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A Wilderness Paradox: Deconstructing Conflict in the Adirondack Park

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A WILDERNESS PARADOX: DECONSTRUCTING CONFLICT IN THE ADIRONDACK PARK

By

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Abstract

C. A. Sandrow. A Wilderness Paradox: Deconstructing Conflict in the Adirondack Park, NY, 106 pages, 4 tables, 7 figures, 2017, APA (American Psychological Association).

Environmental conflict is a continuing issue in the United States, particularly as conservation must occur across private and public lands. The Adirondack Park in upstate New York serves as a model to deconstruct such conflict. New York state recently purchased a large 20,798-acre tract of land known as Boreas Ponds within the Central Adirondack region and has stirred conflict between local organizations and environmental interest groups over its classification and how much of it should be designated "Wilderness". This study deconstructs the conflict by teasing out contributing factors through the use of discourse analysis, framing and content analysis. The results highlight contention is in part due to different values held by different stakeholders, particularly of wilderness preservation and access. There is also evidence to support different perceptions of wilderness by some of those living in the park and tourists. These findings support the need to address wilderness definitions in management.

Keywords: wilderness, environmental conflict, content analysis, Adirondack Park, land use.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Conflict over land use has existed within the Adirondack region since its inception as a park in 1892, However, with the establishment of the Adirondack Park Agency (APA) and the "blue line" boundary in 1971, conflict has continued as land use became more regulated (Terrie, 2008, 2009). Uniquely composed of both public and private land within its boundary, tensions over land use decisions are frequent. These intractable conflicts have usually involved various stakeholders including residents, state agencies, and environmental groups. Most of these conflicts emerge through the land classification process embedded within the acquisition of land by the state as debates emerge regarding the best use of the land and how it should be restricted or not, typically revolving around recreational access and preservation efforts (Terrie, 2008; Vidon, 2016). These conflicts serve to give us insight into how to handle environmental decision making as conservation in this country moves from acquiring large tracts of land (e.g., National Parks) to working within a matrix of private and public land (Knight, 1999). The conflict in the Adirondack Park exposes the needs and perspectives of the residents who reside in and near these areas and the desire for conservation and preservation that often originates from outside the park.

Environmental conflict situations require that multiple stakeholder values and perspectives be understood if there is going to be an attempt at management (Clarke & Peterson, 2016). Social theory provides a basis and methodologies for deconstructing such conflicts, which can serve to highlight areas where management can occur. Using the Adirondack Park as a tangible and current example, I utilize various social theories and qualitative analysis to deconstruct the conflict in the Adirondack Park surrounding the latest land acquisition – The Boreas Ponds Tract in the Central Adirondacks. This thesis will be comprised of three

manuscripts, distinct but related, that in different ways address current land acquisition and use in the Adirondack Park and the consequent conflicts that have emerged.

Tourism is the primary income for many residents of the park, particularly in the central Adirondacks (Tohamy & Swinscoe, 2014) and large attraction for those outside of it (Terrie, 2008, 2009; Tohamy & Swinscoe, 2014). Thus, the first manuscript will examine how tourism discourse portrays the Adirondack Park and how that differs from residents' perceptions of the Park. Baudrillard's theory of simulacra is utilized to synthesize these differences. This will reveal an initial look at the difference in perspectives between those who live in the Park and those who only visit. The second manuscript deconstructs the debate over the Boreas Pond acquisition and classification through a framing analysis of news media and stakeholder websites. Finally, my third manuscript is a content analysis of the written comments by the public regarding the acquisition. It assessed stakeholder participation in the processes as well as their interests. These three papers allow for a deeper understanding of the conflict including how perceptions come into play and how that translates through an active decision-making process. Applying these concepts to this case study can bring to light the complexity inherent in land use decision making that involves a matrix of public and private land and differing levels of stakeholder influence that can have lasting impacts on the landscape.

Literature Review

Environmental Conflict and Social Theory

In the United States, large land acquisitions acted as a means of conservation in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Merenlender, Huntsinger, Guthey, & Fairfax, 2004), with the creation of the National Parks system as an example. Trends in conservation through public land would continue into the twentieth century with the establishment of more regulation and agencies such as the National Wildlife Refuge System, which acted to acquire more land. However, while this approach has been important to conservation, it suffers some drawbacks. For example, a third of the species covered by the Endangered Species Act does not even reside on federal land (Wilcove, Bean, Bonnie, & Mcmillan, 1996). The US is still predominantly made up of private land; however, large acquisitions are not as feasible due to expenses (Santos, Watt, & Pincetl, 2014). Thus it is evident that conservation would need to occur across both public and private lands, and this becomes increasingly more relevant as climate change and development alter species ranges which already do not recognize political boundaries (Knight, 1999).

Working with private land comes with complications, including the opportunity for conflict over land use (Knight, 1999). A more current example of this is the use of easements and land trusts to establish broader conservation goals, however, they are not completely free of conflict (Merenlender et al., 2004). Land use, or environmental conflict, in particular, can be complex and is often defined by intractability over a long period of time with multiple parties coming in with diverse values over an issue rife with uncertainty (Clarke & Peterson, 2016). Understanding the complexity of such conflicts could aid in their management.

The communication literature is full of examples of environmental conflict approaches and uses of different analyses to understand those conflicts (Baruch-Mordo, Breck, Wilson, &

Broderick, 2009; Clarke & Peterson, 2016; Flores & Clark, 2001; Norton, 2015; Norton, 2007). Many take a look at a specific aspect of environmental conflict such as human-wildlife conflict (Treves, Wallace, Naughton-Treves, & Morales, 2006) or a particular area that is already part of public land, such as with the Quincy Library Group and utilization of three national forests in the California Sierra Nevada (Davis & Lewicki, 2003). While valuable in their analysis of conflict management, they do not best represent a conflict across a dynamic of *both* private and public lands. Case studies which highlight the conflict between private stakeholders (landowners) and the public land can help provide insight as to how to manage conflict as conservation moves to work across such interfaces.

There are few studies that highlight residency in relation to conflict, including one conducted by Saremba and Gill (1991) over ski resorts in mountain park settings in Canada. Through a mail survey and follow-up interviews, it was found that residents who were further away from the resorts preferred to see more wilderness characteristics preserved over residents who lived closer to the parks containing the resorts and relied financially upon tourism. This study highlighted attitudinal differences between rural residents who were adjacent to these areas compared to those who had to travel and the inherent conflict therein. While this study used an analysis of attitudes, deeper understanding of stakeholder perspectives can be gleaned from multiple other qualitative analyses and social theory.

There are multiple theories and analyses within the social sciences that can aid in deconstructing conflict which can show potential areas of management to move forward in a land use conflict that is controversial (Shmueli, 2008). Part of deconstructing an environmental conflict involves better understanding of the values and interests underlying various parties in the conflict (Clarke and Peterson, 2016) and hence analyses equipped to do so would be best suited

to approach such conflicts, including discourse analysis (Phillips & Hardy, 2002), framing, and content analyses (Davis & Lewicki, 2003; Neuendorf, 2002; Shmueli, 2008).

Framing analysis. Frames and framing are a constructivist concept that views reality as shaped and institutionalized through social interaction (Van Gorp, 2007). Framing is both a cognitive and a communicative concept. Cognitively, a frame is a filter through which people interpret and organize life experiences to fit within their own worldview and can be used to navigate complex situations (Entman, 1993; Goffman, 1974). They are also communicative in that they can be used to lead people to logical conclusions; a tool to rally, persuade and negotiate in the media (Entman, 1993; Shmueli, 2008). They function through the highlighting of particular points to expose a problem, cause, evaluation or recommendation that resonate with culturally relevant schemas (Entman, 1993; Van Gorp, 2007). As a frame is a particular way a problem or conflict is presented, it reflects a stakeholder's view of what issues are salient and what outcomes are desired (Davis & Lewicki, 2003).

Framing and content analyses have frequently been utilized in environmental conflict to understand the underlying values and interests of the various stakeholders involved in an issue (Davis & Lewicki, 2003; Fletcher & Fletcher, 2016; Shmueli, 2008). Craig Davis and Roy Lewicki (2003) provide a primer on the use of frames within environmental conflict and their role in dealing with intractability and their use within eight case studies in their research. These case studies highlighted how different frames used by stakeholders exacerbated conflict. For example, the Ohio Antidegradation Regulations Case had two stakeholder groups who tried to come up with guidance on how to regulate water quality standards in relation to waste discharge. Both groups framed the issue so distinctly, that communication was often halted entirely. Frames have also been used to aid decision-making in environmental conflict, as can be seen with the

Doan Brook Case. Davis and Lewicki (2003) reviewed this case where stakeholders worked with Northeast Ohio Sewer District to manage the 12-mile polluted brook that traverses urban and suburban neighborhoods and eventually drains into Lake Erie. Here framing was introduced to the stakeholders to better understand different perspectives and was used in a renewed effort to develop a water quality management plan.

However, these studies focus on urban/ suburban development. Fewer studies analyze cases where private property owners and public lands abut and cause conflict. One case, reviewed by Gray and Putnam (2003) concerns Voyageurs National Park in Minnesota and its initial inception which included the land acquisition of formerly private land. Contention continued over management of the park with the debate over allowing motorized uses or classifying it as wilderness. Conflict management frames are examined to analyze how stakeholders choose to proceed with a dispute or conflict (e.g., litigation frame, avoidance frame, sabotage frame), highlighting how understanding these frames can instead pave the way to conflict management by emphasizing the causes of intractability. Voyageurs highlights these points of intractability through revealing the different stakeholders' conflict frames surrounding litigation.

discourse analysis. Discourse analysis is another technique that can be utilized to critically assess themes and connections within a discourse (Gee, 2014). Discourse, specifically, is the language that informs how a thing is thought of and subsequently affects how we act around that thing; discourse can produce subjects, and affect how people act around a thing (Rose, 2016). This is greatly informed by the work of Foucault who focused on the ability of discourse to shape power dynamics within a society which is more spread then top-down as discourse is everywhere (Foucault, 1988; Rose, 2016). A discourse analysis is frequently used to

highlight disparities within a social system, environmental conflict is just one of many topics to be explored by discourse analysis (Butteriss, Wolfenden, & Goodridge, 2000). Much like framing analysis it can highlight perspectives and themes that support positions taken by stakeholders. Most of the literature on the use of discourse analysis highlights its capability as a tool in environmental policy creation (Butteriss et al., 2000) or disparities between groups, such as the case with wilderness tourism (Braun, 2002; Saarinen, 1998; Vidon, 2016). Wilderness tourism is a particular topic of relevance as it often focuses on land use between different stakeholders, much like the case with ski resorts in mountain parks mentioned earlier. Important work on the topic includes *The Intemperate Rainforest* by Bruce Braun (2002) that details the multiple perspectives involved with the classifying of land parcels within the northern forests of Canada's West Coast. The book explores the construction of nature in those forests but analyzes perspectives of those indigenous to the area, adventure travelers (tourists) as well as other groups like environmentalists.

While there is plenty of literature on environmental conflict in general, as well as the different qualitative analyses used to explore it, few have paid close attention to areas where public and private land abut each other in the US and drive environmental conflict. These conflicts have real implications for local private landowners as well as towards conservation and environmental management. Thus, the Adirondack Park in New York serves as a model to examine conflict where public and private land management is a central concern, specifically, what factors contribute to tensions in areas where "wilderness" exists close to the homes of people. These factors may be relevant to future conservation efforts as this becomes the model of conservation and park development.

The Adirondack Park

The Adirondack Park was established in 1892 and the Adirondack Park Agency, as well as the official "Blue Line" boundary, were established in 1971. With the APA's establishment came frequent conflict and debates over land use (Terrie, 2008). Debates within the Adirondacks about land use often center on types of recreation and access, in particular, motorized access, with the latest acquisition of Boreas Ponds being no exception (Brown et al., 2000). Residents of the local towns such as Newcomb and Long Lake rely on tourism to support their economies (Terrie, 2008; Tohamy & Swinscoe, 2014; Vidon 2017) and environmental groups often cite tourism as a benefit for preserving areas as wilderness (Brookes, 2001; Dawson, 2009; Fletcher, 2014; Terrie, 2008). However, wilderness in the Adirondacks is more than just a social construction or colloquial term, it is a legal classification by which the APA can assign public lands and is defined in the agency's regulatory document, the Adirondack Park State Land Master Plan (ASLMP) (Adirondack Park Agency, 2016). The wilderness classification is the most restrictive and precludes most built structures, bicycle, and motor vehicle use.

Research Questions and Objectives

In the first chapter, I conduct a discourse analysis of the tourism texts of the Adirondack Park and the interviews from park residents. Tourism texts are defined as Adirondack Park tourism marketing including brochures and mainly online websites. My research questions include: How does Baudrillard's theory on simulacra – representations of real "things" defining what is real - explain wilderness perceptions of the Adirondack Park between residents and tourists? In other words, how does wilderness defined through tourism in the Adirondack Park represent the park and how does that relate to what is physically there and how residents view the park.

In the second chapter, I discuss the framing analyses for media and stakeholders (press releases and websites) in regards to the Boreas Ponds Tract classification. Research questions

include: How do different stakeholders frame the conflict or process? What frames are utilized by the media to describe the conflict or process? How do these frames contribute to the conflict? How frequently are these frames evoked? My research objectives were to find out how the conflict is framed by both media and different stakeholders. This is informed by framing theory which stipulates that communication is framed and those frames impact how information is interpreted.

The third chapter consisted of a content analysis of the public written comment for the Boreas Pond Tract classification. The research questions include identifying who made up the participating public and what interests they had in the acquisition. Sub-questions included what comments were affiliated with interest groups and if interests and desired classification alternatives tended to any be associated with any of these factors. This study was predicated on the idea that content analysis, like framing analysis, can deconstruct communication of an issue through analysis of written text and how it's written. Finally, the larger thesis is synthesized through a final concluding chapter that integrates the results from all three studies

Chapter 2: The Trouble with Wilderness Tourism: Getting Back to the Real Adirondacks

Cheryl A. Sandrow

Abstract

The Adirondack Park in upstate New York is the largest managed land unit in the United States. It is also unique in its composition of both public and private land. Known for its wilderness and outdoor recreation opportunities, the Park has increasingly been the target of state efforts to expand wilderness tourism via increased advertising and purchases of private lands to expand the Forest Preserve. This has inevitably fueled conflict between the state, nature tourists, environmentalists, and some Park residents who must navigate a landscape consisting of more protected land designated as wilderness and a disappearance of manufacturing and resource-based industries upon which many Park communities were founded. Using data collected through in-depth interviews and discourse analysis of tourism literature, the author examines how different perspectives are informed regarding how much and what kind of access is permissible/socially sanctioned in "wilderness". Utilizing Baudrillard' s notions of simulacra as a framework, this paper thus argues that the messages communicated by state agencies and tourism literature produce wilderness as simulacrum to create an Adirondack Park whose landscapes are less accessible, even as the state promotes increases in public land. This narrative has significant impacts on the Park's landscape and the future of its residents, a central concern of this paper.

Keywords: Adirondacks, conflict, discourse, simulacra, tourism, wilderness

Introduction

Intractable environmental conflict is not new to the Adirondack Park in upstate New York. The Park with its unique matrix of public and private land within its boundary has spurred debates over land use even before the Park was established in 1892. All the while tourism has also increased in the region. Tourism is often mobilized in controversial debates over land classification for both those arguing for more preservation as well as for those who would like to see more modes of recreation in those areas, motorized forms in particular. Currently, a contentious debate is occurring between stakeholders in the land classification process for the last segment of a larger land acquisition of former Finch-Pruyn and Co. lands at Boreas Ponds. This conflict uses the idea of wilderness to both support and refutes classification for the tract…this same idea of wilderness that attracts so many tourists every year to the region. In this paper, I will adapt Jean Baudrillard's theory of simulacra (1983) to argue that wilderness produced through tourism campaigns and the wilderness idea itself is a simulacrum and exacerbates local conflicts over land use.

Simulacra

Jean Baudrillard's "Simulations" (1983) is a distinctly postmodern work in which he addresses modern society's interaction with signs and symbols. Here, Baudrillard used Eco's (1990) "hyperreality" as a point of departure for further considering the relationship postmodern society has with reality, signs, and symbols. For Baudrillard, the postmodern condition is one that has come to embrace simulacra, comprised of signs and symbols that have no reference to reality; we interact routinely with "hyperreality" rather than a tangible "real", and the elements of our world with which we interact no longer have a basis in material reality.

Baudrillard describes this transition of signs and symbols as a vanishing relationship to a "real" object through a precession of simulacra. This consists of four stages where the sign starts as a faithful copy and reflects some reality. Stage two, the sign is a perversion of reality and the sign is interpreted to be an unfaithful copy, hinting at some obscured reality the copy cannot fully represent. The third stage is the pretense of reality and where the copy has no original it's representing and masks this by claiming to be representative of something real. References to this copy are artificial and generated by human meaning. Finally, the fourth stage is the simulacrum and bears no relation to reality and in fact precedes this reality. Baudrillard uses the analogy of a map reflecting an empire in exact scale. As the empire grows and shrinks so did the map. As people work to represent themselves on the map the actual empire eventually dissolves through disuse and the map becomes the reality, aka the empire, that people use. Its use in this paper will be used to describe how wilderness described through tourism in the Adirondack Park precedes reality and acts as a simulacrum.

