Stodmarsh with its neighbouring reed marsh - and Wickhambreaux - a busy-looking prosperous village studded with an historic church and water-mill centred around a village green. The bus service to the heart of the East Kent countryside took people from Margate south-westwards on a 12-mile jaunt through the Isle of Thanet, through Minster and Monkton on the Wantsum marshes, over the Stour, through the old village of Preston to Wingham with its attractive old buildings and tea-shops. A third service ran from Sandwich inland to Westmarsh. And a fourth - an open-top service - ran also on Sundays from Broadstairs and Ramsgate through the once famous cherry-orchards of Sevenscore to Minster. All four services have since been dropped. The only services running on Sundays from the coastal resorts into the countryside go to Minster - just six miles from Margate and Ramsgate. Apart from this, the only way bus travellers can see the East Kent countryside is by travelling along the main roads - between Canterbury, Ramsgate, Margate, Sandwich and Herne Bay. The county council picnic site at Grove Ferry can be reached in this way by bus: it lies one mile off the main Ramsgate to Canterbury road. Minster marshes can still be reached by bus from Margate and from Ramsgate on Sundays (Minster is the only village off the main roads which can be reached by bus), but the Chislet marshes which, up till 1965 could be reached by the bus which ran between Herne Bay and Canterbury and took in the historic villages of Chislet and Hoath, are now quite inaccessible by public transport. The Blean woods - a substantial tract of deciduous and coniferous woodland between Whitstable and Canterbury can still be reached by bus travellers as they are crossed by the main Canterbury to Herne Bay road; in 1965, in contrast, Sunday bus services ran along three of the roads that cross them.

At the same time as services to the countryside from towns in East Kent have declined dramatically, the countryside nearest to where people live - the Isle of Thanet - has become less and less visually interesting as more and more areas of rough grass, hedgerows, spinneys and dykes have disappeared, mainly because of agricultural progress. People who live on the sides of Ramsgate and Margate facing inland now look straight out onto vast fields of wheat and cabbages. Along the coast, most of the last surviving tracts of rough grass have disappeared during the last ten years: clifftop rough grass at Pegwell Bay, for instance, has dwindled almost to nothing as more and more furrows are added to the fields on top and as the cliffs themselves weather. There are of course still many attractive pieces of countryside left in East Kent accessible to people with cars. But the 56% of households in Thanet who do not have a car and the holidaymakers who tend to come by train and coach have a much narrower choice of accessible venues for a rural trip than was available to their counterparts only 13 years ago.

Obviously car owners will always be able to enjoy the countryside more easily than the rest of the community. But there are things which could be done to make it easier for these people without cars to get out into the countryside at weekends - both in East Kent and in hundreds of other areas up and down the country.

In 1972 the Countryside Commission and the Pembrokeshire Coast National Park Committee launched the Pembrokeshire Coast Link Bus - a service which runs parallel to the long-distance path around the Pembrokeshire coast and thus saves walkers from retracing their steps. Shortly afterwards, the Peak Park Planning Board introduced their Peak Pathfinder bus services, linking the main cities around the park like Sheffield, Manchester and Derby to beauty spots within it. Since then many other national park authorities have promoted bus and train services - to relieve traffic congestion within the parks as well as to help non-car-owners get into them. These new services include the Exmoor Coastlink bus between Ilfracombe and Minehead via Lynton; the Transmoor Link bus which goes across Dartmoor from Plymouth to Moretonhampstead and links with the new Pony Express services which runs through Widecombe, Ashburton and Bovey Tracey; two bus services running along parts of Hadrian's Wall that lie within the boundaries of the Northumberland National Park; the Snowdon Sherpa, designed to ease car-parking problems on the mountain; and Dales Rail, which runs on the first weekend of each month from April to October between Leeds and Carlisle and stopping at newly-opened stations within the Yorkshire Dales Park, with feeder services from Preston, Clitheroe, Blackburn and Bradford. Outside the national parks the picture is not so rosy however; only four new services have been developed in recent years. This year the United Counties bus company introduced a new Sunday service between Bedford and Biggleswade which goes through the countryside of north Bedfordshire. A weekday bus service which runs along part of the Sussex Heritage Coast has been extended to run on Sundays and bank holidays this summer with the backing of the East Sussex County Council. And two completely new Sunday

bus services have been developed in Surrey one based on Dorking, the other run by a private operator and based on Guildford, and both designed to enable townspeople without cars to get into the countryside for recreation.

But all these new services, welcome as they are, are a drop in the ocean compared with the network of services to the countryside from towns which used to exist and the possibilities for new services. One service in particular - the Surrey Rambler - provides a helpful model of what might happen in scores of other places up and down the country.

The Surrey Rambler

As in most of rural Britain, bus services in the Surrey countryside have declined steadily since the early 1960s. In 1976, Surrey County Council, concerned about the problems facing both country people without cars wanting to get to towns at weekends and townspeople wanting to get to the open spaces of the Surrey Hills and north Weald, asked London Country if they would be interested in running a Sunday bus service through the countryside taking in attractive countryside and villages. The 'Ramblers' Bus' - London Country Service 417 - has made four one-and-a-half hour circular trips from Dorking station every summer Sunday and bank holiday since June 1977. Surrey County Council underwrite any operating loss through their annual grant to London Country. Contrary to many people's expectations, however, the Surrey Rambler seems set to break even or make a profit: in 1977, its first year of operation, it made a loss of just £50; this year the County Council estimate that it will be in the black.

One of the service's special attractions is that walkers are allowed to get on or off the bus at any point: stopping is not confined to particular bus stops. Nor is the service an expensive one on which to travel. For 70p (35p for children and 35p for old-age pensioners) passengers buy a ticket which gives them unlimited travel on the bus for one day.

The service has proved even more popular than its creators anticipated. Approximately 1,000 people took the bus during the summer of 1977. Oddly, Surrey County Council surveys have shown the service is used a lot by foreign tourists. They hear about the service at London Transport offices or at the London Tourist Board: few foreign visitors to Britain bring cars and many find it very difficult to get into the heart of the English countryside. But the main categories of user are ramblers and bus enthusiasts from almost anywhere in the South-East, and local people wanting to get from one village to another. Although the service was intended primarily for people wanting to get out for a walk, a significant number of travellers on the bus go just for the ride. Passengers on the bus I took in late August ranged from an elderly couple from Australia who had been looking forward for many years to seeing the English countryside; a man and his two young children from Cheam who had no other way of getting out

into the countryside; two old ladies from Guildford who had come for a walk up Leith Hill: a Finnish girl living in Richmond who found the Surrey Hills reminded her of the lakes and forests of her homeland; a publisher of romantic fiction from Wimbledon who couldn't pass her driving test, and a man in his 20s from South Tottenham who was on holiday for a week. He had spent his holiday on 'Awayday' train trips and had come down on the underground and overground trains to Dorking to take the Ramblers' Bus. He lived on a big housing estate and said he loved to get out into the open and the fresh-air.

London Country calculate the cost of running the service on a marginal cost basis. That is, they take into account only the costs which would be avoided if the service were not running - the driver's wages, fuel and wear and tear. This works out to be between £20 - £25 a day of operation. Insurance and tax costs are not included in the calculations: they would be incurred anyway. In 1977 a local operator, Tillingbourne, working like London Country on the argument that their buses would be lying idle on Sundays while still incurring overhead costs, launched a service similar to the Surrey Rambler but running from Guildford. Like London Country, they have printed a leaflet describing the route and putting forward suggestions for walks.

The most financially successful of current bus services for recreation - like the Surrey Rambler and the Peak Pathfinder - seem to be those that take in large population centres: the Surrey Rambler for instance begins and ends its journey at Dorking Station which not only serves a sizeable town but which also connects directly with London and other big towns in the south east. There are at least 27 other towns in the south east which look as capable as Dorking of supporting a financially viable bus service to the countryside. Amersham, Chesham, Berkhamstead and Henley, for instance, are all linked with London by British Rail or underground train services, and all lie close to the Chiltern Hills. A bus service from Aylesbury (the terminus of a train line from Marylebone) could take in the Chilterns as well as National Trust country estates in the Vale of Aylesbury like Waddesdon Manor, Clandon House and Ascott House and some of the charming villages of central Buckinghamshire like Cuddington, Brill and Wing. Reading and Luton, both of which are on mainline train routes from London and contain large numbers of people without cars have enormous potential for the development of bus services linking them to the Chiltern countryside on their doorsteps. (I describe a suggestion for a service based on Luton in 'Recreation: The Key to the Survival of England's Countryside' - a chapter in 'Future Landscapes', edited by Malcolm MacEwen, Chatto and Windus, 1976).

Other towns around London suitable for Sunday bus services to the country are: Alton, Haslemere, Horsham, East Grinstead, Sevenoaks, Tonbridge and Tunbridge Wells, Maidstone, Ashford, Chelmsford, Colchester, Harlow, Hertford, Stevenage, Hitchin, Hemel Hempstead, Bletchley, Princes Risborough, Andover and Basingstoke. There is also enormous scope for the development of bus services near to

holiday resorts - like those of East Kent, the Sussex coast and the North Norfolk coast, to name but a few.

Taking East Kent as an example of what could be done, Figure 3 illustrates a suggestion for a bus service to run four times a day on summer Sundays and bank holidays, from Margate, Ramsgate and Broadstairs out into the Kentish countryside. Not only would this service provide people on holiday or living in these resorts with a change of scene in the country, it would also enable country people without cars to get to the seaside. As with the Surrey Rambler, passengers should be allowed to get on or off the bus at any point along the route where it is safe to stop. The potential catchment population of this service is high: the 56% of households in Thanet who do not have cars as well as the holidaymakers. Imaginative marketing - like the use of the East Kent Company's popular 'open-top' service and a leaflet suggesting walks along the route could even attract car-owners to this highly enjoyable way of seeing England's countryside. From Margate, Broadstairs and Ramsgate, the bus would strike inland making first for Minster, whose attractions include a large, imposing church parts of which date from 1230 AD, and a beautiful Benedictine Abbey whose surviving buildings date from the early 11th century. The bus would travel on through Monkton, famous for its stocks and ancient church, then over the Stour and down through the bustling villages of Preston and Stourmouth. One popular walk might be from the tiny, historic village of Stodmarsh, set in a lush, well-watered wilderness of willows and reed beds close to the Stour over to Wickhambreaux for tea. From Wickhambreaux and Stodmarsh, the bus would rise up through Trenley Park Wood - another beauty spot at which visitors might well like to alight in order to walk down through the woods to the village of Fordwich built around the Stour below and where they could pick up the bus. Westbere - a peaceful, leafy village overlooking what must be some of the most beautiful gravel pit lakes in England - is the next village through which the bus would pass: it would then travel on to two tiny charming villages on the north side of the Stour - Hoath and Chislet. The Blean woods are only a few minutes walk from Hoath; Chislet, with its ancient church and overlooking peaceful marshes where swans and ducks swim, would provide another attractive stopping place. The last village through which the bus would pass is St. Nicholas at Wade: not so attractive as some of the others I have described but nonetheless studded with a splendid ancient church and in an area full of history.

'A Developing Strategy for the West Midlands',(1971), stated that ".... there is a need for a system of parks of sub-regional significance including areas now being considered as possible country parks. These would be .... related to the needs of a mainly car-owning public". Similarly, most structure and regional plans appear to assume when discussing countryside recreation that car-ownership is well-nigh universal or about to become so: their proposals for country parks, picnic sites and scenic routes flow naturally from this assumption, which is, however, false. The Select Committee of the House of Lords on Sport and Leisure, which reported in 1973, recommended that local authorities should provide

some form of public transport to take people from urban areas to country parks. Some local authorities take existing public transport services into account when deciding where to locate country parks - as did the GLC for instance when locating Trent Park in north London. But these two new approaches are not good enough. At least since 1968 countryside recreation resources have benefited only people with cars; there seems no real excuse for the failure of recreation planning to open the countryside to the rest of the community. The Surrey Rambler service shows that public transport can be the key - and cost very little. Even if some bus services of the type I have outlined do require subsidy, the price would be low compared with what has been spent each year on countryside recreation provision of which only the car-owning section of the community has been able to take advantage.

LOSS OF MARGINAL LAND NEAR TOWNS

Up till now, the countryside recreation establishment have concentrated almost exclusively on relatively formal excursions of one kind or another into the countryside from the towns. The Sunday afternoon family motoring has been their archetype. But the countryside is in fact used for many forms of recreation which do not fall under this general heading. On the fringes of most towns and villages up and down the country there are still a few odd scraps of uncultivated, marginal land supporting hedgerows, spinneys, woods, public footpaths, marshes or streams which play and integral role in the daily lives of townspeople. They use this kind of land for an early morning stroll or jog or to exercise the dog. Their children go there after school to climb trees, collect birds' eggs or play chase. Some of these activities may be quite illegal, but they are tolerated by landowners if they are harmless. But since the people using such land for recreation have no legal right to be there - unless there happens to be a public footpath - and because farming operations fall quite outside the scope of planning control, this rough land may be 'reclaimed' at any time by farmers anxious to add a few furrows to their field or to drain an unproductive marsh in order to grow a wide range of crops on it. Consequently odd scraps of uncultivated land used for recreation are disappearing at an alarming rate.

To appreciate the role of such land for recreation and the impact its loss may have on people's lives, I looked at changes in land use around the village of Minster in East Kent over the last 20 years. I also talked to representatives of the one section of the community most affected but whose views are normally ignored by planners - children.

Minster is a busy-looking, attractive but not picturesque village of about 3,000 inhabitants, lying six miles behind Ramsgate. Its main street contains shops which reflect the wide social spectrum of the people who live in the Minster council house estate or in the jumble of Victorian cottages and modern bungalows of the village centre: there is a working men's cafe and a high-class restaurant, a betting shop, an antique shop and a gardening shop.

some form of public transport to take people from urban areas to country parks. Some local authorities take existing public transport services into account when deciding where to locate country parks - as did the GLC for instance when locating Trent Park in north London. But these two new approaches are not good enough. At least since 1968 countryside recreation resources have benefited only people with cars; there seems no real excuse for the failure of recreation planning to open the countryside to the rest of the community. The Surrey Rambler service shows that public transport can be the key - and cost very little. Even if some bus services of the type I have outlined do require subsidy, the price would be low compared with what has been spent each year on countryside recreation provision of which only the car-owning section of the community has been able to take advantage.

LOSS OF MARGINAL LAND NEAR TOWNS

Up till now, the countryside recreation establishment have concentrated almost exclusively on relatively formal excursions of one kind or another into the countryside from the towns. The Sunday afternoon family motoring has been their archetype. But the countryside is in fact used for many forms of recreation which do not fall under this general heading. On the fringes of most towns and villages up and down the country there are still a few odd scraps of uncultivated, marginal land supporting hedgerows, spinneys, woods, public footpaths, marshes or streams which play and integral role in the daily lives of townspeople. They use this kind of land for an early morning stroll or jog or to exercise the dog. Their children go there after school to climb trees, collect birds' eggs or play chase. Some of these activities may be quite illegal, but they are tolerated by landowners if they are harmless. But since the people using such land for recreation have no legal right to be there - unless there happens to be a public footpath - and because farming operations fall quite outside the scope of planning control, this rough land may be 'reclaimed' at any time by farmers anxious to add a few furrows to their field or to drain an unproductive marsh in order to grow a wide range of crops on it. Consequently odd scraps of uncultivated land used for recreation are disappearing at an alarming rate.

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A network of dykes to the south of the village is the remains of the Wantsum Channel, which separated the Isle of Thanet from the mainland in Roman times. On its other three sides, Minster is bounded by intensively cultivated farmland given over mainly to wheat and potatoes. But on the marshes side there are still scraps of uncultivated, often rough land - odd meadows, used for grazing horses or as a clay pigeon shoot, clumps of trees, spinneys, dykes, lanes and marshes. These are of no special note to wildlife enthusiasts or landscape admirers, but they are used by the villagers for anything from photographing wild plants or climbing trees or simply going for a walk.

Minster children, for instance, use this land as a refuge. Many build themselves little camps or dens in hedges, field corners and in the bottoms of dead tree trunks to which they can retreat from what they see as noise and danger in Minster's streets, boredom and cramped surroundings in their homes and the authority of grown-ups.

Last May I spent a day at the village primary school. The children aged 6 - 11, clearly revelled in the close contact with other living things the nearby countryside provides. Most of them liked catching tadpoles, newts, eels and sticklebacks. In the meadows they catch grasshoppers and butterflies, snails which they sometimes race, and spiders to frighten people with. Birdsong is the dominant feature of the countryside for many of the children I talked to, and by the age of 11, many children are already keen bird-watchers.

The vast majority of the children I talked to were adamant that the country was a much better place to play than the street, the playground, the recreation ground with its grass, swings and slide, or even the seaside - commonly thought to be a children's paradise but which these children considered boring compared with the countryside. For the children I talked to, the countryside provides a rich store of toys (like conkers), weapons (like bulrushes), decorations (like daisy chains), sounds (like the screech made by blowing between two pieces of grass), and food (like blackberries).

The children explained that the countryside provides for much greater freedom of movement than other playgrounds. One 11-year-old boy described one game which would clearly be impossible in most other environments: "We pretend there's a load of soldiers behind us and we start shooting them down. When there's long grass we just dive in it and then jump over and dive in it again". Games like hide-and-seek and chase are much more fun in the country. What's more, the countryside provides a rich store of possible surprises and scrapes - like falling into the dykes.

Nonetheless, there have been dramatic changes to the countryside around Minster over the last 20 years. One change in the farming pattern underlies most of the alterations that have been made to the natural environment of hedges, woods, marshes and so on:

a shift from pastoral to arable farming. On the uplands on the northern edge of the village, this has meant the removal of hedges which once bordered small fields grazed by cattle and sheep. Other obstructions to new farm machines, like odd scraps of woodland, have also been removed to make way for 200-acre fields of vegetable mainly cabbages.

Even more far-reaching have been changes to the marshes. Although the children I talked to enjoy fishing in the dykes, the number of dykes in which children can fish has declined dramatically. Twenty years ago, children happily cycled the six miles from Ramsgate to picnic on the grassy meadows then grazed by cows and to catch a jamjar full of the teeming life of the dykes: frog and toad spawn, tadpoles, newts, sticklebacks, caddis-flies, water beetles. Then there was de facto access to most of the Minster levels.

Thanet used to be a dairy farming area supplying milk to London and the coastal resorts. And up to 15 years ago, Minster marshes were used only as summer grazing for cattle, since the land was waterlogged for much of the winter. In the mid-1960s, however, several Minster farmers started trying to drain their land, installing pumps and tile drains. Then in 1969 the Kent River Board installed an arterial drainage system to pump drain the whole of the Minster and Monkton levels - 2,300 acres in all. The farmers were quick to follow this with underdrainage schemes of their own: by 1971 tile drains had been installed over 75% of the area covered by the arterial drainage scheme.

The changes to the landscape brought about by this fundamental change in farming can be illustrated by the history of a 372-acre block of land to the south and south-east of the village. Once the arterial drainage system had been installed, the farmer - a newcomer to the area from Lincolnshire - filled in 5.5 miles of the dykes from which the children only a few years before had filled their nets. Now only six miles of dyke remain on this stretch of land. Within this same 372-acre stretch of land, three blocks of woodland covering 8 acres were felled to provide more ploughland and to remove vegetation thought to harbour pests. One of these woods - known as The Rough, and which consisted of a swamp with ash, elm and sycamore trees - was a favourite playground for local children. Now the only bits of uncultivated land that remain support those few remaining dykes considered essential for drainage - and the rich alluvial soil supports huge fields of wheat, onions, green beans, grass seed and sprouts.

It isn't just that landscape features once important for recreation have been removed. The farmer also prohibits access to the dykes that remain. He tolerates tadpoling only on dykes alongside a boundary road.

Most tadpoling now goes on only in a few dykes on the south-west side of the village where another farmer (whose family have farmed in Minster for a long time) tolerates villagers on his

land more readily. Nonetheless, on this side too many dykes have been filled in and here there has been one unexpected by-product of the installation of the arterial scheme: two duck ponds - once an attractive feature of the village - have dried up.

Other changes to the countryside which the children I talked to pointed out to me as having had a big impact on where they can play included the removal of some tree stumps - in which two boys had built an elaborate den - and the ploughing up of a meadow. "Opposite our house there was once a meadow," recounted Georgina, an eight-year-old who lives in the hamlet of Acol outside Minster, "and we used always to go and play there. Because there was lots of grass, we used to make daisy chains. Sometimes when it rained there was a big ditch and all the water overran, like a pond. We used to run about and hide because there was an old stable filled with straw. And there were buttercups. But one day the farmer ploughed it all up. We felt rather sad because that was a nice place to play." She told me that there were no other buttercup fields in Acol in which the farmers tolerated children. I asked her whether the village green at Acol was an adequate substitute for her meadow. She replied that it wasn't because there are not many flowers on the green and also because there are a lot of nettles.

There is no form of farming which benefits from the retention of marginal land. Consequently, most of the remaining rough tracts of land around Minster are either about to be improved for agriculture - mainly through drainage - or they are used for some non-agricultural purpose. Perhaps the most attractive rough meadow close to Minster is the one that the farmer rents out to a local clay pigeon shooting club. The club shoot there once a fortnight; other villagers are free to wander through the field's carpet of wild flowers at other times. Another rough meadow to the north of the village is used for banger racing; a pond which has been left is used for shooting duck. But all these uses could stop at any time, leaving the land vulnerable to clearance for agriculture.

What is happening around Minster is happening everywhere else as well. An estimated 2,000 to 3,000 miles of hedgerow are still being removed each year in England and Wales. Taking two areas of roughland for which figures happen to be available, one quarter of the rough chalk downland of Dorset, or 11,000 acres, much with de facto public access, were ploughed up between 1957 and 1972. Sixteen per cent of Exmoor's moorland, again over much of which walkers were tolerated, were lost to agricultural improvement between 1947 and 1976. The removal of grassland, woods and hedges creates more space for growing crops; woods, hedges, ponds and streams are seen as inconvenient obstructions for farm machinery. The loss of woodland alone has had a devastating impact on the countryside. The woods with the richest plant and animal life are usually the oldest; ancient woods represent communities of plant and animal life which have survived on the same spot since deciduous forests emerged after the last Ice Age. Yet between a third and a half of the ancient wood that had survived until 1945 has since lost

its original characteristics, mainly through coniferisation and grubbing out for agriculture.

Yet tracts of marginal land such as those I have described around Minster play a much more important role in most people's lives than country parks, picnic sites or the national parks which they may visit once or twice a year if at all. Planners can control the development of rough land for housing and industry through the planning machinery. But the main threat to marginal land is agricultural improvement, and farmers are free to make enormous changes to the landscape by ripping out hedgerows, felling trees, filling in dykes, undergrounding streams, draining marshes and ploughing up rough down, heath and moor without reference to the town and country planning system. Nonetheless, there are tools with which planners could conserve tracts of rough land in the absence of full planning control. These tools include the management agreement, the tree preservation order and the access agreement. Odd scraps of land could be acquired and then managed. At the moment, such positive action in marginal land is relatively untried and undeveloped. It would normally involve some degree of mixed land use - unlike the country park and the picnic site, which can simply be bought and developed as a single-use playground. But although the task is difficult, it is well worth trying. If we do nothing, our children's children may never know what it is to go tadpoling, to fashion little houses out of hedgerows, to creep up on a kingfisher, or to frolic in a field of buttercups.

ACCESS TO OPEN COUNTRYSIDE

If development and agricultural change have reduced the amount of land available for informal recreation, what new recreation areas have been created? And how much public access has been secured over new areas?

It is certainly true that recreation grounds have been created in the new estates that have been built. But while these provide valuable space for playing games and walking the dog, they are poor substitutes for the great outdoors: they can never rival the rich variety of experience and wealth of opportunities that the countryside alone seems able to offer.

Part V of the 1949 National Parks and Access to the Countryside Act empowered local planning authorities to secure public access to 'open country', as defined in the statute, by agreement, order or land acquisition. As the first stage, local planning authorities were required to review their areas to see what land fitted the definition of 'open country' - land consisting wholly or predominantly of mountain, moor, heath, down, cliff or foreshore. Then from their review maps, councils were to consider what action should be taken and submit their proposals to the Minister, who was empowered to act in default.

Local councils have, however, been very reluctant to use their access powers, and governments have been slow to force local

councils to take action. By 31st March 1974, access had been secured through the Act over only 156 square miles in England and Wales, or 0.3 per cent of our land surface. The Peak District National Park accounts for 48.5 per cent of the 156 square miles, and most of the rest is in the north and west. Very little use of the access powers has been made in lowland England: Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire and Hertfordshire for instance, having mapped open country and surveyed access requirements, all informed the Minister in the early 1950's that they considered no action whatsoever was required to secure access in any part of their counties. Nor have they reviewed their position since the 1968 Countryside Act widened the definition of open country to embrace woodland, lakeside and riverbank.

It is hardly surprising then that a survey of land that could be categorised as public open space in the London Green Belt in 1960 found that only 3.4 per cent of the area could be so described. The main extensions of the amount of land to which the public have a right of access in lowland England have come through the acquisition of new sites by the National Trust, the reclamation for recreation of disused gravel workings, and the creation of country parks - although there was already de facto or even de jure access to many of these places before they became country parks. Overall, in the South and Midlands at least, the creation of new tracts of accessible land or the opening up of land from which the public were previously barred has not compensated for the steady loss of recreation land through development and agricultural change. Not only is public transport to the countryside far worse than it was only 15 years ago; even for people who can get into the countryside, there is much less choice for them of places and types of landscape in which to walk.

Notices declaring 'Private: Keep Out' and 'Trespassers will be Prosecuted' still litter our countryside - north and south. If anything, they are more common on tracts of land near to towns and cities. Take Syon Park, for instance, which contains about 95 acres of beautiful parkland from which the public are barred. Syon Park is wedged between Brentford and Hounslow in west London, and from the tower blocks in Brentford End - a bleak collection of estates housing many thousands of people, residents can gaze over the high wall that separates the park from the rest of the world. The inaccessible parkland of 95 acres comprises rough grass, two lakes and many fine standing trees. A handful of cows make little impact on the wild, feathery grass. The only other evidence of human activity is a set of notices reminding people that the land is private and telling them to keep off. These stand alongside a public path which runs parallel to the high wall and forms the other main boundary to the park. The path leads to a garden centre which has been developed on the other half of this estate.

Or take Luton Hoo in south Bedfordshire - 800 acres of parkland, woodland and lake laid out by Capability Brown on the edge of Luton, but from which the public are barred mainly for the benefit of pheasants. Luton Hoo is a haven of beauty in a

county whose countryside has been ravaged by agricultural change and by clay working and chalk quarrying. Luton Hoo was one of the only three small areas of countryside Bedfordshire County Council could find to designate as a class I landscape when they evaluated Bedfordshire's landscape quality in 1973 during the preparation of their structure plan. Luton Hoo's proximity to the big, industrial complex of Luton and Dunstable makes it even more unfortunate that there is no access to this potential source of rural refreshment.

Against the criterion of numbers of visitors attracted by different National Trust properties, parkland emerges as the landscape type people most often choose to see. In 1977, 17 of th 25 most popular National Trust properties were parks like Stourhead, Polesden Lacey and Blickling. And during the 1960's a survey of English landscape tastes as reflected in literature and painting also pointed to parkland - "a calm and peaceful deer park with slow moving streams and wide expanses of meadow land dotted with fine trees" - as the type of landscape most popular with English people (D. Lowenthal and H. Prince, 1964 and 1965). But in the countryside at large, parkland is one of the types of landscape it is most difficult for people to visit. In Oxfordshire, for instance, a county whose inhabitants are ill-served for access to uncultivated space and whose public footpaths lie almost always through intensively cultivated farmlands, only a handful of the county's 39 areas of parkland are open to the public at all times.

The main reason why the people of Oxfordshire are barred from so many parks is that they are used for pheasant shooting. The same is true of the vast majority of Oxfordshire's woodlands. Take the Cornbury estate, about 10 miles north-west of Oxford, for example. It is made up of 600 acres of parkland - a gentle paradise of lake, wood and park - and is bounded on one side by 2,150 acres of the ancient royal forest of Wychwood. A public footpath runs across one corner of the park, and on Palm Sunday, by ancient custom, a path in Wychwood Forest is briefly open to the public. "On that day," wrote Alison Kemp, chairman of the Oxfordshire branch of the Council for the Protection of Rural England, in an article in 'Rucksack' (summer 1978), "the Forest is alive with visitors. Scores pour in, rejoicing at this one meagre opportunity to wander in this glorious historic woodland". These two paths offer the only public access to this 2,750 acre estate, now occupied almost exclusively by pheasant. Pheasants flourish in thickly wooded countryside with good undergrowth providing them with plenty of cover, and interspersed with parkland, fields and, ideally, streams, rivers and lakes. The protection of these birds is the main reason why the public are denied access to so much of our most attractive types of countryside. The spectacularly beautiful rolling chalk countryside of north Hampshire and south Berkshire, for instance, which lies within the North Wessex Downs Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty, is used extensively for shooting, and so ramblers are chased off energetically. This countryside is not only the kind pheasants

prefer, but the hills capped by tall beeches provide for splendid sport as the birds can be made to fly over the trees, high in the air.

