Building a Long Distance National Trail:

Victory and Struggle on the Anza Trail

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ABSTRACT

The national trail system is a network of scenic, historic, and recreation trails that crisscross the United States. These trails provide recreational, educational, and economic benefits to the American people. The national trail system continues to expand in size and complexity, yet little research explores how these trails are built. The purpose of this paper is to inform the development of new national trails through an examination of the Anza Trail—a long distance national trail in the early stages of development.

This paper provides a systematic look at the challenges and keys to success in recreational trail building at a multi-state scale. 18 interviews were conducted in three states with a variety of public and private representatives who collectively held over 190 years of experience in long distance trail building. The paper describes how paid practitioners and volunteers are responding to challenges involving the scale of the effort, its limited popularity, and scarce resources.

The paper concludes with recommendations for government agencies and nonprofits involved with national trails. First, a handful of committed volunteers can have a powerful influence on a trail building effort, even at a multi-state scale. But, federal agencies should make proactive investments in nonprofit "friends groups" from the outset to ensure progress is sustainable. Second, federal trail managers can most effectively support trail building efforts when they possess collaborative leadership skills and geographically position themselves to serve the largest possible span of trail supporters. Third, "momentum" is an important concept in these volunteer-driven efforts. Long periods of inaction, especially during the planning phase, can cause enthusiasm and support to dissolve. Finally, decisions about how to begin the implementation phase have far reaching consequences. One effective trail building strategy is to follow the path of least resistance by making maximum use of the "assets" already on the ground.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

The national trails system is the network of scenic, historic, and recreation trails created by the National Trails System Act of 1968. The national trails are intended to preserve outstanding natural, cultural, and historic resources. But, the benefits of national trails are not confined simply to preservation. The trails enhance health by providing opportunities for outdoor exercise. National Trails have a psychological and educational benefit for our society. They provide a setting for people to appreciate nature, escape from the stress of increasingly urbanized environments, and they serve as an educational tool for connecting people to American history and the natural world. Popular trails also have economic benefits. They can foster tourism by attracting visitors from a regional and national scale, which generates spending in local communities along trail corridors.

The very essence of the national trails system is citizen-based stewardship. The trails provide an opportunity for a true bottom-up approach to preservation not afforded in other national lands such as the flagship units of the national park system. Federal agencies, such as the National Park Service (NPS), manage the trails, but the life blood of any single trail is the dedication and hard work of non-governmental partners and volunteers. The synergy created between government agencies and energetic private citizens allows for a leveraging of resources and expertise far beyond the capacity of federal agencies (Gilbert, 2008).

The origin of national trails goes back to the development of what is now called the Appalachian National Scenic Trail in the Eastern US. This trail, commonly referred to as the AT, was born in large part through the efforts of the Regional Planning Association of America (RPAA) in the 1930s. The genius of the RPAA effort was in establishing a vision for the trail, and then coordinating the efforts of a vast array of local interest groups to implement the vision. Grassroots clubs and volunteers took on every aspect of trail development, including acquiring easements, raising funds, working with landowners, and physically constructing and maintaining the trail (Parsons, 1994). The AT would later become one of the first trails included in the national trail system, and its completion hinged on a strong partnership between the National Park Service and the network of local volunteers.

The national trails system has rapidly grown in size and complexity since 1968. The current system is composed of 11 national scenic trails, 19 national historic trails, and 1,150 national recreation trails (Federal Interagency Council on Trails, 2012). National Scenic Trails are continuous trails, covering distances of 100 miles or longer, which offer non-motorized routes with outstanding recreation opportunities. National Historic Trails commemorate prehistoric or historic routes of travel that are of significance to the history of the US. National Recreation Trails are existing local or regional trails of outstanding quality that have been recognized by the Secretary of the Interior or the Secretary of Agriculture.

PROBLEM DEFINITION

Developing a new national trail comes with a variety of challenges. First, national trails are typically managed by a very small professional staff from the NPS, Bureau of Land Management or US Forest Service. This small cadre manages trail development efforts with an array of partners dispersed across a huge geographic area—crossing dozens of jurisdictions and falling under federal, state, municipal, and private landownership.

The shared-power environment of a trail is not necessarily something federal land management agencies are accustomed to handling. For example, in the flagship units of the National Park System—like Yellowstone and Yosemite—the land and resources are in the exclusive control of the NPS, and external relationships are a secondary concern.

Larger trends in the national trail system also create problems. The number of trails added to the system continues to expand, while many existing trails have a myriad of unmet needs. For example, over 7,700 miles of foot trails are recognized on maps, but have not been developed (Federal Interagency Council on Trails, 2012). At the same time, the federal agencies who manage the trails have experienced tighter budgets, forcing them to prioritize their funding and manpower toward their core resources. The overall effect of this dynamic is an expanding network of trails competing for smaller pots of money.