While abstract, this precession of signs to the simulacrum speaks to the development of copies that eventually work to reproduce themselves and constitute what is real, hence it's a *precession.* Key to understanding this concept is understanding that simulacra have no original thing it represents because the simulacra takes on a whole new meaning, and this is what is being interacted with and functions as "real". These modern interactions with simulacra are Baudrillard's description of hyperreality.

Simulacra and tourism in the literature are often cited in relation to theme parks (Mintz, 2004) such as Walt Disney World which Baudrillard (1983) himself uses as an example. However, on its own a simulacrum has no value judgment associated with it, neither a good or bad thing, it just *is*. Tourism is said to operate as a search for some form of authenticity (Wang,

1999). This search for authenticity has been a debated topic in the literature as a search for motivation on touring through seeking authentic places or objects, authentic experiences, what defines these (McCannell, 2013; Mintz, 2004; Wang, 1999). However, sometimes the experience can be authentic even though the destination is not and that operating within a simulation is not any less a valuable experience for it (Mintz, 2004; Urry, 2002). Wilderness tourism attracts people seeking to find traditional western notions of wilderness such as escaping modern civilization and seeking a "wild" experience in unspoiled landscapes (Fletcher, 2014). As this paper will argue, wilderness is a simulacrum, however, the concern is that productions of wilderness can become damaging when the search for the wilderness experience dictates decisions on land use within the Park – unlike theme parks.

The Wilderness Idea

Within the United States, the wilderness idea has undergone changes and resembles something entirely different than it started out as in western society. Going back to the time North America was colonized, it was seen as something to be physically conquered and was set in contrast to the biblical "Garden of Eden" As colonies were established and living daily life became easier it then changed into being a place preserved for its godliness during the transcendentalist movement by those like John Muir (Nash, 2014). The idea would then become contested as utilitarian and preservationist viewpoints clashed in the early 1900s, most famously depicted over the battle of Hetch-Hetchy between Gifford Pinchot and John Muir (Nash, 2014). While those different ethics still conflict today, the wilderness idea saw renewed fervor in the 1960s environmental movement with works such as *Silent Spring* and laws passed such as the Clean Air and Clean Water Acts. But most notably was the federal definition of wilderness with the Wilderness Act (1964). The Wilderness Act defines wilderness as follows:

> c) A wilderness, *in contrast* with those areas where man and his works dominate the landscape, is hereby recognized as an area where the earth and its community of life are *untrammeled by man*, where man himself is a *visitor who does not remain*. An area of wilderness is further defined to mean in this Act an area of undeveloped Federal land retaining its primeval character and influence, without permanent improvements or human habitation, which is protected and managed so as to preserve its natural conditions and which (1) generally appears to have been affected primarily by the forces of nature, with the imprint of *man's work substantially unnoticeable*; (2) has outstanding opportunities for *solitude or a primitive and unconfined type of recreation*; (3) has at least five thousand acres of land or is of sufficient size as to make practicable its preservation and use in an unimpaired condition; and (4) may also contain ecological, geological, or other features of scientific, educational, scenic, or historical value. (p.1) (emphasis added).

Herein lie the core beliefs of what wilderness is as well as some of the criticisms towards it. Protected areas that emerge from this act are part of the core missions of several environmental organizations such as the Sierra Club and the Wilderness Society. Tracts of land where, "…man himself is a visitor who does not remain." is an example of what is often used to justify preservationist goals of these environmental groups, highlighting American ideals of wilderness and how it informs environmental action (Nelson, 2009). However, although the wilderness idea has seen more support in western history, it has received its fair share of criticism as well, starting in the 1980s and 1990s philosophers and critics released multiple publications on the matter.

Key to understanding the wilderness idea is the constructivist nature of its criticisms. The wilderness may be a label to a real physical place, but criticism lies in the *idea* and the constructivist philosophy that this idea is shaped through social construction and interactions, and permeates a particular community and its collective consciousness; essentially the wilderness idea is a social construction. This idea of wilderness is problematic in a few ways, largely for its separating of people and nature (Braun, 2002; Cronon, 1998; Nelson, 2009). This separation is the common thread through multiple criticisms when it comes to the wilderness idea.

Wilderness and nature are often referred to as pristine and untouched, yet these conceptions erase indigenous histories (Callicott & Nelson, 1998; Lewis, 2007). The federal act itself implies in its writing that the land to be classified as wilderness has not had people on it (beyond being a visitor) yet American history is rife with deportations (Lewis, 2007). This idea is particularly problematic when exported to other countries in the name of national park creation, usually resulting in the forced removal of indigenous peoples (Nelson, 2009; Neumann, 1998). Another criticism of the wilderness idea is of static balance and that it represents the best form of nature (Nelson, 2009). As the wilderness idea developed with the science of ecology it adapted outdated notions of how ecosystems work and privileged the idea of unchanging nature, where in reality, systems have been shown to be dynamic, in flux and changing (Nelson, 2009). This point dictates how wilderness is to be treated, which then implies that any impact to it would be considered harm. The wilderness idea also privileges areas where people are not, placing less value in places where people live (civilization) as well as efforts to interact with wilderness, which includes ecological restoration. This last idea highlights the dichotomy between people and wilderness and how it can be damaging (Cronon, 1998). Although the idea

of wilderness preservation is that of protection, this dichotomy means that people cannot conceive of themselves as part of wilderness and conceptually, this would include expanding the moral sphere to elements of wilderness and nature (Nelson, 2009).

Although there are more nuanced debates over the criticism towards wilderness, the point that it creates a perception that can be damaging is important here, in particular, when these notions of wilderness become commodified and their impact goes beyond a personal ethic to affecting decisions made about land. An exploration of this can be seen in the tourism industry, specifically wilderness tourism. Ideas of visiting pristine nature or wilderness areas and removing oneself from civilization draw millions of visitors to different regions around the world today (CREST, 2013). The Adirondacks has been one destination site known for its wilderness since the mid-1800s with the expansion of railroads (Dawson, 2009). It has only increased with the advent of the automobile and even more so with continued publication of the sites there, including the ever-popular High Peaks region (Dawson, 2009). But the attraction is a socially constructed idea that has been reproduced multiple times and in different ways in the United States, settling on a preservationist ideal. This social construction of wilderness is exemplified in the Adirondack Park, where the preservationist ideal has divided the region between several conceptions of wilderness.

The Adirondack Park

The Adirondack Park is located in upstate New York and is comprised of about 6 million acres of public and private land (Figure 1). Public land within the park is known as the Forest Preserve and is protected under Article XIV of the state constitution (Adirondack Park Agency, 2016). The park was established in 1892 for the preservation of its water and timber resources (Terrie, 2008) while attracting more tourists since its inception as a park (Dawson, 2009; Terrie, 2008).

Conflict emerges when New York state purchases land within the park and has to undergo a land classification process before it can enter the forest preserve. This process determines what structures and uses are permissible on the land and can fall into Wilderness, Wild Forest, Primitive, Canoe, Historic, Intensive Use, State Administrative and Wild and Scenic Rivers categories or a combination (Adirondack Park Agency, 2016; Malmsheimer, 2009). In particular, the difference between Wilderness and Wild Forest are most relevant, with the latter potentially allowing for motorized recreation to be included in the subsequent unit management plans (Adirondack Park Agency, 2016).

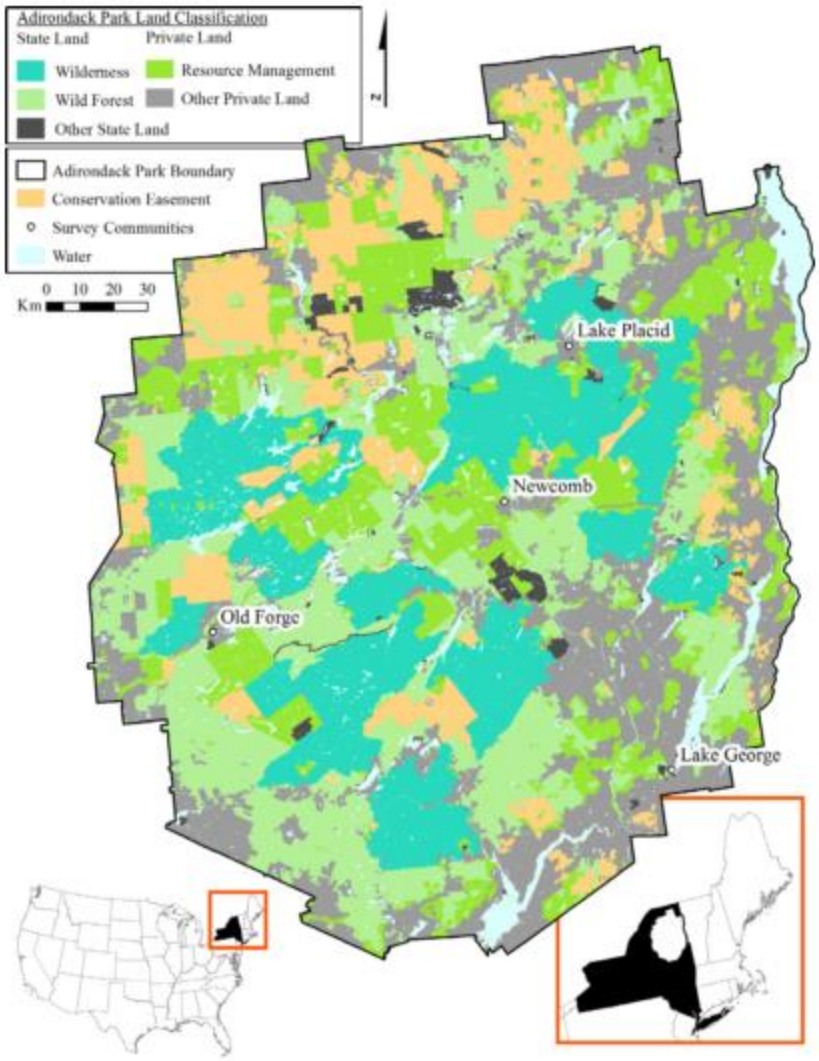

Figure 1. Map of Adirondack Park. Map from Larkin & Beier, (2014) depicting different state land classifications and private land.

Conflict in the region is over a century old with feelings of resentment from local year-round residents feeling like their voices were not being heard (Terrie, 2008) in a predominantly non-local based bureaucracy of governors, journalists, and legislators since the 1880s (Terrie, 2009). Conflict only continued with the creation of the Adirondack Park Agency in 1971, with the rise of environmentalism in the country, and the science of ecology, which prompted a

review of zoning laws and regulations (Terrie, 2009). Tensions still exist today as New York continues to purchase land to be added to the Forest Preserve and debates over its use continue (Vidon, 2016).

A common narrative is an outsider versus insider dichotomy between year-round residents and external environmental groups (Terrie, 2008; Vidon, 2016). While simplified, this narrative contains common ground between sides and that is tourism interest. Local towns often rely on tourism for their economies since large industries such as mining and logging have mostly left (Terrie, 2008). This reliance is often manifested through calls for motorized forms of recreation which tend to support their economies through off-peak seasons. While environmental groups fight for protections, they support their argument by arguing those who visit the Adirondack Park do so for more traditional reasons – its wild character and offer of remote, quiet recreation reminiscent of romantic era depictions of the Park (Terrie, 2008; Vidon, 2016). In an attempt to highlight the Park and improve local economies and tourism, in 2014 Governor Cuomo announced the creation of a web portal as part of their larger "I Love NY" campaign, the *Visit Adirondacks* website. It was created in conjunction with regional organizations and funded through the governor's regional economic development council initiative. The goal of this web portal was to provide a one-stop shop for tourists to find all the information they could want when looking for attractions and information on the Adirondacks.

Through discourse analysis of tourism material and interviews with local residents of the central Adirondack Park, I will argue that wilderness produced through tourism campaigns is a simulacrum and that it exacerbates conflict within the region. This is particularly relevant with the lack of literature on the conflicts surrounding wilderness areas as people grow closer to such

areas. This will also serve as an example of meta-theory applied to beyond tourism itself and to the contentions that can derive from it.

Methods

Discourse analysis assumes a constructivist approach in that discourses shape social reality and to better understand reality one has to understand the discourses that shape it (Foucault, 1988; Phillips & Hardy, 2002). Discourses can be embedded in a variety of texts which can take on the forms of written and spoken word, images, symbols and so on. Discourse analysis then is the study of how texts produce meaning as well as how they are made meaningful (Phillips & Hardy, 2002). Since these discourses are informed socially it is important to consider context; this sets discourse analysis apart from other qualitative analyses such as content analysis. Cultural, historical, social and political contexts cannot be separated from discourse as it helps shape it through defining content, structure, and meaning (Van Dijk, 1991). Following this framework, a structural analysis of the texts themselves and the "speech-acts" therein can reveal constructions produced and how those contribute to the larger discourses surrounding them (Phillips & Hardy, 2002; Van Dijk, 1991). A discourse analysis was performed on two sources of data for this study, tourism media on the Adirondack Park and interviews with local residents of two Central Adirondack communities: Long Lake and Newcomb.

Sampling

The tourism texts were found through purposive and snowball sampling to capture materials a tourist may encounter when searching for information to stay in the Adirondacks (Russel, 2015). Starting with the I Love NY campaign's official Adirondack tourism portal, *Visit Adirondacks,* other websites were sampled through snowball sampling. Google search engine was utilized to capture other sites potentially missed using search terms, "Adirondack" "park" "vacation"

"getaway" "stay" and "visit". Snowball sampling stopped when sites were repeatedly coming up with no novel additions. Brochures were also sampled from the *Visit Adirondacks* Website.

Interviews were conducted in Long Lake and Newcomb NY in June and July of 2016 after IRB approval. Snowball sampling was utilized for residents who lived in the park year-round. Sampling targeted a few individuals who identified as permanent residents of either community. Snowball sampling continued based on interviewee recommendations on who to contact. This continued until at least 30 individuals were sampled, which is appropriate given the small-town and isolated nature of the towns of Newcomb and Long Lake (Russel, 2015). Interviews were semi-structured, allowing for key questions to be asked and ability to capture any other relevant information (Russel, 2015). Most interviews lasted around 45 minutes to an hour and were audio recorded then transcribed.

Results

Analysis of tourism texts and interviews revealed a lot of common themes that have run through Adirondack history. It was also demonstrated that despite attempts to mediate various environmental and local interests, tourism campaigns may only be fueling existing debates by presenting a simulacrum of the Adirondack park wilderness and inherently contradicting views. Interviews triangulate some of the tensions that have existed in the park and support notions that what is considered wilderness may not be what is sold through marketing campaigns.

When analyzing tourism texts, terms that were searched were associated with the western idea of wilderness including, "pristine" "untouched" "unspoiled" among others such as "unique" and terms of endearment like "gem" The official Adirondack portal for New York State, *Visit Adirondacks*, featured the most use of these terms compared to local regional chamber of

commerce sites. Although *Visit Adirondacks* is an extensive web portal in comparison to these regional sites, many of these local sites don't even utilize the term "wilderness".

The interviews reveal familiar tensions and worries with Adirondack Park residents as the latest land acquisition currently goes through the classification process. These include expressions of previous exclusion and lack of access to public land, in particular, restricting certain modes of recreation and/or not providing handicapped access. Although these were not the only views – some expressed not desiring motor access but still had hope for increased tourism as the towns were in a depressed economy. A simulacrum strives to reproduce itself independent of any connection to a "real" thing. Between resident concerns and presented advertising, a conflict over what an Adirondack Park wilderness is can be seen, indicating that wilderness as reproduced through tourism marketing, is not reflective of a resident's reality in the Park. As the discourse analysis will demonstrate, this simulacrum produces tension through incongruence between resident and tourist views.

Pristine Adirondacks

A Google search for the Adirondacks brings *Visit Adirondacks* to the top of the page where you can find information on different regions of the park. Upon clicking the link, you are transported to the home page where a scenic image of a sunny mountain top surrounded by snow-frosted spruces looking down on a crisp blue lake with Adirondack high peak mountain ranges in the background. You are then greeted with,

> Spanning more than six million acres with over 100 welcoming communities, the Adirondack Region is home to the largest protected natural area in the lower 48. Like a patchwork quilt, the Adirondacks are made up of twelve distinct regional destinations, each offering their own brand of Adirondack adventure. From the endless canoeing and

> kayaking in the Saranac Lake and Tupper Lake regions to the extensive hiking trails of the High Peaks Wilderness in the Lake Placid Region - discover an area as diverse in geography as it is in activities and events. Bicycle between wineries on the Adirondack Coast, or dive to sunken shipwrecks in the Adirondack Seaway near the Canadian Border. You're invited to explore the Lake George Region's family-friendly attractions and discover the Adirondack Tug Hill Plateau's one-of-a-kind recreation opportunities! Adirondack Regional Tourism Council (2016a) *Visit Adirondacks*. Retrieved from http://www.visitadirondacks.com

The Adirondack Park's natural features are highlighted before you can navigate anywhere else. The Park has always been known for its natural features and is what spurred its creation. However, we can start to notice the formation of key themes that resonate throughout the website. In particular is the downplay of motorized recreational activities and the physical towns themselves and the prominence of wilderness as the term makes an appearance. Also, the delineation of where you can expect to partake in certain activities is demonstrated by advertising a different brand for each "region".