Sportsmen argue that if the public were permitted to walk through pheasant woods, they would frighten the birds away to other woods. This would mean a financial loss to the landowner, which could be substantial, especially near to towns where shooting rents can be high. (Sportsmen do not seem to fear that ramblers would try their hand at poaching.) But just what evidence is there that disturbance by ramblers, picnickers or children playing would damage a pheasant shoot?

As it happens, there is none. But there is, on the other hand, some evidence that pheasants are not easily rattled. It comes from sportsmen themselves. A few years ago, the British Field Sports Society was faced with conflicts within its own ranks. Shooting folk claimed that hunting posed a threat to their sport. They said a pack of fox hounds tearing through a pheasant covert frightened the birds away to fresh woods, if not to pastures new. The Society ran packs of hounds through pheasant woods in an experiment designed to determine just how flighty pheasants are. They discovered that, although the hounds startled the pheasants so they flew up in the air, the birds did not leave the wood or, if they did, they soon returned. In fact, the disturbance caused by the dogs seems to have helped the shoot by making the pheasants - by nature reluctant to take to the air - more jumpy and ready to take to the wing. As a result, the Duke of Wellington, for instance, at his estate at Stratfield Saye, regularly runs hounds through coverts where reared pheasants have been turned down, provided there is a reasonable interval before the next shooting day. If a pack of hounds, tearing helter-skelter through a pheasant covert, do not harm the shoot, it seems unlikely that walkers and picnickers would do much damage.

The other main problem public access to pheasant woods would cause would be disturbance by dogs allowed to run loose. Hen birds frightened off their nests by dogs can leave, never to return; young birds just put out into coverts after being incubated, hatched and raised indoors can also be frightened away. But these difficulties could be overcome fairly easily. For one thing, visitors to pheasant woods opened up for public access could be prohibited from bringing dogs with them. And general public access could be restricted at specific times of the year and in specific places where hens are incubating eggs in the wild or young birds have just been turned down. The problem anyway is a small one. Few estates now rear more than a small proportion of pheasant eggs in the wild: most are incubated indoors; secondly, the death of young birds as a result of trespass or even car accidents is quite insignificant on most estates compared with losses from foxes, cold weather or the rain.

C.E.M. Joad, writing in 1937, deplored the fact that in the woods of southern England "a pair of lovers may not walk in privacy, a little girl may not go to pick primroses, without being harried and chivvied by angry men, whose sole concern is to ensure that the greatest possible number of pheasants shall be offered every autumn as living targets to the guns of lazy townsmen". If the enormous potential of these woodlands for enjoyment by all sections of the community is to be exploited, local authorities will need to ask landowners to enter into access agreements. These would provide the public with a legal right to wander at will, save on certain days just before shooting was about to take place and, of course, on the day of the shoot. But access would not normally need to be restricted over the whole of an estate, merely over the beats where the shoot was to take place. In addition, public access could be restricted in certain places and at particular times of the year to accommodate nesting in the wild and turning down of the young birds.

Only 40 years ago, thousands of acres of moorland on the doorstep of Sheffield and Manchester were the jealous preserve of gamekeepers who banned walkers on the grounds that they would damage grouse bags. Now, access agreements have covered 76 square miles of moor in the Peak Park on which the rearing and shooting of grouse coexist happily with general public access. Ramblers are prohibited on certain specified days each year, when the moors are handed back to the sportsmen; byelaws control activities which could damage the moors, like the lighting of fires. Landowners can claim compensation from the Peak Park Planning Board for any financial loss they incur through the presence of the public, although recent work in the Peak Park and on the Banchory Moors in Scotland has shown that grouse bags are usually quite unaffected by the removal of constraints on access.

The woods and parks of lowland England have considerably more potential than the moors of the north as playgrounds for our city dwellers, who are finding less and less countryside suitable for a decent walk available to them. There seems to be no real reason why the principle of multiple land use so successfully applied over the northern moors should not now be applied to the parks and woods of the English lowlands.

Access to Lakeside and Riverbank

"The stream invites us to follow," wrote W.H. Hudson in 'Afoot in England' (1909). "The impulse is so common that it might be set down as an instinct; and certainly there is no more fascinating pastime than to keep company with a river from its source to the sea. Unfortunately this is not easy in a country where running waters have been enclosed, which should be as free as the rain and the sunshine to all, and were once free, when England was England still, before landowners annexed them, even as they annexed or stole the commons, and shut up the footpaths and made it an offence for a man to go aside from the road to feel God's grass under his feet".

Like woodland, lakeside and riverbank were types of countryside to which the definition of 'open country' was extended by the Countryside Act in 1968, since when it has been possible to make access agreements over these kinds of country. But despite the general popularity of lake and river scenery and despite the lack of public access to stretches of river and lake all over the country, no access agreements have yet been secured over lakeside and only two had been made by April 1st 1975 for walkers alongside rivers. In 1971 the Yorkshire Dales National Park Authority made an access agreement over about four acres of land around the Aysgarth Falls and in 1973 Cheshire County Council secured an agreement for public access over about six acres of the river Weaver.

As with woodlands, it is sport - albeit of a different kind - which is the main bar to general public access to many of our lakes and riversides up and down the country. The hammer ponds of the High Weald - an area currently under consideration for designation as an area of outstanding natural beauty - date from the fifteenth century, when water power first made possible widespread iron smelting, so transforming the High Weald into the Black Country of the Middle Ages. Earthen dams were thrown up across narrow valleys of Wealden streams to collect a head of water which was used to drive forge hammers in water mills or to work blast furnaces. These long, narrow, finger-like lakes, now bordered by hanging woods, are one of the most characteristic and beautiful landscape features of the High Weald. Yet public access to them is more often than not barred. Walkers may only gaze from the road at the tranquil beauty of Hawkins Pond and Hammer Pond, for instance, both about three miles outside Horsham in St. Leonard's Forest: in both cases the fishing rights have been let to an angling club and, as so often happens where this occurs, the general public are denied access. The public are prohibited from almost the whole of the natural game rivers of Cornwall, Devon, West Somerset, the Cotswolds, Dorset and Hampshire - like the Test and Itchen, where anglers can pay £15 for a day's fishing.

The problem of access to rivers is even worse for canoeists than it is for walkers: whereas walkers have thousands of footpaths and bridleways away from rivers along which they have a right of way, there are relatively few non-tidal rivers along which an undisputed right of passage exists. Where such a right does not exist, it is usually because fishing organisations have acquired the fishing rights. In their evidence to the Select Committee of the House of Lords on Sport and Leisure in 1973, the British Canoe Union said, "One recreational interest - fishing - is showing a regrettable tendency towards trying to exclude all others wherever it can do so".

But need fishing exclude other types of recreation - like rambling? Just what evidence is there that walkers disturb fishing by casting shadows over the water?

As far as coarse fishing is concerned, the consensus seems to be that passing shadows do not disturb the fish at all: what could frighten them away and damage the catch are dogs swimming in the water, or stones being thrown in. And as far as game fishing is concerned, salmon and trout seem to be disturbed by passing shadows only in narrow, shallow streams. And, of course, there are times when coarse and game fishing are out of season. The Sports Council have drawn up agreements with landowners and fishing groups, mainly in the north, to enable canoeists to use rivers out of season.

It may be argued that stretches of parkland, woodland, lakeside, and riverbank are private property to which the general public should not feel entitled to access. As one farmer put it to me recently when I asked him why he always chased off people he caught walking or picnicking on his land, "If I spread my lunch out in your office in Chandos Place, you'd throw me out double quick". But all a landowner has acquired are freehold rights to a piece of land - in contrast to, say, shooting rights or the right to win minerals or to graze animals, or a right of passage which may or may not be owned by somebody else. Nor are landowners in general opposed to access agreements: both the National Farmers' Union and the Country Landowners' Association told the Select Committee of the House of Lords on Sport and Leisure that they supported the concept of the access agreement. These agreements normally entitle landowners to compensation for damage caused by walkers, and wardens are often provided to enforce byelaws to prevent damage. The NFU described the access agreement as "a valuable instrument" and expressed the hope that in the future much more use would be made of it.

But it is local authority planners who will have to provide the main spur if the potential of the access agreement to open up some of our thousands of inaccessible parks, woods, lakesides and riverbanks is to be realised. For the main reasons why the access powers have been so little used seem to lie with the planners themselves: in their ignorance of the powers to make access agreements, and in their view of rural planning as a negative, controlling operation rather than one in which the local authority takes the initiative.

Two changes by Government would help. Parkland is not in fact a type of 'open country' defined by the relevant statutes. A minor legislative change - the widening of the definition of 'open country' to include parkland - would make it possible to secure access agreements over parklands.

Secondly, the Government should announce a new survey of 'open country' and access requirements. Over 20 years have elapsed since the first open country surveys were carried out. In 1966 the Government announced a new survey of open country and access requirements and possibilities to take account of the new types of demand for countryside recreation which have emerged since 1949 together with the types of country to which the 1968 Countryside

Act was about to widen the definition of 'open country' (woodland, lakeside and riverbank). But the new survey was countermanded in 1970.

Many county and district councils are currently drawing up subject plans on countryside recreation provision so now would be a particularly opportune moment for the Government to require them to examine the extent of 'open country' within their boundaries, assess the access situation in these areas - such as trespass problem as well as the need to open up particular areas - and to make specific proposals for action. The issue is not trivial. Lewis Silkin, the 1949 Minister of Town and Country Planning, declared to Parliament when introducing the access powers to the statue book: "If the Bill fails the people will be fettered, deprived of their powers of access and facilities needed to make holidays enjoyable. With it the countryside is theirs to preserve, to cherish, to enjoy and to make their own".

EDUCATION

Since Britain was the first country to experience industrialisation, its people have been separated from the countryside for longer than those of any other nation. For most British people, the countryside is neither a place to work in nor a place to play in. And the decline in public transport services from towns to the countryside of the last 15 years, coupled with the loss of marginal land near to where people live, have completed the alienation of the townsman from rural life.

Not unnaturally, many ordinary people now seem uncertain about where they might be allowed to go in the countryside, and many town children have little idea of the variety of games enjoyed by their country cousins. Ignorance of the countryside is probably much greater in the south than in the north. Two factors help account for this difference. They are the relative population stability of the northern towns like Sheffield and Rotherham - compared with those of the south - particularly London and the new and expanding towns, where people tend to lack roots. The second factor is that the habit of taking a trip to the countryside from towns seems to have become more ingrained in the northern way of life, but not the southern.

Last July I spent a day talking to about a hundred boys aged between 11 and 15 at a comprehensive school in Wandsworth, London, to try to find out what the countryside means to children in inner London. The Ernest Bevin School has 1,500 pupils, about half of whom are of West Indian origin and about another quarter Indian or Pakistani. The nearest rural open space is Banstead Heights, which is about eight miles away as the crow flies.

These children were very unfamiliar with England's countryside. Their parents almost never seemed to take them to the country; the West Indian children said their parents went out to work at the weekends. Nor did many of the children go to the country on their

own or with friends: they tended to "play around the flats - football and that" at weekends. I found none with any special interest in rural pursuits like birdwatching, although a few went fishing occasionally. The only children who visited the countryside regularly went out with the Tooting Boys' Club.

Although the Wandsworth children did not go to the countryside they were very au fait with what they should not do if they ever went there. The Country Code was very well known; what's more, the children seemed to understand the reasons behind its exhortations. As one boy explained: "You shouldn't throw litter about because tin cans and other things can catch in the hooves of cows; you mustn't chop down trees; or go on the crops; and you should remember to close gates after you so that the cows or horses can't get out". Oddly, the Country Code seems as well known to these city children, many of whom have hardly ever visited the countryside, as the Green Cross Code which they use every day.

But this proficiency about rural prohibitions was matched by striking ignorance about what people can do in the countryside. Many boys had no idea whatsoever about where they might be allowed to walk in the countryside. Their ideas about public access ranged from "You can walk all over the place" or "You can walk anywhere except you can't walk in people's farms and places like that" to "You can go on the grass and in fields unless they're fenced off" and "You can just walk along the road except if you see a stile and you can go over that". None of the children I talked to spontaneously said they could walk along public footpaths or bridleways, and many clearly did not understand the principle of the public right of way. None of the children had heard of a country park.

Public rights of way across private land in the countryside are historic and jealously guarded rights - part of the social contract of the countryside. As they can be lost through lack of use, it is doubly important that ordinary people should understand their function. In their National Household Survey, the Countryside Commission found that 65 per cent of the trips people make to the country are to sites they have visited before, usually on several occasions. The Commission describe what they call a 'conservatism' in countryside trip-making behaviour which, they say, "inclines people to stick with the familiar and is reinforced by an uncertainty about where they can and cannot go in the countryside".

So there is reason to believe that ignorance about the countryside is widespread.

The Countryside Commission are currently reviewing the Country Code and the way in which it is promoted in order to improve the behaviour of visitors to the countryside. They could also use a revised country code to inform people of their rights in the countryside as well as their duties.

Sylvia Law, who heads the GLC's recreation department, has suggested that a countryside interpretation centre should be built in Hyde Park to tell Londoners how to get to the country and where to go in it once they are there. I believe centres such as these would be invaluable in towns and cities everywhere in helping people who wish to venture into the countryside but who are unfamiliar with its mysteries. And in London, in particular, it also could prove of great benefit to tourists.

A growing number of local authorities are organising guided walks in the country. West Sussex County Council, for example, organised a series of guided country rambles each weekend from the beginning of May to the end of August this year, starting from towns and villages all over the county. For the last two years the Epsom and Ewell Borough Council in Surrey have organised a nature weekend on Epsom Common in July: this involves a nature trail as well as organised walks led around the Common concentrating on bird life, flower or pond life. And a growing number of local authorities are publishing nature trails for walks within or close to the town boundaries: one of the best I have come across is the nature trail designed for the Bryn Euryn nature reserve outside Colwyn Bay.

But what has been achieved so far is only a drop in the ocean. In most towns and holiday resorts in England and Wales, apart from Ordnance Survey maps, the literature available on how to get out to the countryside and where the interesting walks are to be found is at best sketchy and hard to understand, at worst non-existent.

Of course, there are all sorts of ways in which we could help city children enjoy and understand the countryside - and by this I don't just mean explaining to them how a farm works. Most people who love the countryside can point to a particular person or trip which first introduced them to the delights of the countryside; the Countryside Commission could encourage the provision of more trips and holidays in the country for children. The Commission could employ a schools' liaison officer who could also suggest ways in which access to and within the countryside could best be explained to children.

Many of the children I talked to in Minster had a clear grasp of the idea of countryside conservation and had already become enthusiasts. Diana, for instance, who is 11 years old and a keen birdwatcher, spelled out clearly the arguments for preserving the country as a refuge for wildlife and as a haven of peace and spiritual refreshment for human beings. When I asked her, "How would you feel if the whole of the countryside were built over?", she replied: "Awful. Because there wouldn't be anywhere to go. There wouldn't be any birds because the trees would be knocked down and there wouldn't be any nests, so the number of birds would slowly die down, causing people unhappiness. I think the countryside is important to everyone to go to because it's peaceful and you've got freedom and the wind blowing: freedom from traffic and the noise and sometimes from grown-ups".

The Wandsworth boys, in contrast, have little enthusiasm for visiting the countryside. They had no inkling of its potential as a playground and thought the countryside boring and "just an open space". They did not see much point in preserving it, and some thought it should provide room for more housing estates.

Opening up the countryside to townspeople in the ways I have suggested might not only achieve the main objective I had in mind - increasing the enjoyment all sections of the community can derive from the countryside. It might also serve, indirectly, to guarantee its protection by widening the political base of the countryside conservation movement. If we are to have anything in the countryside worth protecting outside country and national parks by the time CRRAG holds its 58th conference, 50 years on, conservationists are going to need a lot more pull than they have at the moment. They will be facing an ever-increasing build-up of pressures from those with an interest in destroying the countryside as we know it. If we are to protect our rural birthright, we need the backing not just of country people, who form the backbone of the conservation movement at present, but also of city dwellers. It is townspeople who will be readiest to confront what is now the major threat to the countryside - agricultural change. Too much of the present conservation movement is associated with landed interests. Organisations drawing their support from tonwspeople will be able to confront the farmers head on without fear or favour. It is in the towns and cities that the case for the countryside needs to be understood. And without knowledge and experience of the countryside, there will be no understanding.

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B.K. Parnell

Thank you very much Marion. I said at the beginning that I thought this would be a challenging paper. It was, and I am sure there are some agriculturists, planners and conservationists who will want to respond on some of the points. It was constructive and stimulating and entertaining in its presentation. Thank you very much for an excellent paper Marion.

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RECREATION PRESSURES ON THE COUNTRYSIDE

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INTRODUCTION

By attempting to examine, as objectively as we can, recreation pressures on the countryside, we recognise that the topic is both subjective - who is to define pressure and how are they to do it - and at the same time controversial. For example at times the debate on carrying capacity has generated more heat than light. However, at this stage of the conference the question must inevitably be asked: can the countryside take the pressures put on it by the worthy exponents of recreation demand and recreation opportunity that speak before and after us? We are optimistic - on balance we think it can and the proper question to concern our collective attention is not 'can the countryside take it', but, 'how can the countryside take it?'

CLAIMS AND ASSUMPTIONS

We begin by examining the seminal literature for evidence of recreation pressures on the countryside. In short, the major literature tends to present a thesis of burgeoning growth of recreational activity although that thesis becomes less certain and shifts ground as time goes on. In arguing that thesis, the problem of recreational pressure tends to be assumed with perhaps rather more ecological than aesthetic examples being given towards the end of the period in question.

The body of key literature we have reviewed starts with the Countryside in 1970 Conference Reports and Proceedings of 1963-1970 and ends with the Countryside Review Committee (CRC topic paper: Leisure in the Countryside of 1977). We include Dower's 'Fourth Wave', the Leisure in the Countryside White Paper, the writings of Arvill and Patmore and the Sandford Report.

At the outset the arguments for recreational growth were based on projections of major increases in population and mobility as car ownership extended through the population and energy costs remained cheap. These were coupled with increases in real income and the emulation of recently researched American trends of the early 1960s. These arguments were tempered as economic conditions changed, energy costs rose, and population predictions were modified.

Pressure on the countryside is often inferred in these writings as an equation of recreational growth acting on a finite land resource. This line of argument is supplemented by evidence of traffic

congestion, pressure on the coastline, peak visitor statistics and heavily used sites and, later in the discussions, examples of wear and tear on the countryside as the new-found subject of recreation ecology grew popular. We would not deny that such pressures existed (or indeed still exist) but that the limited evidence quoted is assumed to be symptomatic of conditions in general.

For example, Arvill in 1969[1] writes:

"In England and Wales all the national parks report increasing pressures. The Friends of the Lake District Park reported in 1969 on the traffic there and referred to it as the 'potential destroyer of the Lake District' In the Peak Park there are many measures in operation to meet the vast recreational and tourist pressures from the nearby conurbation ..... the Snowdonia Park and the Gower Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty also report great pressures. And the South West of England, with its two Parks and its beautiful coastline, has the greatest summer holiday pressure of all."

"What are the results of these pressures on water and key stretches of countryside and coast, so often inadequately planned and managed in relation to them? One of the most serious is the erosion which takes place simply because so many people visit places of beauty and other natural attractions. Even in 1958, before the great wave of mobility and leisure was fully underway, the National Trust for England and Wales reported that: "a given area cannot properly support more than a number of visitors without strict control". The problem of coping with erosion by humans is great; the sheer physical trampling by walkers, picnickers can create lasting damage. But perhaps worst of all are the litter and refuse which mark the passage of humans and stress the need for higher standards of behaviour."

He finally concludes:

"The pressures concentrated on such sites at peak times are too great to be sustained indefinitely with the increasing numbers of people."

Patmore writing three years later[2] is more cautious in his analysis:

"This theme (recreation pressure) ..... is fundamental to any consideration of landuse and recreation in the countryside. The low density of much existing leisure use, but also the low capacity of most rural areas in absorbing recreation demand must be continually stressed. The crowded countryside is a relative concept at best. 'Even in areas of evident pressure, the actual numbers involved are comparatively small. In the Lake District on Bank Holiday Sunday in 1966, Grassmere had 10,000 visitors, Coniston Water, 6,000, Derwent Water and Borrowdale 5,650 and Langdale about 2,000. These totals include those who stop for only a short time as part of longer excursions: they may be compared with totals of 19,500, 18,950 and 15,800 for Ambleside, Bowness and Keswick respectively."

Patmore notes the difficulty in obtaining and interpreting statistics on recreational pressures even at individual sites. He notes the different estimates made of the use of Clumber Park.

He concludes:

> "No tally can be kept of the number of visitors to the open spaces (owned by the National Trust) but a few suffer from acute pressure. The problem is limited in extent but severe where it does occur at places like Clumber Park or Runnymede. Indeed, the Benson report stressed that 'the Trust may in its extremity be forced to control access by rationing at certain peak properties and the number of visitors continues to increase as it has in the last decade', although this would only be necessary at peak periods".

Patmore also notes the probability of a reduction in *de facto* access land as landowners become less tolerant of additional recreation use.

The Cobham report of 1973[3] presents balanced arugments:

> "The Peak Park, for instance, with about 10 million visitors a year is in danger of being overused. In Cannock Chase the crowding has begun to produce soil erosion. Climbers in Snowdonia have to queue while waiting their turn at certain rock faces, and some crags, sand dune systems and footpaths are under great ecological pressure. Even in Scotland the countryside is beginning to come under pressure in places. Not only the countryside suffers from the stress of growing leisure: the farming community also suffers severely. Mr. R.O. Hughes talks of a "demoralised" farming community and interference with the farmer's livelihood. Lord Henley foresees that "there will be certain parts of the country within less than a generation when one will have to accept it that it is no longer possible to farm at all because of public pressure to come and look". Broken fences and walls, trespass, sheep worrying and so on are common.
>
> The Committee recognise that in general the pressure on the countryside is not as serious as the foregoing paragraph might suggest. Out of season, mid-week or in bad weather the countryside is not overflowing with visitors. There are still large tracts of lonely and unspoiled land. The conflicts and the crowding occur in the peak times in the summer, i.e. at weekends and on bank holidays and in given places such as access roads and footpaths, beauty spots, summits and water edges. They are exacerbated when artificial facilities have been created close to beauty spots and other attractions. This is explained by Mr. J.W. Gittins of St. Mary's College, Bangor, who says, "The idea that our national parks are over-crowded is not only naive but completely without objective foundations. What is true in this connection is that at peak periods, usually July - September and also on many weekends in key locations, visitor pressure - large numbers of people and vehicles - causes over-crowding, delay and difficulty." The danger now threatening is that the pressure in key places and at key times, i.e. where people want to be and when they want to be there, will destroy the enjoyment of their leisure and maybe even the facilities. This danger can be alleviated by spreading the load and diverting people elsewhere."

The avowed purpose of much of this writing was to engender public interest in a neglected topic. It is not surprising that

it emphasised problems rather than opportunities for such, it seems as the way to influence political minds and in that aim it was successful. But the tendency to concentrate on a problem solving approach to recreation planning still exists despite the occasional argument based on the desirability of recreation as a goal of social policy as was suggested in the 1966 White Paper[4].

> "Given that townspeople ought to be able to spend their leisure in the country if they want to; that they will have more leisure; and that in future they will be able to buy cars and boats and otherwise spend money on their weekends and holidays, the problem is to enable them to enjoy this leisure without harm to those who live and work in the countryside, and without spoiling what they go to thecountryside to seek. The present proposals of the government are concerned with this problem."

Or occasional public comment such as that by Adrian Phillips at the Countryside in 1970 Conference[5]:

> "Recreation, while it certainly poses problems is first and foremost an opportunity to be welcomed. It is an opportunity for two reasons: first, because through contact with the countryside the townsman can draw refreshment, literally to be re-created; and secondly, because recreation provides one of the best means available to us to get over to the four-fifths of the population who live in towns the urgency of conserving the countryside."

While Michael Dower in 1965[6] tended to dwell on problems and the lack of provision for recreational growth, he was not short on solutions and recognised that the problem orientated approach tended to engender negative attitudes to recreation provision.

> "Many people feel that the pressure of recreation and tourism in some of the national parks, encouraged partly by their publicity as parks, has become too damaging to the beauty that they were established to protect. I also feel that the desire to protect natural beauty has held up necessary development for recreation within the park.
>
> This is contentious ground, my own view is that we should regard the beauty of the national parks as the one value to be protected by planning, and as a recreational asset. With that firmly in mind we should forget the national park boundary when thinking about recreation, we should consider how the growing demand for leisure space can best be satisfied within the whole land and water surface of these islands. All regions must take their share. We cannot arbitrarily exempt large areas because they are beautiful: their very beauty precludes that attitude."

Indeed, none of the authors we have quoted were slow to suggest solutions to the problems they posed - estimation of carrying capacity, dispersal of recreational use - appear as constant themes through much of the writing and we shall examine them in detail in later sections of this paper. Even at this early stage of our review, it appears that the issues of distribution and dispersal of visitors through the countryside are more crucial than the total numbers.

TRENDS IN RECREATION USE PROVISION

Clearly with so little information readily to hand on recreational pressure, we cannot say what changes in pressure have taken place over the past 15 years. What we can do is to convey an impression on how recreational use on the countryside changed overall during the period in question[7].

In summary, there was steady growth in recreational activity in the period up to 1973, growth rates being most spectacular in the novel sports introduced in the period. The response to the economic events of 1973/4 was marked. The growth curves flattened out or even declined until 1976; since then there are signs of renewed increase in activity.

Such time-series data as there is for the period can be used as no more than indices of the real trends. It seems most likely that day trips to the countryside, a group of activities of almost universal popularity, increased dramatically. Yet the only direct evidence is of visits to the properties of the National Trust and the Ancient Monuments where charges are made. These show increases from 2.3 million visits to 5.2 million and 9 million visits to 17 million for the period 1965 - 1977 respectively.

For many activities we have to rely on membership figures which represent only organised participation. On this basis field sports, golf, horseriding, sailing, skiing and water skiing show a doubling or even trebling of activity over the period 1965 - 1977. Meanwhile some activities such as cycling and angling show only 10% increases in participation; in the latter case a lesser increase is not surprising given its already high level of popularity compared to other sports.

Detailed statistics for home tourism only exist for the period 1972 - 1977. One suspects that a 'complete' data set would show a similar pattern of growth and retrenchment as described for countryside recreation, but in this case holidays abroad, particularly package holidays to southern Europe, have had a marked influence on the trend. For the 5 years 1972 - 1977 levels of home holiday making, measured as holiday nights, fell in response to the prevailing economic conditions and this was true for the self-catering sector which had become markedly more popular in the previous decade. Caravanning and tented camping is perhaps the most relevant section of home tourism as far as countryside recreation is concerned. While individual operators such as the Forestry Commission record marked increases in campers' nights from ½ million in 1965 to 1½ million in 1977 (their sites have grown in number from 8 to 27 in this period) the figures for caravanning and camping as a whole fluctuate from year to year reflecting weather conditions. The summer of 1976 is an outstanding example. Throughout the period holiday making is slightly more concentrated in the peak summer period in June through September, but as the overall levels fell the resultant 'pressures' will generally have been less.

Growth and demand was matched by a growth in supply, although once more this is difficult to document fully. For example, by the end of 1969 the newly formed Countryside Commissions had grant aided 8 country parks in Great Britain; this number has increased to 153 in 1977. (NB. approximately three-quarters of the 143 country parks in England and Wales were existing sites with some form of recreation provision prior to grant adding). The number of grant aided picnic sites in England and Wales rose from 7 in 1969 to 188 in 1977. Another striking increase in the number of picnic places provided by the Forestry Commission which rose from 133 in 1970 to 426 in 1977. In the last 15 years the National Trust have opened 5 new charging properties per year on average and there have been marked growth in the numbers of zoos, wildlife and safari parks, and bird gardens (even allowing for recent zoo closures). The growth in holiday accommodation has mirrored the changing pattern of use and given that the accommodation statistics cannot be directly related to pressures on the countryside we have not attempted to analyse them.

With hindsight the years from 1965 - 1973 can be seen as boom years for countryside recreation, when growth and demand was matched in part at least by growth in provision. The recession that followed cut growth rates severely and in many cases levels of use are only now approaching those of 1973. For these reasons the growing crisis of recreation pressure prophesied in the mid 60s has not materialised throughout the whole of the country. But as recreational use is not evenly distributed through the countryside or throughout the year we now examine the exact nature of existing pressures.

EXAMINATION OF THE EVIDENCE

The examination is limited to the most recent sources that have attempted comprehensive coverage for particular areas - notably the National Park Plans and Heritage Coast Plans. Structure Plans are not sufficiently detailed and individual site studies are few and far between to be very helpful in this analysis.