The other major challenge faced by a new national trail is visibility. The vast majority of national trails have not gained the same kind of stature or recognition as national parks have with the American public. Consequently, a new trail is highly likely to struggle as it develops its own constituency.

PURPOSE

The purpose of this research is to inform new national trail development efforts. The national trail system continues to grow, and in 2009, the Omnibus Lands Act established six new national trails—three national scenic trails and three national historic trails. National *recreation* trails are finished trails when they receive their "national" title. This not always the case with scenic and historic trails. Frequently, Congress recognizes these trails as concepts or at a very early stage in their overall development—in other words, the trails often exist only on a map. The subsequent trail development efforts usually take decades. Such trails face significant challenges as planning begins and as they progress through various stages toward completion.

This study examines the Juan Bautista de Anza National Historic Trail to shed light on how national trails start and progress through their early stages of development. The Anza Trail is a multistate, multi-jurisdictional trail which is 1,200 miles in length. It begins in Nogales, Arizona and ends in San Francisco, California. The trail was designated by the US Congress as a national trail in 1990, and the main trail development efforts have occurred in the last 15 years. The trail commemorates a historic event—the overland journey to and settlement of San Francisco, California by the first Spanish settlers—

which is not widely known to or celebrated by the general public. The trail currently exists as a system of multi-use recreational trails, and a marked auto-touring route. This research focuses exclusively on the development of the recreational trail. The envisioned route of the trail is shown below on map one.

The current state of the Anza Trail offers an opportunity to examine a long distance national trail that is still a work in progress, and that faces many challenges other trail development efforts are likely to encounter. Many of the most celebrated national trails, such as the Appalachian and the Pacific Crest Trail, are mature systems where the primary activity taking place is the physical maintenance of the trail. Generally, these paths were developed decades ago in remote areas with heavy federal support. The Anza Trail currently stands at one-quarter complete, with roughly 300 miles of trail certified, and it runs through some of the most populated parts of the country. The trail is managed by only three NPS staff and the federal government owns only a tiny fraction of the land in the trail corridor. Two nonprofit friends group have played a large role in the development effort. These characteristics provide a setting for study where the lessons are fresh for trail partners and more transferrable to new national trails.



Map 1: The Envisioned Route of the Anza Trail- shown in black.

¹ In this study, Anza Trail refers to the recreational path that accommodates hiking, biking, and horses. See Appendix A for more detailed background information on the trail.

RESEARCH QUESTION

This study has three objectives: (1) to identify the primary challenges faced by the Anza Trail partners as they've tried to develop a continuous, unified recreational trail; (2) to determine the strategies and actions that have proven the most effective in addressing those challenges; (3) to make recommendations based on these findings for new national trails in the early stages of development.

The primary research question: Since the Anza Trails designation, what are the primary factors that have helped and hindered the main partner's efforts to create a continuous, unified recreation trail?

The overall goal of this study is to identify lessons for new national trail development efforts.

ORGANIZATION OF THIS REPORT

The literature review, Chapter 2, synthesizes scholarly literature on successful partnerships, nonprofit management, and long distance trails. Chapter 3, Methodology, describes the approach used to collect and analyze data. Chapter 4, Findings, presents the findings from the interviews and document analysis. Chapter 5, Discussion, Recommendation, and Conclusion, examines the key findings using theory from partnership, nonprofit, and trails literature. The discussion of each key finding concludes with recommendations and frameworks useful for other national trail development efforts. The appendices contain supplementary information, research tools, and maps.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter is organized into two major sections. The first section begins with an exploration of successful partnerships, which serve as the foundation for any long distance trail development effort. Little empirical research has examined partnerships in a national trail setting, so an understanding is drawn from research pertaining to recreation and tourism partnerships.

The second section examines national trails, which have received scant attention in scholarly literature. The bulk of studies which describe long-distance trail building efforts focus on regional trails, and only a handful of these studies have examined the implementation process and what factors help and hinder success.

SUCCESSFUL PARTNERSHIPS

Partnerships are the centerpiece of national trail development efforts. The scale, duration, and multi-jurisdictional nature of any single trail development effort require trail managers to cultivate long term partnerships with a variety of organizations across a vast geographic area. Consequently, partnerships are repeatedly cited in trails literature as pivotal to development efforts, but the dynamics of partnerships are glossed over or left out entirely. Therefore, the logical starting point for a study of a national trail is an examination of partnerships as a theoretical construct. This will be followed by an exploration of how partnerships evolve and the key ingredients that make them successful.