Although recreational opportunities for those interested in motorsports have their own dedicated pages on the portal, there is an absence of terms such as "pristine" and these pages frequently opt for terms such as remote when highlighting the land itself or highlighting the communities by emphasizing amenities available to those who explore that particular area. The depiction of the same areas depends on the recreational activity you are exploring, producing different images of the Park. A clear example comes from the hiking page within *Visit Adirondacks*, "Step back in time and enjoy *pristine backcountry* camping. Take a *float plane ride*, and then head out into the Moose River Plains, where *motorized vehicles are unheard of*"

(emphasis added). Within that sentiment alone we see two contradictory depictions of a region of the Park. In the same breath, you can enter pristine backcountry that requires a float plane to gain entrance to a place where motorized vehicles are "unheard of". Another interesting fact is the presence of a 73-mile network of snowmobile trails in Moose River Plains (Department of Environmental Conservation, 2010) rendered non-existent. The web page is reproducing a wilderness (the simulacrum) devoid of human artifacts and untouched nature. However, what is real, physically there, is the opposite. The production of the park, in this example, is simulacrum in its blatant disregard for what is present on the ground.

The production of pristine, wilderness of Adirondacks is reminiscent of romantic notions of the western idea of wilderness and appears several times. Those who have never been to the region are invited to click on a link for "first-time visitors" where they can, "Choose your own camping adventure under the stars. *Unwind in the pristine lakes of the remote wilderness*" (emphasis added). For those interested in learning about the park itself they can then find that,

> "Although it is known for offering incredible outdoor recreation experiences, the park offers an *authentic and unique wilderness adventure* within a day's drive for 60 million people. It's just hours from New York City, Boston, Burlington, Montreal, and Ottawa. Discover the *enduring legacy* of this wild area during your next family vacation" Adirondack Regional Tourism Council (2016b) *The Adirondack Park*. Retrieved from http://visitadirondacks.com/about/adirondack-park(emphasis added).

In both examples, the Park is painted as the romantic's ideal place to go and visit the wilderness, highlighting that it is indeed a *place to go to*, away from cities and other people. Dichotomous notions of people and nature buttress descriptions of what is portrayed as pristine and untouched,

and “enduring legacy” that doesn’t mention the years of industries like logging and mining or the over half a million acres belonging to the private sector. Here also on the hiking page,

> *Mountains have the power to enchant and to excite*. To awaken a passion for wild places and a longing for the thrill of *wide open wilderness*. In the Adirondack Mountains of Northern New York, adventure beckons from time-worn hiking trails that *offer both solace and discovery* at each turn. More than 2,000 miles of Adirondack trails wind along forested paths, skip along waterfalls, leading to summits with 360-degree views that extend as far as the eye can see. *If magic exists - its enchantment begins in the mountains*.
>
> Adirondack Regional Tourism Council (2016c) *Best Hiking Trails in New York.* Retrieved from http://visitadirondacks.com/recreation/hiking

Invoking romantic notions of wild nature and the benefits therein populate pages such as the hiking page on which this is referenced. Imagery is also employed to highlight these points as scenic shots devoid of people frequent home pages and those highlighting outdoor activities such as hiking and bird-watching. Often when people are featured they are featured on a mountain gazing down at the rest of the (town-free) landscape below.

The website advertising the Adirondack Park paints a very rustic, traditional wilderness driven destination. However, to be considered a simulacrum it needs to define that is real despite what may be the case in the Park. Clear examples of this can be seen through interviews with residents of the Long Lake and Newcomb towns in the Central Adirondacks. The wilderness simulacrum fails to reflect the reality for residents in the community about the space they live in. In one interview, a resident expresses his view on wilderness and the Adirondacks,

> If you look up the wilderness, the untrammeled, you know, the no signs of man, none of this fits that…In the Adirondacks there would probably be some small acreages where

> there hasn't been any logging, there hasn't been any homesteading... You know, if the railroad goes through the area how far off that railroad corridor would you want to call a wilderness? Or how far would you have to get? How far would you have to get off Route 28? It really fits the definition of Wild Forest, if you want to follow those definitions and those aren't chiseled into stone either, you got to realize that…There's roads all through there. It doesn't show any presence of man… who do you think built that road?

There is a conflict of wilderness definitions between this resident, the Adirondack Park Agency's definition (Wilderness vs. Wild Forest) and what *Visit Adirondacks* portrays. Wilderness that is being reproduced in advertising has no basis in local reality and this reproduction is often cited by tourists as a reason for visiting the Park (Vidon, 2016; 2017). *Visit Adirondacks* does not only focus on wilderness and its expected activities, however. Other activities such as staying at resorts, boating, skiing, snowmobiling, bicycling, bird-watching, hunting, and fishing all make appearances on their own pages. But what is presented on those pages differs in how they reference people and communities and the park's 'wilderness' characteristics. These delineations support expectations for what activities are permissible in what can be perceived as wilderness, as well as how much of a people presence is to be expected.

"The Wild"

Visit Adirondacks highlights both a pristine wilderness adventure as well as luxurious resort opportunities; however, where these are delineated promotes a dichotomy inherent in the wilderness idea and manifested in conflicts overclassification. Struggling regions are denoted as backcountry escapes while shrinking the appearance of both the residents and other recreational activities such as snowmobiling. Figure 2 depicts the *Visit Adirondacks* regional map of the Adirondack Park. This map does not follow any legal boundaries, but rather the site's branding

scheme. Of particular interest is the one region not named after a town or geographical feature named, “Adirondacks, Experience It!” This is in part due to the image linking to the Hamilton County Board of Tourism’s website which contains that title. But more interesting is that the rest of *Visit Adirondacks* refers to the same region as “The Wild”. The region geographically encompasses Hamilton County, the only county that is completely within the Park boundary.

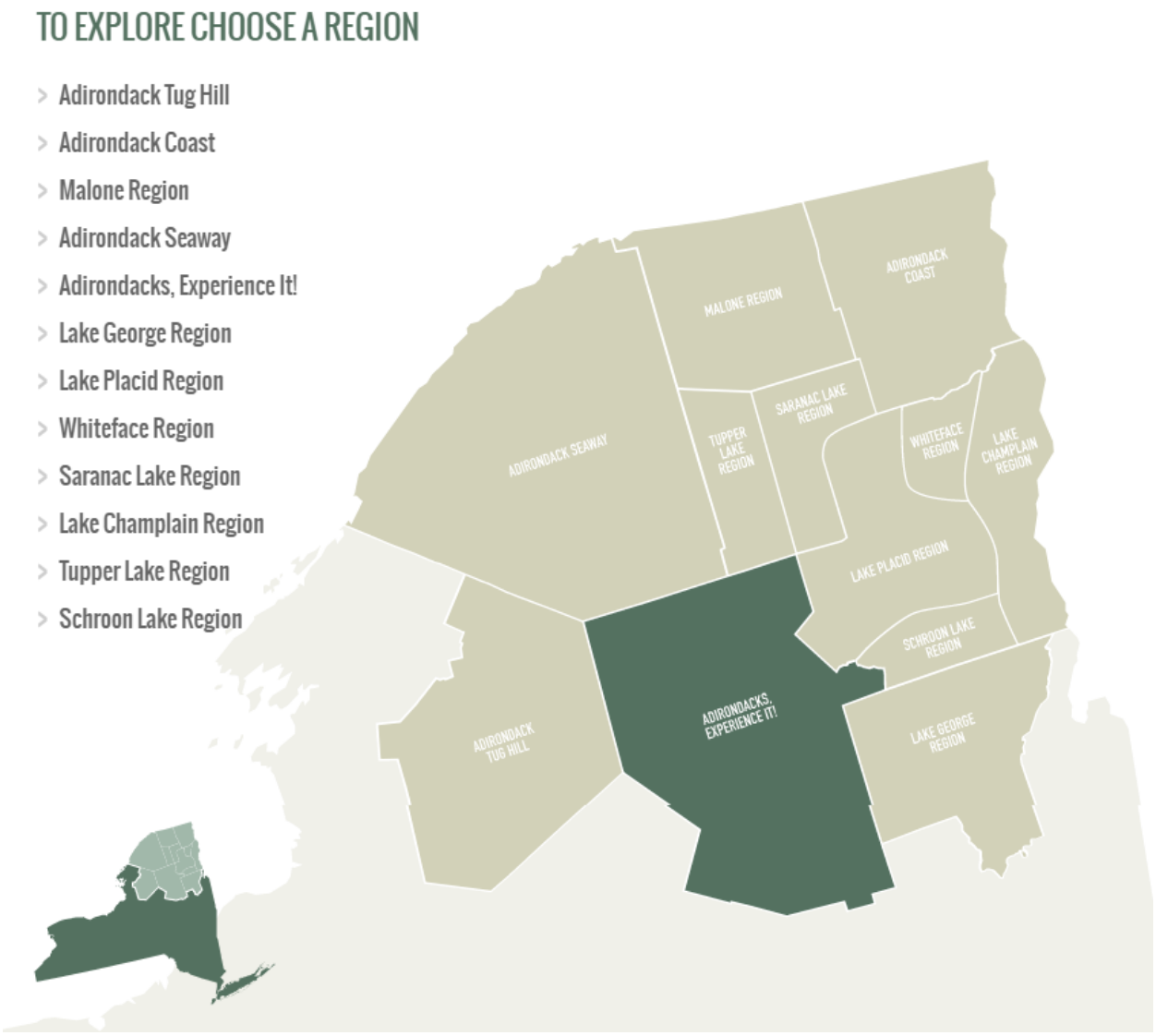

Figure 2. Navigational image from the *Visit Adirondacks* web portal that will lead the user to different tourism pages. Adapted from Visit Adirondacks. Retrieved from http://visitadirondacks.com Copyright 2002- 2017 Adirondack Regional Tourism Council.

Entering the "The Wild" page on *Visit Adirondacks* you find, "Hamilton County is located in the heart of the Adirondack Park...The Adirondack Wild also holds the distinction of being the *least populated county in the entire eastern United States, offering incredible outdoor recreation in pristine Adirondack wilderness*" (emphasis added). If wilderness contains pristine land dedicated to quieter activities, then according to this the Adirondack 'wild' is the place to go. Further distinguishing people and wilderness is the highlight of having the least amount of people within a county in the eastern US. Important to note here is that this county relies heavily on tourism revenue, more so than any other Adirondack county with about 43% of income earned coming from visitors utilizing services (Tohamy & Swinscoe, 2014), but this revenue tends to come from those who utilize the amenities in town, not necessarily visitors who hike into an area and back out with all the supplies they need. The simulacrum of a people-less wilderness does not reflect the towns reliant on visitors to stop by their businesses.

Since most of the pages that reference the 'Wild' address it as a place to go for backcountry hiking, quiet and solitude, the expectation is that activities like snowmobiling or motor-boating would occur elsewhere in the park. The construction of wilderness through advertising separates Hamilton county, particularly other income-earning forms of recreation. This simulacrum only serves to support wilderness as an ideology in the park, which is currently in tension with local ideologies of independence and sustainability as communities (Vidon, 2016). This also challenges the dichotomy between people and nature/wilderness which those

like William Cronon (1998) posit as problematic for its stewardship. The Adirondack Park is reproduced as different parks depending on who you ask, but New York State through its I love NY campaign and *Visit Adirondacks* portal portrays a distinct, segmented park with its clear wilderness places and its amenities. Often offering contradictory terms, wilderness is where you go to enjoy solitude and pristine landscapes and this is often within a region that relies on tourism dollars. However, when you place wilderness in an area where more recreation types could spur economic activity you invite conflict over expectations of what activities "should" be permissible. This is being seen now with the classification process of the Boreas Ponds near Newcomb and North Hudson, NY as residents and environmental groups debate over motorized access (Brown, 2016a).

I contribute the argument that the wilderness idea and in particular, the production of wilderness through Adirondack tourism is a simulacrum. To better understand the Adirondack Park in terms of wilderness, further research could compare different stakeholder groups' views of wilderness. This could elucidate if residents share the same concepts of wilderness with others yet identify them elsewhere. Another avenue for further research could investigate other regions that traditionally boast wilderness ideals to see how simulated these regions are and if that has a practical management impact.

Conclusion

The Adirondack Park is known widely for its natural and wilderness landscape. This image is reproduced in the tourism texts for the Park; however, this image is not reflected by residents in the Park and the tourism texts themselves delineate what one can expect to find in wilderness. With central Adirondack towns painted as near non-existent, hiking and remote, pristine enjoyment awaits where there is an expected lack of motor activity and people.

However, this directly conflicts with the *Visit Adirondacks* goal of increasing tourism revenue to the region. The discourse around wilderness tourism exacerbates conflict about classification because it sets up expectations of wilderness that are not reflective of one, what is there and two, competes with local views to make those areas more accessible. Wilderness cannot both be permitted as 'pristine' and allow for increased tourism when it inherently prohibits certain modes of access and recreation.

Simulacra on their own are not necessarily good or bad, however, they can work to be hegemonic when they disadvantage a group and in the case of some Adirondack communities. Conflict persists with the Adirondack simulacra and its propagation of the wilderness idea. Echoing the call of those like William Cronon, J. Baird Callicott, and Michael Nelson, we may reconsider how we view ourselves and nature. More pragmatically, the *Visit Adirondack* web portal could consider highlighting some of the amenities smaller communities contain instead of conflating them with deeply held notions that come with a term like "The Wild."

Chapter 3: Stakeholder and Media Frame Analysis of Adirondack Land Classification Conflict

Cheryl A. Sandrow

Abstract

Conflict regarding land use decision-making processes is not unique within the US and more conflict arises as public land management abuts private land and management through large land acquisition such as National Parks and preserves become less feasible. In the Adirondack Park in New York, conflict is particularly rampant as the Park's unique quality of containing private land within a mix of public land presents frequent opportunities for stakeholders to present opinions on how newly acquired land is classified. Framing analysis provides the opportunity to deconstruct the conflict over the classification process and highlight underlying values and perspectives from different groups. In this study, I conduct two inductive framing analyses – one of the stakeholders and another of media – over the classification process of a new land acquisition by the state that has potential to affect the residents of the nearby towns in the Central Adirondacks. The primary stakeholders could be divided into groups of local town residents, sportsmen groups, the state, and environmental groups. Stakeholder groups utilized frames to describe their objectives based on different values. Dominant frames included reasonable access frame used by residents and town officials to highlight rights to accessible use and environmental protection frame by environmental groups, highlighting the ecologically important wetlands and opportunity to add more "wilderness". For the media analysis, the dominant frame was the conflict frame, portraying the decision-making process as riddled with tension and incompatibility. These frames indicate that the conflict over land classification stems from different values of accessibility and strong wilderness protection as well as being communicated as intractable by the media.

Keywords: Framing analysis, Adirondack Park, conflict, media, wilderness

Introduction

The Adirondack Park in upstate New York boasts being both the largest park in the US but also the only park to contain both private and public lands within its boundary. Since the Park was established in 1892, there has been conflict over land and resource use, particularly with some of its residents and external groups (Terrie, 2008). Conflict continues as the Adirondack Park Agency (APA) and the Department of Environmental Conservation (DEC) go through a land classification process of the DEC's newest land acquisition. Stakeholders, including residents who live in the park, have formed multiple arguments and different positions as to how the newest parcel should be classified. Understanding how residents in a unique park navigate a conflict over public resources as well as how other stakeholders view the park can highlight what interests are in tension and what informs those interests. Framing analysis provides a framework in which to better understand the different perspectives of stakeholders (Shmueli, 2008) as well as how the media has been portraying the process. Analyzing both the news media and stakeholder framing of the issue can highlight points of contention, particularly if the two frame issues differently. In this paper, I analyze stakeholder and media frames surrounding the Boreas Ponds Tract classification in the Adirondack Park.

Conflict over Boreas Ponds

Boreas Ponds Tract is a 20,786-acre parcel purchased by New York State (NYS) from the Nature Conservancy in April 2015 (Department of Environmental Conservation, 2016a). It is the largest acquisition made by the state in over a century (Department of Environmental Conservation, 2016a.). This was part of a larger acquisition totaling 69,000 acres of former Finch, Pruyn, and Co. lands (Finch Paper, LLC) that was initially sold to The Nature Conservancy (Department of Environmental Conservation, 2016a.). Boreas Ponds Tract is located in between the towns of

Newcomb and North Hudson in the Central Adirondacks which rely on tourism to support their economies (Tohamy & Swinscoe, 2014).

Whenever NYS purchases land to be added to the Forest Preserve is must undergo a classification process that involves public hearings and a written comment period on the draft alternatives as pursuant to the State Environmental Quality Review Act or SEQRA. These alternative classifications are presented in a Draft Supplemental Environmental Impact Statement (DSEIS). Once the comment period ends, the DEC forms a Final Supplemental Environmental Impact Statement (FSEIS) containing one alternative - which may or may not be from those presented in the DSEIS - and responses to comments for the APA to confirm and then send for approval to the governor.

The different classifications impose different restrictions on how the land can be accessed as well as to what structures are permissible and are at the core of this conflict. The different classifications include Wilderness, Wild Forest, Primitive, Intensive Use, Canoe, State Administrative, Travel Corridors and Wild, Scenic and Recreational Rivers. The most restrictive classification is Wilderness, which does not allow any motor vehicle use to the public or any structures that do not conform to the APA definition of Wilderness. Wild Forest is less restrictive, possibly permitting motor vehicle use provided it is incorporated into the Unit Management Plan (UMP) that is drafted as part of that classification (Adirondack Park Agency, 2014).