For the National Parks and Heritage Coast direct evidence of the recreational impact of some 20 activities has been tabulated in some detail in Appendix 1. This evidence has been further summarised in Table 1. There are clearly some problems of interpreting this evidence for there are no common standards by which recreational impacts could be assessed in these plans; the evidence is by its very nature subjective - what may be assessed as pressure in one park may pass unnoticed in another. Equally subjective is our own interpretation of this data.

In Table 1 the recreational impacts are classified into those which have a direct effect on the natural resource, such as erosion of vegetation and the disturbance of wildlife habitats; and those impacts which are largely social or psychological in their effects. Included in the latter category

are congestion and overcrowding on site, traffic congestion and parking problems in recreation areas, nuisance to residents in local communities, noise, conflicts with other users, and aesthetic objections. It is evident that most kinds of impacts come under the social heading, although in marginal cases the distinction between social and resource impact may not be clear cut. For example, erosion of vegetation on a minor scale could be considered aesthetically objectionable, whereas on a major scale it might cause gullying and lead to physical damage of the resource.

While certain activites can present severe local management problems they may be infrequent in that they occur in few parks. Examples might be the problems caused by climbing and caving, the traffic congestion caused by spectators of hang-gliding and the conflicts that occur between users, usually of water areas (eg water skiing and water sport, fishing and canoeing).

TABLE 1

RECREATIONAL IMPACTS RECORDED IN NATIONAL PARK AND HERITAGE COAST PLANS

Direct impacts on the natural resource	
loss of vegetation, erosion:	walking/hiking, pony trekking, climbing, caving, motor sport, hunting
disturbance of wildlife habitat:	walking, climbing, sub-aqua, caving, sailing, water skiing
Social or phychological impacts	
congestion and overcrowding of recreation areas:	caravanning and camping, climbing, caving, sub-aqua
traffic congestion and parking problems - direct	sightseeing, access to coastal beaches touring caravans, sailing, water skiing, fishing, climbing
- indirect	hang-gliding, motor sports, hunting, gliding
- spectators	sailing
nuisance to residents in local communities:	sightseeing, motor sports
noise:	motor sport, water skiing
conflicts with other users:	water skiing/bathing/other water sports fishing/canoeing
aesthetic objections:	caravans and camping, sailing (boat houses and moorings)

Most frequent instanced examples in each category are underlined.

The natural resource, on which many activities depend, may not exist within the park or if it does there may be traditional or institutional reasons which prohibit it taking place, such as canoeing on rivers where angling interests predominate. In the latter case the problem becomes that of gaining access to the resource rather than undue pressure upon it.

Other activites are common, in that they occur in most national parks or coastal areas. The majority of these problems come under the heading of social impact. Within this category are the traffic congestion, site crowding and aesthetic objections to caravanning and tented camping. The traffic congestion and parking problems caused by sightseeing in picturesque villages or by holiday makers gaining access to coastal beaches. There are numerous examples of erosion caused by walking and by pony-trekking and equally numerous objections to the noise made by motor sports.

But even in these cases it is important to appreciate that the impacts are local in their extent either that they occur only in particular popular places or that they occur on relatively few peak occasions during the year. This latter point is substantiated by numerous site surveys.

While we are unable to draw conclusions for the countryside as a whole, it is reasonable to conclude that the major problems occur on the coast and parts of the national parks; and that they result from the growth in self-catering holidays and day trips in recent years. We suspect that the greatest impact is probably felt by local village communities, although this is a neglected topic for research. Pressure can be acute in particular beauty spots and access points which become seriously eroded. Evidence of traffic congestion is frequently instanced in local studies but is difficult to obtain nationally although it appears that levels of recreational traffic are now reapproaching those of the early 1970s before the energy crisis set in. It is worth noting that while certain glamour activites such as hang-gliding and water skiing attract much publicity, their impact is limited in extent. Finally the absence of certain problems should be remarked upon, such as the very limited impact of off-road vehicles and the relatively low levels of anti-social behaviour such as theft and vandalism that are recorded in some American parks. The exception is the local lad's 'dirt-track' on waste ground at the edge of town. The problem in this case is not caused by the users but by the failure of officialdom to recognise the activity as legitimate and requiring specific provision.

A DISCUSSION OF SOME STRATEGIC ISSUES

Our literature review has led us to identify a number of inter-related issues, none of which are novel, and many of which have been debated or propounded as solutions on many occasions in recent years.

The issues identified are:

the concentration or dispersal of recreational use,

the confusion over management objectives and carrying capacity; and

value choices and technical decisions.

The Concentration or Dispersal of Recreational Use

The dispersal of recreational use has frequently been advocated as the solution to problems of recreational pressure. While much justification would rest on the assumption that capacity limits have been reached at popular sites or that the peak summer load should be equitably distributed through the year, this conventional wisdom deserve further analysis.

In terms of presenting a wider range of recreational opportunities it may be preferable to further develop the already well used attraction point. Rosemary Burton's work on Cannock Chase[8] showed how different social groups reacted differently to crowded recreational sites. One of her conclusions was that 'individuals of high educational status and social class were more sensitive to crowding and thought of it as unpleasant, whereas a substantial proportion of the lower groups tolerated, and even preferred high levels of use'. She further concluded that 'future demand from crowd-tolerant visitors can probably be accommodated in the areas of countryside which are already relatively intensively used'. This latter conclusion is based on the tolerant reaction of the peak use populations to high levels of use. It appears in fact that the presence of large numbers of other people may even add to their enjoyment. If such a strategy were adopted, one would have to accept that the site will progressively change in character as the years go by. Yet this might satisfy both camps, the gregarious and the seekers of solitude, who would have somewhere else to which they could retreat instead of seeing every nook and cranny of the countryside being steadily developed for recreational use. The impact on agriculture and other land uses should also be less as a result.

We should also consider the effects of concentration and dispersal on local communities. Which is the most or least disruptive, most or least viable proposition - the concentration on few points allowing the growth of tourist trade with economic returns to the community and less pressure on other areas where the rural economy can continue uninterrupted or the converse. Spreading pressure more thinly over many areas, more extensive pressure on farming for example and perhaps lowering of the rates of return for tourist enterprises.

Conventional wisdom has seen weekend or summer peaking as a problem to be alleviated; let us examine that also. Peaking has been associated with crowding and crowding has been seen as undesirable. But is that so? Who sees this as a problem, the

seekers of solitude who perhaps have a greater range of choice, in that they need not go on the few crowded occasions in the year or can go elsewhere? Why should the values of these groups invariably hold sway over those gregarious groups who Burton recorded only find an area interesting and attractive when other people are there?

We know that peak pressures occur when fine weather coincides with public holidays. Perhaps damage to vegetation and wildlife is less on these dry summer days than it would be if the load was spread more evenly over a longer period of the year and both wet and dry weather conditions. Not too many people are foolish to go out to the countryside on wet Wednesdays in February, but the damage of the major influx of trampling feet might cause at that time of the year could take longer to repair than the impact of the Bank Holiday crowds.

Not only does the countryside need time to recover from the summer influx of visitors, so too do the inhabitants of the picturesque villages. As far as the recreation manager is concerned the economic aspects of concentration and dispersal need to be considered as well. It is arguable whether the managerial costs of staffing, capital costs of provision and maintenance cost are most efficiently spread over a few large sites or many small ones. There has been little investigation (for countryside sites) to determine the optimal allocation of resources to peak conditions. Few would argue that it is economically efficient (even though it might be politically expedient) to fully cater for the few peak days in the year.

These trains of thought suggest a number of lines of research enquiry which are set out in Table 2. Notwithstanding such investigation it is worth noting that there are 2 major constraints governing peak conditions which are outside the control of the recreation manager; the social constraints of school holidays, public holidays and the conventional working week (the probability of change here seems more likely of late) and of climatic constraints which will confound managerial ingenuity for some time to come.

The confusion over management objectives and carrying capacity

Recreational carrying capacity became enshrined into the conventional wisdom of recreation research and planning in this country with the CRRAG definition of 1971.[9] That definition distinguished three different types of capacity: physical capacity, ecological capacity; and references to it occur at least as recently as 1973 when it was fully quoted in the Cobham Report on Sport and Leisure.

Yet the debate on carrying capacity had originated in the United States much earlier and the seminal work on the subject is a Forest Science Monograph of 1964 written by J. Alan Wagar. That debate still rages in America, particularly in relation to wilderness areas, although Wagar had pointed out four major misconceptions about recreation carrying as early as 1968[9].

TABLE 2

SUGGESTED TOPICS FOR RESEARCH ON PEAK PRESSURES

Social Costs	Social Benefits
Recreational users	
reduction of quality of experience for solitary	attraction to gregarious
Village communities	
Congestion, nuisance	income from tourism; support for services
Agriculture	
trespass, vandalism, etc	farm recreation
Environmental Costs	**Environmental Benefits**
Ecological change	
spread over many sites	concentrated at few sites
	maximum pressure may be better accommodated on few fine weather occasions
Pressure disrupts breeding cycles	recreation pressure and breeding cycles do not coincide
Managerial Costs	**Managerial Benefits**
Staff cannot be increased to deal with peak	Employment of additional seasonal staff more efficent
Capital and maintenance costs rates of return need to be compared for few large sites many small ones; catering for peak, developing overflow facilities to deduce the balance of costs and benefits	

The first is the misconception that the manager's responsibility is primarily to resources rather than to people. The needs of both resources and people must be weighed when considering carrying capacity and limitation on human use.

Secondly, managers often have the misconception that each acre of recreation land has a natural (ie inherent) level of durability. This is simply not so. Many means are available to extend the durability of most sites - fertilising and irrigation,

rest, rotation of use, supplemental planting, and so forth. Another misconception is that most recreational areas should be managed for naturalness and uncrowded conditions. If some visitors want major camping development should they not have it in some areas?

Lastly Wagar cites the misconception that recreational areas would be much easier to manage if only their carrying capacity was known. According to him, areas would not really be any easier to manage because it is very difficult to determine carrying capacity and even if the carrying capacity were determined many conflicts relating to the intensities of use would still remain.

He and other American authors such as Lime and Stankey[11] conclude that carrying capacity for recreation is at best a difficult management tool. There is no such thing as a single value for recreation carrying capacity, there are always a wide range of options either for development or types of recreational use. By placing emphasis on carrying capacity the attention is invariably focussed on physical site factors so that equally important aspects of recreational use are over-looked,especially those concerning a balanced system of recreational opportunities.

Meanwhile in Britain, objections to carrying capacity have also arisen. Speight had pointed out in 1973[12] that the CRRAG definition could not be made to operate in practice, while Burton concluded from her research on Cannock Chase that some of the assumptions on which perceptual capacity was based cannot be substantiated. Her research showed that 'planners are not catering for one homogenous group of countryside visitors but discrete groups of the population, each of which evaluate and respond to crowding in a different way, and therefore perceptual capacity must be regarded as characteristic of the visitors rather than the site. These visitor groups, which may be distinguished by their varying educational and social backgrounds, have different requirements, expectations and value systems, and each group is likely to gain satisfaction from the different type of recreational facility'. She suggested the term 'landscape capacity' defined as the ability of the landscape to absorb recreational use, which is a function of the physical features of the recreational resource.

It therefore seems to be agreed that recreational carrying capacity is not fixed and absolute. Whilst serious erosion occurs on a handful of recreational sites in Britain much of the discussion of 'ecological' capacity has been based on aesthetic criteria and the reluctance to see a 'semi-natural' site being developed to sensibly accommodate current levels of recreactional use. If therefore we are largely concerned with aesthetics and crowding - people's reactions to change in the countryside and to the presence of more people, one might advance an equally convincing thesis that the discussion about capacity is more often than not a discussion about social change rather than environmental change. Capacity is after all what we care to make it.

The other pointer comes from Wagar's phase 'a balanced system of recreational opportunities'[13]. It is clear that most of the discussions of carrying capacity have concentrated on a particular site without reference to other sites in the vicinity and with the respective roles which each might play. In other words there is a confusion about management objectives often compounded by the fact that many of the recreation areas grant aided as country parks have a high conservation value also. Twenty six of the 143 country parks in England and Wales, for example contain either areas of Special Scientific Interest or are classified as either Grade I or II in the Nature Conservation Review[14].

Drawing an analogy with economic theory, capacity has been studied by the level of the firm (recreation sites) ignoring the implications for the industry (other sites in other areas of the countryside). Because the firms are not integrated into an industry, individual capacity limits for certain sites have been discussed (if never very effectively imposed) while ignoring the spill-over effects on to other sites, to the countryside in general, or with the implicit assumption that new sites could always be provided elsewhere. The confusion may have been compounded by a tendancy to focus on the conservation interest on a site which has ostensibly been set aside to provide for recreation.

A more sensible procedure would therefore appear to be to determine the management objectives for the site with regard to other sites in the vicinity while giving due regard to the conservation and the recreational values of resource. If the prime objectives are to be those of recreational management then one needs to determine acceptable limits of recreational use and acceptable limits of change (development) for the sites.

Value choices and technical decisions

Wagar also pointed out that carrying capacity 'tends to obscure an essential distinction between technical issues (involving what can be) and value choices (involving which of various possibilites ought to be), defining what is acceptable, is a value choice rather than a technical issue'. This distinction has been blurred in British recreation planning and we would do well to debate which issues are value choices and which are technical decisions. Any such discussion should take the point made by Lime and Stankey that 'decisions about how much change is to be accepted will be more viable and defensible if we know more about how people perceive and respond to changes in the physical environment'.

Perhaps the clearest statement of opinion on a 'value choice' that we have encountered comes from that founding father of the national park movement - William Wordsworth. In 1844 he wrote objecting to the proposed Kendal and Windermere railway[15]:

> "Having I trust given sufficient reason for the belief that the imperfectly educated classes are not likely to draw much good from rare visits to the Lakes performed in this way, and surely on their own account it is not desirable that the visits should be frequent, let us glance at the mischief that such facilities would certainly produce. The directors of railway companies are always ready to devise or encourage entertainments for tempting the humbler classes to leave their homes. Accordingly, the profit of the share-holders and that of the lower class of inn-keepers, we should have wrestling matches, horse and boat races without number, and pot-house and beef-shops would keep pace with these excitements and recreations, most of which might too easily be had elsewhere. The injury which would thus be done to morals, both among this influx of strangers and the lower class of inhabitants, is obvious; and, supposing with such extraordinary temptations not be be held out, there cannot be doubt that the Sabbath day in the towns of Bowness and Ambleside, and other parts of the district, would be subject to much additional desecration."

Hopefully our attitudes no longer coincide with his but at as least he was explicit. Let us not fudge that issue by dressing up opinion in the guise of scientific fact.

INTER-RELATIONSHIPS AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF A UNIFIED APPROACH

From the preceding review of approaches to recreational planning, with their range in scales of application and of conceptual background, it is possible to identify a series of considerations germane to the development of a recreational strategy. From an examination of these and from a consideration of their inter-relationships, it will, hopefully, be possible to see how far the main objectives stated in the Countryside Review Committee paper 'Leisure and the Countryside'[16] can be achieved. Paraphrasing, the main objectives given were:

a. To develop a recreational strategy in which sectional policies and objectives can be built into a total approach and set in the wider context of the general landuse pattern of the countryside.

b. To offer a range of planned and organised choices leading to a degree of self-regulation in dispersal of demand.

What components can we identify as building blocks for a strategy with these characteristics and at what scales should they operate? We recognise four such scales: national, regional, area (defined as a national geographical area such as a national park) and site scales.

Components and scales of application

Against the background of our general review and particular consideration of some important issues, Figure 1 attempts to order the measures and concepts involved in developing a recreational strategy. A distinction is made between basic measurements,

derived parameters and concepts, and the development and implementation of management plans. At the same time the figure gives an indication of the scale of application of the measures and of the considerations derived from them.

FIGURE 1

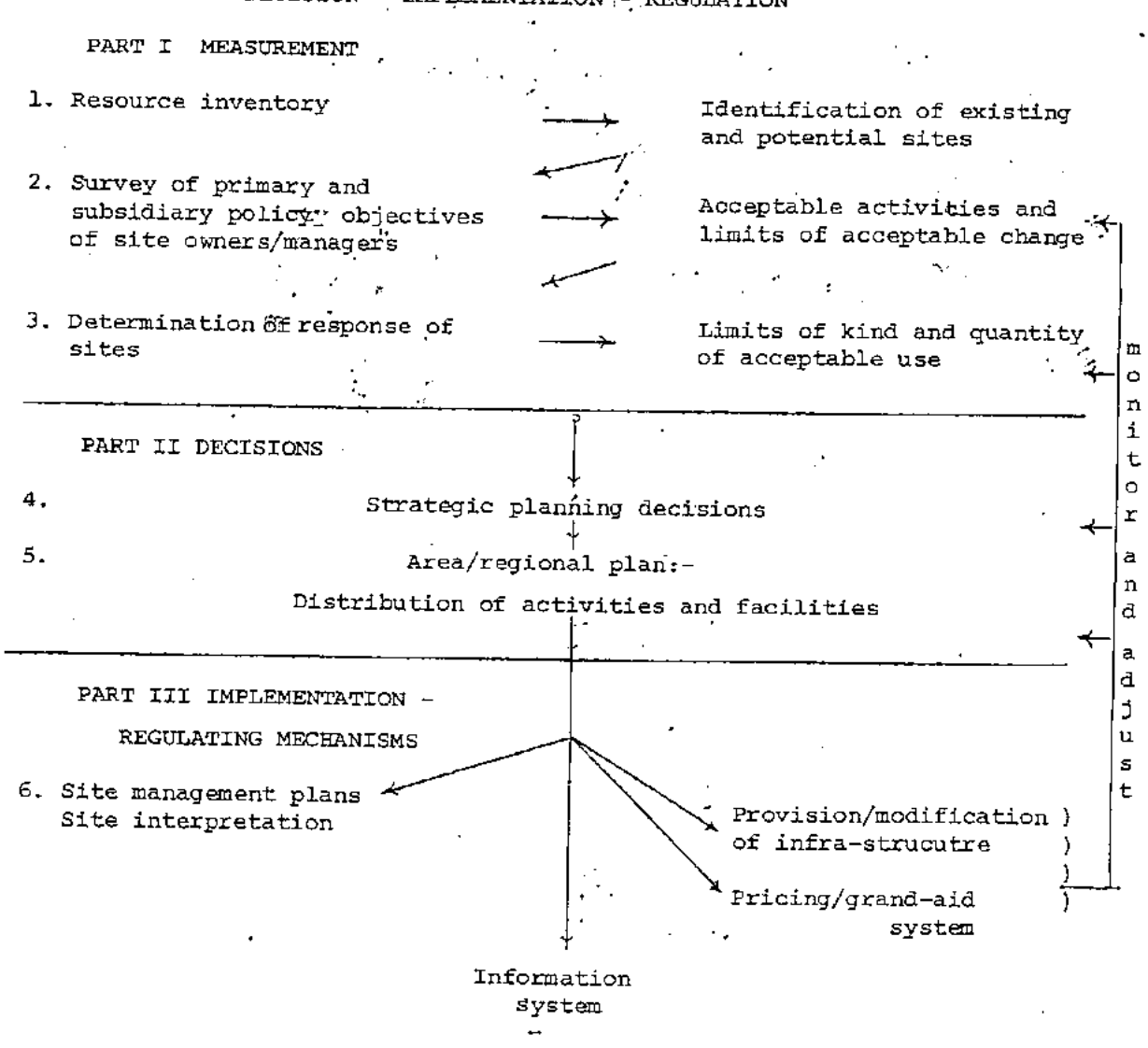
SUMMARY DIAGRAM - COMPONENTS FOR DEVELOPMENT OF A RECREATIONAL STRATEGY AND SCALES OF APPLICATION

Components	Scales			
	Site	Area	Regional	National
1. Survey				
A. Resource				
Number and distribution of sites		xx	x	?
Availability of sites (Ownership/ access)	xx	x		
Site characteristics	xx			
B. Demand				
Kinds of activities	xx	x		
Existing use rates	xx	x		
Potential demand		x	xx	xx
2. Experiment				
Response of site	xx			
Response of user	x	x	x	
Effects of management	xx	x		
3. Derived concepts & parameters				
Policies & objectives of managers (Environmental, Financial, Social)	xx	x	x	x
Levels of acceptable change	xx			
Levels of acceptable use	xx			
Operational strategies eg Concentrate/disperse	x	xx		
Inter-relationships between sites		xx		
Regional priorities			xx	
4. Management				
Overview of methodology/ monitoring of results			x	x
Physical management	x	x	x	
Behavioural management				
Pricing/grant	x			
Interpretation	x	x		
Information	x	x	x	x

Inter-relationships

Figure 2 proposes a set of inter-relationships between the components identified in Figure 1 and provides a basis for discussion from which we can explore how far the objectives indicated above (ie the development of an integrated approach and the self-regulation characteristic) can be achieved.

FIGURE 2



In developing the discussion, illustrations will be taken from two areas; the Gower Peninsula in South Wales and Kynance Cove on the Lizard Peninsula in Cornwall. Both of these provide readily identifiable units of manageable size. The illustrations are chosen to exemplify points of general interest and applicability rather than to develop particular case studies.

The basic parameters

Part I of Figure 2 illustrates the basic measurements and the quantitative parameters deriving directly from them. The Resource inventory has two components; a general survey of recreational resources at area or regional level and a series of surveys of the characteristics of particular sites. From the two scales of approach derives an identification of existing and potential sites. By themselves surveys of potential [illegible] recreational resources at these scales have little value in this country. They may have their place in the 'wilderness' of North America where development for recreation, or for any purpose, begin from a study of the innate characteristics and capabilities of the land surface. In Britain, however, we are dealing with assessment of what is practicable within the constraints of innate characteristics, historical development patterns of land use and access and the will of the site owner. In the absence of a positive land development plan, or its ultimate extension to land nationalisation, the last of these may assume overriding importance. The aspirations of individual owners and, of course, reinforced or counterbalanced by the policy objectives of local area or national institutions and agencies. Thus, a survey of policy objectives of site owners and managers assumes a critical importance in determining the kinds and extent of recreational activities which are acceptable at any site. For example, on a spectrum of primary landuses from wildlife conservation, through productive agriculture and forestry to intensive urban development will impose a range of levels of acceptable change. At one extreme it may be that the occurrence of a rare and interesting species will impose severe constraints, while at another extreme outdoor recreation itself will be the primary landuse and the limits of acceptable change may be determined solely in terms of the scenic attraction of the site. In between, the interests of productive agriculture and forestry will impose their own limitations on what is acceptable. This definition of limits of acceptable change is a prior requirement for any meaningful consideration of site capacities and it is the lack of such definition which has led to a good deal of unproductive discussion of the merits and demerits of the concept of site capacity.

However, given this degree of definition, it becomes a technical and experimental matter to determine what kinds and quantities of use are acceptable for any given site. It is at this stage that studies of site response become meaningful and can lead to determination of what may best be called the limits of acceptable use.

The kinds of measurements involved are shown in Figure 1. Having defined the limits of acceptable change, these need to be related quantitatively to kinds of activities and rates of use.

The required measurements are in terms of the number and distribution of people using a site, classified into various activities. By comparison between the state of different parts

of a site, or by comparison over a range of sites used at different intensities, it is possible to deduce some causal relationships between numbers of visitors and the state of the site. Relatively simple observations of this kind will only be applicable where there is a sharp seasonal peak in visitor numbers. Frequently however, where visitors are spread throughout the year, their impact on the site will be a complex interrelationship between several factors including the weather, soil water content, the seasonal cycle of the vegetation and the number of people. In these circumstances, experimental studies in which known numbers of people do specified things at a known season will be required. Such assessments are capable of providing data from which to quantify the acceptable levels of use; combined with assessments of potential demand at an area, regional or even national scale some indications of the kind and size of areas required for recreational use can be derived. Research in this field is in progress at various levels and in various places, but there is apparent need for closer integration between ecologically or resource orientated work at site level and sociologically or demand orientated work at area level and above.

Decisions

Within Part II of Figure 2 the role and methodology of the planning system become the crucial elements. It is not within the purpose of this paper to embark on a critique of the planning process - indeed it would be presumptuous to do so - but rather to indicate the most important considerations which should be taken into account. Earlier in the paper, we have discussed some of the critical issues and Figure 2 sets these in the context of an overall structured approach to planning and management for recreation. It is at this stage in the process that the realities of Sections 11 and 37 of the Countryside Act 1968 - which charge public bodies to have regard to nature conservation and conservation agencies to have regard to the economic and social interests - are tested.

Regulating mechanisms

More important in this discussion is the question of how to build into the implementation of recreational plans a set of operational devices which have an ability to regulate the [illegible] distribution and intensity of recreational use and so that the limits of acceptable change and use are not exceeded. Recreational use of a habitat lacks any inherent self-regulating mechanism.

Many natural populations strike a balance between the ability of the habitat to provide and the number of animals making a demand on that habitat. This balance is commonly achieved by the natural response of the birth and mortality rates to available food. Analogies with human recreation cannot readily be drawn although perhaps the birth rate may be related to recreational experience but in a way which exacerbates rather than diminishes the problem - positive rather than negative feedback!

There are many examples where the overall rate of use of a recreational asset is unrelated to the response of that asset to use. Although the site may cease to satisfy some specific user requirements it appears that other requirements remain satisfied long after deterioration in terms of destruction of vegetation and loss of soil have become severe. Frequently many people are unaware that they are contributing to site deterioration in this way. The required characteristic of a regulating mechanism for recreational use is that as intensity of use rate rises towards unacceptable levels, so there is a reaction amongst users which reduces their inclination to use the site before unacceptable damage is done either to the site or the quality of recreational experience. If such a mechanism exists at all, it is selective in the kinds of user interests it affects and is not readily related to the acceptable limits of recreational use determined in the light of policy objectives for the site.

In the absence of any innate regulating mechanism we must rely on management devices embodying a system of negative feedback loops which operate at relevant levels. Some possibilities are indicated in Part III of Figure 2 and lie with 4 kinds of approach. By examining these in turn, we may deduce something about their capabilities and limitation within the context outlined above.

Site management plans - Usually site management plans involve some degree of modification of the surface to increase its capacity and to direct users into particular places. Displays providing information about the site can often help to encourage people to conform to a pattern through an understanding of the responses of the site to use. The end result is a certain designed capacity which if exceeded, will lead to site damage. There will then be a choice for the site manager between seeking to impose some limits on access to the site - and this is frequently beyond his control - or embarking on further modifications to the site which may themselves constitute an unacceptable change. By themselves site management practices are usually limited to regulating the distribution of existing use within the site and do not generally provide a means of regulating overall levels of use. Any feedback component within the site tends to operate when excessive crowding begins to interfere with people's enjoyment. This occurs at a level of use which for many purposes is too high.

Infra-structure design Limits on the size of car parks, restricted parking on access roads and control over availability of accommodation have all been used to limit the number of people arriving at a site. There is here the required feedback component operating through the physical difficulty of getting to a site. However, the system operates in only a limited way and its effect is commonly to create frustrating traffic jams and uncontrolled dispersal on a more or less random basis. There is clearly an unacceptable loss in the quality of recreational experience. At best such a system can limit the use of a site to acceptable levels but at worst it creates unwelcome traffic-jams merely transferring the problem from site to area level.

Pricing mechanisms Regulation by price is potentially an effective system. Manipulation of the price of accommodation, site entrance fees and charges for facilities through surcharges or grants can have the desired characteristics of control of use rates and dispersal over a range of opportunities. There is, however, a lag-time while people assess charges which can lead to a degree of chaos. Its use also has some undesirable connotations in the light of the widely accepted need to encourage recreational opportunities. Our understanding of control by pricing mechanisms is inadequate and this is an area for further research.

Information systems Of the four mechanisms examined, information appears to be the one most likely to provide an effective and generally acceptable regulating mechanism which operates at all the required levels. It is possible to conceive of a system which will provide information about the level of use at site, area and regional level, indicating when areas are reaching acceptable limits or where they are under-used. It is not difficult to envisage centres in the large towns giving up to date information of this kind so that, as suggested by the Countryside Review Committee paper, the populace can indeed be offered a range of planned and organised choices leading to an optimum dispersal of demand.

In a well planned recreational strategy, none of these mechanisms will operate in isolation. There will, of course, be a need for an integration of all levels of planning into a unified approach, but information systems operating up to at least regional level appear to be the only ones capable of providing ultimate control. Controls applied at any other level merely shift the problems progressively up to the area scale.

The main thesis of this paper is that proper survey of resources and activities combined with measurement and experimental study of site response leading to well founded management plans incorporating effective regulating mechanisms, will enable the countryside to accept substantial increases in recreational use without damage to its characteristics.

However, there must be a limit to the numbers of people which can be absorbed in the countryside and we cannot burke the conclusion that, as with any other landuse, there will be a stage when expansion of recreational use will require a reduction in either the intensity of scale of other uses. It is not possible to foresee when this stage will be reached but when or if it is, some hard choices will have to be made.