DEFINING THE PARTNERSHIP CONSTRUCT

A CONCEPTUAL DEFINITION OF PARTNERSHIPS

A partnership is an "on-going arrangement between two or more independent entities based upon satisfying specifically identified mutual needs (Catherine, 1999; Uhlik, 1995)." This type of arrangement involves a pooling of resources amongst the entities to accomplish commonly held objectives and goals (Chavez & Selin, 1995).

Mutuality is the central principle of the partnership construct, and the foundation of a successful partnership. Mutuality refers to the mutual dependence between the parties in the partnership arrangement. This dependence is created by two things. First, each party has its own core mission and objectives that it seeks to advance. Other entities in the party's environment have similar core missions and objectives which complement their own. This alignment creates a *reason* to establish a partnership, and can draw one partner toward the other (Brinkerhoff, 2002).

A reason to partner is one side of the equation. The second side is a *need* to partner. The need for parties to partner is created by any number or combination of environmental forces (Waddock, 1989), which are further explained in the evolution of partnerships section that follows. These environmental forces create a situation in which a single entity does not possess all the resources needed to accomplish its objectives. In the purest form of the construct, a partnership creates a match

between entities, where each partner brings a resource or comparative advantage into the relationship that the other does not sufficiently possess. This advantage or resource can be tangible, such as money or equipment, or a soft resource such as technical or managerial expertise (Brinkerhoff, 2002). The relationship thus allows the partners to pool their resources (money, information, expertise, labor) and consequently, to advance their mutual objectives and goals in a manner that is more efficient and effective than they could accomplish alone (Chavez & Selin, 1995).

PARTNERSHIP DIMENSIONS: SCOPE, STRUCTURE, AND COMPOSITION

Partnerships can take a variety of forms. While a full typology of partnerships is beyond the scope of this research, the array of forms can be understood as variations on three dimensions: scope, structure, and composition (Seekamp, Cerveny, & McCreary, 2011). Scope refers to two components that tend to be interrelated: the nature of the issues being addressed and the duration of the arrangement. For example, some partnerships focus on narrow goals, such as the construction of a trailhead, which require a relatively brief period of interaction amongst organizations. Other partnerships extend across years and aim to address large scale objectives (Waddock, 1989) like establishing and executing a regional heritage-tourism plan.

Structure refers to the degree of integration and level of formality between partners (Seekamp, Cerveny, & McCreary, 2011). Integration means the extent to which the partners work together, and level of formality refers to the binding elements in the arrangement. Informal partnerships can involve interactions where good faith and a hand-shake agreement govern interaction amongst the parties. Formal partnerships, such as cooperative agreements between federal agencies, can involve complex legally binding arrangements where roles, responsibilities, and the exchange of resources are highly structured (Chavez & Selin, 1995).

Composition, which can also be understood as complexity, refers to the total number of partners involved, the sectors represented (Seekamp, Cerveny, & McCreary, 2011; Waddock, 1989), and whether the relationships are horizontal or vertical. Horizontal partnerships involve organizations at similar levels of governance, such as two federal land management agencies. Vertical partnerships involve organizations at different levels, such as local and state governments (Hall, 1999). The composition dimension has two main implications. First, the potential for conflict and disenchantment increases as complexity increase. Second, vertical relationships may involve a hierarchy amongst entities.

PARTNERSHIPS AND OTHER FORMS OF INTER-ORGANIZATIONAL INTERACTION

A great deal of research blurs the line between partnerships and other types of interorganizational interaction (Weddell, Wright, & Backman, 2007). While several researchers have offered continuums to interpret the various forms of interaction (Mattessich, 2001; Hall, 1999; Faulkner, 1995), it's most useful to explore two types of relationships commonly confused with partnerships. The terms partnership and collaborative are often used interchangeably, but the distinction between the two is important, as it helps in determining what makes a partnership successful. Collaboration is "a process through which parties who see different aspects of a problem can constructively explore their differences and search for solutions that go beyond their own limited vision of what is possible (Gray, 1989)." A collaborative process is characterized by a large number of stakeholders who build consensus together and then engage in joint problem solving to address messy, complex problems with no clear solution (Margerum, 2007). In this form of interaction, the needs of each party are not easily identified, and the process and outcomes are emergent. In a partnership, the needs and objectives of each party are transparent and readily understood (Seekamp, Cerveny, & McCreary, 2011), the parties work toward specific aims, and the outcomes tend to be more measurable (Catherine, 1999).

An exchange relationship is also sometimes mistaken for a partnership. Exchange relationships involve short term interactions between two organizations as they trade one resource for another, such as a contract where money is exchanged for a service. Interaction is taking place, but mutually held goals do not exist and there is no real interdependence between the parties (Stevens, et al, 2006).

The take-away for any single organization is that understanding the nature and types of linkages it has with other organizations is important. Different arrangements come with different expectations about outcomes, reciprocity, and levels of commitment. Misunderstanding the nature of a relationship can lead to a misallocation of resources away from the most productive partnerships, to conflict and disenchantment when expectations are not met, and can spoil an organization's willingness to form new relationships (Stevens, et al, 2006).