While most of the public and environmental groups praised the acquisition, the Boreas Ponds Tract turned contentious when the DSEIS was released with three classification alternatives all containing motor vehicle access, leading up to the public hearings that started in November 2016. During this time, a fourth alternative was drafted to meet environmentalists'

concerns over the lack of an alternative that restricted motor vehicle use close to the ponds. Conflict emerged in public hearings as environmental groups, sportsmen groups, and local town officials disagreed over which classification alternative should be chosen. Local town officials and sportsmen groups advocated for an alternative with a designation that incorporated as much of Gulf Brook Road- which is a logging road on the property that goes to the ponds – as Wild Forest, citing "reasonable access" for all and wanting an economic boost from tourism (Access Adirondacks, 2016). Environmental groups advocated for more or entirely all wilderness classification claiming the ecological importance of the ponds and the attraction potential of hikers (Be Wild NY, 2015). Beyond these positions lay more nuanced interests and strategies to get the desired classification alternative presented by the APA during public hearings. Framing analysis can help delve deeper into these positions and explicate the conflict.

Frames

Frames and framing are a social constructionist concept which views reality as shaped and institutionalized through social interaction (Van Gorp, 2007). Framing is both a cognitive and communicative concept and exercise. Cognitively, a frame is a way people interpret and organize life experiences; a filter that we use to navigate complex life situations to fit within our worldviews (Entman, 1993; Goffman, 1974). Frames may also be used to communicate messages in a way to lead to certain logical conclusions; a tool to persuade, negotiate or rally (Entman, 1993; Shmueli, 2008). Frames function by highlighting selected points to expose a particular problem, cause, evaluation or recommendation by resonating with culturally relevant schemas (Entman, 1993; Van Gorp, 2007).

Thus, in framing lies the potential to glean a better understanding of the interests and motives of a current position. As frames are particular ways a problem or conflict is presented,

they reflect a stakeholder's view of what issues are salient and what outcomes are desired (Davis & Lewicki, 2003). Framing analysis is a growing methodology and when applied to environmental conflicts it allows the opportunity to analyze viewpoints past positions and into interests opening the opportunity for reframing (Davis & Lewicki, 2003; Fletcher & Fletcher, 2016; Shmueli, 2008). Thus, utilizing the constructionist tradition of framing analysis I seek to answer several questions: What frames are utilized by stakeholders in the Boreas Ponds Tract conflict and how often are they used? How does the media frame the conflict and which frames are dominant? What implications do these results have for this conflict? Understanding such nuances of this conflict could highlight where there is common ground as well provide insight into the issues that concern stakeholders beyond position statements.

Methods

Sampling

Due small scale of the conflict I conducted two separate framing analyses: stakeholder websites and online press releases and online news media framing analysis (see Appendix A for stakeholder and media sources). Both analyses followed the same general methodology. Sampling for the stakeholder analyses was purposive and utilized snowball sampling (Van Gorp, 2010). The sampling units were websites and they were initially targeted based on news media references to different stakeholder groups and familiarity with the region. Other stakeholders that were linked to the initial websites were captured in the snowball sampling. Sampling of online press releases and stakeholder websites continues until no new novel releases/ sites were captured.

For the media analysis, the Google search engine was utilized due to much of news coverage coming from local news media, which is not accessible through academic news

databases. I used purposive and snowball sampling of news media on Boreas Pond Tract and its classification from April 2015 to November 2016. The sampling unit was the news article and the Google search terms included, "Boreas Ponds" "news" "conflict" "acquisition" and "classification". I kept sampling until I ran into repeated stories and no novel news articles (Van Gorp, 2010). For both analyses sites were saved via NVivo software (QSR International, 2015).

Constructing Frames

Once samples were collected, frames were then inductively constructed for both the stakeholder and media analyses; the process of frame construction was the same for both analyses. Inductive construction of the frames was based on the methodology of Gamson and Lasch (1983) and Van Gorp (2007, 2010). Inductive construction was utilized over searching for existing frames in the literature because it embodies the social constructionist view that the audience and media socially develop frames based upon culturally embedded themes and messages (Van Gorp, 2007). With the understanding that frames operate at the cultural level and not the individual, it's supposed that there is a "stock" of frames, some of which may not be included in frames existing in the literature (Van Gorp, 2007). Thus, inductive frame construction allows for the possibility of describing relevant frames to the conflict beyond what may be available in the literature.

Frames were constructed in a package that resulted in what is called a "frame matrix" where the rows of the matrix are the frame and the columns are framing and reasoning devices that make up the frame (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989; Pan & Kosicki, 1993; Van Gorp, 2010). Frames are manifested through framing devices and these can be such elements as metaphors, catch-phrases, descriptions, arguments, visuals, lines of reasoning, causal connections, exemplars, types of actors, or settings, among others (Van Gorp, 2010). Reasoning devices function as those elements that define the frame (Entman, 1993) and invoke a particular

conclusion or line of thinking with a particular frame (Van Gorp, 2010). Framing and reasoning devices help address the content validity of the frame. The principle of "constant comparison" out of grounded theory (Corbin & Strauss, 1990) was utilized to contrast frame packages and identifying frame and reasoning devices.. For both the stakeholder and media analyses, a representative subsample was used to construct the frame packages.

Coding

To address validity concerns of inductively constructing frames, an inter-coder reliability coefficient was calculated for both analyses on half of the sample (Stakeholder analysis N=32, Media analysis N=38). A codebook was developed for a second coder to identify frames holistically using yes/ no questions to reduce interpretation and based on previous success on the method (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). Cohen's Kappa coefficient (κ) was utilized as the coefficient as it is specifically formulated for two coders and has shown to be generally valid within the literature (Neuendorf, 2002). The unit of analysis for stakeholders was the single web page and for the media analysis, it was the article. The Stakeholder analysis inter-coder reliability was $\kappa = 0.86$ and the media analysis yielded $\kappa = 0.71$, both over the accepted value of 0.6 (Neuendorf, 2002).

Once the inter-coder reliability had been shown to demonstrate agreement, the rest of the sample for both analyses were coded, final frame matrices were constructed utilizing the most common framing and reasoning devices. Frequencies were taken on the frames and how often frames appeared in the sample for both analyses was calculated.

Results

Constructed frames: Stakeholder Frames

Collective action. In the collective action frame, stakeholders were utilizing calls of mobilization to forward a goal, in particular, to communicate a specific alternative or present comments to create a new alternative. Indicators of use of this frame primarily included explicit calls to contact the APA to participate in their process through their open comment period. Sometimes this would even include a premade email form where someone can choose to edit the message before sending it along to the APA. The latter was mostly used by environmental groups such as the Adirondack Wilderness Advocates. Lexical choices that supported the frame included the use of terms such as "encourage", "urge", attend and "take action". Often, Boreas Pond tract is depicted quite differently based on who utilized the frame, but what is common is that the depiction is that the parcel will have a dramatic effect based on classification – whether that be economic impacts or impacts on preservation. This frame appeals to principles of civic duty to participate in a public process and to act for good, which again will vary based on who utilized the frame.

Critical frame. This frame is defined by criticism toward the decision-making process or the state agencies themselves. The problem is highlighted is not among residents, town organizations or other groups, but rather with the process itself in that it doesn't accurately represent all the potential alternatives and thus views and perspectives involved. This frame is supported by lexical choices indicating direct criticism such as "…APA fails to reject…" and "…reject flawed classification". Exemplars include press releases that target the APA by name directly and in particular from environmental groups who wish to see an all wilderness classification alternative, which is not offered in the DSEIS. The root of the issue in this frame is

that the APA is not operating under its own auspices correctly by failing to represent all possible alternatives. This frame appeals to calls to action to persuade the APA to add a new alternative.

Economy frame. This frame has a strong economic focus with those utilizing it implying a large economic potential depending on the classification of the parcel. The local surrounding towns' struggling economies and large dependence on tourism dollars are highlighted here. This frame is predominately used by the town and resident groups such as Access Adirondacks. The frame is supported by press releases emphasizing the economic potential to the towns if the parcel offers a large variety of recreational activities and lexical choices surrounding economics such as "revenue" and "community prosperity". Boreas Ponds, in particular, is often depicted as a parcel managed previously by Finch-Pruyn and not conforming to traditional wilderness standards of the APA. This frame appeals to others for help for their struggling economies and pushes for one of the presented alternatives that have more motorized classification scheme.

Environmental protection frame. This frame was primarily used by environmental groups and highlighted the preservationist goals of the groups to classify the parcel as wilderness to protect the natural resources within. The prominent theme was that this was the last potential acquisition by the state of this size and would be one of the largest wilderness additions if classified that way, which is seen as important by groups who view the current world as a place where such resources are diminishing. Lexical choices such as "Expand the Adirondack wilderness" "sensitive" "protect" "gem" and "ecological integrity" support the frame as well as a common depiction of the parcel being unique, pristine and ecologically sensitive. Very often, motorized recreation is specifically vilified. The frame appeals to traditional wilderness and preservation ideals and hopes to have a mostly or all wilderness classification.

Reasonable access frame. The final frame was that of reasonable access, primarily used by town organizations. This frame is defined by the argument that the parcel was purchased with NY tax dollars and thus should be as accessible to as many New Yorkers as possible, in particular, the disabled and elderly. Concerns of exclusion were prominent in some press releases, sometimes referencing prior purchases that were classified as wilderness despite resident wishes. Lexical choices of rights and access were frequent as terms like "reasonable access" "right of every New Yorker…" and "rightful public access" appear. Similar to the economy frame, Boreas Ponds is depicted as not wilderness by APAs definition and containing infrastructure to support access already. The frame seeks to appeal to rights of citizens to get a more accessible alternative.

Media Frames

Advocate frame: access subframe. The advocate frame is one where the media is advocating a particular position. However, one frame would not accurately describe the nuances that derive from the position being advocated, so two subframes emerged: access and wilderness subframes. The access subframe is defined by a dominant theme of reasonable access, much like the corresponding frame in the stakeholder analysis. Media frequently used terms such as "reasonable access" but were also coupled with terms like "desperate" and "dependent on tourism" highlighting the economic need of the nearby towns. These articles often highlighted difficult access with the DECs interim plan, the multi-use potential of the parcel and often quoted local sportsmen clubs and town authorities.

The root of the issue with this frame is that the towns are depicted as in rough economic shape and previous land classifications have been deemed exclusive. It is argued that land should be accessible to more taxpayers and recreational activities, in particular, motorized sports such as

snowmobiling. There are appeals to inclusiveness as the frame promotes more accessible classification through its calls for equitable access opportunities.

Advocate frame: wilderness subframe. Again, this frame advocates a position, however, this one is dominated by preservationist ideals and wilderness protection. Media utilizing this frame often depict Boreas Ponds as pristine wilderness that needs "protection" and as a "treasure" needing to be "preserved". Environmental group representatives are often quoted and descriptions and photos of the tract's natural features are highlighted, in particular, the ponds themselves. This frame usually highlights the unique potential for remote and quiet recreation, which is deemed rare and as something that should be expanded. Also of note is that science is often used in these articles to support environmental group positions. Finally, motorized recreation is often specifically noted as damaging, and appeals to the parcel's wilderness character is used to advocate a more restrictive alternative.

Critical frame. This frame is very similar to the critical frame in the stakeholder analysis. The media when invoking this frame highlights a problem with the classification process itself and/or the state agencies involved. Frequently term definitions are called into question, such as the APA's definition of wilderness and how the process does not reflect its definition, whether Boreas Ponds should be wilderness or not. Headlines often highlight tensions caused by the agency such as the more explicit, "APA fails to end criticism over Boreas Ponds options". Other common examples of APA criticism include "We need more alternatives…" and "didn't take into consideration". The line of reasoning behind the frame is that the APA is damaging the land by not offering preferred alternatives (often all wilderness) or being exclusionary by not classifying based on its own definitions of wilderness. There is an appeal to being fair and impartial with a push to highlight the need for more alternatives.

Conflict frame. This final frame was the most common among the articles about Boreas Ponds. It is defined by presenting the classification process as fundamentally intractable, often presenting stakeholders as different sides in a battle or "clash". Terms like "controversy" "army" "heated" and "contentious" were frequent. Quotes used, regardless of which stakeholder, were often negative in tone and divisive. Preservation and development/motorized access were depicted as mutually exclusive. The core issue being there was no room for compromise and no easy solution, appealing to the principle that environmental and business goals are completely incompatible. Exemplar articles often explicitly expressed an expectation of contention and continued criticism of the APA, as the decision was likely to make a large group of people upset and often contained a tone of pessimism.

Stakeholder Analysis

The general categories of stakeholders involved in the process can be identified as environmental groups, local town organizations, and sportsmen's groups. Frames identified include the collective action, critical, economy, environmental protection and reasonable access frames. A majority of the sample (70%) utilized multiple frames when conveying a message, most predominantly the collective action frame (16%) and either the Environmental Protection or Reasonable Access frame (16%). The frame most utilized was the Environmental Protection frame (37%) followed by Collective Action (25%), then Reasonable Access (20%), Critical (10%) and finally Economy (7%). When it came to samples that utilized only one frame Environmental protection was 25% of the sample and Reasonable Access 6%. The only competing frames found together were Reasonable Access and Environmental Protection, found in 6% of the sample. 9% of the sample was the combination of Environmental Protection and

Critical frames and 9% used three frames of Environmental Protection, Collective Action, and Critical frames. All other combinations appeared in less than 5% of the sample.

Media Analysis

For the media analysis, four frames were identified with one containing two sub-frames (Table 2). These frames are the Advocate frame with the Wilderness and Access Advocate sub-frames, the Conflict frame and Critical frame. Unlike the previous analysis, here the majority of the sample utilized only one frame (71%). The most frequently used frame among the entire sample was the conflict frame (38%) followed by Wilderness Advocate frame (26%), Access Advocate (20%) and finally Critical (16%). The most frequently used combination of frames included Wilderness advocate and critical frames (11%) and wilderness advocate with the conflict and critical frames (5%). At the same frequency, the combinations of the conflict frame with the two advocate sub-frames appeared.

Discussion

Conflict through stakeholders

From the stakeholder framing analysis, several key points emerge, the most salient being the debate of motorized access to the Boreas Ponds. Local groups such as Access Adirondacks used frames such as reasonable access and economy to appeal to sympathy from others by expressing inclusiveness as a way to ensure as many taxpaying New Yorkers can access the parcel as well as helping to support economies reliant on tourism. However, environmental groups such as the Be Wild NY coalition argue that as much of the area should remain motor-free due to ecologically important ponds, and the opportunity to provide remote and quiet recreation in what they claim to be pristine wilderness. The dominance of the environmental protection frame reflects the large environmental community involved in the Adirondack Park. Access

Adirondacks is the only formal organization to represent local interests in the classification process. Anxiety over previous wilderness classifications were expressed through releases using the reasonable access frame over concerns on how that classification for Boreas Ponds would exclude the elderly, handicapped and those who could not backcountry hike several miles.

These frames often pit the values of environmental preservation with inclusiveness, emphasizing incompatibility over compromise. This is highlighted by all stakeholder groups utilizing the collective action frame with about 47% of the sample utilizing this frame. Pages and press releases evoking the collective action frame often used terms of urgency and saliency as they urged the public to attend the meetings to voice their message or there would be dramatic consequences. To some degree, this may have been effective, as the APA has had to change venues for these meetings due to increased attendance (Adirondack Park Agency, 2016).

The critical and economy frames are utilized but not nearly as often, highlighting the fact that the core of the conflict for stakeholders is access. The critical frame was invoked when wilderness advocates criticized the APA for not presenting an option that would classify the land as entirely wilderness, a more extreme option, indicating disagreement even among wilderness advocates about how the land should be classified even though the justifications in those cases were the same. The frame was also used from those who advocated access by highlighting the APA's definition of wilderness and how the tract does not conform to it due to existing structures. There is thus an indication that some stakeholders feel their views are not represented in this process as well as scrutinize the parameters of that process and address the APA directly.

Conflict through media

Unlike the stakeholder analysis, use of multiple frames in the media analysis was not nearly as common. Also, unlike the previous analysis, the critical frame was utilized more often, and only

in conjunction with the wilderness advocate sub-frame. In the media, the criticism of the APA's decision to not include an all wilderness alternative is made more apparent. The decision-making process became the point of blame as the conflict grew to encompass more than just the land classification. This piece is particularly interesting as the APA in the past has received praise from environmental groups while drawing the ire of local businesses as their decisions tended to be more restrictive (Terrie, 2008). Even more interesting was the public separation of one group, Adirondack Wild, from the Be Wild NY coalition because it wanted to see an all wilderness classification while the rest of Be Wild NY was advocating one of the present alternatives (Brown, 2016). As implied within the stakeholder analysis, there is disagreement even within environmental groups. This supports previous work in indicating that conflict, in particular, environmental disputes, may be more nuanced in that stakeholders within groups may frame situations differently (Brummans et al., 2008) in this case, framing the issue as a problem within the decision-making process.