The testing of the hypotheses advanced in the paper must be a major research field in recreational planning for the next few years. What now seems to be required is the selection of a series of study areas covering a range of recreational uses where appropriate technology can be developed and the principles outlined above tested in practice.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The authors are indebted to David Joyce for his work on the review of National Park and Heritage Coast Plans and other site studies which form the appendix. The footnotes refer to a detailed set of references which are obtainable from the authors on request.

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APPENDIX

PRESSURES ON NATIONAL PARKS IN ENGLAND AND WALES

NATIONAL PARK	CLIMBING	ACTIVITY - FORMAL CAVING/POTHOLING	HIKING/HILL WALKING
BRECON BEACONS	Main sites used:- Mynydd Llangattock, Morlcus, Craig y Ddinos, Twynau Gwynion. Erosion, congestion occurring. [1]	Main sites used:- Llangattock, Porth yr Ogof, Little Neath Valley, Ogof y Ci. Deterioration of caves; congestion erosion of path occurring. [2]	40% of Park de facto access. Erosion occurring: Offas Dyke, Hay Bluff; Ridge linking Y Dos-Waun Fach; Pen y Fan. [3]
DARTMOOR	Surface erosion on approach and descent routes, particularly Dewerstone. Surface damage due to artificial aids. Overcrowding at Dewerstone and Hay Tor. [101]	Over-use and damage at Pridhamsleigh Refuse tipping at Bakers Pit. [102]	Erosion occuring in certain locations. [103]
EXMOOR	Not mentioned	Not Mentioned	Erosion occuring on Dunkery and Tarr Steps. [12]
LAKE DISTRICT	'Rock climbing is also heavily concentrated in the central areas of the Park, but this largely reflects the accessibility and distribution of the crags ... and at times the more accessible faces in Borrowdale and Langdale are thronged with climbers' [20]	Not mentioned	Mainly concentrated on more rugged central fells, and certain routes on them. eg Helvellyn. Erosion of paths in Langdales. Most popular activity on the fells is walking. [21]
NORTHUMBERLAND	3 main areas: Crag Lough/Peel Rocks; Simonside/ Ravenshaugh; Henhole/Bizzle. No problems. [30]	Not mentioned	Most popular areas: Cheviot and Simonside Hills, Roman Wall area. Some sections Pennine Way and Cheviot Summit particularly boggy, difficult to negotiate. [31]
NORTH YORK MOORS	Mainly NW scarp area, plus north of park. No problems of overuse. Car parking problem at Scugdale. [40]	Not mentioned.	Lower areas of park, paths more concentrated, 10-20% impossible. Upland areas for high proportion impossible, or very difficult to walk. [41]
PEAK DISTRICT	Most intensively used areas: Eastern edges, limestone dales, Roaches, Hen Cloud, Hamshaw Rocks Windgather Access, habitat disturbance and parking problems. [91]	Major concentration of caves in:- Castleton area, Dovedale/Manifold/ Crowdecote area. Access problem, and some physical damage. [92]	Problems of disturbance to local farmers. Path erosion occurring: paths across peat blanket, paths in popular areas eg Dovedale; Pennine Way ; Winnats Pass; Mam Tor suffering from visitor pressure. [93]
PEMBROKESHIRE	In the North, major areas: St Davids Head - Penllechwen, and Ramsey Island. In the South, major areas: Lydstep point. Disturbance of habitat, physical damage. [47]	Most of known natural caves exist along south coast between Linney Head - Trewent Point. Major impact disturbance of wild-life. [43]	Problem of footpath system being outdated - hard to follow in places. No specific examples.
SNOWDONIA	Most popular and accessible routes on Glyderau, Snowdon massifs and Tremadog rocks. Problems of parking congestion, and removals of habitat on climbs. [92]	Not mentioned	Greatest amount of footpath erosion occurs in following areas: i) Snowdon ii) Glyder iii) Cader Idris. Localised footpath erosion problems. Aran range, South Rhinogydd, Moelwynion, Moel Siabod, Moel Hebog and Mynydd Mawr.
YORKSHIRE DALES	Number of popular crags eg Malham Gordale, Kilnsey. Access problems May be problems of pollution, litter damage. [92]	Most important caving area in GB. Northern part important. Problems of access, litter pollution. [93]	Popular lengths of the Pennine Way paths in Three Peaks and Malham areas, and along certain rivers (eg Wharfedale) are subject to erosion. [94]

NATIONAL PARK	PONY TREKKING	INTENSIVE EQUESTRIAN ACTIVITIES	HUNTING/SHOOTING
BRECON BEACONS	Major problem in Black Mountain area:- Wear of tracks, lack of bridleways, congestion at the few available halts. 4	Not mentioned	Not mentioned
DARTMOOR	Bridleway over-use. Competition for grazing. Relationships with landowners, commoners. 104	Not mentioned	Not mentioned
EXMOOR	Takes place:- Brendon Valley, Porlock, Wootton Courtney, Wheddon Cross, Exford, Withypool, Tarr Steps, Anstley Common, Minehead. Well suited to National Park. 13	Not mentioned	Kennels at:- Simonsbath, Exford, Withypool, Timberscombe, near Dunster, Dulverton
LAKE DISTRICT	About 20 centres in the Park, mainly in the South East. Problem of fragmented bridleway system, some problems due to horses 'churning up' paths. 21	Not mentioned	Not mentioned
NORTHUMBERLAND	4 centres: 3 in North Tyne valley 1 near Kidland Forest No problems. 32	Not mentioned	Simonside Hills, Hareshaw Common, High Green; Wark, Redesdale, Kidland Forests. Fox-hunting in south and middle sections of park.
NORTH YORK MOORS	No problems stated.	No problems stated.	Packs at Bilsdale, Sinnington, Derwent, Farrdale, Goathland, Glaisdale, Stainthdale, Saltersgate. Probelms due to spectators.
PEAK DISTRICT	6 centres in Park: Rushup, Edale, Dore, Curbar, Monyash, Thorpe Some problem of 'churning up' footpath eg Tissington Trail. Problem of fragmented bridleway network. 54	Not mentioned	Main hunts in High Park, and Holme Valley. Some problems of churning. Shooting on moors mainly north of Edale Valley. Causes no apparent problems.
PEMBROKESHIRE	Serious problem of erosion in Preseli Hills. Regarding long distance riding, relatively little known about impact on environment. 15 centres. 70	Located mainly in south of Park. NPAs knowledge of impact very scant. 71	Rough shooting widespread. Some local over exploitation. 72
SNOWDONIA	27 centres in, near to Park. Majority of trekking in the valleys and lowlands. Maintenance required on certain stretches of bridleway, eg Capel Curig, Cum Crafnant, Capel Curig-Dolwyddelen 93	Not mentioned.	Not mentioned.
YORKSHIRE DALES	Not mentioned	Not mentioned	Reath, Arkengarthdale, Gunnersdale, Bolton Abbey Moors. Fox hounds most of area. Some problems resulting from access for public. 95

NATIONAL PARK	CYCLING	HANG GLIDING	GLIDING
BRECON BEACONS	Not mentioned	Main site Hay Bluff. Problems due to numbers of spectators eg congestion. 5	Not mentioned.
DARTMOOR	Not mentioned	Safety. Spectator attraction causing problems. 105	Not mentioned
EXMOOR	Not mentioned	North East of Porlock. No problems 15	Not mentioned
LAKE DISTRICT	Not mentioned	Blencathra, Skiddaw, Black Combe, Red Scree, Great Gable. No problems at present levels of use. 73	Not mentioned
NORTHUMBERLAND	No apparent problems. 34	Not mentioned.	Not mentioned
NORTH YORK MOORS	No apparent problems. 45	Saltersgate, Levisham Moor, Carlton Bank, Sutton Bank, congestion problems due to spectators 44	Sutton Bank Carlton Bank Main problem road congestion.
PEAK DISTRICT	Central and Southern parts of Peak District, between Hope Valley and Dovedale probably most widely used. Heavy motor traffic problem. 58	Mainly in SW of Park. 11 widely used sites Some problems due to spectators, but action taken (eg no flying on Sunday afternoons) 69	Great Hucklow, Morridge. Very few problems. Possible problems due to spectators parking.
PEMBROKESHIRE	Not mentioned	Little or no impact upon the environment. 73	Not mentioned
SNOWDONIA	Not mentioned	No problems stated. 94	Not mentioned
YORKSHIRE DALES	Not mentioned	Not mentioned	Not mentioned

NATIONAL PARK	MOTOR VEHICLE ACTIVITIES	FIELD STUDY/EDUCATION	SAILING/BOATING
BRECON BEACONS	Localised problems in Black Mountains. Wear of tracks, noise trespass. 6	All main areas of Park used. Impact not known. 7	Sites:- Llangorse Lake, Pontsticill reservoir. No apparent problems.
DARTMOOR	Problems of:- noise, safety, spectator attraction, surface erosion, public nuisance. 106		Landscape objections to requirements for store and rescue facilities at Meldon. Landscape/access objections to possible sailing use at Burrator and Kennick. 107
EXMOOR	No specific sites mentioned for car rallying - local clubs only allowed. Scrambling south of Brompton Regis. 16	Centres:- South of Lynmouth, Exmoor Forest Brendon Valley, Porlock, Selworthy, Exford, Withypool. 17	Sites:- Lynmouth, Porlock Bay, Minehead.
LAKE DISTRICT	Motor cyclists on Esk House, summits of Blencathra, Catbells, Dow Crag, Helvellyn 'Growing problem'. 24	Problems of mountain safety. 25	Boating on substantial scale, on Bassenthwaite Lake, Coniston Water, Derwent Water, Ullswater, Windermere. Boat houses, moorings, jetties, distract from visual quality of landscape.
NORTHUMBERLAND	Wark Forest. Problem of noise, disturbance, from non-approved rallies. 35	Problems can arise, but no specific references. 36	Private club at Greenlee Lough.
NORTH YORK MOORS	Widely used for car rallies - major events spectators cause more problems. Problems of noise 42	50 centres. Wide distribution, but especially along Eskdale, South East Forested areas and Farndale. Problems with other visitors due to 'rowdy parties'. 49	Boating:- Inland at Scaling Dam. Sea at Boulby, Port Mulgrave, Sandsend, Whitby, Runswick. Conflicts with other activities very few.
PEAK DISTRICT	Motor rallying, no serious problems. Trail riding, motor cycling: Problems due to noise, spectator parking. Conflict with other path users. 61	Mainly Edale, Hope Valleys. No problems stated. 62	Sailing:- Redbrook, Dove Stone, Errwood, Bottoms and Damflask reservoirs. Some problems due to spectators, congestion, also distrubance of wildlife. 63
PEMBROKESHIRE	Usually at abandoned airfields, and occasional extensive rallies in the Park. Problems of noise, erosion, traffic generation. 74	2 centres, plus many unrecorded visits. Potential rather than current problems of degeneration of sites. 75	Around most of coast. Problems due to people wanting sea access at same time. Build up of traffic and boats. Causes annoyance to other users. 76
SNOWDONIA	Grassy slopes of certain uplands. eg Carneddau and Moel Eilia. Problems of erosion and noise. 85	Not mentioned	Llyn Tegid main sailing lake. Some congestion on approach roads. Also Pensam, Aberdyfi, Llandanwg, Talybont, Llwyngwril. Outside Park at Barmouth, Porthmadog. 86
YORKSHIRE DALES	No details of actual routes, sites. Generally well controlled, but noise problems. 96	Not mentioned.	Lake Semerwater. No conflicts at present. 97

NATIONAL PARK	CANOEING	SURF CANOEING, SURFING	SUB AQUA
BRECON BEACONS	Main sites: River Wye, Llangorse Lake, Monmouthshire and Brecon Canal, River Usk. Access problem. 9	Not mentioned	Not mentioned.
DARTMOOR	Conflict with fishing and riparian interests on rivers. Damage and trespass on river banks. 108	Not mentioned.	Not mentioned
EXMOOR	Not mentioned	Not mentioned	Not mentioned
LAKE DISTRICT	Generally unable to gain access to main rivers. 17	Not mentioned	No problems mentioned
NORTHUMBERLAND	Coquet, North Tyne and Reda rivers. Access problems 39	Not mentioned	Not mentioned
NORTH YORK MOORS	Numbers low because of unsuitable waters. Mainly lower reaches of River Esk. 51	Not mentioned	Not mentioned
PEAK DISTRICT	Little use made of area, because of access problems. 64	Not mentioned	No recognised sites at present. No apparent problems at present. 66
PEMBROKESHIRE	Not mentioned	Poppit Sands, Newport, Pwllgwaelad, Abermawr, Abereiddy, Whitsand, Newgate, Broad and Little Haven, Marloes, W Dale, Freshwater West, Manorbier. Problems of conflicts, congestion, camping, small scale though. 77	Around most of Pembrokeshire coast. Problems of overcrowding, congestion at most popular sites. Over collecting of marine flora, fauna.
SNOWDONIA	Certain stretches of Conwy, Dee Lledr, Glasnant, Mawddach, Glaslyn, Llugwy. Main problem access. 87	Meiricnnydd coast off Harlech, Dyffryn, Talybant beaches. At times conflicts with other beach users. 89	Mainly off Llyn, Menai, Man coas Also Llynnau, Treusfyndd, Celyn, Glaslyn, Melynllyn, Cwmsilyn, Mymbyr, Dulyn and Tregis. No apparent problems. 89
YORKSHIRE DALES	Lake Semerwater. No apparent problems. 98	Not mentioned	Not mentioned

NATIONAL PARK	FISHING	WATER SKIING/SPEAD BOATING
BRECON BEACONS	R Usk. 16 reservoirs, Monmouthshire and Brecon Canal, Llangorse Lake - important sites. No serious problems at present time. 10	Confined to Llangorse Lake. Conflict with other users. 11
DARTMOOR	Damage to fisheries and fishing sites with easy access. Parking/traffic generation problems at Kennick/ Tottiford/Trenchford Reservoirs, and other sites. Conflict with canoeing 109	Not mentioned
EXMOOR	Rivers fished:- Farley Water, East Lynn, Exe, Barle, and Porlock Bay. No apparent problems. 19	Not mentioned
LAKE DISTRICT	No specific sites given. Problem of over-fishing on some sites though. 28	Bassenthwaite Lake, Coniston Water Derwent Water, Ullswater, Windermere. Traffic congestion Howton Bay (Ullswater) plus noise. Problems of noise for other Lakes. 29
NORTHUMBERLAND	Significant areas best examples:- R Coquet from Rothbury to Alwinton, N Tyne from Fallstone to Bellingham, Lower reaches of Rede. No apparent problems. 39	Not mentioned
NORTH YORK MOORS	Sea fishing, main sites:- Staithes, Runswick, Sandsend, Whitby, Robin Hoods Bay. Freshwater:- All major rivers and reservoirs, and lakes. No apparent problems. 52	Not mentioned.
PEAK DISTRICT	Dove, Derwent, Manifold, Lathkill, Dare, Noe Rivers and 9 reservoirs 66	Not mentioned
PEMBROKESHIRE	Takes place off most of coast. Problems of launching boats (see Sailing/Boating).	Main sites include: Broadhaven, Whitesands, Little Haven. Conflicts with other users. 80
SNOWDONIA	Shore based, main centres:- Machras, Llanfair, Llangelynin. Sea based:- From Aberdyfi. May be overfishing. 90	Main centre Aberdyfi, also Llyn Geirionyydd - considerable problems here. Conflict with other users, and problem of access along narrow road. 91
YORKSHIRE DALES	Malham Tarn, Lake Semerwater. No conflict at present. 99	Lake Semerwater. No conflicts are present. 100

ACTIVITY - INFORMAL

NATIONAL PARK	CAMP SITE PROVISION				
	GENERAL	STATIC CARAVANS	TOURING CARAVANS	TENTED CAMPING	CHALETS
BRECON BEACONS	1	156 official static only pitches, and 127 static or touring pitches	351 official touring only pitches 127 static or touring pitches	Information limited but Campling Club say 18 sites, 5 listed in National Park leaflets.	Currently no sites in National Park
DARTMOOR	Main conc of sites: SE side - Bovey Tracey to Bittaford; West side - (fewer) North - Okehampton Whiddon Down. 2	W Devon area 94% use, S Hams area 73% use, Teignbridge area 80% use. Problem of caravan form being alien to landscape.	W Devon area 76% use, S Hams area 84% use. Teignbridge area 93% use. Problem of traffic congestion, unauthorised parking.	W Devon area 71% use, S Hams area 64% use. Teignbridge area 83% use. Problems of traffic congestion from motorised campers.	No apparent problem
EXMOOR	3	Demand greater than supply.	Demand greater than supply. Problem of unauthorised parking.	Demand greater than supply.	No apparent problems
LAKE DISTRICT	Main conc of sites: Windermere, Grasmere, Derwent Water, Keswick, Ullswater 4	Approx 56,000 static pitches. Problem of intruding on visual quality of landscape. Overuse in summer.	Approx 1400 pitches. Problems of unauthorised parking, litter, public health problems. Congestion problems.	2000 licensed sites; 1500 unlicensed sites. Generally not as obtrusive as caravans. Unauthorised camping problems at peak times.	Can be obtrusive, but preferable to caravans.
NORTHUMBERLAND	Main conc of sites:- Wooler, Rothbury, Otterburn, Bellingham Haltwhistle, Hexham 5	Problem of finding sites in Roman Wall area. No major problems of visual intrusion.	Some problem of finding sites in Roman Wall area. No major problems of visual intrusion.	Problems in finding sites in Roman Wall area, and rest of Park No major problems of visual intrusion.	Some problems of finding accommodation in all areas of park.
NORTH YORK MOORS	Over 7,000 pitches 65% of all pitches in coastal protection area 6	Problem of visual intrusion. NPA think pressure will grow in the future.	From 3 sites in coastal area, appears demand exceeds supply at Bank Holidays and most of July/August. Problems of visual intrusion; only limited number roads suited for touring vans; Unauthorised parking.	Because of exemptions, no reliable information	Very little interest, virutally no information
PEAK DISTRICT	84 caravan/camp sites. Conc mainly in Edale, Hope, Derwent valleys, and Dove/Manifold area 7	Problem of visual intrusion into landscape. Use above permitted levels occurring.	32 sites touring only. 24 sites touring & tents only. Problem of visual intrusion into landscape. Use above permitted levels occurring.	24 sites touring vans and tents only. Use above permitted levels occurring. Problem of visual intrusion into landscape.	No apparent problem
PEMBROKESHIRE	Main conc sites: Dinas Head, St Davids Head, St Bridas Bay, Tenby 8	Demand equals supply. Problem of visual intrusion into landscape.	Demand greater than supply. Problems of visual intrusion into landscape; unauthorised parking.	Demand greater than supply. Problems of visual intrusion into landscape.	Social damage to local communities if numbers great enough
SNOWDONIA	Main conc along Meirionyydd coast Harlech le Talybont Llwyngwril Aberdyfi 9	Problem of visual intrusion, especially in coastal area between Harlech and Llanaber	Some problems of visual intrusion, but generally fairly well absorbed into landscape. Problem of overnight parking:- Synchnent Pass, Mymbyr Pass, Mawddach, Bala and most laybys.	Problems of visual intrusion with twild camping; some hygiene problems.	Problems of visual intrusion with landscape especially at Bronaber site.
YORKSHIRE DALES	No comprehensive schedule for park as whole. 10	Approx 1100 pitches Demand greater than supply. Problems of overcrowding.	Approx 330 pitches. In peak season up to 82% short fall in pitches, problems overcrowding. Also unauthorised parking. Only certain road suitable for touring vans.	Impossible to estimate because of exemptions, but probably demand greater than supply for most of season. Problems of overcrowding.	Some visual intrusion from building styles but no specific reference to chalets.

National Park	ACTIVITY - INFORMAL RECREATIONAL MOTORING AND GENERAL SIGHT-SEEING
	"The sites chosen for the survey were intended to provide an adequate and representative cover of the informal recreation outlets in the National Park, although it appears in retrospect that more attention should have been directed to sites in towns and villages."[11]
BRECON BEACONS	Following places experience concentrations of visitors causing problems, eg traffic congestion, physical wear and tear: A470 Storey Arms; Talybont/Taf-Fechan; Mountain Centre; Pen-y-Fan; Black Mts (Hay Bluff, Llangorse Lake); Blorenge/Myndd Llangynedr; Usk Valley and waterways; Ystradfellow/Coed y Rhaiadr.[12]
DARTMOOR	Majority of major sites fairly closely related to roads capable of handling traffic generated. Notable exceptions Teign Gorge, Fenworthy and Dart Valley plus "the more general problem of vehicles using routes which are not suited to accommodate them". Causes problems of congestion.[13][14]
EXMOOR	"Both roads and vehicles are of varied sizes. The problem is to achieve a match between the two so that large vehicles do not attempt to use narrow country lanes."[15] Areas meriting most study:- Valley of East Lynn and its tributaries, from Rockford to Hookway Hill; Hunters Inn, Woody Bay, Martinhoe area; Dunkery Beacon, Webber's Post, Cloutsham Valley area.[16]
LAKE DISTRICT	"Precise figures to demonstrate these trends (recreation growth, change in activity) statistically are not easy to find but some facts and indications are available."[17] Congestion at Great Langdale, Little Langdale, Blea Tam+, Wrynose, Hardnott Passes+; Duddon Valley+; Lorton, Buttermere+; Borrowdale+; Watendlath+; Ullswater AS 92+; Martindale+; Kirkstone Pass+; Sodgill+; areas with parking problem marked+. Wasdale - erosion of parking areas. Kentmere parking problem in village.[18]
NORTHUMBERLAND	Roman Wall area can normally cope with visitor levels, at peak times, except summer and spring bank holidays. Problem of not enough stopping places in North Tyne Valley, especially regarding through visitors. Some conflict with farmers in Breamish Valley from a number of people.[19]
NORTH YORK MOORS	Areas with greatest visitor use: the coast; Eskdale; certain 'honeypot' villages; certain accessible viewpoints on main roads eg Sutton Bank, Hole of Horcum. However, NPA say that in general there is no undue congestion at any one place.[20]
PEAK DISTRICT	"Recreation traffic leads to severe problems of congestion and over-use in many areas, particularly weekends and in the summer months."[21] Most popular stopping points: Dovedale/Manifold area; Castleton/Edale; Chatsworth; Derwent Reservoir; Bakewell; Longshaw. In White Peak area, greatest concentration of parked vehicles outside Bakewell were in most popular villages, eg Harlington, Winster, Monyash. Outside villages unofficial parking near features of interest: Arbow Low Stone Circle, Coniksbury Bridge, Monsal Head, Cressbrook Dale, Robin Hood's Stride.[22]

PRESSURES ON HERITAGE COASTS IN ENGLAND AND WALES

HERITAGE COAST	ACTIVITY		
	FORMAL	INFORMAL	CARAVANNING/CAMPING
SUFFOLK	Sailing, associated water sport, sea angling main activities in this category. 'For water-bourne sports, limitations are created by too many people wanting to get out on the rivers at too few locations, in too small a place.' Over-crowding occurs both on water, and on shore. [1] Conflict between various activities and conservation, eg water skiing in the upper reaches of the Alde Estuary. [2]	The two most common pursuits are:- 1. Walking 2. Car-borne sightseeing. Walking and field studies cause disturbance of wildlife, and also erosion of cliff top paths, eg between Iken and Snape. Pleasure motoring is probably the largest single recreational activity. During summer, all car parks full, and indiscriminate parking at:- Shingle St, Thorpeness, Walberswick, and Bawdsey, which is a major problem causing congestion, visual intrusion, damage to verges and nuisance to farmers and residents. The Councils list 15 sites as being under 'recreational pressure'. [3]	Static caravan sites mainly at Southwold, Walberswick, Dunwich, Thorpeness and Aldeburgh. Implied problem of visual intrusion. Indiscriminate caravanning on shoreline and heathland, eg Bawdsey East Lane, Orford. Aldeburgh, and the Thorpeness to Aldeburgh Road and heathlands inland from Dunwich to Walberswick. [4]
GLAMORGAN	Of little importance. Most of coast not suitable for water based activities. [5]	Concentrated in a few intensively used sites. Activities include beach use, walking and picnicking. The main concentrations of visitors occur at Newton, Ogmore-by-Sea, Dunraven (Southern Down), Nash Point and Col-huw-Beach (Llantwit Major). In 1974 Survey, only Ogmore and Dunraven car parks neared capacity, and the peaks were only short lived. [6]	Only static caravans present, and these at:- Southern Down, Nash Point, Ogmore-Sea, Llantwit Major, Limpert Bay. Problems of visual intrusion. [7]
NORFOLK	Sailing concentrated at harbours with sheltered water behind Scolt Head and Blakeney Point, Brancaster Staithe, Overy Staithe, Morsten and Blakeney Point. Some congestion problems in Overy Marshes. [8]	Holme, Brancaster, Holkham (Lady Anne's Drive), Wells, Cley and Salthouse attract considerable numbers of holiday makers and day visitors. Problems of erosion and/or disturbance of wildlife at Holme Beach, Brancaster Marsh, Holkham Meals, Wells Beach. [9]	Static caravans 70% total accommo Touring caravans 13% total accomm Tents 10% total accommodation. Blak and Wells main sites for static caravans. Problems of visual intrusion. [10]
NORTH YORKS/ CLEVELAND	Sailing from Scarborough, Whitby, Saltburn, Runswick Bay, Sandsend, also Skinningrove, Staithes, Port Mulgrave and Robin Hood's Bay. Angling, both off-shore and onshore widespread horse-riding from stables at Saltburn, Robin Hood's Bay, Stoupe Brow, Ravenscar and Cloughton. [11]	Majority of visitors concentrated at a limited number of points. Problems of inadequate access and car parking at:- Boggle Hole, Stoupe Beck Sands, Hayburn Wyke and Cloughton Wyke, (peak times only). Beaches of Saltburn, Runswick Bay, Sandsend and Robin Hood's Bay, particularly heavily used. Walkers causing erosion on Cleveland Way. Robin Hood's Bay area, footpaths extensively used, otherwise walkers few. [12]	In 1975 there were 4013 caravan pitc on or near the heritage coast. 70% were for static caravans. 27% were for touring caravans. [13] Caravans, 'Often have an unfortu impact upon the landscape, partic in the area to the south of Whit
PURBECK	Boating from Studland, Kimmeridge, Lulworth - very extensive use of inshore waters. Angling from accessible beaches, and off-shore diving from Kimmeridge, Lulworth Cove (main bases)- heavily visited by leisure divers. For water recreation in general, certain conflicts of use occur eg at Studland, between water skiing and bathing. Climbing from Anvil Point to St Albans Head. Disturbance of wildlife. [15]	Traffic congestion is aggravated at morning and evening peak times. Serious congestion at Studland during summer months. Tourist industry creates many planning and management problems. Visitors tend to concentrate at specific locations. Intensive use areas:- Studland Beach, Lulworth Cove and Durdle Door (both areas approx 500,000 visitors pa). Medium intensive use areas:- Shell Bay, Kimmeridge, Durlsten Country Park, Tyneham, Ringstead, Osmington Mills (25,000-150,000 visitors pa). [16]	In summer demand exceeds supply. Concentrated mainly at Swanage, Durdle Door, Osmington Mills and Ringstead. Policy to allow development in certa areas, restrict it in others, depe whether visual character of area adversely affected or not. [17]

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PEMBROKE-SHIRE	Traffic congestion is "acute in many areas of the National Park in summer holiday months when saturation of the countryside in the SE sector of the park, especially by caravans and tents, and the general traffic to the beaches and beach car parks, causes particular congestion."[23] Also informal and unofficial parking on roadside verges and common land is a problem in many dispersed sites."[24]
SNOWDONIA	"Most of the problems associated with informal recreation derive from the usage of an area by holiday makers beyond the ability of that area to absorb visitors. This may result in damage to the physical environment or congestion or a combination of these factors."[25] Congestion at certain points, notably Barmouth, Porthmadog Cob,[25] Conwy, Dolgellau, plus other cases. Parking also a problem. Occurs at: Synchnant Pass, Ergian and Cowlyd Valleys, Llyn Mymbyr, Dolgellau, Lyn Cwellyn, Llyn Gwynant, Minffordd Mawddury.[26]
YORKSHIRE DALES	Villages and sensitive countryside areas are two types of locality where problems occur. Heavy use at peak times creates local traffic problems, eg A6160 Bolton Abbey - Kettlewell Road, Malham-Dambrook-Arncliffe Road, Barden-Appletree Wick Road. Main parking areas: Aysgarth, Semerwater, Malham, Kettlewell, Grassington, Bumsall, Bolton Abbey.[27]

VISITS TO SPECIFIC SITES

BRECON BEACONS	For sites with available information, most popular sites include: Mountain Centre, Brecon, Abergavenny, Llandovery, Brecon WTB Caravan (all information centres) and Dan yr Ogof Caves, Carreg Cennen Castle, Tretower Coast.[28]
DARTMOOR	91% of all sites with over 10 cars experience problems of one kind or another, eg visual intrusion of car park, erosion by cars and people. Sites to be managed for intensive use are: Roborough Down/Shaugh Bridge/Cordover Bridge/Bedford Bridge group; Haytor/Widecombe/Hound Tor/Becka Falls group; Dart Valley from Huccaby to Buckfastleigh; Teign Gorge from Mill End to Steps Bridge, Burrator Forest reservoir, Bellever Forest.[29]
EXMOOR	Special areas ('honeypots'): Hunters Inn, Wichpool Common, Lynton, Lynmouth, Brendon Valley, Porlock, North Hill; Dunster; Dunkery Beacon, Tarr Steps, Winsford Hill. The NP Committee say that the Park is "not under such intensive visitor pressure as some National Parks but does have too many visitors in a few places in the peak season."[30]
LAKE DISTRICT	Ravenglass and Eskdale Railway, Lowther Wildlife Country Park, Brockhole all attract over 100,000 visitors p.a. Dover Cottage, Hill Top, Grounds of Muncaster Castle all attract 50 - 100,000 visitors p.a., Tarn Howes over 500,000 visitors p.a. The Board thinks it advantageous to designate conservation areas in rural settlements. First priority: the Board will concentrate on the following settlements: Ambleside, Askham, Hawkshead, Hartsop and Ravenglass.[31]

VISITS TO SPECIFIC SITES contd.