Notably, the Conflict frame appears the most throughout the media sample. Framing different stakeholders as adversaries and the process more like a battle than a decision-making process leaves no room for compromise or common ground for vested parties (Clarke and Peterson, 2016). These articles frequently reference negative quotes from different stakeholders and focus on disagreement and incompatibility between different stakeholder groups over potential areas of compromise. For instance, any alternative designation requires a Unit Management Plan (UMP), which could regulate the use of motor vehicles in terms of access and location. Media utilizing this frame paint any form of commonality between stakeholders as unlikely.

Conclusion

Like previous studies examining environmental conflict and frames (Davis & Lewicki, 2003; Shmueli, 2008), frames in this study indicate points of contention and possible areas where strategies to work through conflict can be taken, such as reframing. In both stakeholder and media analyses, the use of different frames demonstrate that different groups view the problem of how to classify Boreas Ponds differently.

The Boreas Ponds Tract conflict initially appears as economically hungry towns versus environmental groups, but it is more complex. The reasonable access frame reveals fears of exclusion from history of previous acquisitions and hopes for a potential break from economic struggles. Environmental protection frame highlights preserving a large tract of land in a world where large purchases for preservation are less and less viable. To add to the complexity, the process itself is scrutinized. With the utilization of the critical frame from both media and stakeholders, there is an indication that the APA may not be incorporating all possible views in its decision-making process. Furthermore, the presentation of the process as a conflict only polarizes the issue further. The debate becomes about accommodating the positions of already drafted alternatives while limiting the scope of addressing stakeholder interests. The frames utilized demonstrate that dissimilar stakeholders view people differently in process. Residents seek to be as inclusive as possible, in part to allow for economic growth, but also to allow as many people to experience the land acquired which is viewed as a fairness issue. Environmental groups' major point of concern is the land itself, often accusing local officials of privileging revenue over preservation.

Tensions can remain given the nature of the decision-making process. The APA relies on a traditional method of involving the public through environmental impact review, which is the

public hearing and written comment period. From the comments generated and hear the APA and DEC work to either choose one of the DSEIS alternatives or form a new one, to be presented in the FSEIS. This limits input from stakeholders and the public to either a letter and/or a few minutes in a public meeting with no reciprocated feedback. This form of engagement over environmental conflict has demonstrated to instill distrust and frustration for stakeholders (Clarke & Peterson, 2016; Walker, Senecah, & Daniels, 2006). The Boreas Ponds conflict is not likely to end amicably unless an alternative is generated that better addresses stakeholder interests, which given the procedure for doing so, is likely going to be a challenge.

Chapter 4: Wilderness and Land Use: Content Analysis of Boreas Ponds Public Comments

Cheryl A. Sandrow

Abstract

Conservation in the United States operates across public and private matrices. As such, contention can develop, particularly when new land is acquired and a determination on its management must be made. In the Adirondack Park in upstate New York, a new land acquisition of the Boreas Ponds has stirred conflict among residents and visitors of the park as the Adirondack Park Agency determines how to classify its use. Understanding some of the factors leading to these contentions can help support future land use decision-making processes. A content analysis on the public comments to the Draft Supplemental Environmental Impact Statement (DSEIS) was conducted to (1) understand what the public wants to see in the park, and (2) determine how factors such as residence and affiliation are related to the commenter's desired alternative for the tract. Results indicate that the public is primarily concerned with wilderness ideals and environmental protection, which tended to be associated with the commenter's address. Those who were located outside of New York preferred to see an alternative demanding all wilderness, while New Yorkers wanted something that balanced wilderness ideals with accessibility. Those in the Adirondack Park tended to be split between the two. The comments demonstrate a difference between wilderness values and environmental protection. It is proposed here that more collaborative processes may help deal with these value differences.

Keywords: Content analysis, Adirondack Park, conflict, Environmental impact statement

Introduction

In the history of the United States environmental conflict is a common occurrence and still presents a major issue today (Clarke & Peterson, 2016). Diverse beliefs and values cause difficulty when environmental decisions must be made, especially decisions surrounding interdisciplinary and often complex environmental issues (Clarke & Peterson, 2016). Within the United States, options such as large land acquisitions like those that created the National Parks are no longer feasible and conservation efforts must now work across a matrix of public and private land (Merenlender, Huntsinger, Guthey, & Fairfax, 2004). Understanding what different stakeholders value in a decision making process can help elucidate how to solve potential conflicts in the future. The Adirondack Park in upstate New York serves as a model with its current unique structure of being a park consisting of both private and public lands. Consequently, environmental decision making in the Adirondack Park frequently has to balance the needs of different interest groups, including residents in the park, during land acquisitions and proceeding land use classification. This paper seeks to understand the interests behind public comments over the Boreas Ponds acquisition and identify factors that contribute to those interests.

Boreas Ponds Acquisition in the Adirondack Park

The State of New York purchased 20,758 acres of land known as the Boreas Ponds, within the Adirondack Park, formerly belonging to Finch-Pruyn Paper Company from the Nature Conservancy in May 2016 (Department of Environmental Conservation, 2016a). This purchase sits between Newcomb and North Hudson in the Adirondack Park, where the two towns' primary source of income is through tourism (Tohamy & Swinscoe, 2014). As part of the procedure of classifying the tract, the Adirondack Park Agency (APA) must present different

alternatives to the public for comment. These alternatives contain different combinations of classifications per the Park's regulatory document, "The Adirondack State Land Master Plan" (ASLMP) (2016). These classifications define the level of structures and activities permitted.

The ASLMP contains nine categories by which land can be classified; in order of most to least restrictive for activities and structures permissible: Wilderness; Primitive Canoe; Wild Forest; Intensive Use; Historic State Administrative; Wild, Scenic and Recreational Rivers; Travel Corridors. The APA (2016) defines wilderness areas as an, "…area of state land or water having a primeval character, without significant improvement or permanent human habitation…" with the goal of its classification to preserve natural plant and animal communities where there is no apparent influence from people. Non-conforming uses and structures for these areas are any that would violate that goal, such as bicycling, motorized recreation, and structures like cabins and lean-tos. Primitive areas and Wild Forest areas are similar in that they contain "wild character"; however, Wild Forest areas have increasingly more conforming uses and structures. In particular, Wild Forest areas may allow snowmobiling, bicycling on existing trails/roads (Adirondack Park Agency, 2016).

It is important to note these classifications act as a minimum threshold of management. Each land acquisition must have an associated Unit Management Plan (UMP) developed by the Department of Environmental Conservation (DEC), which determines what specific activities and structures are permissible and when (Adirondack Park Agency, 2016). Until classification and subsequent UMP is developed, the DEC implements an interim access plan to define how the tract of land can be accessed and what activities are allowed (Department of Environmental Conservation, 2016b).

Part of the contention surrounding the Boreas Ponds purchase is the criticism toward the APA on the offered alternatives. Furthermore, interest groups differ in which alternatives they want (Brown, 2016a). In total there are four alternatives (Figures 1, 2, 3, 4) offered by the APA, the last (Figure 4) being added after large public outcry to provide an alternative with more Wilderness classification (Brown, 2016a). The decision-making process involves the APA presenting these alternatives for public comment through hearings and a written comment period. This occurred between November and December 2016. The APA received over 11,000 written comments (Adirondack Park Agency, 2017). A Final Supplemental Environmental Impact Statement (FSEIS) will be created which will have the APA's preferred alternative and will be presented to the public. This final alternative can be one of the four presented at the hearings or can be a new alternative based on comments. The FSEIS would then move to the governor for final approval. As of the time of this manuscript, the FSEIS has not been published.

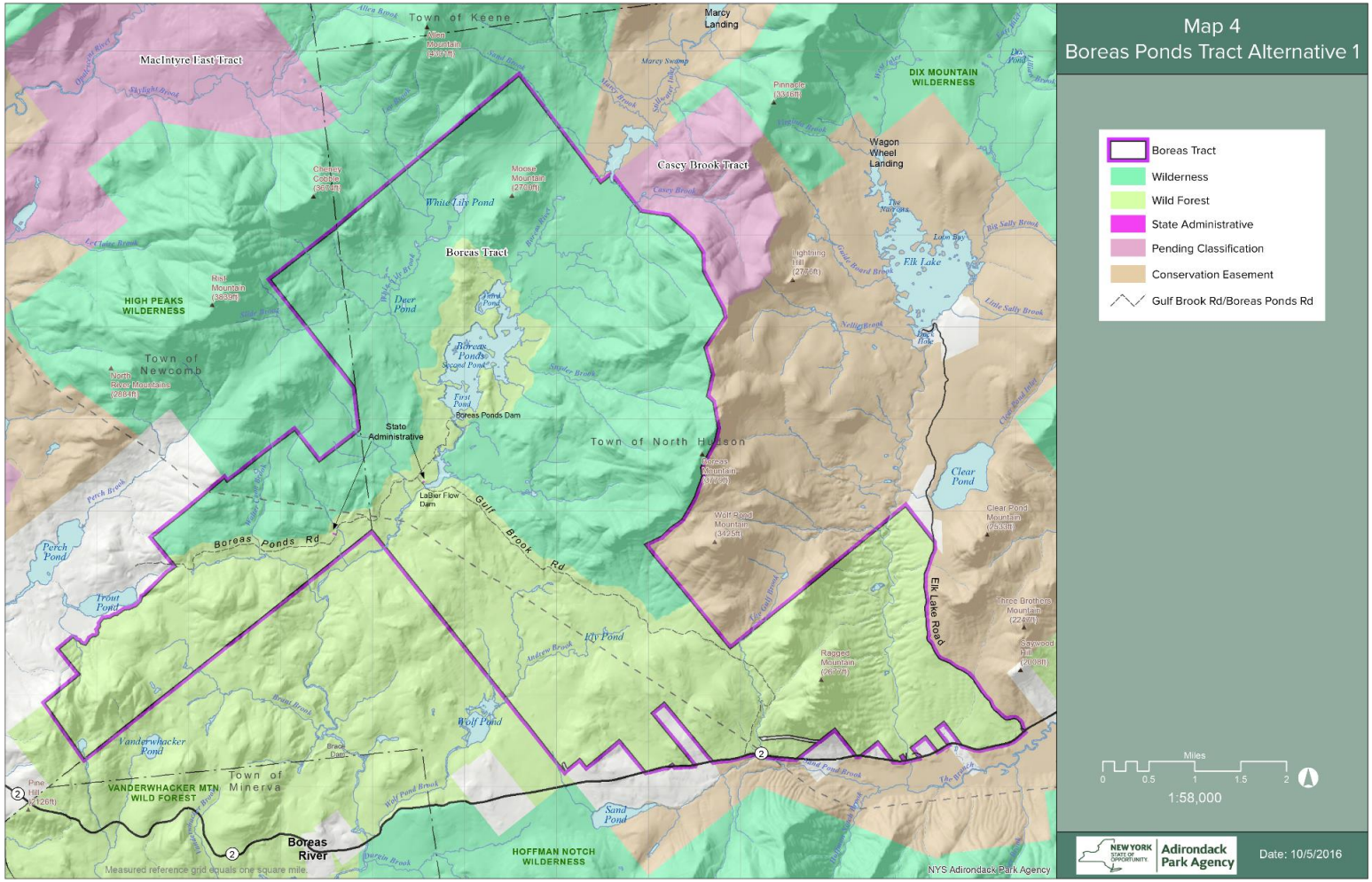

Figure 1. Alternative one for the Boreas Ponds Tract. Adapted from 2016 - 2017 State Land Classification Documents & Materials by the Adirondack Park Agency, 2016, Retrieved from https://apa.ny.gov/State_Land/2016Classification/index.html. Copyright 2017 by the Adirondack Park Agency.

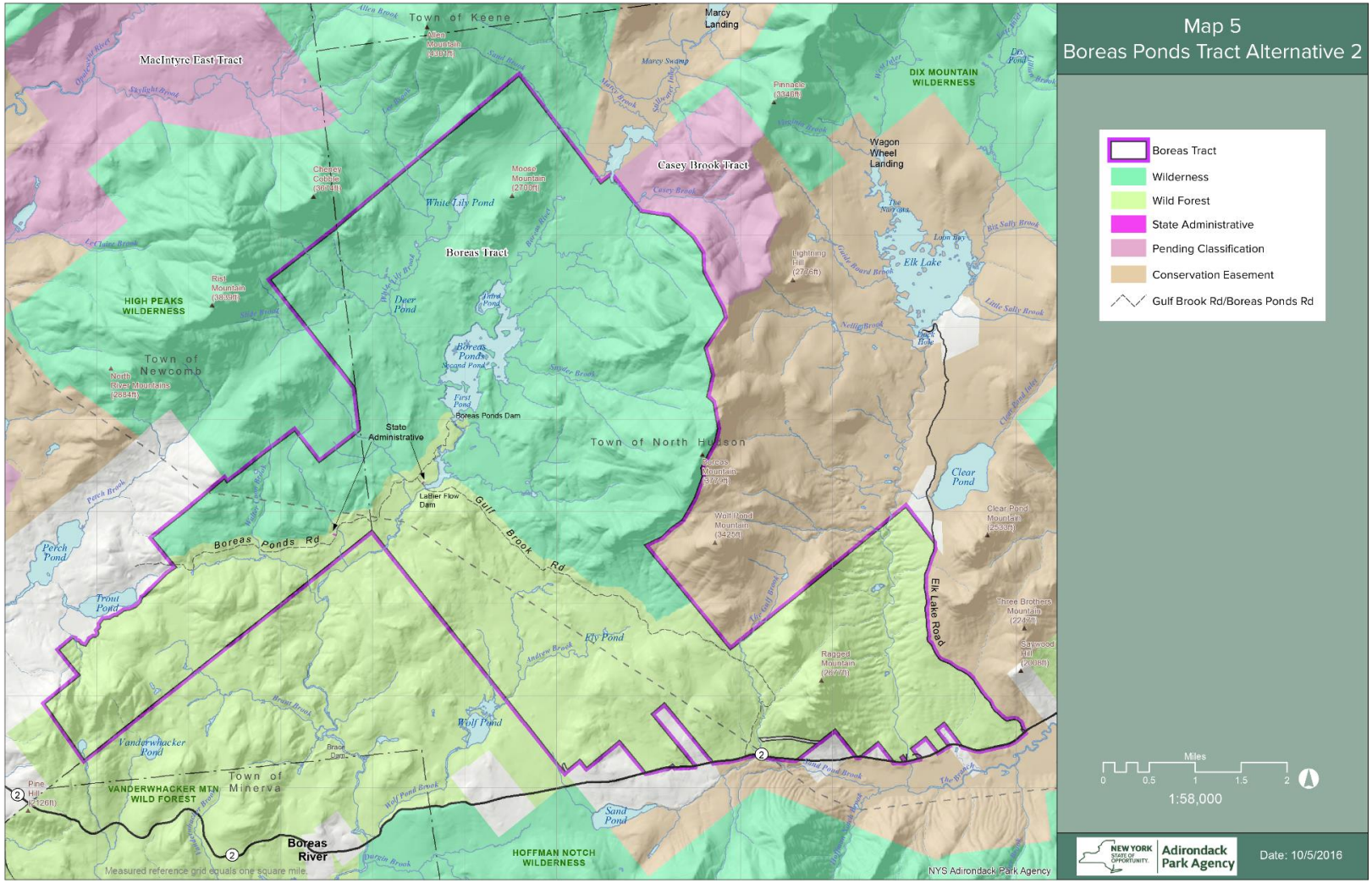

Figure 2. Alternative two for the Boreas Ponds Tract. Adapted from 2016 - 2017 State Land Classification Documents & Materials by the Adirondack Park Agency, 2016, Retrieved from https://apa.ny.gov/State_Land/2016Classification/index.html. Copyright 2017 by the Adirondack Park Agency.

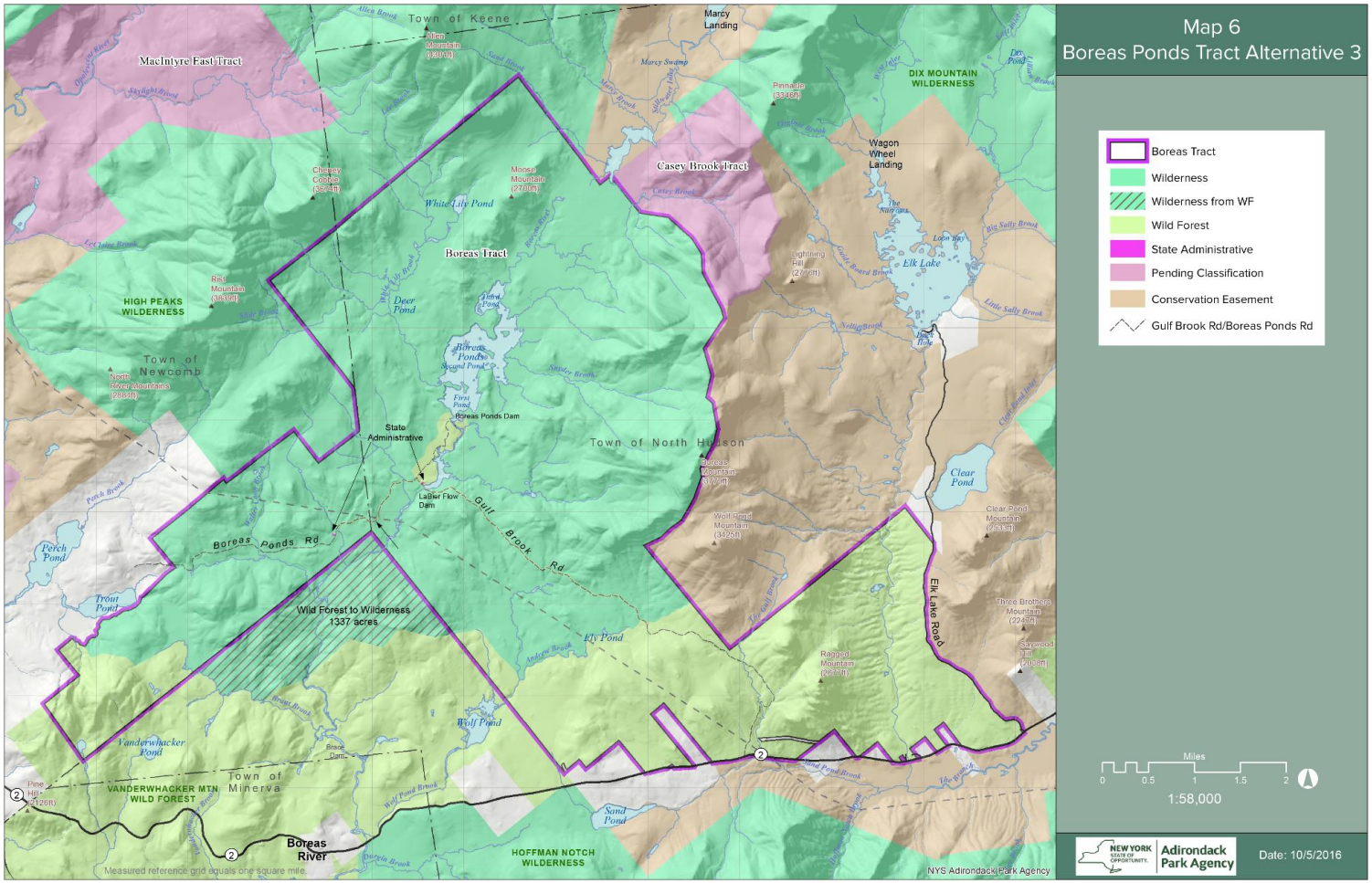

Figure 3. Alternative three for the Boreas Ponds Tract. Adapted from 2016 - 2017 State Land Classification Documents & Materials by the Adirondack Park Agency, 2016, Retrieved from https://apa.ny.gov/State_Land/2016Classification/index.html. Copyright 2017 by the Adirondack Park Agency.

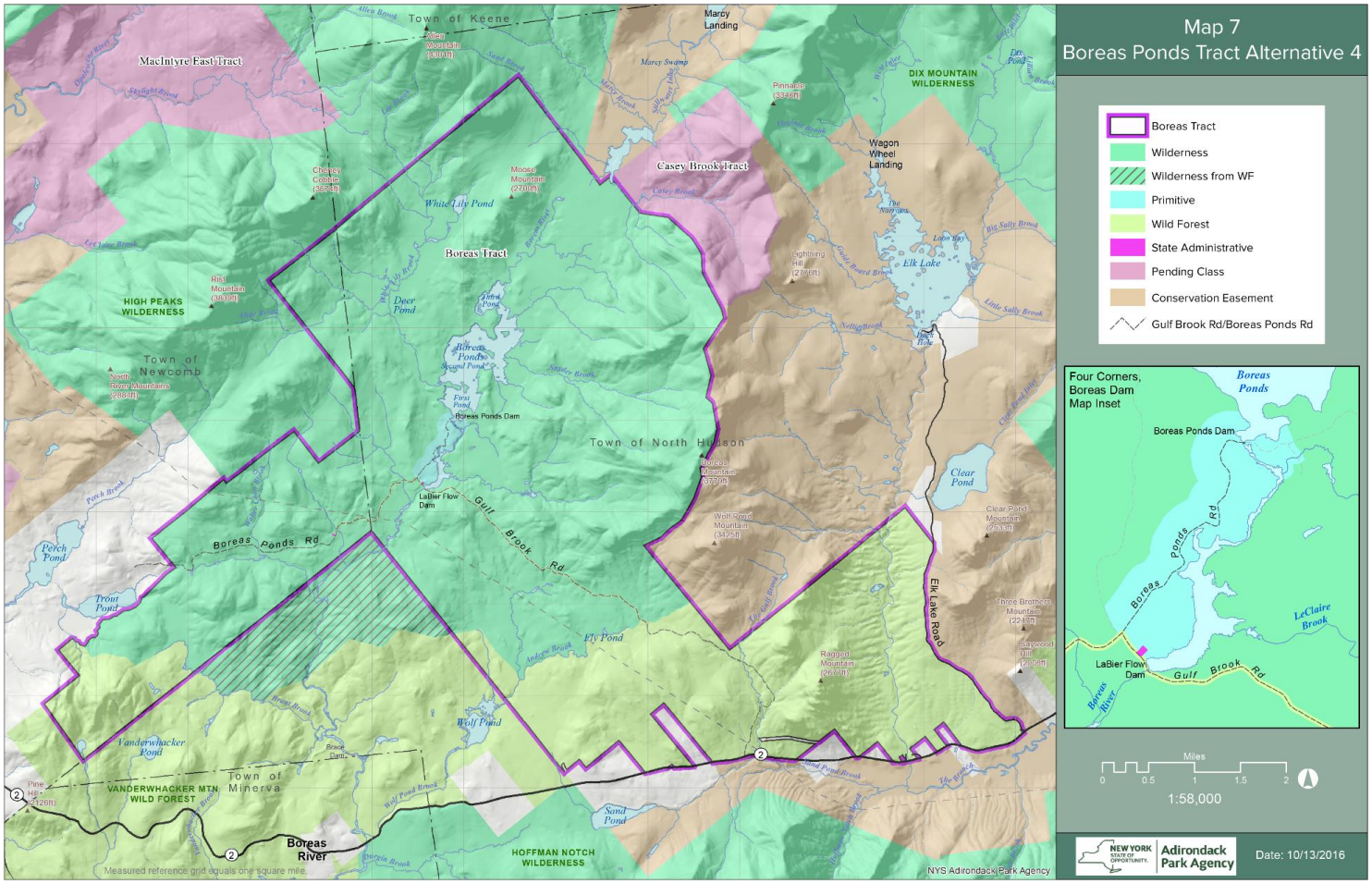

Figure 4. Alternative four for the Boreas Ponds Tract. Adapted from 2016 - 2017 State Land Classification Documents & Materials by the Adirondack Park Agency, 2016, Retrieved from https://apa.ny.gov/State_Land/2016Classification/index.html. Copyright 2017 by the Adirondack Park Agency.

Stakeholders

The contentious debate over Boreas Ponds has been documented through online and printed media such as press releases and news agencies (see chapter 3). Tensions rise as larger interest groups advocate for different alternatives from those presented by the APA, primarily disagreeing on the amount of Wild Forest classification that should be present on the tract (Brown, 2016a). These interest groups (Table 1) include a large coalition called Be Wild NY (2016), consisting of organizations such as the Adirondack Council, Adirondack Mountain Club, and others. Another group includes Access Adirondacks (2016), a small organization founded by local officials in the surrounding five towns of Newcomb, North Hudson, Indian Lake, Minerva and Long Lake which also includes support from local sportsmen clubs and associations. Finally, a new group called The Adirondack Wilderness Advocates (2016) launched in response to the land acquisition and pushed for an all-wilderness alternative option. Access Adirondacks operated on a platform of tourism and accessibility and advocated for alternative 1 (Figure 1), while Be Wild NY advocated for more of a compromise and asked for a new hybrid alternative (Figure 5). This alternative called for a wilderness buffer around the ponds themselves, but Wild Forest remains outside the buffer to allow for more reasonable access (Be Wild NY, 2015).

Table 1

Interest groups represented in DSEIS comments

Stakeholder	Source
Access Adirondacks	http://accessadk.com
Adirondack Wilderness Advocates	http://adirondackwilderness.org
Be Wild New York	http://bewildnewyork.org
Adirondack Council	
Adirondack Mountain Club	
Audubon New York	
Citizens Campaign for the Environment	
Environmental Advocates of New York	
Natural Resources Defense Council	
NY League of Conservation Voters	
The Wilderness Society	
The Sierra Club (Atlantic chapter)	https://atlantic2.sierraclub.org
ADK Park Local Government Review Board*	http://adkreviewboard.com
Inlet Business Association*	http://www.adirondackexperience.com/inlet/inlet-area-business-association
Cranberry Lake Fish and Game Club*	http://cranberrylakeclub.com
NY State Conservation Council*	http//nyscc.com
NY State Snowmobiler Association*	http://nysnowmobiler.com

Note. *These groups did not submit form letters, but submitted individual comments to represent the interest group. All other groups listed here submitted form letters. Audubon, Adirondack Council and Adirondack Mountain club submitted form letters in addition to Be Wild New York's letter, but was grouped under Be Wild New York for analyses.

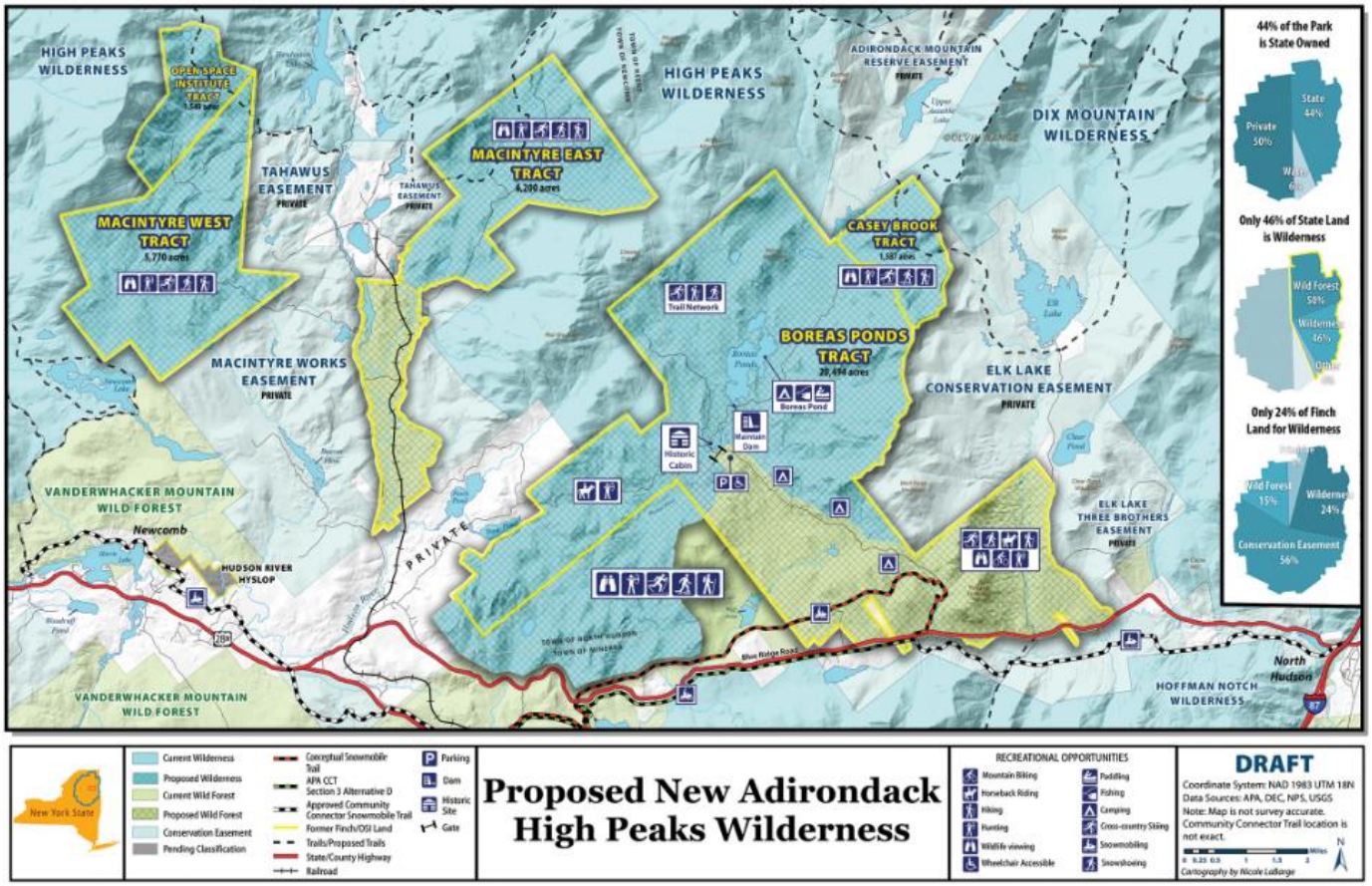

Figure 5. Alternative advocated for by the group Be Wild NY. This alternative differs from the APA's by providing a 1-mile buffer of wilderness between Boreas Ponds and the rest of the Wild Forest portion of the tract. Adapted from BeWilNY.org, 2016, Retrieved from http://bewildnewyork.org/why-wilderness/. Copyright 2017 by Be Wild NY.

These groups (table 1) have primarily been in the forefront of the public eye over coverage of the land acquisition (see chapter 3). They represent individuals from all over the country including parts of New York State and the Adirondack Park. This focus on groups outside the Park is particularly relevant as previous sentiments within the Park have reflected feelings of lack of local representation and say in park decision making (Donnell & Stokowski, 2016; Terrie, 2008; Vidon, 2016). While the park's natural resources draw tourism, wilderness

ideals have shown to be a contention point between residents and visitors (Vidon, 2016). A content analysis can reveal if these values exist for those commenting on the land classification process and can highlight if that is an issue that will have to be negotiated in the decision making.

Deconstructing conflict with content analysis

The debate over Boreas Ponds serves as an example to deconstruct a type of environmental conflict that may become increasingly frequent as conservation moves more towards interacting with private entities (Merenlender, Huntsinger, Guthey, & Fairfax, 2004). Content analyses offer a way of investigating messages and themes within the context of the groups sending and receiving those messages (Krippendorf, 2014). Generally, a content analysis is a quantitative, qualitative or combination analysis of textual documents to answer research questions (Krippendorf, 2014; Neuendorf, 2002; White & Marsh, 2006). Content analyses have been conducted within the environmental communication literature, especially in studies concerning conflict when trying to understand how issues are framed (Davis & Lewicki, 2003; Kaufman & Smith, 1999). This study will seek to answer the research questions: what are the public's interests with the Boreas Ponds classification and who makes up the public? Content analysis can break down who is participating in the decision-making process, what are the main themes and interests from those commenting as well as start to provide insight on how these factors relate to each other.

Methods

This content analysis was on the public written comments submitted in response to the DSEIS of the classification of APA lands including the Boreas Ponds. Over 11,000 comments were

submitted. These comments are publicly accessible through the APA's website and included a consolidated file of all comments, including those submitted through mail and digitally.

Sampling

Systematic sampling was utilized by taking every one-hundredth comment from the population of 11,419 comments submitted and provided by the Adirondack Park Agency. This subsample provided a sufficient number of comments necessary to test for intercoder reliability and refine the codebook before moving on to the complete sample of 1040 comments, or 10% of the total population of comments. These 1040 comments were also systematically sampled by selecting every tenth comment. For both the subsample and sample of comments, duplicate comments from individuals (non form-letters) were removed.

Coding

To address the validity of the latent codes within the codebook, intercoder reliability was determined with another coder before moving on to the final coding of the sample. Once the initial codebook had been developed I trained another coder by reviewing the codebook together for clarity and understanding. Adjustments were made before we each took the sub-sample of 104 comments to be coded individually. The coefficient used for this analysis was Cohen's Kappa coefficient (κ), as it is specifically formulated for two coders and has shown to be generally valid within the literature (Neuendorf, 2002). A coefficient of 0.65 or better was used as a threshold for a coefficient to move forward with the coding (Neuendorf, 2002; QSR International, 2016).

The first round of calculating inter-coder reliability yielded poor results for the economy, tourism and wilderness interest codes. Reconciliation was done through a second discussion of the codes and recoding of the samples in disagreement. Final inter-coder coefficients for the

codes were as follows: Access $\kappa = .80$, Economy $\kappa = .97$, Environmental Protection $\kappa = .65$, Tourism $\kappa = .91$, Recreation $\kappa = .71$ and Wilderness $\kappa = .94$.

Independent coding of the full sample of 1040 comments was then completed using the final codebook (Appendix A) and results tabulated as frequencies.

Developing Interest Codes

The content analysis sought to describe and summarize manifest content about the commenter such as address, desired alternative and affiliation as well as determine interests (latent content) of those commenters. As such, the questions of what the public has interest in and who makes up the public guided the creation of the codebook for this analysis. To develop the codes for the latent content a method of constant comparisons (Corbin & Strauss, 1990) was utilized to determine what interests were appearing in the comments.

Constant comparison is a method used in grounded theory research and relies on constantly comparing the data against itself to validate developed codes through open, axial and selective coding (Corbin & Strauss, 1990). This study involved initial recording of interests, checking that samples fell into emergent categories and then consolidating them into final variables to be coded. A diverse sample of comments that included individual comments and form letters were reviewed to develop what would be the "interest" variable. These interests were coded as wilderness, environmental protection, economy, tourism, recreation, and access. Final manifest variables included address, affiliation, desired alternative and if the letter was a form letter.