NORTHUMBERLAND	Most used sites are those in Roman Wall area: Housesteads, Vindolanda, Cawfields, Stell Rigg, Once Brewed. Can cope at peak times except on infrequent occasions.[32]
NORTH YORK MOORS	With the exception of the Northern Coastal area, the popular locations tend to be specific sites. Locations include: Runswick Bay, Robin Hood's Bay, Goathland, Hutton le Hole, Helmsley, Sheepwash, Thornton Dale, Staithes, Sutton Bank, Leatholm, Grosmont[33]
PEMBROKESHIRE	Information regarding number of visitors is scarce, but St. David's Bishop Palace, Lamphy Palace, Tenby Museum are popular sites.[35]
PEAK DISTRICT	Problems due to parking and congestion in number of Park settlements, eg Hartington, Edale, Thorpe, Ilam, and also Castleton, Baslow, Bakewell and Ashford.[34]
SNOWDONIA	"There are few sites therefore amongst the hundreds of recreational attractions in Snowdonia where the extent of usage is known. However, it is possible as the result of counts undertaken... to estimate the relative recreation usage of informal recreation sites and zones in the National Park."[36] By doing so, the following order of importance of type of site emerged: towns and villages; major beauty spots, lesser beauty spots; minor sites.[37]
YORKSHIRE DALES	Villages on popular routes suffer from problems, eg. Kettlewell, Burnsall, Grassington.[38]

COMMENTARY : INFORMAL RECREATION

1. The division of informal recreation activities into (1) recreational motoring and general sightseeing, and (2) visits to a specific site may seem too arbitrary, as a recreational motoring trip usually involves a stop at a specific site. However, it is useful to try to see which specific sites are visited by motorists and any resultant problems. Also, although the majority of recreational trips are by car, other forms of transport are used.

2. The problem of accommodation provision is common to all National Parks. The main effect is one of visual intrusion into the landscape.

Touring caravans are liable to cause congestion, especially on minor roads. Comprehensive information for accommodation provision in the National Park is not available because of the number of exempted organisations (eg Caravan Club) and because of the '28-day rule'.

3. Information regarding the number of visitors to the various sites within a National Park is also incomplete. Both the Snowdonia National Park Committee, and the Brecon Beacons National Park Committee make reference to this. (Informal Recreation, references 11 and 36).

As a result, it is difficult to see if informal or formal sites attract the most visitors. It is also difficult to see which is subject to greater recreational pressures, if any.

DISCUSSION

E.K. Parnell

Well, it would obviously have needed much more time for those two speakers to do justice to the written paper. A most powerful demonstration of the need for an ecological input, not only to the local planning process, but also to the whole planning process; although I recognise that some local authorities are beginning to accept this. As a planner and an academic I am well aware that the curricula of the planning schools still pay far too little attention to it.

R.N. Young *(Countryside Commission)*

First of all I would like to congratulate Marion Shoard on what I thought was a splendid delivery on a very interesting topic. I live in a very small country village and my children have access to the country. I would like to see that kind of early childhood experience at the most formative time of their lives, at the most perceptive time of their lives extended to children such as the ones she was talking about in the school in south London where they have no knowledge of the countryside. They have not got this 'country cousin' facility of just walking down along behind the hedge or along through the ditch and over the way. They don't get it: how can we do anything about it? It is not all to be satisfied by organised country parks nor by nature trails. The nearest thing that comes to it is the disorganised wildscape in the town: the derelict site and ground like this. I would like to see how this conference would react to the suggestion of organising more experience of a completely random nature for children from age 3 to 14, without of course, having to say "You have to close that site down sir, it is a danger you know".

Marion Shoard

I agree with Mr. Young that the role of the countryside in providing a playground for children is something that little research has been done on so far. What is more, recreation planners never actually ask children, but assume that because they were children themselves once they must know. They assume that other places like the seaside are an adequate place for children to play, and that it is the children's paradise. The children I took from Minster for instance, thought that the seaside - only 6 miles away - was very boring compared to the countryside. The recreation ground is traditionally provided instead of the rough land, which most planners think too untidy. The children I took to the countryside said the recreation grounds are very boring. They are big and green and they can play football there, but there are no flowers, no long grass so they can dive into it and play soldiers, and there are lots of nettles anyway and that obviously restricts freedom of movement.

DJ/2

Marion Shoard (Cont.)

How you actually do it, I don't know. Presumably for those children in Wandsworth you have to take into account what children want when you provide facilities in towns. Traditionally, planners do not have any idea of children's wants. Near those children in Wandsworth, an adventure playground was established in 1974 in Loughborough Park. The planners put up purpose-built wigwams and slides and so on, and the children just burnt it all down and are now creating a giant swing and all the things that they really want. The one thing is to ask the children what they want. For children who are fortunate enough to live in the countryside I think the thing is to try somehow to retain these scraps of land around towns and cities up and down the country, which are being lost mainly through agricultural change and also through development.

For children who live in the middle of cities I think it is very important that we provide facilities for them to get out to the countryside. I talked to some black children in Wandsworth and asked them "if there was a bus from Lambeth every Sunday going out to the countryside, would you take it?". Some of them thought that it just really wasn't "where it was all at": they preferred to mug old ladies on Sunday. But some of them thought, "Crikey, what a fantastic thing", particularly the children who had actually been taken out into the countryside by the Tooting Boys' Club and had some inkling of what its potential as a playgound was.

David Hellard *(National Farmers' Union)*

I want to put a question to Marion Shoard. I wondered what sort of countryside she was really after? I wasn't quite clear at the end of her paper nor of the comments of Roger and others. What degree of recreation and access are you really looking for in the generality of farmed countryside? Because we know of the experience in Milton Keynes where they have put in concrete cows. Maybe if you got sufficient people coming onto farm land, you would need concrete cows all round. Those concrete cows were smashed up: whether it was by frustrated tadpolers or by people looking for buttercups, or maybe it was people who were reacting against something that was unreal, I'm not quite sure. But I would like to know how far you looked at our policies, ie agricultural policies. It isn't just the farmers, the baddies, and the recreationists, the goodies here, there are various other policies which link in. Let's suggest that the people vote with their feet - they go to the kind of places they want to go to. A lot of townspeople go to supermarkets to get their food. A lot of people go to new housing estates to get their new houses. It seems to me that we have got to bear this in mind, that although farmers are in it to make a living for themselves, although builders are in it to make a living by building houses, people want houses and food as well as recreation and I want to know how you fit your ideas in with an agricultural policy?

Marion Shoard

I would like to start by disagreeing that people go to places they want to go to. If you take as evidence the kind of countryside people like, the numbers of National Trust properties that are visited each year, you will find that 17 of the top 25 most popular National Trust properties are all parkland, with fairly rough grass, nice fine-standing trees, lakes and so on. But actually, parkland is about the most inaccessible type of landscape. Take for instance, Wychwood Park in Oxfordshire. 400 acres, a gentle paradise of lakes, woods, park and a bit of agricultural land: very beautiful, adjoining over 2,000 acres of Wychwood Forest. This is a very attractive area, but has no public access within that at all, apart from one public footpath running across a quarter of the park, and the public are allowed to walk through Wychwood Forest on Palm Sunday every year. There is a vast amount of land in the country, particularly woodland and parkland and lakeside that are quite inaccessible. Just because people say that they are used for angling or for pheasant shooting. There are all sorts of ways in which those uses can be married quite easily.

I think that the English countryside works quite successfully. It is a kind of multi-use organism and we have always different activities happening in the countryside, such as farming, recreation, forestry, fishing and hang gliding. Somehow or other they all manage to go together quite well and I think that the conflicts are very over-played. On agriculture, I certainly don't say that we should cover all the most productive farmlands of the country with rough grass. What I am saying is that at the moment, a piece of rough marsh - say for instance, the piece south of Minster that I described, the community at large should have had some say in what happens to that land. What has happened to it is that it is all a vast prairie and you can't walk on it at all and there are hardly any dykes left. At the moment recreation does not have a hearing because it is not really thought to be as important as food production. I think that all these interests have got to be taken into account and then we can decide what to do.

R. Carter *(Scottish Tourist Board)*

I am slightly confused. It is the relationship of the two parts of the last paper. It seemed to me that Mr. Sidaway was laying concept of carrying capacity to rest, and yet within a quarter of an hour we had it resurrected by Dr. O'Connor. I would really like to hear Mr. Sidaway commenting on the second half of the paper.

R.M. Sidaway

We did have in mind at one stage to produce video tapes of our discussions as we prepared the paper which might have been as instructive as the written word itself. What was interesting was

R.M. Sidaway (Cont.)

that Brian and I started from different approaches yet we arrived at the same conclusion. Brian is looking at these issues at the site level and I am trying to look at them in terms of the broader generalisations and national policy. Yet I don't think a lot of these issues can be resolved at a national level. In our discussions we began to agree at the level of resolution for certain issues many of which were best sorted out at a local level. The point about carrying capacity however, in Britain, is that we have tended to talk about it in terms of one site, such as Kynance Cove without relating it to its context.

In my view there is one current study that is going about things in the right way at Cannock Chase. The researchers have asked what regional role Cannock should play and how its capacity should be fixed in relation to other places. That is what we are trying to get at. We lack the mechanisms for relating the management of one site to another and deciding how much this site should be developed or that one should remain as it is. It is only in national parks, where you have got a clear administrative structure and a national park plan, or in a few other such cases such as Cannock Chase, that you can begin to get towards that.

Dr. F.B. O'Connor

I believe that what Roger was saying about carrying capacity is not that we should ignore the concept altogether, but recognise that it is in fact a variable commodity, and that there is clearly no such thing as absolute and fixed carrying capacity. We need to find out what is acceptable to the land owner and manager - in the absence of anybody else to make that kind of decision - and then relate the policy objectives of the individual land owners to a level of use which ensures that those characteristics are retained. The Nature Conservancy Council, in managing a National Nature Reserve would find it quite unacceptable that a nesting kite was distributed by recreational use for example. Whereas at the other end of the extreme, total modification of the habitat to enable people to walk up and down a concrete promenade may be entirely acceptable. What we are lacking in this debate about carrying capacity is adequate definition of what a given site should look like and a proper relationship between that definition and the level of use which ensures that its characteristics are retained. This is very far from dismissing the concept of carrying capacity but seeking a very much clearer definition to it.

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INCREASING OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL SECTIONS OF THE COMMUNITY

A view from abroad - the opportunities which have been created in Holland - a case study: "SPAARNWOUDE"

by

L. Matthijsse

Head of the Management Department, Spaarnwoude, The Netherlands

INTRODUCTION

This case study focuses not only on the main topic, "Country side Recreation for all", but also on the specific instance of Spaarnwoude as a case study from the continent.

In the Netherlands, particularly in the western urbanised part of the country, there are few opportunities for outdoor recreation, thus, new recreation areas or countryside parks are being planned.

This process started before the Second World War in the immediate surroundings of the cities and such places as the Amsterdamse Bos in Amsterdam and Kralinger Bos in Rotterdam are now well-known. Subsequent projects were influenced by these successful developments and many contributions have been considered from the planning, landscaping, agriculture, forestry, and economics professions, when new areas were being investigated. Thus, Spaarnwoude came into being only after many studies and discussion: We believe that we have arrived at a balanced level in respect of our natural resources with regard to recreation. Our general policy has been summarised and published in the Netherlands (in Dutch) and describes our views on landscape conservation and outdoor recreation.

However, in May 1977, the Dutch Ministry of Cultural Affairs, Recreation and Social Welfare, published a booklet: "Leven en Spelen in het groene land" which I think would be well worthwhile translating into English. The title, by the way, means, "Life and recreation in the green countryside".

LOCATION OF NATURAL RESOURCES

In the western part of the Netherlands about one third of the entire Dutch population is concentrated in only about one tenth of the total area and between the cities intensive agriculture is practised leaving very few possibilities for simultaneous recreational use. The traditional recreation areas are comprised of the beach and sand dunes along the North sea coast and a few lakes and wetlands. Most of these natural resources are sensitive to intensive recreational use and thus there has always been a shortage of recreational facilities for the 5 million inhabitants living in this part of the country. This fact has been the main reason for

regarding recreation in the countryside as a part of government welfare policy.

HISTORICAL REVIEW

The first attempt to formulate a national framework for planning countryside parks in the Netherlands was taken only 20 years ago. In 1958 the "Werkcommissie" (Work Committee) for the development of the western part of our country analysed the growth of cities in the western Netherlands.

The main conclusion of the Committee's report on landscape and recreational facilities was that there was a need for 18 buffer zones (green zones), most of them situated in the provinces of North and South Holland. Shortly after this report was published in 1960, the first National Report on Physical Planning was published. The second report on National Physical Planning in 1966 was based on a vision of a fast and perhaps uncontrolled growth, indeed, it included a map predicting what the Netherlands would look like in the year 2000 and conjured up the view of a densely populated country with some 20 million inhabitants and a great number of motorways. Between the planned expansions of cities there were green stars marking the planned buffer zones and the new programme of development for national parks and country parks. It contained an ambitious programme for new recreational facilities.

At the present time a third Report on Physical Planning is being published in separate parts. It will be the result of process planning - . brought about through the participation of many groups interested in the countryside in the Netherlands. We are convinced that the final result will be a better balanced plan than we have seen in the past. Subject plans (structuurschemas) on outdoor recreation, nature and landscape conservation, agriculture, forestry and landscaping, outline the main features of environmental policy.

ANALYSIS OF THE NEW SITUATION

Ways and means must be found to protect the quality of our landscape as well as to attain a balanced management of natural resources and to secure acceptable living conditions for the people living in the areas concerned.

The views presented in "Life and Recreation in the green countryside", which I mentioned earlier, give a comprehensive picture of the overall situation. New developments of recreational facilities in the countryside have resulted from a strategic planning-process. In the period 1950-70, rapidly changing patterns of land-use and urbanisation threatened the countryside and there were also the problems brought about by the changes in mobility and leisure opportunities. Between 1955 and 1970 many families were able to buy cars and thus enjoyed the mobility offered by an extensive network of motorways. As recreational habits changed the pressures on the countryside recreation facilities increased.

As a result of this situation a growing awareness regarding the environment could be seen in governmental policy; the quality of landscape in relation to outdoor recreation became everybody's concern.

THE CASE STUDY SPAARNWOUDE

The two main examples of planning buffer zones in the Netherlands are Midden-Delfland (between Rotterdam and the Hague) and Spaarnwoude which lies in the triangle, Amsterdam, Velsen and Haarlem.

Midden-Delfland is founded on an ambitious plan dating from 1968 when a precise analysis of the situation was made. However, even today nothing has been realised of this plan as everyone is waiting for a new special law for the area. The main problem concerns the reallocation of land-use in respect of forestry, agriculture, horticulture and recreation.

The main objective of the buffer zone Spaarnwoude is countryside recreation and thus the development scenario should be less difficult. Spaarnwoude was started as the result of an initiative by the local government. The rural municipality of Haarlemmerliede en Spaarnwoude, at the centre of the proposed buffer zone, stimulated the further work which gave rise to a structure plan (streekplan) by the provincial government. In 1965 this municipality requested the Ministry of Housing and Physical Planning for public support for the development of Spaarnwoude. The initial request was the prelude to an intensive co-operation between this municipality, the neighbouring cities, the provincial government and central government, in particular the Departments of Housing and Physical Planning, Cultural Affairs, Recreation and Social Welfare and Agriculture. During the period 1965-67, a so-called Steering Committee and a Project Team drew up the plans. The first result was the publication of a report in 1967 and a plan for a project for a 3000 hectare recreation park. In the same year, before completion of these plans, an important intervention from central government created opportunities for realisation of the project. The growth of industry and port facilities in Amsterdam along the Noordzeekanal, was extremely rapid. In 1967, Parliament decided to give the city the facilities to enable the construction of an oil refinery and also to start work on the Spaarnwoude project.

THE PLAN SPAARNWOUDE

The first plan for Spaarnwoude imitated earlier plans for outdoor recreation in the Netherlands that had been drawn up in years 1950-70. However, later circumstances caused changes to be made from the construction of an artificial park full of facilities in an afforested area to a country park with a more open and natural landscape. The layout is now divided in parts as shown in the sketch map.

EDITOR: The entire leaflet, "Off to Spaarwoude" is reproduced on the following pages.

FINANCIAL MANAGEMENT

The financial management for the development of outdoor recreation in the Netherlands is dependent on central government subsidies. Table 1 gives a summary of these costs. With regard to subsidies for public projects the Department for Cultural Affairs provides most funds; usually 75% of investment capital, (including the cost of land) can be forthcoming from government agencies. This was not always the case - prior to 1976 central government did not subsidise operating and maintenance costs but since that time there has been partial support in public expenditure for operating the main Dutch projects such as Grevelingen, Midden-Delfland, Twiske and Spaarnwoude.

TABLE 1

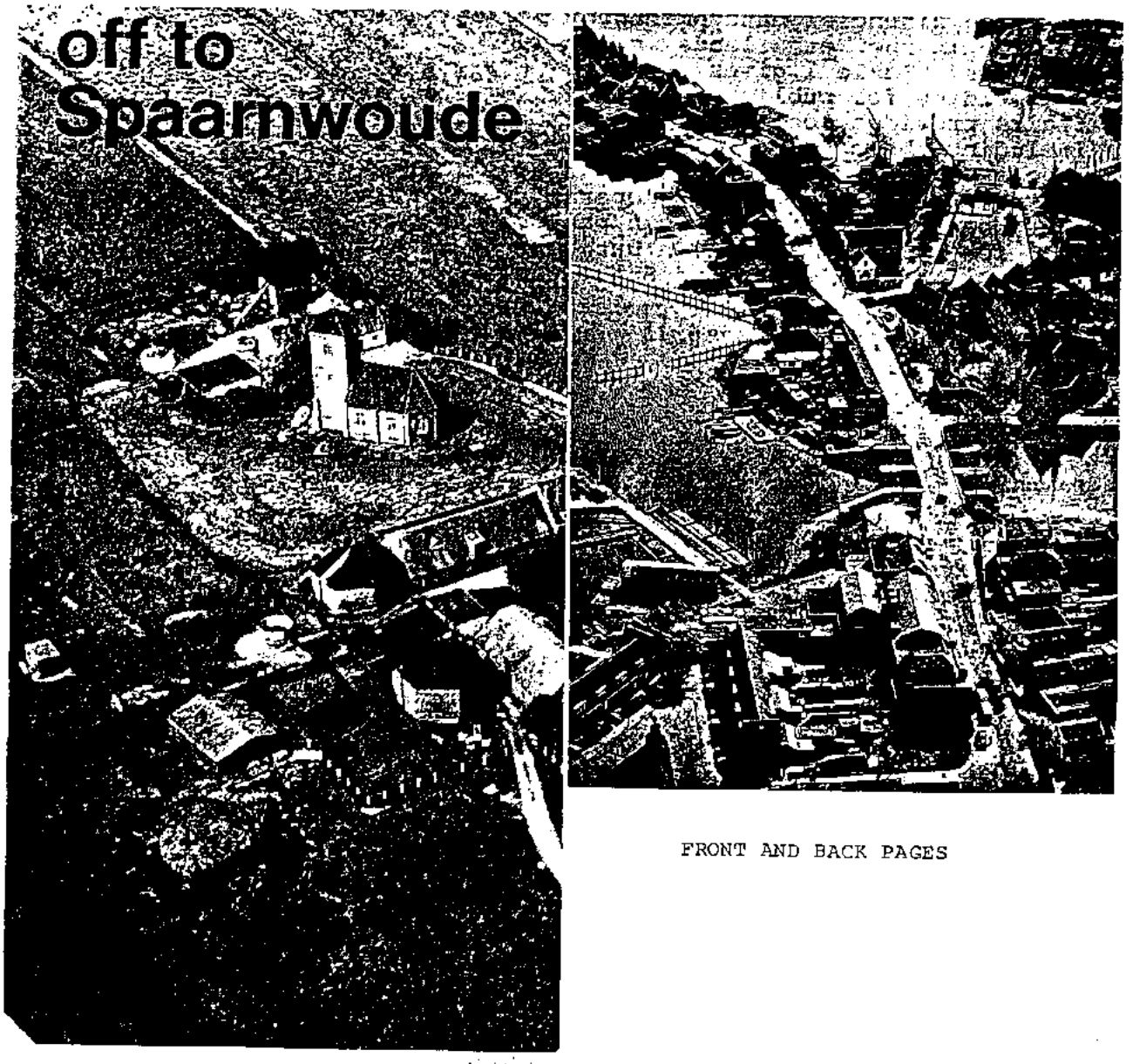
ESTIMATION OF TOTAL GOVERNMENTAL EXPENDITURE FOR OUTDOOR RECREATION IN THE NETHERLANDS (Millions guilders DFL)

Budget for:	1974	1975	Year 1976	1977	1978
Ministry of Cultural Affairs, Recreation and Social Welfare					
Nature conservation and outdoor recreation	97	126	130	143	159
Monuments	50	77	83	85	98
Aquisition of land				28	31
Subsidies etc for outdoor recfeation				44	49
Ministry of Economic Affairs					
Tourism (marketing etc)	variable			13	14
Ministry of Housing and Physical Planning					
Aquisition of land in buffer zones	variable			27	29
Other Ministries, Provinces and Municipalities	Not calculable				

A comparison can be made in relation to the rates of exchange in respect of £ sterling and Dutch Guilder: viz:

1971	£1	=	DFl 8.625	1972	£1	=	DFl 7.751
1973	£1	=	6.773	1974	£1	=	6.342
1975	£1	=	5.330	1976	£1	=	4.872
1977	£1	=	4.255	1978	£1	=	4.239

Total estimated governmental expenses derived from National Accounts in the Sector "Culture and Recreation" (incl. Culture, Sports and Indoor Recreation) in 1975 - DFl 3,000,000,000.



FRONT AND BACK PAGES

The areas for outdoor recreation are as follows:

Houtrak (1a) covers 270 ha and bears some ressemblance in layout to Amsterdamse Bos. Most of the facilities provided are usable on a daily basis.

Buitenhuizen (2) is slightly smaller than Houtrak and covers some 250 ha. It has a 27 hole golf course (public) and a large animal farm, "Zorgvrij" (Carefree, Sans souci) and provision for model airplanes and a canoeing water.

In the Netherlands, one of the most densely populated countries in the world, there are thirteen million people in search of recreation. The demand is especially great in the west of the country where about a third of the Dutch population lives and works in large cities such as Amsterdam, The Hague and Rotterdam, and every square foot of natural country is worth its weight in gold. There is a constant struggle to preserve a minimum of open space. In the fight against building in the green heart of the country – such as still exists – the Government and private initiative stand shoulder to shoulder. Within the framework of Central Government policy the Ministry of Cultural Affairs, Recreation and Social Work has drawn up a multi-year plan for safeguarding this open space; it provides for the laying out of a number of large parks in the years ahead. One of these projects is the Spaarnwoude recreation area named after a village about ten miles west of Amsterdam. It covers about 2,750 hectares (10½ square miles) and is to form a natural buffer zone between residential and industrial areas. Judging by the name 'Spaarnwoude' (Spaarn Wood) the area was a green zone in historical times, a forest situated on the River Spaarne. But that was in the distant and much greener past; the wood had gone before the name Spaarnwoude first appeared in Dutch history (and that was in 1063).
Much has changed since then. Wars and floods (the memory of which is kept alive by the statue of Hansje Brinkers in Spaarndam) have ravaged the village and the region around it. Soldiers of various nationalities were encamped there and the external appearance of the village has also changed down the years. Spaarnwoude, once a prosperous community, now consists of a few farms and a small church which has been converted into an artist's studio. The village lies in peaceful seclusion surrounded by pastures far from Holland's oldest railway line and far from the main road, both of which run westwards from Amsterdam to Haarlem via Halfweg. The thirteenth-century tower rises grey above the trees. The little church, the nave of which was renovated in 1765, and its surroundings are soon to become the historical and cultural centre of what will be for the Netherlands a recreational area of major proportions.

Accessibility and zoning
It would be pointless to lay out a recreational area for day trippers in a country where the population is constantly growing and the traffic increases in density from year to year unless it were made easily accessible from every direction. The present development pattern of the region, which is now largely agricultural, is not attuned to its future function as the recreational objective of large numbers of daytrippers. Consequently, a network of roads with parking facilities is being dovetailed into the present urban system, which itself is to be expanded.
The establishment of one or two extra stops – for the benefit of recreation-seekers as well as the local population – on the railway line from Amsterdam to Haarlem is also being considered. Special paths for mopeds are also to be constructed. And as we Dutch also do a lot of bicycling and walking there will be separate roads for 'slow traffic', and tracks for equestrians. In order to minimize commuter traffic, there will be no through roads.
As some of the access points will be situated in the vicinity of large centres of population – cities such as Amsterdam and Haarlem – the number of people using them is expected to be very high, so a zoning system has been worked out.

Focal points
There will be many recreational facilities available for a large number of people at certain focal points. The Spaarndam focal point for example (see map) will be principally for aquatic sports enthusiasts. There is a stretch of water, called the 'Mooie Nel', which can be enlarged if desired, where all kinds of recreational activities are already being pursued. A massive influx of people from Amsterdam into the east of the recreation area must be reckoned on. Facilities that may be provided at the Houtrak focal point include a café-cum-restaurant and various entertainments grouped round a square, including snug little shops, stalls, a place for dancing and a bowling alley.
For people from Haarlem and Velsen there will be a central meeting-place in the form of a village green with trees, with a promenade, a café-cum-restaurant, a playground, a boating lake, a miniature golf course and a bowling alley.
One of the authorities' major concerns will be to provide playgrounds, grassed areas and ornamental lakes. Trees and shrubs will be planted alongside the main roads to cut down pollution from traffic.

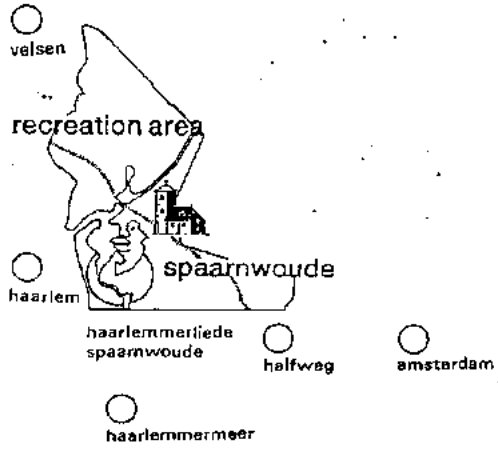
Less busy areas
There will be numerous recreational amenities to the north of the future Spaarnwoude recreation area. From Velsen, north of 'rijksweg' (national highway) 6, there will be a camping site,

Oosterbroek (7) is about the same size as Buitenhuizen and is an extensively landscaped country park with some facilities added. It has a skating rink, model boat pools etc. and part of the area is used by the army for exercises.

Spaarndam (8) has a two-mile bicycle circuit against a background of 50 ha of forest.