After utilizing the method of constant comparison (Corbin & Strauss, 1990) seven categories that can be coded for interests were developed: access, economy, environmental protection, recreation, tourism, and wilderness.

Results

This content analysis sought to analyze variables including the commenter's address, the comment's affiliation if the comment was a form letter, what the desired alternative was and what interests the commenter had in relation to the classification of Boreas Ponds (See table 1). Analysis of the comments yielded the following categories for the interest code:

Access. These comments were expressing an interest to access to the Boreas Ponds parcel. Any comment that discussed being able to physically get to location relating to Boreas Ponds, whether through motor vehicle access or through disability accommodations, were coded as having an interest in access.

Economy. Comments that were coded as having an interest in economy were those that explicitly mentioned wanting to see an economic boost, whether through tourism or otherwise, or more latently described wanting to see an improvement to local businesses or property values.

Environmental protection. These comments were coded as having an interest in environmental protection if they explicitly mentioned a concern with a physical aspect of the Boreas Ponds such as water quality, concern for invasive species or interest in wildlife. Comments also citing science or environmental studies relating to conservation of Boreas Pond resources were also coded this way.

Recreation. Comments were coded as having an interest in recreation if they expressed interest in a particular recreational activity, such as bicycling, hiking, canoeing, etc.

Tourism. Comments were coded as tourism is they expressed interest specifically in attracting more visitors to the area. These comments were often coded in tandem with economy, but stand separate from the economy category in that the interest specifically was in targeting more attraction for tourists to the region.

Wilderness. Comments coded as wilderness were those that echoed more preservationist themes and wilderness ideals based on the ASLMP and Wilderness Act (1964) definitions of wilderness. These included the desire for a sense of remoteness, a pristine land untouched by people, and opportunities for quiet, primitive recreation (Adirondack Park Agency, 2016; Nash, 2014; Wilderness Act 1964). This code differs from environmental protection in that comments coded in this category often used descriptors found in western ideas of wilderness such as pristine, primeval, fragile and unique. This code represents the western concept of wilderness (Nash, 2014) as opposed to the code of environmental protection, which explicitly deals with physical resources. This code was sometimes coded in conjunction with environmental protection.

Unknown. Any comments that did not have sufficient information enough to determine their interest were coded under this category.

Overall, the majority of comments in the sample (63%) were from within New York, but outside of the Adirondack Park. 13% were from within the Adirondack Park and 21% were from outside the state (including international comments). The remaining 3% had unknown addresses.

Table 2

Frequency Summary of Boreas Ponds Comments

Variable	Comments	Percent
Address		
Adirondack	136	13%
New York	660	63%
Outside New York	218	21%
Unknown	26	3%
Affiliation		
Access Adirondacks	89	9%
Be Wild NY	498	48%
Adirondack Wilderness Advocates	287	28%
Other	15	1%
None	129	12%
Unknown	24	2%
Form Letter		
Yes	896	86%
No	144	14%
Alternative		
1	97	9%
2	4	0%
3	0	0%
4	3	0%
Hybrid	418	40%
All Wilderness	327	31%
Unknown	191	18%
Interest		
Access	361	35%
Economy	193	19%
Environmental Protection	591	57%
Recreation	113	11%
Tourism	77	7%
Wilderness	452	43%
Unknown	43	4%

Note. These frequencies are based off a total sample size of 1040 comments. The interest variable codes are not mutually exclusive and represent the total amount of comments that expressed that interest.

Of all the sampled comments, 86% came from form letters from various interest groups. Of these, the majority came from organizations associated with the Be Wild NY coalition with 56% of form letters and then the Adirondack Wilderness Advocates with 32% of form letter comments. Other affiliations included Access Adirondacks with 10% of sampled comments and sports clubs, local government councils and other environmental groups like Sierra Club, all with less than 1% of comments. Less than 1% could not be identified with an affiliation.

For the desired alternative, the majority of comments, at 40%, wanted to see a new alternative that was a hybrid of Wilderness and Wild Forest classifications. Thirty one percent of comments asked for a new all-wilderness alternative, while only 9% wanted alternative 1 (Figure 1), which contained the most Wild Forest designation, including surrounding the actual ponds. It's important to note that 18% of comments could not be categorized and the remaining alternatives either were not requested or received less than 1% of all total comment requests.

Of all the interest categories, most comments were interested in environmental protection with 57% of comments expressing this interest and then wilderness with 43%. Access was the third most popular at 35% with the rest below 20%. However, these demands/requests are not mutually exclusive as many comments had multiple interests. Thirty two percent of sampled comments had interest in both access and environmental protection, 15% in economy and environmental protection and 11% in environmental protection and wilderness. However, 46% of comments had expressed interest in environmental protection exclusive to wilderness, and

33% vice versa. In general, while a small percentage of comments showed interest in environmental protection and wilderness ideals, more tended to have interest in one or the other, the majority being environmental protection. The Be Wild NY coalition generated most of the interest in environmental protection in the sample while the Adirondack Wilderness Advocates did the same for the wilderness category.

Address tended to be correlated with comment interest (table 2). Of all the Adirondack addressed comments, 29% wanted to see alternative 1, 18% wanted a new hybrid alternative, 22% wanted an all-wilderness alternative, and a large 29% could not be categorized. Of all the other New York comments, most wanted to see a new hybrid alternative at 51%, while only 26% wanted all-wilderness option and 7% wanted alternative 1; 15% could not be categorized. Finally, those comments originating from outside New York mainly wanted to see an all-wilderness alternative at 56% of comments, while 25% wanted a new hybrid. 17% of comments could not be categorized and only 7% wanted alternative 1.

Table 3

Comment Alternatives by Address

	Adirondack		New York		Outside New York	
Alternative	Comments	Percent	Comments	Percent	Comments	Percent
1	40	29%	47	7%	3	1%
2	2	1%	2	0%	0	0%
3	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
4	1	1%	1	0%	1	0%
Hybrid	24	18%	339	51%	55	25%
All-Wilderness	30	22%	169	26%	123	56%
Unknown	39	29%	102	15%	36	17%
Total	136	100%	660	100%	218	100%

Note. Based on a total sample size of 1040 comments. Totals exclude comments without an address.

As far as interest groups and what addresses commenters were from, one group heavily attracted addresses outside of New York: Adirondack Wilderness Advocates, with 48% of their form letters coming from those reporting addresses outside of New York State (table 3). Almost half of Access Adirondacks commenters reported addresses from within the Park and Be Wild NY mainly had addresses from the rest of the state. Most commenters who submitted comments on their own - with no affiliation - were primarily from New York State. However, most of these comments, 58% of them, did not specify what alternative they would like to see. Sixteen percent wanted alternative 1, 11% wanted a new hybrid, and 9% wanted all wilderness.

Table 4

Interest Groups by Comment Addresses

	ADKs		NY		Outside NY		Unknown		
	Comments	Percent	Comments	Percent	Comments	Percent	Comments	Percent	Total
Be Wild NY	27	5%	386	78%	83	17%	1	0%	497
Adirondack Wilderness Advocates	26	9%	139	48%	122	43%	0	0%	287
No affiliation	34	26%	63	49%	9	7%	23	18%	129
Access Adirondacks	39	44%	46	52%	4	4%	0	0%	89

Note. Based on a total sample size of 1040 comments.

Discussion

The results indicate that interest groups have a lot of political clout within the decision-making process, as they were responsible for the overwhelming majority of comments submitted. As such, their form letters informed the results of the content analysis. The largest source of comments, from the Be Wild NY coalition, publicly supported a new alternative option that is a hybrid between one of the APA's alternatives and more wilderness. Hence, most of the comments supported a new hybrid alternative (figure 5). The second most contributed comments

also came from an interest group, the Adirondack Wilderness Advocates, which pushed for an all-wilderness alternative. Fewer comments came from individuals and even less from the interest group started near the land acquisition – Access Adirondacks, which advocated for alternative 1.

Influence of the two popular interest groups ranges beyond the park and the state itself. Almost half of Adirondack Wilderness Advocates' form letters had many addresses from outside the state, including from Canada. This is a group that contributed a little over a quarter of the comments received. Interestingly, those letters whose addresses were in New York State, most of which were from Be Wild NY coalition, advocated for the more compromised hybrid alternative. Within the Park itself, the ratio of comments was almost equal (excluding alternatives 2-4) as across desired alternatives (table 2).

It is thus evident that interest groups who appeal to those outside the Park can more easily make their interests well known and provide a voice to those who do not necessarily live near the land acquisition. Even more noteworthy is that addresses further from park tended to state a desire for an all wilderness alternative, while wilderness requests become less clear closer to the Park. Even within the Park, it is difficult to determine which alternative is most desired. Furthermore, these comments often did not contain enough information to be categorized into an alternative choice (table 1).

One reason for this interesting split in interests for the comments addressed within the Park could be due to the Adirondack Park's relatively high population of seasonal homeowners (Colarusso & Hasdell, 2007). The Adirondack Park experiences peak tourism season between Memorial Day and Labor Day, during which many seasonal homeowners stay within the park. It may be possible that these commenters align their views more closely with others from the state

that preferred other alternatives. A study by Saremba and Gill (1991) pointed out attitude differences between locals and visitors to a mountain park in Vancouver in relation to wilderness recreational activities expected in wilderness areas. There, visitors who did not live adjacent to the park preferred activities such as hiking and canoeing while locals preferred "non-compatible" activities such as snowmobiling and activities that help boost tourism economy. The comments from the Adirondack Park similarly echo these statements, as comments from the Access Adirondacks group often discuss using the tract to promote bicycle tourism and accessibility trails for the older local residents, whereas the form letter from the Adirondack Wilderness Advocates utilized language to highlight the tract's sense of remoteness and wilderness appeal for hikers and other remote, non-motorized forms of recreation.

The data support the idea that wilderness values can be separated from the desire for environmental protection, as only 11% of the comments were coded as having interest in both, 46% had interest in environmental protection exclusive of wilderness ideals, and 33% vice versa. This brings to the forefront the question of what the goals are for these land acquisitions and how the APA can best navigate deciding appropriate alternatives considering these value differences, particularly from commenters within the Park. These results support the conclusion that wilderness ideology exists within the park, which is propagated by tourism to the region (Vidon, 2016). This ideology functions to reify the Park's identity as a wilderness destination and limit the potential of accepting the Park as a place for other modes of recreation such as snowmobiling. This discrepancy inherently generates conflict with residents of the park, who advocate for more accessible forms of recreation and to draw more forms of tourism to the area.

Future research may further investigate the role of wilderness values between those who live in areas deemed "wilderness" and those who only visit. Further, more needs to be done to

look into the roles of wilderness areas and conservation, specifically if the goals of those who wish to preserve wilderness are different from those who seek ecological conservation or if this distinction is even measurable. The ASLMP states that "-the protection and preservation of the natural resources of the state lands within the Park must be paramount. Human use and enjoyment of those lands should be permitted and encouraged, so long as the resources in their physical and biological context as well as their social or psychological aspects are not degraded" (2016). However, conflict is bound to ensue when people hold different perceptions of those resources. Further, many groups outside the park have historically had a large presence in the decision-making process (Terrie, 2008). The APA must, therefore, ask, what are the "psychological and social" aspects of natural resources, and whose are to be protected?

While this study focuses on deconstructing the cause of contention within the Boreas Ponds land acquisition, it tangentially deals with the decision-making process itself. The results point to contention potentially lying in differences between those who value wilderness, environmental protection and access. Many studies discuss the drawbacks of utilizing traditional public communication methods such as public hearings (Clarke & Peterson, 2016; Redpath et al., 2013; Walker, Senecah, & Daniels, 2006). A more pragmatic step for the APA or any decision making authority may be to consider more participatory and collaborative processes which enable stakeholders with different values to work towards a decision with greater trust and engagement (Clarke & Peterson, 2016; Norton, 2015). While it seems efforts in this direction are being made (Donnell, & Stokowski, 2016), conservation in the park is still contentious.

Conclusion

Perceptions of wilderness may play a part in the controversy over Boreas Ponds, particularly those perceptions between residents and visitors of the park. Addresses and affiliation to an

interest group tended to define the desired alternative the commenters wanted to see of Boreas Ponds. Those who wanted an all-wilderness alternative tended to be associated with the Adirondack Wilderness Advocates and often had addresses outside the Park and New York State. Overall, most commenters wanted to see a new hybrid alternative, particularly residents of New York State, while those who had addresses in the Park were split between all-wilderness, a new hybrid, and alternative one. These differences may lie in the fact that the Adirondack Park has a high seasonal population comprised of residents who do not reside in the Park year-round. Future studies may investigate further the wilderness values among permanent residents of the Park and visitors. Pragmatically, environmental decision making in the Park may benefit from utilizing other forms of public participation in their processes to deal with these diverse values.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

In this study, I set out to answer the question of what factors are contributing to conflict in the Adirondack Park. The Park serves as a model for how environmental decision-making occurs across public and private lands, which will become increasingly relevant for conservation in the United States. This study explored this question through multiple qualitative analyses which demonstrated the Park's strong wilderness appeal and history as potentially problematic for those who live in the Park and frequently feel that decisions are made by those outside the Park (Donnell & Stokowski, 2016; Terrie, 2008; Vidon, 2016).

The discourse analysis in chapter two demonstrates that while those who live in the Park contest its wilderness identity, the Park itself is advertised as primarily wilderness, particularly around the area of the Boreas Ponds acquisition. The wilderness identity perpetuated by media appeals strongly to wilderness characteristics that preclude specific modes of recreation and presence of people. Some local officials and residents want to see recreation expanded to include more snowmobiling and bicycling as well as increased tourism; however, what is advertised sets up a visitor expectation that clashes with these. The discourse analysis highlights that the Park is viewed differently by interviewed residents compared to how it is advertised to tourists, which can exacerbate conflict over land use.

Chapter three's framing analyses looked more directly at the Boreas Ponds conflict by analyzing both stakeholder and media content on the issue. The study sought to understand how it was being framed to further deconstruct the conflict. Like the discourse analysis, the framing analysis highlighted differences between stakeholder groups who primarily represent those within the park and environmental groups with a larger constituency extending beyond the Park. While the focus of local groups like Access Adirondacks was on reasonable access to public

lands and economy of the towns immediately surrounding the acquisition, other interest groups such as Be Wild NY were highlighting environmental protection or wilderness preservation as advocated by Adirondack Wilderness Advocates. This analysis more clearly demonstrated a divergence in values over the acquisition. Even more importantly it was predominantly portrayed in the media as conflict. This further divided stakeholder groups as these values were consistently painted as incompatible

The final analysis in Chapter four explored in more depth the public involved with the decision-making process of Boreas Ponds land use. This content analysis examined a sample of the public comments submitted in responses to the Draft Supplemental Environmental Impact Statement (DSEIS) that contained 4 possible alternatives of classifying the land. This analysis revealed that again, wilderness versus access values was prominent, but also that these tended to be associated with the address of the sender. Many of those who had addresses outside New York State mostly desired an all-wilderness option while as you moved closer to the Park it became less so with those in the park seemingly evenly divided among an all-wilderness, a new hybrid or present alternative. Even more importantly, the interest of wilderness preservation did not necessitate an apparent interest in environmental protection. This begs the question of how goals of these state land acquisitions coincide or conflicts with the goals who have an interest in its use. What role does wilderness play in the larger question of how to achieve conservation?

Overall, it is apparent that previous studies and works analyzing resident and tourist perceptions (Donnell & Stokowski, 2016; A. Larkin, 2011; Terrie, 2008, 2009;Vidon, 2016) of the Park are supported by diverging values. The idea of wilderness is deep-seated within American culture (Nash, 2014) and shows in the Adirondack Park through its regulations (Adirondack Park Agency, 2016), advertising and conflicts. This leads to questions of what do

we consider wilderness and how can we reconcile that with areas where people live and work and can we? More pragmatically, it may benefit decision makers to consider utilizing more collaborative decision-making practices that can better handle diverse values among stakeholders. In the case of the Adirondack Park, it is an area beloved by many within and outside the Park, including other states and countries. Figuring out ways to manage conflicts around the Park can offer insights to apply those lessons to other areas as conservation will inevitably have to work across a public-private interface. A large part of that seems to lie in definitions of wilderness and how to cope with these among different groups.

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Wilderness Act, 16 U.S.C. §§ 1131-1136 (1964).