This led in 1970 to the setting up by a corporate body in which the Central Government, the Province and the municipalities of Amsterdam, Haarlem, Haarlemmerliede/Spaarnwoude, Haarlemmermeer and Velsen collaborate of a project office whose mandate is to carry out the plans for the Spaarnwoude recreation area.
It is the idea that their collaboration shall be established by law, and in due course a 'recreatieschap' (recreational facilities board) will be created in which the Central Government will be represented as well as the municipalities and the Province.
The work started officially on 8 April 1970, when the then State Secretary for Cultural Affairs, Recreation and Social Work, Mr. H. J. van de Poel marked the occasion by planting the first tree on the land to be afforested near the North Sea Canal.
Large private engineering consultancies supervised by the project office direct contractors engaged on the basis of public tenders.
The intention is that the work throughout the area should be completed in 15 years, the plans being carried out in stages.
Work on the preparation and execution of the basic amenities in the Houtrak and Oosterbroek-Buitenhuizen sections was begun at the end of 1970. The work in the other areas is planned to allow an interval of ten months between the release of land for development and the commencement of activities.
The project as a whole should be carried out as follows:
1973 Veerpolder, 1977 De Liede and the countryside around the northern part of national highway 16, 1978 Hofgeest and the southern half of the countryside round national highway 16, 1979 Spaarndam and 1980 Dijkland. According to the plans the first part of the recreation area should be ready for the public within five years.
The cost of the entire project is estimated at about 200 million guilders; this does not allow for land acquisition and any gains from commercial transactions. The expenditure incurred in connection with land acquisition is to be borne by the Ministry of Housing and Physical Planning and the Ministry of Cultural Affairs, Recreation and Social Work together. Commercially operable businesses will not be subsidised by the State. The Ministry of Cultural Affairs, Recreation and Social Work will be paying 100 per cent of the cost of the basic provisions and 25 per cent of the other amenities such as swimming pools, landing stages, picnic facilities, etc.
The other authorities in the 'Stichting Recreatiegebied Spaarnwoude' (later to be formed into a recreational facilities board) will meet the remaining 75 per cent of the cost of the amenities. The work is to be spread in such a manner that the level of expenditure each year is reasonable.

Multi-year plan
When the work has finally been completed the Spaarnwoude recreation area will be able to offer a variety of recreational facilities for between 50,000 and 100,000 visitors per day.
This will satisfy only part of the expected national demand -- recreation facilities are required in other parts of the country as well. It is for this reason that the Ministry of Cultural Affairs, Recreation and Social Work is drawing up the multi-year plans referred to at the beginning of this brochure.
The intention is to submit annually a new five-year plan adapted to the circumstances obtaining at the time, comprising the four years incorporated in the previous plan and introducing a new year.
Much research will have to be carried out in a variety of spheres to ensure that the plans are consistent with the aim. With the cooperation of the local authorities concerned the Ministry of Cultural Affairs, Recreation and Social Work hopes to make a great success of this formidable undertaking, so that the people of the Netherlands may have pleasant places in which to spend their ever-increasing leisure time for many years to come.



Brochure prepared by the Information Division of the Ministry of Cultural Affairs, Recreation and Social Work.
Published by the 'Stichting Recreatiegebied Spaarnwoude'.
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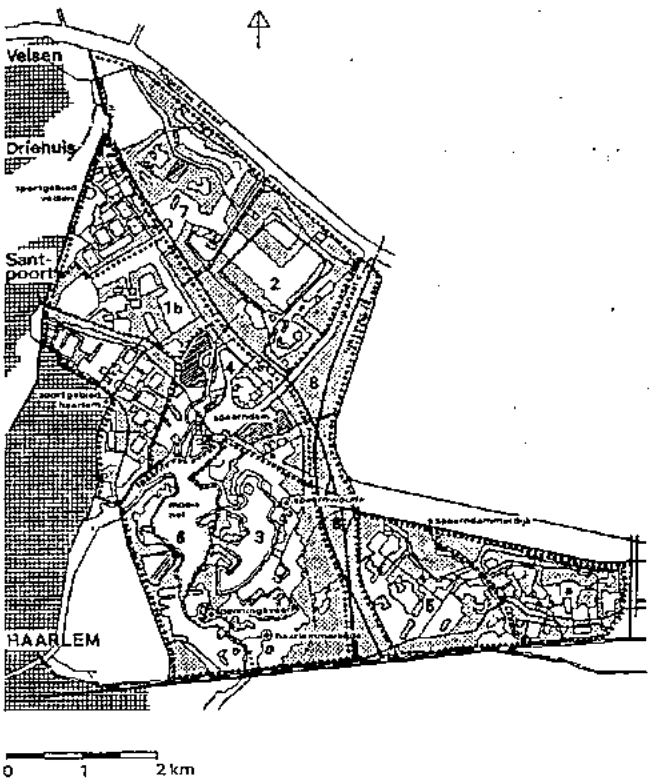
ADMINISTRATION

The planning was initiated by the local government but central government formed a Project Department to deal with the complicated and intricate problems of administration. This Project Department developed the structure and rough layout plans in part. As the role played by the local government organisations diminishes a foundation was set-up; this is called the "Stichting Recreatiegebied Spaarnwoude"; this was a first step - the Dutch have a special law which provides rules for co-operation



1a *Houtrak*
1b *Holgeest*
2 *Buitenhuizen*
3 *De Liede*
4 *Spaarndam*
5 *Dijkland*
6 *Veerpolder*
7 *Oosterbroek*
8 *Area around national highway 16*

1–7 sectors
8 to be named

grassed areas for relaxation and games and a canoe-racing course a kilometre long with the requisite buildings. This course is to be laid out in 'Zijkanaal B', a dead-end arm of the North Sea Canal which carries shipping from Amsterdam to the North Sea. To the east of the canoe course there will be a fairly large tract of open country, edged with dense woods. The soil is very suitable for the purpose. The open section may be set aside for an animal paddock which is always a great attraction in the Netherlands. Between these two open recreation areas and Zijkanaal C, which runs between Spaarndam and the North Sea Canal (see map) and will have to be partially diverted, a golf-course with 18 match holes and 9 practice holes is to be laid out. It will be designed mainly on the lines of American and British models and will be open to the public. A practice cycle-racing track may be constructed in the woods to the east of Zijkanaal C.

The Spaarnwoude recreation area plan for the region to the south and west of national highways 6 and 16 includes the partially completed Velsen and Haarlem sports areas. There will be a large tract of open country with grassed spaces for relaxation and games linking up with the open spaces in the north of the recreation area. There is already an open-air swimming pool to the north of Spaarndam and an unspoilt stretch of country near Pormingaveer. In the south-western part there are the villages which will give the Spaarnwoude recreation area its distinctive character. Spaarndam, for example, was originally a fishing village; that Spaarnwoude and Haarlemmerliede used to be agricultural communities is evident from the typical polder drainage ditches and fields.

To the east of the 'Mooie Nel' there is fen country which is, however, not suitable for tall trees, and is therefore to be conserved as a typically Dutch canal landscape: groves of trees will be planted alongside ponds and fields. There should then be a very attractive landscape to contrast with other parts of the recreation area. In the portion to the east of national highways 6 and 16 the fen country continues up to the Spaarndammerdijk.

The authorities intend to make this a quiet area. Bushes and shrubs are to be planted there and there will be a large lake in the centre for anglers.

The possibility of putting animals out to pasture in the area to preserve its pastoral character will also be explored.

Implementation

The preparatory works was speeded up when Parliament urged the Government to carry out the plans without delay.

between local government and provincial and central government. In 1968 however it was decided that this system was costing too much time and therefore it was decided to work through a foundation for a trial period of several years. Now, in 1978, the "Recreatieschap Spaarnwoude" is almost completed and in action. The Foundation arranges many things but there is still a need for full governmental organisation. No doubt, in the course of time many problems will be ironed out.

The financial management of Spaarnwoude does not conform to the usual pattern:

1. Land

Between 1970 and 1974 some 90% was purchased; the Ministry of Housing and Physical Planning having bought more than 1500 ha of land including farms and houses in situ. The local authority, "Recreatieschap Spaarnwoude" is the official occupier of the land at a more or less symbolic rent.

2. Investments

A distinction is drawn between infrastructure (developed by the project team and directly financed by central government) and facilities (accommodations) as a part of the task of the local authority and the management department. An overall subsidy of 75% is made available by the Ministry of Cultural Affairs, Recreation and Social Welfare in accordance with established rules.

3. Maintenance and operation

The funds covering maintenance and operation are provided for the foundation or the local authority "Recreatieschap Spaarnwoude" as follows:

a) Central government - 50%
The Department of Cultural Affairs, Recreation and Social Welfare

b) Provincial government - 25%

c) Local governments

Amsterdam - 12.5%
Haarlem - 7.25%
Velsen - 2.75%
Haarlemmermeer - 2.0%
Haarlemmerliede en Spaarnwoude - 0.5%

Within the foundation each of the governmental authorities has one vote whilst in the local authority, "Recreatieschap Spaarnwoude" central government will have a slight advantage in voting power.

The annual maintenance and operating costs are circa DFl 3 million whilst the revenues from legal charges and fees are circa DFl 0.1 million. The management department is working on a report regarding charging policy.

MANAGEMENT AND ORGANISATION

On this point my presentation focusses on a number of aspects. There are very interesting management problems involving economic and technical solutions but I want to deal with those matters which affect everyone or at least be of interest to most, for example, the methods employed for the spending of public funds for the benefit of all sections of the community. The main aim of the

management department is to fulfil an 'intermediate' function. It is really a case of organising the economic aspect in such a way as to make best use of the funds available. The main tasks of the Management Department is: advising the administration as to where and when there are possibilities of co-operation with clubs, corporations or entrepreneurs. One of the first reports of the Management Department provides a management scheme for various facilities. (Table 2).

TABLE 2

SELECTION FOR THE MANAGEMENT MODEL FOR FACILITIES

Way of management / Description of Facilities	Fully controlled by authority	Authority is developing the main structure of the exploitation and: then:		
		Leases to club	Leases to corporation or entrepreneur	Leases on long-term
1. Pony centre/riding school	-	**	**	*
2. Cycle circuit	*	**	-	-
3. Public golf course	**	*	-	-
4. Animal farm	**	-	*	-
5. Canoeing facilities	*	**	-	-
6. Children's animal farm	**	-	-	-
7. Camping grounds	**	-	-	-
8. Yachting marina	*	**	*	-
9. Amusement centre	-	-	**	*
10. Sport/playing facilities for disabled persons	**	*	-	-
11. Sledging/skiing slopes	*	-	-	-
12. Outdoor swimming pool	**	-	-	-
13. Cultural historic centre	**	-	-	-
14. Model airstrip	-	*	-	-
15. Sports grounds	*	*	-	-
16. Model yachting marina	*	**	-	-
17. Waterski facilities	*	*	-	-
18. Angling facilities	*	**	-	-
19. Playgrounds	**	-	-	-
20. Scouting/waterscouting	*	**	-	-
21. Physical exercise course	**	*	-	-
22. Inns and hotels	-	-	**	*
23. Boat leasing	-	-	**	*
24. Selling and hawker's licences	-	-	**	-
25. Beekeeping	*	**	-	-
26. Dog training	*	*	-	-
27. Skating track	*	*	-	-

** = First choice
* = Second choice
- = Not to be considered, not to be realised, inappropriate.

EARNING CAPACITY: RELATION BETWEEN OUTDOOR RECREATION AND URBAN FACILITIES

Activity	Contribution from government budget p.u. in 1972	(Amount in guilders (HFl) p.u. to account of governmental budget
Outdoor recreation Intensive	HFl 0.94 per visit	
One day visits to country parks		
Established parks	HFl 2.32 per visit	
New parks	HFl 3.51 per visit	
Average		
Zoos	HFl 4.30 per visit	
Indoor sports	HFl 5.60 per hour	
Swimming pools	HFl 6.80 per bath	
Outdoor recreation Extensive	HFl 7.22 per visit	
Sports grounds	HFl 11.20 per match	
Theatres/concerts	HFl 30.00 per visit	
Museums	HFl 24.00/39.00 per visit	
Deficit, after deduction of fees and other contributions from visitors		

(Report from Outdoor Recreation in the Province Zuid-Holland, pp 141, 1976).

SUMMARY OF THE MAIN ISSUES

Instead of a conclusion I shall summarise the main problems in countryside recreation in the Netherlands and, of course, this summing up can only be my own opinion and a personal view.

SCALE

Some authorities will pay particular attention to small-scale projects; in my opinion, in an urbanised environment we also need large-scale projects such as Spaarnwoude, if only to protect the environment from erosion by recreation.

CHARGES - COST/BENEFIT ANALYSIS - INCOME

In the field of public expenditure there must be a link between charges and income. The willingness-to-pay problem is a very difficult one. The main rule in the Netherlands is that prices for ordinary people must be kept low. This is rather difficult to explain in the annual accounts. A cost-effectiveness comparison between outdoor recreation and other leisure activities is made in Table 3. Perhaps a possibility might be to use an overall cost/benefit analysis system. Although this may do no more than provide a basis for comparison it could also be a way of justifying a policy to lower the charges.

RECREATION MANAGEMENT

Public and private management and mixed forms are presented in the scheme (Table 2). Relationships between choice of management-charges and income elasticity need to be established.

REGIONAL ECONOMICS

Daily recreation is provided for urban areas - not where incentives for regional developments are most needed. A main policy issue will be the development of new outdoor recreation facilities in the countryside.

CREATING OPPORTUNITIES FOR TOWNSPEOPLE - THE CITY FARM AND COUNTRYSIDE PROVISION

by

E. Berman

Inter-Action Trust Ltd.

INTRODUCTION

There are three areas of work contained in this brief analysis:

I : City Farms

II : Country Lungs

III : How bureaucracies can help people use space for rural activities

- A : active promotion
- B : training
- C : taster days, buses out
- D : grant aid to voluntary organisations
- E : animobile and media van

INTER-ACTION

Inter-Action is a non-profit distributing company, registered as a charity. It was founded in 1968 by Ed Berman to stimulate community involvement. From the beginning there has been an emphasis on encouraging self-help projects in neighbourhoods, enabling more community participation which inevitably results in a pride and care as well as substantial cost-savings. As its name implies, there is a basic underlying approach for the organisation of bringing different elements together - the statutory and voluntary, young and old, artist and alleged non-creator, urban and rural.

I : CITY FARMS

A : THE MOVEMENT

City Farms are projects involving animals and gardening on small plots of land in towns and cities that would otherwise stand idle, wasted or rubbish strewn. The 'farms' will not necessarily be self-supporting in terms of produce. They will, and do, however, give children and adults in urban areas a first-hand experience of rural activities.

The City Farm Movement has grown up spontaneously throughout the UK in the past few years. The first example of this activity was Inter-Action's City Farm I in Kentish Town, London NW5. It started with gardening on a rubble-covered bit of land in 1972.

THE CITY FARM ADVISORY SERVICE

The City Farm Advisory Service set up by Inter-Action based on the success of City Farm I has helped 20 local groups obtain wasteland in cities throughout the UK. The land is intended to be held in Trust by local groups themselves under licence or lease at a nominal rent, or by the local Council.

Major sources of this land have been local authorities, private firms, British Rail, Port authorities, and other public agencies. Other projects have been set up on land adjacent to schools, mental hospitals and adventure playgrounds. No permanent structures are erected on the land without special permission from the freeholders. Notification of the temporary nature of the licence should be given to local participants every three months as a reminder. The land will be returned to the freeholders whenever their own development schemes arise. It is recommended, however, that groups wanting to set up projects obtain a lease (or licence) on land for at least 5 years.

A basic goal for every project has been to have local management groups chosen from the adults and teenagers who live in the neighbourhood and use the facilities. These local management groups have usually been fostered by voluntary organisations and often participated in by local authorities.

The advice and services of Inter-Action to help others set up their own City Farms is provided free of charge. This has been made possible in England in the years since 1976 through a grant from the Department of the Environment. Some 'seed' money and the advisory function are also available to groups throughout the UK from other fund raising initiatives of Inter-Action on behalf of City Farms.

B : CITY FARM I

Although temporarily closed for renovation, a typical day on City Farm I has and will in future consist of the following: Members of the Community Garden Club for the Elderly drop in to work their separate flower garden and kitchen garden plots. Adults and children from the nearby housing estates and local schools work on their plots in the gardens. If a City Farm had no more than these activities, it would be a great success at no capital cost or running costs beyond people's labour (plus insurance and water rates).

School parties visit the hand-reared animals. They might also participate in drama or arts and crafts workshops related to the animals, or have lectures, films, etc. Children are given follow-up materials to take away. These visits are a source of income for the farm, but cost less than most other school visits. This income can easily cover the feed and caring for the animals as well as part-time staff if they are required.

The weekends in warm weather give an ideal opportunity for picnics and fetes, as well as mixing handicapped and able-bodied children together through drama and music activities centred around the animals. Many voluntary organisations are interested in the community integration of the handicapped which City Farms are uniquely placed to do.

These activities cost little or no money to provide because the voluntary initiatives already exist and they are usually looking for new activities to participate in.

Pony clubs for local children from nearby housing estates meet after school for riding lessons; youth clubs come in the evening; riding for the mentally handicapped takes place at weekends. Special schools, normal schools and truant projects use the stables during school hours. Horses, stables and riding schools cost money for staff, feed, tack, buildings, insurance and maintenance but these can be financed by fees from those interested in having riding provided for those who would not otherwise have had the opportunity.

One of the key features of the farms is that adults can use them for their own activities from gardening to household repairs to auto repairs. Thus, instead of dividing people up in different institutions, the City Farm attempts to allow a number of community activities to take place naturally, side by side, with local adults taking responsibility for their own or their neighbours' children.

City Farm I is a project base for youth employment and training projects as well as similar projects for the elderly. These take many forms, from learning the economics and nature of egg and goat milk production, to training in community work and play leadership, to training in motor mechanics, woodwork, etc.

City Farms can be self-supporting by saving local authorities money; for example, by giving riding lessons at a lower rate than commercial establishments which are usually far away from city centres (requiring travel costs as well). There are many ways in which rate-payers' money can be saved by turning wasteland into community facilities like City Farms. Most importantly, people can be involved in constructive projects in their own neighbour-hoods and take part in the management themselves.

C : THE WIDE NETWORK OF SUPPORTERS/USERS

Inter-Action's policy is to stimulate local initiatives. Therefore, although there are now 20 City Farms throughout the UK, all of them are independent and locally managed.

Because Inter-Action is not intent on creating another national organisation, many other national voluntary agencies feel more free in recommending to their local members to join in and use City Farms. These organisations range from MIND to the National Playing Fields Association.

Some of the major Establishment bodies who support the informal City Farm movement are British Rail, the Town and Country Planning Association, The Agricultural Association and the National Farmers Union.

D : THE BACKING OF THE NATIONAL FARMERS UNION AND OF INDIVIDUAL FARMS

There is increasing concern throughout the country that an invisible wall of ignorance is being built on the urban fringe. The town dweller is less and less in contact with the realities of food production and the values of the countryside. The rural dweller little understands the stresses and problems of the city.

The only way to counteract at least half of this problem in meaningful terms is to stimulate a caring use of the countryside.

The NFU as an organisation and innumerable farmers as individuals have offered to host people through City Farms on visits to their farms.

The offers of this facility have been increasing faster than the ability to take them up. The City Farm Movement is not yet geared to this role. Perhaps this co-ordinating function should be taken up by Local Authorities or the Local Council for Voluntary (Social) Service. One advertisement, article, or programme in the media targetted at the farming community would produce any amount of rural hosts required. Try it.

II : COUNTRY LUNGS

There is an increasing demand for spaces in the countryside for use by those working with young people in Inner City areas. Youth Hostels answer one type of need, camp sites under canvas answer another. However, by far the greatest need is informal, modestly finished, self-catering spaces which can be treated as one's own or in which one feels one has a stake.

This is a need expressed by Intermediate Treatment workers, playleaders, detached youth workers, youth club leaders and teachers alike for places where growth and development can take place. This means young people have to feel 'at home' and able to return to develop themselves and any projects they initiate. These projects may have rural activities, farming or the appreciation of the countryside as their 'hook' but the growth and social education will be transferrable to their urban environments.

The centres provided by Education Authorities fulfill a more formal educational purpose. This is often inapplicable to the youngsters referred to in this paper. These young people are those who refuse to go on formal education courses. They are also unlikely to accept the constraints of the staff and the

high finish of these first class country centres. These centres are also expensive and rarely have an on-going project potential for the young people attending. They are simply high quality residential course centres.

To be fair some individual schools acquire property on the cheap and do it up themselves. But these are not your average inner-city comprehensive.

The Country Lung programme will seek to provide children's and youth organisations in each sector (one or more Boroughs) of a conurbation with a place in the country for their joint use from ½ hour to 3 hours away. It would be used for the regular informal visits for young people associated to these organisations from that urban section.

The Country Lung programme is intended to be run as a nationwide initiative with a target of 50 such centres over a ten year period. It would work in one of the following ways:

A: Development phase

The Development Officer would go to a selected area and search out the demand and interest on the part of the local voluntary organisations. Assuming an expressed demand and willingness to co-operate amongst the groups, a licence will be issued with conditions for use to this Management Co-operative.

Examples of these conditions: The co-ordinating committee will pay all day-to-day running costs and manage the 'Lung' for equitable use amongst all user groups. The 'Lung' will be maintained and repainted at regular intervals.

B: Site survey/purchase

Simultaneously with a survey of the demand by the Development Officer, a Site Surveyor will be searching out appropriate Country Lungs. These will be from ½ hour to 3 hours from the urban sector to be served.

Each site will have a farmhouse (or other type of main building, eg, manor house, rectory, etc.) with outbuildings and at least 10 acres of land. The buildings might be listed historic buildings or not, but many will require up to 6 months work by the work team.

It is hoped that the sites will be in the £30,000 to £40,000 price range (on average). A proper survey will undoubtedly uncover some which might be had on a peppercorn, from say the Coal Board, British Rail, The Forestry Commission or Local Authorities. Others might be quite pricey; but the average will be very reasonable. The capital for this project will be sought from a few statutory and charitable sources with a small mortgage on an outstanding amount (say 25%) from a Building Society.

The final choice of site will be made by the local Country Lung Management Co-operative and an Inter-Action Director with an overview on all sites. This will ensure that a wide range of facility (ie the different sites) will be available amongst the entire movement for a further level of site sharing to benefit the young people.

Thus, there will be community participation from the beginning on the choice of the resource comprised of representatives of the Management Committees and the young peoples' committees.

C: Renovation and training phase

If the building is not in tenantable condition the potential user groups will have to organise an MSC scheme for renovating the 'Lung'. The unemployed young people will be chosen from the locality - equal numbers of boys and girls. This would lead to females being trained in manual skills and add a social element to the kids' lives when working on the 6 month building phase.

An inflatable, all weather dome, could be used as an recruiting event cum office to stimulate local interest through the media. This dome will cover the area of a football pitch and will anchor into a double decker bus converted into a field kitchen. It will be used as a 'site hut'.

A great deal of effort will be put into finding a stable couple to lead the teams, preferably from the urban sector under consideration. Thus, giving social and loving care to the field work team. The team leaders will have to have youth work and building skills. There will probably be 6 leaders (three couples) and 24 unemployed youngsters on each team.

The team thus chosen will go to the selected site for five months from April 1 to August 31. This will follow a month's preparatory training in the urban sector during the month of March.

Part of the March training will be to do a survey of youth needs for an informal country centre amongst the attached and unattached in the area. Another part will be to look at the possibility of City Farms and Sport-Space programmes in their neighbourhoods. During this month basic amenities will be repaired on site (toilets, baths, etc.).

A Quantity Surveyor and Architect (associated to NUBS - Inter-Action's Community Design Team) from the urban sector to be served will be hired or will prepare, gratis, the basic plans and costings.

The work camp on site in the country will be set up in tents or portakabins under the inflatable all-weather dome. Local media and residents will be invited to a launch day party thus cementing positive local relationships.

A work bus will be part of the capital allocation to each team. It will be available to the Management Co-operative later as a means of transport from City to country.

The on-site training will be in the following areas:

1: building skills

2: farming/gardening/animal husbandry

3: sports leadership

4: financial, management, social/life skills, and administrative processes

5: entertainment organising.

Number 1 will be provided by the building experience itself plus the supervisors on the team.

Number 2 will be provided by on-site experience, a supervisor and the City Farm Handbook.

Number 3 will be provided through the Sport Space Handbook and a supervisor.

Number 4 will be developed through the application of MIY - Make-It-Yourself and the Inter-Action Training Pack now being piloted with Common Market funding. (MIY - the young people perhaps could publish their own book).

Number 5 will be developed by the necessity of having to lay on entertainment and plan it themselves.

At the end of this 6 month phase, the work should be completed and a broad practical tranining programme will have been experienced.

D: Post-work phase or initial phase if in tenantable Condition

The training and project should result in specific jobs and trained personnel, eg. a gardener and caretaker for the Country Lang; part-time youth workers and sports leaders for urban situated jobs to take other, younger children to the Country Lung or to run city-based projects (SPORTS-SPACE, CITY FARMS).

The Country Lung central staff will retain a Surveyor to visit sites every six months to keep the maintenance up to standard. The fulfilment of the Surveyor's reports will be part of the licence obligation undertaken by the local Management Co-operative. Thus, the kids will know exactly how much their wear-and-tear is costing and will have to help finance it.

E: Long-term back-stop

Inter-Action Trust will own the freehold of each property and will ensure an on-going use for the sites. Ultimately the sites could be used as retirement bases for community workers whose work has not given them such security in terms of salary, pension, or mortgage payments.

F: Finance for local groups

It should be possible, given the backing of capital from a few sources, to make each Country Lung available to the local Management Co-operative at £7.00 per week (minimum of 12 groups in each co-operative).

Each member group of each local Management Co-operative would instruct their bank to set up an irrevocable standing order to the Country Lung National Movement for £7.00 per week.

In addition to a long-term peppercorn lease, free of rates obligation, the local Management Co-operative would receive a coach or bus for shuttling between town and country. This vehicle will be renewed every 4 years as part of the arrangement at no extra cost.

The local groups would intensively use the Country Lungs by sorting out the maximum sharing potential amongst themselves. Certainly more than one group could use such a facility at the same time.

The expenses remaining for the local groups would be food, petrol/derv, vehicle tax and insurance (unless a group insurance can be obtained more cheaply) replacement/repair of equipment, furnishings, and the interior of the buildings.

The Country Lung HQ will provide insurance on the building and third party insurance, payments of any mortgage, rates, major repairs, two experts for surveying, programme stimulation, exchanges amongst different sites, and vehicle renewals.

III : HOW BUREAUCRACIES CAN HELP

A: Active promotion

The departments involved in the use of land resources and the PRO's of statutory authorities have a public brief - a consumer brief.

Surely the job should be done as competitively as possible with other agencies in the private sector who are competing for the conumer's time. Clearly the product, facilities, are better, healthier. The open spaces and countryside are usually free of charge and already paid for by the prospective consumer. Isn't

it therefore incumbent on the custodians of these public resources to make them as widely known through the various media to the consumers who may not realise they are shareholders?

If these resources, worth 100's of millions, were owned by a limited public company (instead of the unlimited public company called the State) there would be a nicely printed annual report to the same shareholders touting the beauties of their corporate investment. One of the tactics pursued by the various activist groups I work with is to buy a single share in the companies we wish to 'encourage' in some way or other. The return in lavish publications and 6 penny dividends is unbelievable.

B: Catch 44 & training

But, some will say, if the wrong people use these facilites (and to some any human being is wrong and every tree and squirrel is right) they will destroy them. That kind of thinking leads many to earn their living by preventing action. It would be cheaper to close the offices and put "Quoth the raven, nevermore" on a recorded answering device. If I may say so, a deceitful and unconstructive way of 'earning' a living. I agree there is a problem, but the problem should be solved not circumvented.

One of the solutions to ignorant and destructive use of open space and rural facilites is training. Starting at an early age as possible, there should be active training through visits to such facilities - a kind of open space toilet training - perhaps a simple certificate could be given showing that the child has achieved rural citizenship. One day per year from the ages of 5 through 16 with an 'approved instructor' (called teacher) with a clearly set out 'do's and don'ts' handbook could logically train the entire nation. Inter-Action is working on drafts for some of these handbooks, but they clearly are more the job of your organisations and the Government.

These 'basic user courses' should be based on the experience of visiting the areas in question. The materials supplied should be more than a few appropriately designed and printed sheets - slides, film, video and the BBC educational facilities should be used.

C: Taster days

If I were selling your product, I would give everyone who had passed unscathed through the education system (ie ignorant of the above) a taster day on a free bus leaving from the City centre. Whilst pointing out the beauties and possibilities of the use of these spaces and countryside, an indirect training course can be given to this older age group. Voluntary organisations (including tenants' associations) could implement such trips, probably at a very low cost with the backing of the statutory authority.

D: Grant aid to voluntary organisations

Grant aid to VD's, if properly monitored and invested, is the least expensive and most effective mode of implementing much of what I have outlined above. But, anything critical I may have said about statutory authorities is doubly true in trumps for voluntary establishments.

Before any grant is given out in future, a training course in finance, management, administration and PR should be required of everyone arrogant enough to want to spend their own rates/ taxes.

Inter-Action is already working on such an elementary syllabus with the BIM on behalf of our Advisory Service.

E: High profile consultation & information vehicles

1: Inter-Action's Community Media Van - is geared to the street corner, the market place and the housing estate, to bring and retrieve information on environmental use in a lively format. Instead of hiring us at a reasonable price each authority could overspend on its own and create jobs or at least in some cases create work for existing jobs.

2: The Animobile - is a City Farm on wheels scheduled to be on the road by January 1979. This vehicle will bring a farmyard to Inner-City areas (schools, playgrounds, housing estates). It will present the animals and countryside information in an entertaining manner.

The hope is that people will join various societies dealing with rural issues, and, most importantly, they will visit the countryside in those ways promoted by the Animobile. Those ways are your ways. We are only purveyors of your information. You are custodians of these outdoor assets. I must remind both you and myself ('You' being whoever is arguing with me in their mind) that neither of us created these spaces and neither of us own them.

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B.K. Parnell

We have had two papers which are very contrasting and yet deal with the same problem. Mr. Matthijsse has given us an outline of a park which in many ways is a commentary on the discussion at the beginning of this conference on what is acceptable in the countryside. It is very relevant to the way in which the authorities should provide for the population of a city on land close to it, and I think it is a tremendously valuable case study.

B.K. Parnell (Cont.)

Ed Berman of course has started from the other end: I wonder where the boundary line comes between the community activist and an urban guerilla! But if Ed Berman doesn't care too much, it seems to me that work like this justifies our ignoring the difference and seeing in this a really hopeful sign of the re-emergence of real communities and self respect in those communities.

Ian Eldridge *(Keep Britain Tidy Group)*

Mr. Berman spoke about the need for an education programme to teach children about the Great Outside. I would like to tell him that the Keep Britain Tidy Group have made a start on precisely that in producing an education programme that is designed to teach children a sense of responsibility for the environment, starting with litter. The programme for the moment is for 7 - 9 year olds and 10 - 11 year olds, and it is the result of 5 years' research at Brighton Polytechnic. There have been 3 years of research on a programme for secondary schools. If Mr. Berman has any ideas how it could be developed we would be very pleased to discuss it.

Ed Berman

With the animobile we are looking to make sure that a large number of environmental groups, preservation groups and conservation groups come in after this breezy, exciting introduction for the kids. We get the kids enthusiastic, and they then have to get interested in something that is more stable, and follow up by setting up a club or an activity.

J.M. Sully *(West Yorkshire County Council)*

I was interested to hear about the way ideas start, and it seems to me that with any voluntary movement you always have an initial enthusiasm, and I wonder whether you are convinced that you will be able to sustain it for a year or two, with the kind of skill and expertise that is required?

Ed Berman

I can only be in one place but we got a grant from the Department of the Environment to set up the City Farm movement. We have a contract to set up 6 city farms within 3 years with a 50% predicted failure rate. What we have achieved is 20 farms within 2 years with no failures yet. Now there will be failures, but the statistic is pretty good. The answer is to give the groups enough money so that they have stability: don't give them so little that they will fail.

S. Housden *(Royal Society for the Protection of Birds)*

Could I ask Mr. Matthijsse if there are similar groups to those we have been hearing about in Holland trying to influence the development of his own management group and whether what he has done has arisen because of such action or whether there are people perhaps setting up in opposition or working alongside to try and influence which resources are used?

L. Matthijsse

A few years ago there were groups such as Mr. Berman's movement but I fear that in the last 10 years we have lost these initiatives and I hope we will get them back in the future. You can do anything by governmental policy with public support, but it is very expensive. I have been very interested to listen to Mr. Berman: I think we also have to develop community action in that way, but during the last 10 years we have not succeeded.

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COUNTRYSIDE FOR ALL?

A PANEL DISCUSSION

Panel Members: M. Dower (Chairman)
Dartington Amenity Research Trust

D. Hellard
The National Farmers' Union

A. Mattingly
The Ramblers' Association

G. Thomas
South Yorkshire County Council

Michael Dower

In this final discussion session we are looking at the question, Countryside Recreation for All? We have looked at the past intentions on that subject, and at the promise. We have looked at the pattern of provision and the pattern of usage and we have taken some look at the future, asking what should be our objectives and how should we seek to implement them. Against those key issues we have begun to ask what research is needed to illuminate policy issues.

The discussion groups were asked to take a rather narrower canvas than that, although I am glad to say they ranged wider than their briefs. Their brief was to look at future trends in provision and the roles of public and private sectors and we have taken their ideas and questions into account in framing this session. This discussion will cover the broader canvas and try to draw all the threads of the conference together.

I propose that we divide the discussion into four sections:

1. People's needs and the relevance of countryside recreation to them;
2. Factors which may constrain or facilitate the expression and meeting of needs in countryside activity;
3. Implications for provision;
4. Implications for research.

If I may introduce the idea of needs *per se*, the set of concepts which focus on the word 'needs'. We looked at the assumptions of the historic providers and said that more recent research is enabling us to see whether their assumptions were correct. The research by Ziona Strelitz and Martion Fitton, for example, are beginning to get us much closer to what people appear to need. But one of the study groups raised questions

Michael Dower (Cont.)

about the difference between the needs and the demands - which is of course a crucial question in research. Most research until the last 2 or 3 years perhaps in this field has tended to focus on what Brian Duffield's group have called 'the task of meeting known demand as distinct from what they call 'the important if unarticulated social needs'.

Also raised was the question of the link between leisure and other life domains. You will recall Ziona's comments about the link between work and leisure and family, and the debate which Mr. Hill provoked about the future prospects of employment and unemployment and what those might imply for needs.

As a final part of this, we come directly to the research methods which are related to needs, and how we can bring into play the battery of research techniques, the qualitative methods such as those used by the Countryside Commission as a counter-point to their National Survey and which came out well in the videotapes but which I think some people feel are too individualised to be useful.

May I first provoke a debate on that: the concepts of 'needs' before we go on to the relevance of countryside for all, and what people feel about its research indications.

B.S. Duffield *(TRRU University of Edinburgh)*

My discussion group picked up the point that time at the disposal of the individual could not be synonymous with leisure, and we examined the implications of that critical remark. We were trying to go beyond seeing leisure as merely a commodity, spare time which was left when everything else had been done, or something seen in strong contrast with work. We felt that some people got pleasure from their work and that moreover some people undertake work as a leisure activity - digging allotments, DIY among other activities. What might be seen as work was pursued as a leisure activity in its own right. So we found it unhelpful to counterpose leisure and work in this way, and we were looking for a concept which did away with the idea of commodity to be bought and sold. I liked the idea of leisure as a social process, because it enables us to make sense of policies for particular social purposes, to cope with the dilemma of the unemployed, for example, as one of our group mentioned, the miners in Nottinghamshire who, in their later years are made redundant because of mines closing in the area, still have the heightened prospects of their particular sub-culture to satisfy. Policy makers should discard this concept of leisure as killing time and see leisure as a process not a commodity.

Michael Dower

That links to the idea that the focus of all our effort, at least seen from the standpoint of the title of this conference, should be the people as distinct from the provision. If we take the people as a starting point, divide them into groups that seem useful and relevant to them, and begin to understand their needs, we may then be able to devise more relevant leisure provision. Whereas if you start via the conventional channels - leisure departments, country parks - rather than say, housing, social services, education and leisure all brought into one focus - then you are almost bound to be asking the wrong questions. You are bound to be asking, how can I manage my country park for people, rather than, what are people's needs and what is the place of leisure provision?

G. Thomas

To be successful you first need consultation, then implementation and then management. If you start - and this has been the trend in one or two of the comments we have heard - with, "I know what is right for you", you will get it wrong. If you start with people and their activities, rather than putting a policy on top of them, if you let people generate a policy then it is more likely that you will succeed. I don't like everything that Ed Berman said but I liked a lot of it, and I did like the kind of thing that he stands for - which is letting people come first.

D. Hellard

I wonder whether that would move us away from the rather 'laboratory' approach of assessing need. It might be better to spend money on putting more activists into the field and get the grounds well and then decide what would be appropriate, or let them come to their own conclusions about what they would like to do.

Michael Dower

I take hold of Brian Duffield's point that we should take not one jump but two. Not just the jump from leisure demand to leisure need, but from leisure demand to life needs and the place of leisure in them.

Dr. F.B. O'Connor *(Nature Conservancy Council)*

I think there is a possible danger in concentrating our thinking solely in terms of the needs of the user rather than the needs of the recipient of the recreational pressure. I advocated starting from the site end, but that also involves people, it doesn't only involve the natural resource. It very clearly involves the people who live and work in that area and I am simply making a plea that we should not neglect their needs.

J.M. Sully *(West Yorkshire County Council)*

Was there any need in Camden for a farm? I would say there was no need there for a farm. Obviously when somebody produced one there was a need.

Michael Dower

Are you not falling directly into the trap, though? That, because there was no 'demand' for a farm there were no needs which a farm could meet?

T. Huxley *(Countryside Commission for Scotland)*

Speaking personally, you are kicking at an open door. It is not very helpful to come up with reality at this moment, but in Scotland for example, we now recognise that instead of repeating the Scottish Tourism and Recreation Survey, we ought to be considering a Scottish Leisure Survey.

The problem is: 'how do you advance effective arguments to colleagues when you get back into your individual organisation.' A lot of personal conviction has come across today, I am not sure whether the effective argument is there to back up that conviction.

Michael Dower

We shall come back to that at a later stage. Another key area that has been much dwelt on here in this bundle of needs, is the non-participant. If the Select Committee of the House of Lords was right, then leisure should be regarded as a social service, with the implication that has for the underprivileged, and the committee is right in putting before us the slogan of 'Recreation for All', we presumably need to find out who does not come. Martin Fitton's material began to point us towards, the elderly, the less well-off, the immobile for various reasons. But we also need to know who does not come yet have interests relevant to the countryside; because presumably we need not trouble about those who do not come and aren't interested. Countryside recreation as a social service and what that might imply was looked at by one discussion group who asked for research into the needs of non-participants and whether we need to know more about why people do not participate.

C.E.B. Gordon *(Nottinghamshire County Council)*

The point that came out very clearly was the need to identify the way in which people had access in terms of time and money to make use of the facilities which we were providing. I thought it was interesting in Marion Shoard's paper to see that she used an example of how we might provide need for people from urban areas by improving bus services. The cost of the Surrey country trip was 70p per person. She also talked about the problem of the

C.E.B. Gordon (Cont.)

school children in Wandsworth. What is the relationship between those two things? On the one hand we are saying, "Here is a way of providing to meet a need", and on the other hand we are identifying a group of people who probably could never afford that. I would like to know the cost of a family of four travelling into Dorking, getting on that bus for a day, the amount of stuff they would have to carry with them to enjoy the day, and the cost also of getting that equipment together to make it a comfortable experience. It struck me that those two things were poles apart. It also struck me as interesting that the bus service was really providing for tourists as much as anyone. It seemed to me that we were not really understanding what the kids in Wandsworth were looking for.

Michael Dower

This is what I had in mind - that we should clarify the needs then look at the factors which were stopping the link and what those implied for provision.

A.M.H. Fitton *(Countryside Commission)*

You were saying that we could perhaps ignore those people who do not wish to go. Clearly attitudes and preferences towards the countryside are embedded in a lifetime of experience of deprivation; neither using nor knowing about the countryside. Getting into the schools and giving children experience of countryside should create a new set of desires. I feel very uneasy with the terms 'need' and 'demand', they are inadequate and ambiguous. There is much we can do to provoke interest but it is very easy to say, "Look at this wonderful bus service, only 70p". For a family with 3 children it works out at something like £6 or £7 and on a semi-skilled worker's wage that is a lot for an excursion which may not be all that enjoyable.

Marion Shoard *(Centre for Environmental Studies)*

The cost of the ticket from Dorking that takes you on a 1½ hour trip round the Surrey countryside - and you could go on 4 trips a day if you liked - is 70p for adults but 35p for children and 35p for old age pensioners. The cost of someone going down from Central London with children to go round the countryside for the day is not all that cheap but not all that expensive either.

Michael Dower

Did you research the link that Clive was pointing to? It is an intelligent idea and it was being used, but did you research to which needy groups it related?

Marion Shoard

I interviewed passengers on the bus on the last Sunday in August talking to about 35 people, and there certainly were people from London with children. I talked to a family from Tottenham in North London who had come all the way across London by public transport to go on the bus; they were not rich people and they lived on a housing estate which they described as 'pretty awful'. There were tourists also - and people like you and me - but certainly there were some who were, in the jargon, socially deprived, and people with children on that bus.

D.E. Hogan *(West Yorkshire County Council)*

Mr. Chairman, would you care to admit that you have failed to get the audience to identify that there is a need to visit the countryside? No one has identified the need. They have rambled off into 'demand', and minority groups, and we have not yet culled evidence that there is a real need - as there is a need to breathe, to eat, to drink, to sleep. Is there any need in the special meaning of that word?

J.R. Duffell *(Hatfield Polytechnic)*

Martin Fitton talked about a 'net set of desires'. It is not for us to say that they are desires. We may decide that we think it is good that people should be given the opportunities and awareness of them but to say that they are desires is quite wrong.

D. Hellard

It seems that almost all the people here have said that there are problems of deprivation and disadvantage in the urban areas, so if they are there are we trying to turn a blind eye to the problems that are close to hand? There are things that could be done there, à la Ed Berman it seems, which do begin to encourage people to look out and see the opportunities. From a practical point of view my members - farmers - the people who are doing other things on the land out there - may be in a better position to cope with increasing numbers of people if they have an increasing awareness and interest in what is going on in the countryside.

J.A. Jeffrey *(Loughborough University of Technology)*

Isn't the real problem that in terms of aims and aspirations, there is a set of internal and external constraints. The bus journey is nice but it is not a very big market - very much a minority. I think Mr. Matthijsse put his finger on one aspect when he mentioned opportunities. The person who survives in the commercial field is living on opportunities the whole time and he could put them into action quickly without having to discuss things.

J.A. Jeffrey (Cont.)

There are constraints but we don't understand them. How many other people from Tottenham are going to go all across London to ride on a Surrey bus? The constraint might be that not many people in that part of north London are aware of such a service, and it might be that we should be looking perhaps for simpler answers.

M.F. Collins *(The Sports Council)*

I wanted to take up Mr. Hogan's point about whether there is a need to visit the countryside because I think it is in danger of misleading this whole section of the discussion. We have to be clear whether we accept the thesis in Ziona's paper about needs. Needs are not related to activities in any one-to-one relationship so there is no need to visit the countryside. No one has a need to go water-skiing. A need to get in touch with nature might be just as well satisfied by visiting one of Ed Berman's city farms or London Zoo, or by going to the top of Snowdon. I think there is the nature of that relationship, and what it does at the national and regional levels is that it blows conventional supply and demand analysis out of the window because you can't aggregate it and you can't disaggregate it. It then leads us to say, "Well, how do you relate that to the expressed demand?" I think there is an intermediate stage that we haven't talked about, which is a desire to go to the countryside when you have some vague idea that the countryside might be a nice place, you then have a demand for a site, some of which you can express, and some of which you can divert. I am not just playing with words: I really believe this is very important. If we do a conventional supply and demand analysis on individual activities, we double count what people want to do enormously - and we shall end up by providing vast numbers of countryside areas, vast numbers of water areas, which are never going to yield an adequate social or economic return, or even very much satisfaction either, and they will consume a lot of resources. It is possible to do a conventional marketing analysis at the site level. I am not sure that there is a very clear analysis of this desire to get out into the countryside which can be expressed in a dozen different ways at the intermediate level; and I am very sure we don't know what 'basic human needs' are at the moment.

Michael Dower

We talked yesterday - this is the third part of this first section - about people's image of countryside: what perceptions do people have; are they ignorant and fearful about it; and do they see the countryside as a facility to visit?

Remembering Ed Berman's slides of the responses of children to goats behind factories, how does he see the link between the 'real' countryside as one might describe it for purposes of debate;

Michael Dower (Cont.)

and elements of countryside - farm animals and so on. Does he see the early farm as a substitute for the countryside, as an introduction to it, or are these terms irrelevant to him in the sense that he sees a continuum anyway?

Ed Berman *(Inter-Action Trust Ltd)*

It seems as if we are talking about people and yet we're not - again. You are talking about things that are quite academic. If I try to picture what the real fears are, people that I know very well would no more get on a bus to go out to the countryside to something they don't know, with people they don't know, than they would think of going to Mars. All of our needs are so complex that you could put anything in front of someone and they would consume it. I am afraid of the 'plastic' countryside, leisure parks or whatever being prepared for people as a consumer commodity. People in the city and I am not talking just about one class now, feel much more comfortable going into something they can pay for. It is a very strange phenomenon - it is because it is safe, it has been explored. It has been safe because you would not have to pay for it if it were not safe. But if we are talking about people enjoying those things that we all value, the rhythm is different. I grew up in the countryside so I want to get back into a rhythm that I was brought up in - a little town in Maine. But for people who grew up in the city that rhythm is so different. We alluded to these things earlier: the children who go out into the countryside want to leave the first night - it is a very different experience to see that there are stars without street lights.

If we start from people, and I do see it as a continuum by the way - if you lay on a bus from Kentish Town and get an 'interest group' together, they will go, because they will feel comfortable with each other. It will be a lark, and they will divide up into a husbands' group and a wives' group and so on. They would try out a trip if they felt secure. The bus in Surrey is a good idea for some people - there is nothing wrong with that idea.

I am sorry I coined the phrase 'City Farms' because people now think I want to set up city farms - I don't. I want people to be interested in something that I am guessing they're interested in. If you consider all our thinking processes, none of us thinks in little boxes, it is a whole complex of things. So if you say, "Are you thinking from the facility or from the people?", I reply, if I am realistic, that I am thinking in terms of what I can control. There's a piece of land there which I am going to steal so that I have a little bit of power. Or, if I am a planner or a local authority and I own something then I know I have got that. The thought process all happens at once. I think people probably need this, and they are also demanding this, so I

Ed Berman (Cont.)

shall be a little paternalistic and I think they should have their real needs satisfied and to hell with their demands, they seem a little cheaper, or whatever. That is a very complex process and I don't see how you can talk about it without looking at it from a marketing point of view, then you will get rid of a lot of academic research. Let's sell them the darned thing because we know it's good!

R.N. Young *(Countryside Commission)*

Three small points about need: I was at university for 3 years during which time I was not allowed to go further than 3 miles from the city centre, and during that time I never really felt enormous need, though I am a country person. I was very satisfied by a small walk across an area of closely mown grass and down 100 yards of canal in a suburb. The second point is: 6 months ago I was living in the very centre of Mexico City with no transport. After 5 weeks there I was getting slightly neurotic because I had not seen anything that I could identify as nature, even though there was a park near the centre of town. I put that down to the intensity of the urban experience of a city which did not offer me even the possibility of walking along a canal bank. The third point is: I now live in a village of 145 souls. I don't very often walk out into the fields these days - I'm actually very busy working - but I don't have much time, occasionally I like to know its there.

Now I put these as three examples: being cooped up in one place but having enough opportunity to commune with nature and I would suggest that to some people that is enough to have a plane tree to stand under in Sloane Square; to be in Mexico and having not enough contact with nature with an incredibly intense hum of traffic around one and getting neurotic about it; and being in a wholly country place and having it completely around you but not going out and seeking it that much.

Many people tend to say that we have a spiritual need - that it satisfies the spirit in some way. It is my personal belief that it is true: I am a person for belief - I am not so much a person for research. How many people have a spiritual need or get some spiritual recharge from the country? And at what time of their life do they get that recharge or particularly need it? And in what particular state of mind do they need it? Those are the kind of questions that might elucidate whether there is a need, and whether therefore, people can be deprived. We say inner city people are deprived, and my own experience of Mexico would say, yes, that's true, if you cannot get to countryside, but how many people feel that need? Is there any spiritual value in it?

B.S. Duffield

Mr. Chairman, those questions will not be answered by belief but by research and I think that is the point that we have to consider.

Michael Dower

Right. We will pick that up in the fourth section.

D. Lowenthal *(University College London)*

Ed Berman's view seems bleak to me. By suggesting that however unfamiliar or frightening the countryside might appear to the people of Kentish Town, the response to the farm would indicate that they also feel that it is part of their heritage, part of their own background. That is what Kentish Town once used to be and they belong to the countryside background in a way. This is not an unusual experience, it is an almost universal experience, even for the most urban of urban dwellers. Everyone buys calendars, postcards and pictures of one type or another with countryside scenes. These satisfy something in everybody. I think that if we go along with the assumption that only that which you see and that which is familiar is desirable or necessary, then we lose the whole point of what Marion Shoard was saying this morning, people need and can be brought into a situation where they will have new experiences. The Fresh Air Plant in the United States, showed that within a matter of a week or two, children who were frightened at first by countryside experience rapidly come to feel quite differently about it. I come back to what David Hellard was saying earlier, I think that we should recognise the fact that a countryside exists: now whose is it?

A. Mattingly

Michael Dower posed the idea of what sort of image we have of the countryside. If you look at chocolate boxes and your children's books and all the rest of it, you see a countryside of about 30, 40, 50 or 100 years ago. If we make a conscious decision that that is the kind of countryside we want, if is going to raise a lot of other practical and policy questions in the rural scene. If on the other hand, we want to introduce them to fresh air, space and the countryside as it is, or as it is becoming, because of their urban demands upon it for houses, food and all the rest of it, then I am fearful that we are going to get people familiar with a countryside which just won't be like that when you get them out there.

D. Lowenthal

But that's inevitable in all aspects of life and environmental experience. What people expect in an environment is out of date. The question is, how much out of date, how far away from reality

D. Lowenthal (Cont.)

and how easily or with how much difficulty can you bring those things together?

Michael Dower

David Lowenthal is a representative of a great school of thought and we ought to be giving more consideration to environmental perception study of the landscape heritage. It was very intriguing, after I had posed in the first paper ideas and perceptions which were possibly elitist, to find from Martin's evidence that it wasn't so far from what a large body of the population conceive. We need more of this perceptive, perhaps qualitative, insight into people's image of the countryside, not only to help us see what fears they have and what factors are constraining them in getting there, but also what kind of facilities we should be providing.

A. Mattingly

Mr. Chairman, if I can just make one point before you pass on to the next section. For what it is worth, my conclusion from the discussion which we have just had about needs and demands is that it is perhaps no very bad thing for the planners, the providers of recreation facilities in the countryside, to concentrate very largely on demands and not get too worried about needs. Perhaps because over-concentration on needs can lead to a very patronising attitude. It seems to me that concentration on demands would be no bad thing with the provision that a lot of effort was put into enabling the disadvantaged sections of the community - the inarticulate sections of the community - to be able to voice their demands. Provision has been made very much in response to demands from pressure groups such as the Ramblers' Association. But the Ramblers' Association, as much as any other pressure group, suffers from the fact that it only represents a certain sector of the community, the articulate section. But if the inarticulate section of the community could somehow be drawn out, if the providers of recreation could go into their communities and find what they think they want, then does it really matter whether that is what they need or not?

Michael Dower

In the second section of this discussion I would just like to take a brief look at the factors which may constrain or facilitate the expression or meeting of needs.

I would just like to remind you of the main elements. There is the whole business of awareness, exposure to the countryside. Whether people have it in their background; and what that implies for the role which education may play; the possible chain recreation of children gaining an understanding and the impact their

Michael Dower (Cont.)

awareness may have on their parents; and how one can use information systems. That is one whole set of factors.

Then there are the other factors related to demand. The amount of leisure time people have; their mobility; the family constraints; their concept of the car, which I thought was a fascinating thing that Martin pointed up towards and wants to see further researched. What he described as their preference and social position; the influence of sub-culture, which Ed Berman referred to when he suggested that the best point of contact was via their interest group.

Then on the supply side, there is a whole series of factors which constrain the meeting of needs to countryside activity. The simple lack of countryside facilities and of access to them. On the other hand there are alternative or substitutable facilities, and this raises again the question of whether urban equivalents can really substitute many of these people's needs for what they might regard as countryside.

C. Bancroft *(Forestry Commission)*

The discussion in my group centred on the lack of understanding of a continuum from the urban to the rural setting and the way it provided for the several needs of the community. We were seeking the panel's view on how recreation provision related to the conservation interest in the countryside, and also the urban renewal programme which will obviously have some effect on provision for recreation.

Michael Dower

The latter really does seem to me to be pretty crucial. Are at least some of these needs going to be met by resourcefulness in the use of urban land which is something which several people have been calling for through the conference, the use of marginal lands in the urban area or urban fringe. Is the creation of a pathway system running right through the city and using marginal lands as well as parks going to meet these needs?

G. Thomas

I think it is going to meet it initially. I will give you one simple example. We established a nature reserve very near a heavy coal mining area, and if you think that people do not appreciate natural life in the heavy industrial areas, then you are absolutely wrong. What has been surprising to me is how people that are underground or in the factories throughout the day respond to a natural environment and natural activity. We started it as a small nature reserve: it was an embarrassment to us. We had 817 people before a Sunday lunchtime and it was nearly destroyed. There is an insatiable demand for this in the

G. Thomas (Cont.)

heavy industrial areas - an astonishing reaction. Old men who have never seen anything like it before, sit there for 20 - 40 minutes waiting for a kingfisher to come out.

It is essential that you get the local people involved. By that means, vandalism is reduced to reasonable levels.

J.A. Coley *(Bradford College)*

I would just like to make a comment that if we go back to children and their early learning, the completely artificial, man-made environment that they live in means that in the classroom you have to teach a child that water flows downhill: how else can he learn that? It is better to learn in a natural environment among trees, natural slopes, hills and beaches than in an artificial concrete environment.

J.M. Fladmark *(Countryside Commission for Scotland)*

What came up in our discussion relating to the constraints was the feeling that recreation is tending to become fully institutionalised. The public sector, has tended to neglect public participation. The last speaker this morning opened up new possibilities as to how it might be done with a greater degree of participation and perhaps in a more effective way of spending public money.

Michael Dower

Are you saying that provision is more likely to be related to what people need if the people themselves are involved in the activity of the provision?

J.A. Jeffrey

Very frequently it may completely alter the profile of the users who might be using these resources. Alter any one component and you will have some effect on the consumer. If the management team is facility orientated, then you are going to get poor use of the facilities by the consumer. It has to be a consumer orientated approach.

D.J. Newman *(Gwynedd County Council)*

I would like to return to what Mr. Thomas said: I think we have possibly learnt more about needs through providing something and then seeing the reaction of people to it than we would ever have done through social research. I believe that there is still work to be done at the site level, by studying the things that we provide. By changing their management of them, putting new and different things in to see who is using it, why they are

D.J. Newman (Cont.)

using it, their accessibility to it.

Michael Dower

There is a clear major gain to be made through experiments and monitoring their progress, as the Countryside Commission, for example, has done. But at the same time, such experiments tend to take place within the context of the institutional system as it is writ. There are plenty of things that research can do: one is to reach through the institutional system and get at people as people, rather than as victims of the system. If you only acted by experiment and monitoring you would be in danger; if you only acted by research you would be in danger. The right way is to combine the two.

D. Hellard

There are problems of recreational use of the countryside. They are often over-stated and there are a lot of apocryphal stories about what has happened. Farmers do get problems - not necessarily from people, but from dogs, or from rubbish - and from cars being parked in the wrong place. For goodness sake begin to think about these problems in advance, because the countryside at the moment, as it is used, could not take a massive increase in casual use.

I also question the benefits to the rural economy. We have heard about the financial possibilities of farm tourism, very little money seems to come in from day visitors. I think it is important in the general debate about how we keep rural services going, that we consider whether visitors can help to support these services for the benefits of all.

A.M.F. Fitton

I agree with you partially but I have just looked at the effectivness of the upland management experiments in Snowdonia, a major recreational area. It is surprising how upland management, demonstrates the National Park's concern about the problems and this brings the farmers round to accept the experiment. Of course one of the factors is that upland farming can probably support heavier recreational pressures than lowland arable farming.

D. Hellard

Yes, I would pat the Commission on the back for that sort of management work; it needs to be developed.

A.M.F. Fitton

But general use of the countryside - we don't know whether people want it or not - still less whether it causes major intolerable problems.

A. Mattingly

But isn't the short answer to David, not that people going for day trips into the countryside should be asked to pay 10p or 20p for the footpath but that the whole structure of grants through the Ministry of Agriculture from the European funds is made much broader and these should be grant aided for recreation provision as well as landscape preservation.

D. Hellard

This is a whole other sphere - I think it is a vital factor.

Michael Dower

This is all good stuff and could be taking place at any conference on countryside recreation, but with the emphasis on Countryside for All, I think we should perhaps not get into the details of the institutional system; but examine two of the bigger issues which have been suggested by discussion study groups.

One of these is: do we need an Urban Parks Commission, or the extension of the remit of the Commission, ought we to be recognising in the governmental system the continuum, which I posed to Ed and which he accepted, from the smallest informal open spaces in the city, out into the countryside?

As a corollary to that, should the 'C' be taken out of CRRAG, ie should it no longer be a countryside group; should it not rather be a Recreation Research Advisory Group?