Appendix A

List of Media Sources

Adirondack Almanack
Adirondack Daily Enterprise
Adirondack Explorer
Adirondack Outdoors Magazine
Adirondack.net
Burlington Free Press
Future Structure
Lake Placid News
Midland Reporter Telegram
NCPR News
Outdoornews.com
Poughkeepsie Journal
Press Republican
Seven Days
The Daily Gazette
The Journal
The Sun
Times Union
WAMC Northeast Public Radio
Washington Times
Watertown Daily Times
WKTV
WNBZ News

List of Stakeholder Sources

Access Adirondacks	www.accessadk.com
Adirondack Association of Towns and Villages	www.aatvny.org
Adirondack Council	www.adirondackcouncil.org
Adirondack Mountain Club	www.adk.org
Adirondack Wilderness Advocates	www.adirondackwilderness.org
BeWildNY	www.bewildnewyork.org
Ilsnow.com	
Protect the Adirondacks!	www.protectadks.org
The Nature Conservancy	www.nature.org/ourintitatives/regions/northamerica/newyork/index.htm
The New York State Snowmobile Association	www.nysnowmobiler.com

Codebook for Framing Analysis

Media	
Frame	**If yes to any, then code the corresponding frame**
Conflict (Conflict)	Does the article utilize themes, metaphors and other devices to paint the process as a conflict (e.g., war or battle metaphors)? Does the article refer to the process as contentious or heated? Does the article paint the process as zero-sum (i.e, is it depicted as a win-lose scenario)? Does the article reflect a disagreement between stakeholders?
Critical Process (Critical)	Does the article place responsibility for feelings of contention or tension on the APA or other state authority (Governor, DEC, etc?) Does the article criticize a state authority or quote many who do? Is the process deemed unfair or biased?
Advocate	Does the article present one side of the issue more than the other? Does the article seem to prefer a stakeholder/ option more than the others? Does the article only present one opinion?
Wilderness (Wilderness)	Does the article seem to advocate a wilderness designation? Does the article present a lot of quotes or references to groups who would prefer a wilderness designation? Does the article present or quote those who cite fears of not getting a wilderness designation or cite the location's environment as needing protection?
Access (Access)	Does the article seem to advocate a wild forest designation? Does the article present a lot of quotes or references to groups who would prefer a wilderness designation? Does the article seem to advocate or present more views of those wanting to see more access in general?
Stakeholders	
Frame	**If yes to any, then code the corresponding frame**
Collective Action (Collective)	Does the article/ page call for action from the general public? Does the article/ page cite the need for advocacy from other groups or people to achieve their goal? Does the article/ page contain a petition?

Economy (Economy)	Does the article/page cite economic need as the reasoning for their desired goal? Does the article/ page cite that economy will be a benefit or pro as a result of the desired goal? Does the article/ page reference attract more tourists?
Environmental Protection (Environment)	Does the article/ page depict the environment as something that needs protecting? Are stewardship and moral imperatives toward preserving wilderness used in justifying their classification goal? Does the article/ page reference lessen the human impact as justification for their desired classification goal?
Reasonable Access (Access)	Does the article/ page reference inclusiveness justify their classification goal? Does the article/ page cite previous instances of exclusion when it comes to access? Does the article/page reference the purchase was made on behalf of the whole state and should likewise be accessible to the state?
Critical Process (Critical)	Does the article/ page criticize the classification process? Does the article/ page reject any element of the process (e.g., alternative classifications)? Does the article/ page criticize any of the state agencies or the state in general (APA, DEC, Governor, etc.)? Does the article/ page call for a change (additions or modification) to any element of the process?

Frame Matrix

Table 1

Frame Matrix for Stakeholders

Frame Package	Framing Devices					Reasoning Devices		
	Frame	Lexical Choices	Exemplars	Depictions	Line(s) of Reasoning	Root of the Issue	Policy Solution	Appeals to Principle
Collective Action	Stakeholders are urging mobilization to get to the goal, in this case, a specific classification alternative. Strong emphasis on public participation.	Use of motivational terms such as "deliver" "encourage" "attend" "urge(ing)" "Take action"	Pages actively call on a coalition or the public to utilize the public comment period and/or provide meeting place and times for the APA meetings.	Often the acquisition parcel is depicted as something of major importance whose classification will have far-reaching effects – whether that be preservation or economic boost to the surrounding towns.	The APA classification process is a public one, so participation to advocate for a particular classification will increase the chance the desired classification will be assigned to the parcel.	The public needs to participate in the process to push a particular classification alternative.	Depending on the advocate either one of the four presented alternatives or a new all-wilderness alternative not presented by the APA.	Duty as a citizen to participate in a public process concerning local and/or resource the taxpayers purchased.
Critical	The APA process does not include all potential views or presents alternatives that does not comply with its own land classification definitions.	"…reject flawed classification …" "…APA fails to protect…" "…imperative that these tracts are appropriately classified…"	Pages cite that structures on the tract cannot fit wilderness description and for environmental groups claim lack of more wilderness dominant	The tract is depicted as two completely areas – one of human use and modification or pristine natural resource.	The process does not reflect all views or has only limited alternative options due to its own definitions – both used as a call for action to alter a public process where public comment is	APA viewed as not operating as it should – whether that be through adhering to its own definitions or not offering	Depends on advocate, either offer more alternatives or remain restricted to the ones already presented	Public participation in decision making processes – all these stakeholders make a call to action.

			alternative threatens the ponds from invasive species.		supposed to be recognized.	other alternatives		
Economy	The classification will affect the economy of the surrounding towns who rely on tourism. More access will allow more type of recreation which would provide an economic boost to the surrounding areas who need it.	"…important to community prosperity…" "…generate additional tourism revenue."	Pages often cite the reliance on tourism for economy and that more access will allow visitation of tourists.	The acquired parcel is often depicted as not wilderness and the towns depicted as needing an economic boost or being reliant on tourism.	More access means more types and numbers of tourists will go through the local towns that are close to the acquired parcel, therefore more money would circulate and provide a boost to the local economy.	Local towns rely on tourism and a restrictive wilderness classification may not attract enough or the type of tourist to provide an economic boost the towns need.	Wild Forest classification on certain parts of the parcel to provide the most access.	Appeals to others for help for struggling town's.
Environ-mental Protection	The classification will impact the level of protection of the parcel and preservation is the ultimate goal. The acquisition has ecological components that shouldn't be degraded or threatened with motorized use.	"Expand Adirondack wilderness" "gem" "sensitive" "protect" "wild" "ecological integrity"	Pages that advocate wilderness classification often criticize the current alternatives available as well as highlight the environmental aspects such as wildlife habitat, uniqueness and expanding on already existing wilderness areas.	The acquired parcel is depicted as ecologically sensitive, pristine and wild. Often motorized recreation is vilified.	The parcel has ecologically important components and should be protected. When the opportunity to preserve more land in a world where there is less of it, it should be taken advantage of (for future generations, ecological integrity)	Motorized access would degrade the acquired parcel of land.	Wilderness classification	Appeal to protecting what is in danger – sensitive land. Appeal to saving a limited resource.

Reasonable Access	The acquired parcel presents the opportunity for vast recreational opportunities and was paid for by taxpayers of NY. Limiting access is unfair and exclusive to some of those who paid for the land.	"reasonable access" "wild forest" "full access" "…right of every New Yorker to have reasonable access" "…rightful public access…"	Pages that advocate a wild forest classification to allow the most access, often citing rights of taxpayers.	Parcel often depicted as not adhering to wilderness definition by the APA and having infrastructure for access already. Some Environmental groups depicted as being exclusive.	NY taxpayers paid for the parcel therefor it should be accessible to the greatest number of taxpayers.	A restrictive classification would limit a large amount of people.	Same as economy.	Appeals to rights of taxpayers and inclusiveness.

Note. Some text Table layout adapted from Gamson & Lasch (1983) and Van Gorp (2005).

Table 2.

Frame Matrix for Media

Package	Framing Devices					Reasoning Devices		
	Frame	Lexical Choices	Exemplars	Depictions	Line(s) of Reasoning	Root of the Issue	Policy Solution	Appeals to Principle
Advocate [a] – Access	Advocates for access to the new tract that was purchased with NY taxpayer money and should be as accessible as possible.	"Reasonable access", "multi-use trails", when describing towns economy, "desperate" and "dependent on tourism"	Stories that frequently quote from local town authorities and sportsmen's groups; Stories highlighting struggle to access ponds with current interim plan.	Towns in rough economic shape and acquisition as grand opportunity for a multitude of recreational opportunities.	More access to the land will bring in more tourism revenue. Taxpayers paid for the land, they should be able to use it.	Previous classifications have been deemed exclusive and only available to back-country enthusiasts and more access would allow more economic activity from motorized sports.	APA finalizes an alternative classification that is the most liberal with access – Wild Forest.	Inclusiveness, moral duty to help handicapped and elderly, support local business.
Wilderness	Advocates for protection of the acquired Boreas Pond tract, highlighting ecological factors and wilderness characteristics of being pristine and remote.	"protection", "preserve" frequently refer to acquisition as "gem", "pristine" and a "treasure"	Stories that frequently quotes environmental groups. Stories that highlighted natural aesthetics …	Boreas Ponds as an untouched, pristine wilderness that holds the potential for remote enjoyment and preservation	The land should be preserved in a world where less and less areas are bring preserved. Protect unique ecological features.	Motorized access would damage the land it's remote and wilderness character.	APA finalizes an alternative that is restrictive-wilderness classification.	Moral duty to protect wild spaces and ecological communities.

Critical	Criticisms towards the APA classification process or decisions made by the state and state authorities. The process does not consider all possibilities.	"…didn't take into consideration…", "Fails to end criticism", "reacted in anger after…staff released three alternatives" "we need more alternatives" "reject"	Stories that highlighted quotes claiming the APA did not offer enough alternatives or criticized the DEC interim plan.	APA biasing the process or damaging the land by not offering preferred alternatives	By not offering a wider spectrum of alternatives you bias the publics choice by excluding others.	APA did not offer any completely wilderness classification alternatives.	APA offer more alternatives including an all wilderness alternative.	Duty to public service and participation to be fair and impartial.
Conflict	Classification process is one of intractable conflict with environmental groups clashing with local authorities. Development and economic opportunity versus preservation.	"clash" "army" "controversy" "heated" "contentious"	Stories where environmental groups and local authorities clearly delineated and contrasted. Quotes used frequently negative.	Intractable conflict between towns and environmental groups.	Inevitable conflict as development and preservation are not compatible.	No one will settle for compromise	No easy solution	Appeals to principle that environmental groups and local businesses and development have incompatible goals.

Note. Some text Table layout adapted from Gamson & Lasch (1983) and Van Gorp (2005).

[a] The Advocate frame consists of two sub frames: Access and Wildernes

Appendix B

Codebook for Content Analysis on Public Comments of Boreas Ponds DSEIS

CODEBOOK

Variable	Category (As written in Nvivo)	Notes
Address	ADK Address, NYS Address, Out of state, NA	There is a tab below for reference to all Adirondack municipalities
Affiliation	Access Adirondacks, Adirondack Wilderness Advocates, BeWildNY!, Audobon, Adirondack Mountain Club, Protect! Adirondacks, Adirondack Council, The Nature Conservancy, Form 1, Form 2, Other	Indicate if there is an explicit affiliation of the comment or if it is one of the known form letters.
Form letter	Yes, No	See References
Desired Alternative	1, 2, 3, 4, None, New, New Wilderness, New Combination	New if a new alternative is specified, but it is not given or clear if that alternative would be all wilderness or a combination of different designations. New wilderness if they want an ALL wilderness designation, New Combination if they want a new combination of designations. It has to be new combination if the commenter is requesting anything related to bicycling or motor vehicles (access/ parking, etc.)
Interest	Access, Economy, Environmental Protection, Recreation, Tourism, Wilderness, Unknown	**Environmental protection**: they indicate wanting to protect or conserve an environmental feature (e.g., ponds, forests, wildlife, from invasives); **wilderness**: they want to preserve some wilderness quality(ies) see definitions; **access**: they indicate wanting to be able to reach an area; more **recreation:** They want to see more opportunities for recreation/ different types of recreation; **tourism:** they want to see more tourism/ tourism dollars **economy:** they want to see more income/ revenue, a boost to the economy. This should be explicit and may use uses to support the argument (e.g., tourism) but the focus is on economic benefit, not the use.

Vita

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CHERYL SANDROW

Education

SUNY ESF (Syracuse, NY)
M.S., Environmental Science, Human Dimensions of the Environment, November 2017
Certificate in Environmental Decision Making, August 2017

SUNY Oswego (Oswego, NY)
B.S., Zoology, Minor in Biocultural Anthropology, December 2012
Cum Laude

Professional Experience

Oak Ridge Institute for Science and Education (ORISE) (Fort Drum, NY)
Fish and Wildlife Program Intern, March 2014 – August 2014
Assisted in fish and wildlife management on Fort Drum. Duties included goose (nuisance animal) management, small mammal trapping, herpetofauna sampling, American Woodcock surveys, and public outreach through displays and community events. I assisted the Forestry department with Maple tapping and urban tree management. Started data collection on a larger project involving Lyme disease risk and small mammal populations that serve as pilot data for my Master's thesis.

Eastern Virginia Rivers NWRC (Warsaw, VA)
Biological Technician, April 2013- August 2013
Worked under the refuge biologists to assist with tasks that included invasive plant management, wildlife surveys (raptor, pollinator, and bat), archaeological surveys as well as education and public programs for the US Fish and Wildlife Service. I led the pilot bat acoustic survey for the refuge complex, where I developed a schedule for data collection, analysis as well as built the apparatus to record data within a set budget, following USFWS protocols for their regional survey.

Volunteer Experience

SUNY Oswego, (Oswego, NY)
Research Assistant, Spring 2012
Assisted Dr. Jennifer Olori and Dr. Sofia Windstam on sampling local amphibian populations for Chytrid Fungus at Rice Creek Field Station at the State University of New York at Oswego.

Brazilian Pantanal, (Mato Grosso du Sol, Brazil)
Research Assistant, January 2011

Fieldwork in the Pantanal Region of Brazil where I did work on Pantanal Ecology; focusing on herpetofauna. Worked to contribute to Pantanal Conservation and gain field experience.

Research Experience

SUNY ESF, (Syracuse, NY)
Master's Thesis, November 2017
Manuscript style thesis, comprised of three manuscripts that utilize different research techniques to address questions of conflict in environmental decision making within the Adirondack Park. Analyses included discourse analysis, media, and content analyses.

Rocky Mountain Biological Laboratory (RMBL), (Gothic, CO)
Undergraduate Research, June – August 2012
Conducted research under the mentorship of Dr. Emily Mooney; "Examining Top-down and Bottom-up Effects on Aphids on the Plant *Ligusticum porteri*" as well as completed short course, "Research Training in Wildlife Biology". The research was presented at RMBL Symposium August 3rd, 2012.

SUNY Oswego, Oswego, NY
McNair Scholar Research, February 2010 – May 2012
Small research project completed under the McNair Scholars program under the mentorship of the late Dr. Lucina Hernandez. The research looked into habitat selection of red foxes and coyotes in winter at the Rice Creek Field Station, utilizing snow tracking and GIS.

Teaching Experience

SUNY ESF, (Syracuse, NY)
Graduate Student Teaching Assistant, ESF 300 Introduction to Geospatial Information Technologies Spring 2017 – Led and ran labs for a course focusing on GIS (ESRI) and remote sensing techniques.
Graduate Student Teaching Assistant, EST 493 TITLE Fall 2016 – Assisted and graded for workshop-style course on public participation on environmental decision making and advocacy.
Graduate Student Teaching Assistant, EFB 120 Global Environment Spring 2016 – assisted and graded on entry course covering broad environmental topics.

West Virginia University, (Morgantown, WV)
Graduate Student Teaching Assistant, Davis College of Agriculture, Natural Resources and Design, August – December 2014
Led sections of undergraduate "Introduction to wildlife and Fisheries Management" and "Wildlife and Fisheries Techniques" labs. Evaluated student performance of lab activities and assignments.

Eastern Virginia Rivers NWRC, (Warsaw, VA)
Guest Presenter, July 2013

Developed and implemented a lesson plan designed to educate young children about wildlife adaptations. This was a 45-minute interactive lesson presented at the Warsaw Community College for their local reading program for children.

Publications

Peer-Reviewed:

"Abiotic and multitrophic determinants of geographic distribution in an herbivorous insect". Emily Mooney, Ph.D., Kailen Mooney, Ph.D., Joseph Phillips Ph.D., Chadwick Tillberg, Ph.D., and **Cheryl Sandrow**.

Awards & Fellowships

Recognition for contributions towards the culture of academic excellence (OECO), SUNY Oswego, 2012
Dean's List, SUNY Oswego, 2011
William R. Tucker Scholarship SUNY Oswego, 2011

Conference Presentations

The Trouble with Wilderness Tourism: Getting Back to the Real Adirondacks. Paper presented at the Association of American Geographers Annual Conference in Boston, April 2017.

Examining Top-down and Bottom-up Effects on Aphids on the Plant *Ligusticum porteri*. Research presented at Rocky Mountain Biological Laboratory Symposium. August 2012.

Habitat use of *Canis latrans* and *Vulpes vulpes* at Rice Creek Field Station in winter. Poster presentation at Ecological Society of America annual meeting in Portland, Oregon. August 2012.

Membership and Affiliations

Association of American Geographers
Alumni, SUNY Oswego
Founding member of the SUNY Oswego Conservation and Ecology Organization; a SEEDS (Strategies for Ecology Education, Diversity and Sustainability) chapter
Alumni, Rocky Mountain Biological Laboratory
McNair Scholar

Skills

Field
Proficient in Small mammal sampling and experience with herpetofauna sampling, bird point-count surveys, vegetation sampling as well as GPS and radio telemetry.

Technology
Proficient with SAS JMP and SPSS statistical software; ArcGIS 10 software; NVivo 11 software; Adobe Acrobat Photoshop graphic design software; and Microsoft Office, Excel, and Publisher software.