A. Mattingly

I always thought that this distinction between town and country in a recreational sense was purely artificial and in many ways it has restricted provision of recreation rather than the reverse. If we look back, this division has come about as an accident of history. Michael Dower referred to the two strands of the recreation movement - the National Parks' mountain and moorland side; and the urban recreation movement; if you trace these back further to the early part of the 19th century, you find they have common roots. They both started up towards the end of the industrial revolution; the original amenity recreational organisation was set up in the 1820s, I think in Manchester. If you look at the debates of the Select Committee which was set up around that time, there was no distinction drawn between urban and country recreation, and I think this only came about as an

A. Mattingly (Cont.):

accident of history; there was a lot of legislation on common land - the Law of Property Act 1924 gave access to urban commons. So at that time a large part of the aspirations of those people fighting for urban recreation had been achieved and the attention of people working in the field was then shifted to National Parks and the countryside. That dichotomy grew up and it has persisted ever since but it is quite artificial.

T. Huxley

There is a distinction between the 1967 Countryside in Scotland Act and the 1968 Act. Within the 1967 Act the Secretary of State for Scotland was charged with defining the boundaries of countryside on maps. He said that 98½% of Scotland is countryside and the remainder is not. My Commission has recently been looking at possible amendments to the legislation, and one of the issues they have looked at is whether there is a need to amend the designated area. Very properly they have seen fit to leave the matter exactly as it is; because the Secretary of State is hoist on a petard of his own making, of ten years ago. As the towns expand into what was countryside, increasingly, what has been designated as countryside is part of urban areas. This means that the Countryside Commission for Scotland can work in urban areas. For those reasons and in those terms, I see no need for an urban commission. There are quite a number of other bodies in Scotland to represent conservation.

Michael Dower

Muriel Laverack gave her apologies for having to depart for Lynton, and I would like to read a short section from notes she gave me before she left.

It is a reaction to Marion Shoard's paper.

"She does not appear to have noticed that the Countryside Commission has been coming down from the hills for a decade, pausing on the way at coasts, AONB's, country parks and picnic sites - and reached the urban fringe - and some people hope we won't stop there. I have been told twice here that there is a need for an urban commission to do in towns what we do in the countryside right up to the urban door; and I mean the door of urban areas such as Manchester, Birmingham and Barnsley - places where people cannot very easily go for short rides in the Chilterns. As someone reminded me last night, we managed to grant aid tree planting within a mile of Manchester".

This really is crucial to our purpose - whether, forgetting the Countryside Commissions, and the Countryside Act for the moment, we ought to be able to run our recreation planning systems right through into the cities.

C.E.B. Gordon

Something which has struck me for a long time - and there are rare exceptions: Manchester is one; I think Glasgow is another; Sheffield to some extent is another - is that we lack a comprehensive view of what we are trying to do in informal recreation. Over the last few decades there has been a drift in urban recreation provision away from providing informal facilities towards sport and more formal recreation, with the result that you may read on a plan that a path exists, and when you arrive you find that it is a vast plain of playing fields, and there is no resemblance to what I would regard as a park. In spite of the fact that little development has taken place, it is worth looking at the distribution of resources. The annual expenditure on urban parks in this country is of the order of £4m. The figure for the National Parks is £3½m. It is £4½m, I believe, for the rest of informal recreation. For the Sports Council it is £11m a year. There is an enormous difference between these resources and the way in which they are being used, and the ideals and ambitions of those who are making the provision.

I think we must ask very major questions about the horticultural approach to the provision of urban parks. For the record, I started life as a horticulturalist, and it has worried me ever since! There is a fantastic annual expenditure on bedding schemes which may be very valuable in their own right, but I wonder about the relationship between that expenditure and others. I have felt for a number of years that there is a need for the creation of some kind of national parks system broken down locally and regionally.

Dr. F.B. O'Connor

The Nature Conservancy Council remit is in no way constrained by distinction between the rural and the urban area. We are charged with fostering nature conservation - and you can foster it equally well within the urban boundary as outside it. I firmly believe that wildlife conservation is for people and that there is a large untapped opportunity for introducing people to the ethic of conservation in a broad sense, within the urban perimeter.

There is a vast area of land - something like 25,000 acres in London which is not being used for anything very much at the present time, so there is plenty of opportunity for what I would call creative conservation within the urban fringe. We have recently commissioned a study to examine the scale of these opportunities. On the basis of that report, we propose to establish some experimental conservation areas. These will be fairly low in their biological quality; there is no question of that, but perhaps that does not matter. What really matters is the way in which people react.

Dr. F.B. O'Connor (Cont.)

I think that we have hinted, in our discussion up to now, that there is a danger in introducing people either to recreation opportunities or to conservation experiences within the urban boundary because we thereby create a much bigger demand which flows out into the wider countryside. There are very large, untapped opportunities, which I think it behoves us to take, without worrying too much about the possible long term consequences of increasing the pressures on areas outside the urban fringe.

M.F. Collins

I think we need another national agency like a hole in the head. We have an agency that can give us all the advice and help we need in the Department of the Environment - if it worked. I am sure that if you extended the remit of the Countryside Commission into the towns, you would not exacerbate that basic dilemma between the two main aims of the commission, which Michael Dower pointed to in this opening paper.

I would like to pick up Clive Gordon's point because I think it is persuasive but dangerous. He is confusing the responsibility of planning and what has happened in relation to demand. I think he is also confusing what things cost and what needs to be done. The fact that a lot of money is going into sports facilities is partly because a lot of sports facilities are expensive, and doing it on the cheap would not be any answer whatsoever. Not all countryside recreation is expensive but that is not to say that enough money is spent on countryside recreation. I object to that simple sort of dichotomy. We are talking about extending informal recreation and most countryside recreation is a lot less informal than a bunch of kids kicking a football round. It is a lot more structured, a lot more organised and a lot less casual than that and I don't like this term 'informal recreation' being enshrined. An 'Informal Recreation Commission' seems to me to be a daft concept.

Michael Dower

No more daft than a Minister of Sport!

J.A. Jeffery

When we come to look at the investment that local governments have put into recreation in the last ten years it is frightening when you add it all up. Yet most of it is hidden under the label 'Miscellaneous Local Government Spending'; an amount in excess of £1,000 million a year. The spending of the Sports Council or any other body is peanuts by comparison. That still ignores the enormous investment by voluntary agencies. But don't lose sight of the fact that voluntary agencies are really putting in more time, effort and money and, in many ways, professionalism into the way that local things might be run. If you were to try to

J.A. Jeffery (Cont.)

replace that resource with paid officials there would be nothing left with our local government miscellaneous item of expenditure.

Michael Dower

Before we move on to research, there is one aspect of provision we haven't discussed: the field of information education, exposing and stimulating awareness of interests. There is a role for the provider bodies to be stimulating the awareness of those who do not now come. The question that came up from Michael Collins' discussion group was a suggestion that the CRRAG agencies, and particularly the two Countryside Commissions, should look at means of reducing the fear and uncertainty which many visitors to the countryside feel. Through education for the children, television and press coverage. We have heard that the Countryside Commission is looking again at the country code and has been urged today by Marion to look at rights as well as duties of people in that country code.

Marion Shoard

Thank you Chairman. On the question of interpretation, Sylvia Law, of the GLC suggested a few years ago that a countryside interpretation centre should be built in Hyde Park to tell Londoners and tourists how to get into the countryside. If Mrs. Laverack were here, I would respond to her criticism of my assertion that the Commission had not seriously attempted to open up types of recreation experience and types of countryside in the lowlands to anything like the extent they have done in the uplands, with two questions. Why did the Countryside Commission reject, or decline to back, Sylvia Law's proposal for an interpretation centre in the middle of London? If the Commission are so serious about giving priority to the lowlands why have they failed to establish any National Parks in lowland England? After all, the definition in the National Parks Act was that National Parks should be selected (a) because of their natural beauty, and (b) because of their accessibility to centres of population. There is a whole string of areas in lowland England which fit that definition just as well, if not better, than the 10 parks that have been created, all in the uplands. The sort of areas that come to mind are the Dorset Downs, the Chilterns, the Wye Valley, the Hampshire Downs, the Somerset Levels even, because beauty is not necessarily the same thing as wildness in everyone's eyes, and yet the Commission are still trying to pretend that it is. They point to areas of outstanding natural beauty, but how much money has the Commission actually spent on them and on providing for recreation in them? The last time I rang them up a few weeks ago they didn't have a clue; and that gives some indication, I feel, of how important they believe AONB's are.

Michael Dower

Well, maybe you will go to their conference on AONB's on 22 November at which they are asking themselves and the conference exactly those questions.

A.M. Jenkinson *(Countryside Commission)*

I am with the Countryside Commission at the moment to run the guided walk experiments around the West Midlands, which is one attempt to provide interpretation for the people at the point at which they have gathered. In the course of this event we completely ignored the distinction between urban and rural countryside. Two or three of the dozen sites we selected are in the heart of the West Midlands conurbation. It is notoriously difficult within the conventional adult education system to reach the people though it may not be quite so difficult in the school system. One of the things that worries me is that one recognises a stereotype of those who make use of any or all adult education facilities - and it is always the same group who are excluded.

G. Thomas

We have found it is a good idea to let each school have its own separate nature reserve. The question of interpretative centres is very vital. We have opened two up to now and there are another 4 or 5 planned and this is a very vital part of education. It is working well, but it is done at grass roots, in schools and also nature reserves. The interpretive centres - I may say, are built by the young people themselves, the materials being paid for by us.

R.M. Sidaway

I think Marion knows the answers to most of those questions anyway. The countryside is rather a large place, and it is easy for anyone to point out which bit we are not looking at at the moment, so I think we are easy prey on that score, and we are not unresponsive to some of the points that you are making. we don't spend a lot of time questioning whether or not we should be going into this or that area, or what our remit should be - we are quietly getting on with the job.

Mrs. J. Bostock *(Countryside Commission)*

You can find out what people want, surely what matters is what happens to that information, and how that is used? At the moment there is a tremendous amount of what Marion would call "1960's thinking" in all of the pressure groups - the conservation bodies - a preservation orientation. Indeed, the mass media have done a tremendous job on the general public, getting them aware of conservation. How many nights do you turn on the television and see a programme about your recreational opportunities

Mrs. J. Bostock (Cont.)

as opposed to conservation or preservation? The public have been won over tremendously to the 1960s attitude which is not, 'what are your rights?' but, 'what is against your rights?'

Ed Berman

Who uses the countryside most? The people who live there, or the people who have second homes there? The solution clearly is to give everyone a second home there. Now, we are not going to do that, but that clearly is what the middle class is doing now. It is buying up as many homes in the countryside as it can, in order to buy itself a breathing space. All of us would do that if we could. But if we consider the deprived community that, allegedly, this discussion is about there must be some practical scheme for helping them.

What about twinning? If we have twin cities, why can we not have a twinning system within our own country? It's cheap, it's private, and it can be regulated to some degree and made safe through some kind of agency. It is only one step beyond farm open days. You could start a chain reaction, because we have the appeal of the outdoors, people feel that it is accessible, it relates to their neighbourhood. What we should be doing is inviting farmers in towns on certain days - making a big to-do about Farmer Jones coming there - and it starts a chain of events. People would then feel secure - "My friend John Smith is a farmer and a group of us could go down to his farm because he invited us." Now if that were repeated, time after time, and we started a twinning system, we could begin to talk in human terms.

Michael Dower

Now I insist that we talk about research for a short while at this conference! I think it was Reg Hookway who pointed to the dilemma of whether this should be a policy conference or a research conference. We have no policy conferences in this field with this regularity and it interests me that CRRAG, as Reg described, is itself the research aim or instrument of the Chairman's policy group. I'm not at all sure it wouldn't be a good idea to get some of those Chairmen here, with their members of commissions and senior officers, and have debates like this; because otherwise it is left to us researchers. That really should not be the role of researchers alone: we should have the policy people here.

I hope, Roger, that you will take back that message and also I would put you on warning that I hope you will say in your concluding remarks how you react to the idea of dropping at least the 'C' from the name of CRRAG.

Can we now talk briefly about research. It seems to me there have been three broad areas implied or directly proposed.

Michael Dower (Cont.)

The first is, the use of our existing research. Martin Fitton, for example, referred to the further analysis of the Commissions National Survey. It was suggested that the data, from a largish national sample, might be put through regional and local analysis. There is a great deal of other information being collected and we should ensure that it is put to good use. Incidently I hope the Commission will consider having a very substantial conference or conferences which really look at the implications of its survey both for policy and for further research.

Secondly, we have had a series of proposals made in the presentations at this conference for further research - for example on recreational impact; on the implications of peak recreational use; on the meaning of countryside and its images, and so on.

Others are pointing us strongly towards experiments and their monitoring and one of the study groups went so far as to say, "On future research needs the group tends to prefer research in the form of practical experiments of actual use, and the underlying reasons for such use." There have been a number of other proposals for experiments - for example that made by O'Connor proposing experiments on information systems.

T. Huxley

We have been discussing whether it is important for people to be aware of and understand the countryside. Now, if that research is to have some subsequent practical use then one needs to consider four aspects of understanding.

One relates to increasing understanding so as to provide for more politically articulate members of the community.

The second was to increase understanding so as to improve behaviour; and that tends to focus on the Aldo Leopold American approach, interpretation tends to be the word that is used a great deal.

There is a need to improve understanding for the purposes of improving the activities of groups such as the British Trust for Conservation Volunteers. Now, at a conference recently, I argued that you don't in fact need to understand say the biological flow of nutrients up a willow tree in order to be able to dig a decent ditch. I was told that I was talking nonsense and that you did. It is something which continually worries me, as one who does a great deal of digging and delving, whether all my ecological training actually makes a hap'orth of difference to my effectivness.

Lastly, it is frequently stated that one's enjoyment of countryside is improved by understanding it. I ask myself, when

T. Huxley (Cont.)

I listen to Radio 3 as I am papering a wall or whatever, whether my understanding of music is improved because I have been told about the 3rd coda in the 4th movement, all of which goes in one ear and out the other; and yet I still enjoy quite a lot of music.

Michael Dower

It is worth saying that one of the reasons why my unit and others are doing research for many of the CRRAG bodies into interpretation is to understand what effect their quite substantial cumulative use of resources is having, and how they might best use such resources. Tom Huxley's questions, which many otherwise sound somewhat theoretical have a practical outcome. If you are not clear what mechanisms of cognition for example people use, you may put up the wrong interpretive facility. By good sensitivity and intelligence you may get it right without the help of research; but if research can, in a structured and hypothesis setting way, throw light on what you are trying to do, then you will use your resources better.

B.S. Duffield

Earlier I raised the point about a comment made by Mr. Mattingly, that we have no need to worry about needs; we can just cope with meeting demands. If we accept that we might as well go home now: we don't need research. Research is not required if we are going to perpetuate the status quo. That is the significance of what Mr. Mattingly was saying: that we are prepared to accept recreation provision and recreation activity, its level and its composition, in just the way it is. However, if we are seriously going to look at the provision of Countryside Recreation for All, then only research addressing key policy issues, can begin to reformulate new policies to make that slogan into reality It seems to me that we have got to secure certain links through research, and understanding some of the key questions that have been asked during this conference.

Firstly, we have got to understand a lot more of the importance of leisure in people's lives.

Secondly, we have to know what are the returns from leisure: is it just risk, fun, entertainment, sociability, finding something new or learning?

Then, I believe we need more accurately to know how people perceive countryside. It is remarkable after all these years that we are still so ignorant as to how countryside is perceived by people who recreate in it and yet the Countryside Commission is celebrating its decade. There is still an incredibly mismatch between the providers on the one hand, and what we think the people want, on the other.

B.S. Duffield (Cont.)

Finally, the last dimension is this puzzle: to link together the perceptions and the returns as far as the countryside is concerned. Then we might be able to be more secure in our minds of what Martin was saying: that the countryside seems to be important to people.

I think research must go along in an orderly sequence of that kind and address itself to policy issues so that we can change policy and avoid the paternalism, and elitism which seems to underlie a lot of what has been said.

Michael Dower

Martin, I wonder if you or Roger could say what you see as the publication timetable to your major survey? What is going to happen when you have finished your rounds of analysis and how do you envisage it will become available to the body of people in this hall?

A.M.H. Fitton

By the end of the year we will have a number of working papers from various consultants. We hope to have a final report available next summer. We are very concerned to ensure the survey information is usable by the policy-makers and has some impact on policy.

D. Lowenthal

Could I suggest that there is a difference between analysis of data, and the type of research, that might be considered to open up new ground and ask new questions. Research that asks the kind of questions that we will be facing in a few years will seem 'crazy' today in many instances. Several examples of this kind of research have come up in the course of these two days, things which are touched on and then passed over. Let me give some illustrations of what I mean.

In your paper yesterday, Chairman, you suggested that the extent to which people like being gregarious, which was assumed to be a major distinction between types of recreation some time ago, is now very much open to question. Very little research has been done on this and it would be useful in countryside or recreation management.

In Marion's paper this morning she suggested it is possible to manage in combination pheasant-shooting and public access. Yet one finds that people who own estates or who manage game reserves take exception to this combination. What are the facts, and how can be improve the combinations of mutiple use?

D. Lowenthal (Cont.)

Thirdly, in the response of this group to the mention of hedgerows, tadpoling and buttercups, I detected not simply a feeling that this was old fashioned or irrelevant. I detected a sense of embarrassment about these kinds of activities. I suggest that some research is needed into the attitudes of decision-makers. I am struck by the fact at a conference on resource management for recreation practically every person at that conference came with a ruck-sack and had been or was going out into the countryside immediately before or afterwards. When I look in the hall here, I see not one - perhaps one.

M. Andrew *(West Yorkshire County Council)*

Speaking both as an elected member and as a member of an environmental organisation, can I ask that the research be usable by the elected member on the voluntary side. What I think we want to avoid is that it all ends up as archive material used only by the historical researchers of the future; I can see the value of much of the research and researchers are to be congratulated for the way in which they bring out registers and digests; but some of that is still difficult to read and the elected member may not have the background of the researcher, and if more can be done to make the work available in a readable way this would be very valuable.

Michael Dower

Will you allow me to thank my colleagues on the Panel, both for their contributions; and for their self denial in not making more so as to allow everyone to have a fair crack.

R.M. Sidaway

In the early hours of this morning an outsider to this group was saying how he felt that of the many things that were being said extraordinarily little was new. As I was listening to the discussion this afternoon, there was often a sense of déjà vu. As for instance when we started talking about agencies, and going round in circles in the 'try to re-organise the agencies game'. It seems to be a rather futile exercise compared with trying to get at what people want, and following the Berman line.

As far as the conference itself is concerned, it must be a basic tenet that we have organised the conference because we do not accept the status quo. While I agree with much of what Brian Duffield said, I don't think there is that tremendous mis-match between the provider and the user. Most of the evidence that we have had presented suggests that the users generally appreciate the countryside for what it is and in some cases they may not like the bureaucrats getting in the way.

R.M. Sidaway (Cont.)

That being said, I still think there is room for improvement in the way we manage facilities, or the types of facilities that we provide.

Policy conferences: firstly I will give you an assurance that whatever happens about policy conferences, it will not stop CRRAG holding conferences which are policy-oriented. I am a firm believer that research should not go on in ivory towers but should be relevant to the real world and to policies. I will ask the Chairman's Policy Group to comment on the need for policy conferences themselves. If you want to know about agencies' existing policies, then there are officers and organisations to tell you. If you want to get Chairmen thinking about new policies, you have to be very careful about putting them on the spot in a public arena. Do remember, as was pointed out, that the Countryside Commission is holding a conference to review the whole question of AONB's. Just one example where an organisation is openly thinking aload.

Taking the C out of CRRAG making it RRAG: That is also, I fear something of an old chestnut - I couldn't count the number of times that has been discussed in CRRAG. There is no pat answer to that that is going to satisfy you, Michael, I am afraid. Denis Howell said at a conference some 6 months ago, that if he was starting afresh he would not establish the organisations in exactly the present pattern, but that there was no particular point in rocking the boat at this stage. One of the fundamental questions to answer in this kind of debate is whether you want a national recreation agency and a national conservation agency. What we have is a shotgun marriage between the Sports Council and the Countryside Commission. These and the various options have not been thoroughly discussed for a long time. There are some fairly deep philosophical questions to be answered about whether we think it is a good idea to have a camp of conservationists over here and a camp of recreationists over there; or whether we should have an integrating agency concerned with the countryside. Really, we haven't changed the title of CRRAG because the formula seems to work.

As to the challenge on research, that is a challenge that CRRAG accept and we shall spend some time considering the various proposals. When we look back on this conference in a few years time I hope we will remember it as a significant event. I sense that is probably the mood. There has been a lot of questioning of assumptions; there are new directions for research which put people before resources and I hope it marks a turning point.

My final pleasant task is to thank you all for attending. Thank on behalf of CRRAG the speakers, and session chairmen; the panel and not least Michael Dower who stepped in at very short notice and took on a difficult task as the final chairman and

R.M. Sidaway (Cont.)

performed it admirably as I knew he would. Thanks to Janssen Services who always do such a splendid job for us; and to York University for the domestic arrangements and the pleasant campus. We hope to see you at Brighton next year when the topic will be The Coast.

Finally could I add a few words of thinks to my own staff who have done a lot of hard work behind the scenes: Steve Ash, David Marshall, David Joyce. I want to say a particular word of thanks to Laurie Andrews as this is his last year with us: he has been a pillar of strength behind the scenes at each of these recent conferences, and I think the way in which this conference has built up into an annual event in its own right, and almost indeed a policy conference, it's because it has been run very efficiently. Laurie has played a major part in that and I would like, personally and publicly to thank him very much *(Applause)*.

Laurie, take away with you the motto that CRRAG secretaries may come and CRRAG secretaries may go but CRRAG and CRRAG conferences go on, and on and on.....

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LIST OF DELEGATES

Anderson, Mrs. F.	Scottish Development Department
Andrew, Cllr. M.	West Yorkshire Metropolitan County Council
Andrews, L.W.	CRRAG Secretary
Archer, D.	Lancashire County Council
Ash, S.	CRRAG Secretariat
Bacon, A.W.	University of Sheffield
Ball, D.C.	Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries & Food
Ballard, Miss. L.	Essex County Council
Bancroft, C.	Forestry Commission
Baxter, M.J.	TRRU University of Edinburgh
Bee, R.A.	Manchester City Council
Belfield, E.	Countryside Commission
Bellwood, B.	Tyne & Wear County Council
Bennett, Cllr. Mrs. H.R.	Greater Manchester Council
Berman, E.	InterAction Trust Ltd
Besent, J.I.	Conservators of Epping Forest
Billion, Dr. F.	Umlandverband Frankfurt
Blackie, J.A.	TRRU University of Edinburgh
Bostock, Mrs. J.	Project Officer Countryside Commission
Brassey, P.A.	PGL Young Adventure Ltd
Brook, M.T.	Bretton Hall College of Higher Education
Broom, Mrs. C.	Hatfield Polytechnic
Broom, G.	English Tourist Board
Bull, C.J.	Bedford College of Higher Education
Bull, R.J.	Countryside Commission
Butler, Cllr. F.R.	Greater Manchester Council
Butterfield, J.H.	Leeds Polytechnic
Carr, J.	Sports Council (East Midlands)
Carter, R.	Scottish Tourist Board
Casson, J.	North West Water Authority
Champion, D.	Countryside Commission
Church, S.	Devon County Council
Clarke, C.	Argyll & Bute District Council
Clark, Miss. I.J.	Somerset County Council
Clark, L.	Youth Hostels Association (England & Wales)
Colebourn, P.	Hampshire County Council
Coley, J.A.	Bradford College
Collins, A.D.	Sports Council (South West)
Collins, M.F.	The Sports Council
Costley, T.J.	CURS University of Birmingham
Craddock, R.	BBC Radio Cleveland
Dain, H.F.	Brighton Polytechnic
Daniels, R.	The Sports Council for Wales
Daniell, P.A.	British Waterways Board
Darlington, J.	Countryside Commission
Davies, Dr. I.	Scottish Sports Council
Davies, R.J.	Coopers & Lybrand Associates Ltd
Dixon, D.I.	Hampshire County Council
Dower, M.	Dartington Amenity Research Trust

Duffell, J.R.	Hatfield Polytechnic
Duffield, B.S.	TRRU University of Edinburgh
Dymond, P.	The Prince of Wales Committee
Edwards, J.H.	Social Science Research Council
Edwards, J.H.	North Yorks County Council
Eldridge, I.M.	Keep Britain Tidy Group
Elson, Dr. M.J.	Oxford Polytechnic
Emson, Dr. R.A.	University of London
Evans, J.G.	Welsh Office
Everett, R.D.	Wildlife Consultants Ltd.
Ferguson, M.J.	University College London
Ferguson, R.	Humberside County Council
Fitton, A.M.H.	Countryside Commission
Fladmark, J.M.	Countryside Commission for Scotland
Flinton, M.G.	Nottinghamshire County Council
Foster, W.R.	North West Water Authority
Foulkes, Miss I.	National Council of Social Service
Gardner-Smith, Miss. G.	British Tourist Authority
Garner, R.	Countryside Commission for Scotland
Garton, K.	Derbyshire County Council
Gilson, J.R.	Leicestershire County Council
Glyptis, Miss. S.	The Sports Council
Gordon, C.E.B.	Nottinghamshire County Council
Graves, R.J.E.	Hereford & Worcester County Council
Greville-Heygate, C.L.	Strutt & Parker
Groome, D.	University of Manchester
Hall, G.O.	Mid-Glamorgan County Council
Hall, R.K.	British Waterways Board
Hallam, S.E.W.	Janssen Services
Harland, G.	Transport & Road Research Laboratory
Harris, Mrs. J.	Surrey County Council
Harrison, M.H.	Leicestershire County Council
Hartman, R.	Greater London Council
Hellard, D.	National Farmers' Union
Heron, Dr. R.P.	CURS University of Birmingham
Hickie, W.S.	Staffordshire County Council
Higgins, J.A.D.	Department of the Environment (Northern Ireland)
Hill, M.	University of Bristol
Hogan, D.E.	West Yorkshire Metropolitan County Council
Holdaway, E.W.M.	Waverley District Council
Hookway, R.J.S.	Countryside Commission
Hopkins, S.J.	South Yorkshire County Council
Houghton, A.G.	Local Government Operational Research Unit
Housden, S.	Royal Society for the Protection of Birds
Hughes, C.L.	Cleveland County Council
Hunter, J.	Essex County Council
Huxley, T.	Countryside Commission for Scotland
Ingham, M.	Peak Park Joint Planning Board

Jebson, S.	Borough of High Peak
Jeffrey, J.A.	Loughborough University of Technology
Jenkinson, A.M.	Project Officer Countryside Commission
Johnson, Mrs. V.	Janssen Services
Joyce, D.	Countryside Commission
Kelly, J.	British Waterways Board
Kennedy, J.N.	Forestry Commission
Langmuir, E.D.G.	Lothian Regional Council
Lanning, W.	East Sussex County Council
Laverack, Mrs. M.D.	Countryside Commission
Leighfield, Mrs. M.	Commonwealth Bureau of Agricultural Economics
Linscott, Mrs. G.	The Guardian
Lowenthal, D.	University College London
Marshall, A.D.	Countryside Commission
Masterman, M.M.	West Yorkshire Metropolitan County Council
Matthijsse, L.	Stichting Recreatiegebied Spaarnwoude
Mattingly, A.	Ramblers' Association
McFadyen, Miss N.	East Cambridgeshire District Council
McKay, D.	Lancashire County Council
McHale, A.P.	South Yorkshire County Council
Meldrum, K.I.	Greater Manchester Council
Mellor, P.	East Lothian District Council
More, P.V.	Cheshire County Council
Morris, B.	Middlesbrough Borough Council
Moseley, Mrs. J.C.	Moseley Research Services
Nash, J.W.	Lake District Special Planning Board
Newman, D.J.	Gwynedd County Council
Newman, I.	Southern Water Authority
Oakes, R.	Forestry Commission
O'Connor, Dr. F.B.	Nature Conservancy Council
Oldfield, A.A.	Water Space Amenity Commission
Pannell, A.D.	Stratford on Avon District Council
Parkin, R.A.	North West Water Authority
Parnell, B.K.	Glasgow School of Art
Parry, B.E.	Sports Council (North West)
Patmore, Professor J.A.	University of Hull
Paynter, Miss M.E.S.	Heriot-Watt University
Prior, C.L.	Peak National Park
Pusey, Dr. J.G.	Department of the Environment
Puttick, A.C.	Department of the Environment
Pye-Smith, C.	TRRU University of Edinburgh
Quest, P.C.	North York Moors National Park
Ratcliffe, R.	Yorkshire Post
Reece, M.	East Sussex County Council
Rhind, Mrs. S.E.	Countryside Commission for Scotland
Rickett, Miss E.	Nature Conservancy Council
Rickson, I.M.	English Tourist Board
Ridges, M.B.	Southern Water Authority