EVOLUTION OF PARTNERSHIPS

A robust line of case study research from the tourism and recreation management fields explores the process by which successful partnerships evolve (Brinkerhoff, 2002; Catherine, 1999; Darrow & Vaske, 1995; Chavez & Selin, 1995; Waddock, 1989). These studies examine successful partnerships to build theory, with success typically defined as a partnership that accomplishes its stated objectives or goals. The exploration of the partnership process helps practitioners identify when partnerships would prove most useful and what actions should be undertaken as a relationship is formed and matures. The implication is that careful attention to the process itself allows for partnership success.

Case study research has generated models that explain the evolution of partnerships. The stages described in these models vary slightly in name, total number, and the activities included. However, the basic sequence described is the same, and the picture painted is of an iterative process where each stage builds upon the next and where key benchmarks should be met as the arrangement progresses. This process will be described below using the evolutionary model developed by Chavez and Selin

(1995). The model includes five stages: 1) context and antecedents, 2) problem setting, 3) direction setting, 4) structuring, and 5) implementation.

THEORETICAL STAGES

Partnerships typically originate as a response to pressures created by environmental forces. The environmental forces, or antecedents to partner, are created by larger economic, social, technological, or political trends within society (Chavez & Selin, 1995). As previously noted, these forces create a need to form partnerships. Several antecedents are particularly relevant to a national trail development effort managed by the NPS. First, financial constraints within the NPS and dwindling federal budgets in general have made it increasingly difficult for the agency to accomplish its preservation and use objectives with its internal resources (Keiter, 2010) (Darrow & Vaske, 1995). At the same time, there is a growing demand from the American public for close to home recreation opportunities. These two forces have resulted in rapid growth of non-traditional park units such as national trails and heritage areas, where little or no land acquisition is carried out by the federal government, and where federal agencies establish relationships with other entities to accomplish the intended objectives of the park (Brown, Mitchell, & Tuxill, 2003).

Environmental forces thus set a process in motion where organizations conduct an internal evaluation of their own capabilities and needs, and an examination of other parties present in their environment. During the internal evaluation, the organization takes stock of the key resources that it possesses and that could be offered to potential partners. This is followed by or conducted in conjunction with an environmental scan, where the organization identifies potential partners, the resources they possess and how principles of fair exchange² might be created (Darrow & Vaske, 1995). A partnership is then typically initiated as the parties establish contact with each other.

During the problem setting phase, the partners recognize their interdependence and develop a common definition of the purpose or vision guiding their relationship. This stage involves an azimuth check between the partners. Each organization assesses the salience, or importance, of the issues at stake in the partnership and weighs the costs and benefits associated with on-going participation (Chavez & Selin, 1995; Waddock, 1989). It naturally follows that meaningful on-going commitment to the partnership hinges on each partner's perception that the issues at hand are important, relevant to their own organizational missions and goals, and that the benefits of participating outweigh the costs and potential loss of autonomy associated with an inter-organizational relationship (Waddock, 1989).

With the organizational alignment and common purpose or vision identified, the partners move into direction setting. This stage involves the creation of mutual objectives and goals that the parties will work toward, and the establishment of ground rules for interaction and reciprocity. This is typically

² Fair exchange: The perception of reciprocity in the trade of human, financial, and material resources between organizations (Darrow & Vaske, 1995).

followed by a preliminary formation of subgroups or committees which aim to address specific components of the objectives and goals (Chavez & Selin, 1995).

The partners then progress into the structuring phase. During structuring, the preliminary organizational framework created during direction setting is fine-tuned and then formally established and recognized, typically through formal means such as memorandums of understanding or cooperative agreements. Roles and responsibilities are defined as permanent committees, communications channels, and decision making processes are established. Tasks are then allocated based on efficiency and the unique capabilities and skillsets of participants. (Chavez & Selin, 1995). This stage also involves the establishment of databases and information management systems for monitoring progress toward objectives and goals. The key benchmark in the structuring phase is a written plan that clearly identifies the common vision or purpose that will guide the partnership, details financial and legal agreements, and the roles and responsibilities of each party (Darrow & Vaske, 1995).

Once the purpose, goals, division of labor, and tasks are set, the partnership moves into the implementation stage. The partners communicate at regular intervals as they carry out their assigned tasks. Projects are undertaken and completed. The partners utilize their monitoring systems and adjust and reallocate resources to address shortcomings and obstacles. The accomplishment of shared objectives and goals during the implementation stage brings the relationship into full maturity (Waddock, 1989). At this point, the partners have a choice to either terminate the partnership or enter into an iterative process through which they broaden their purpose and establish new objectives and goals (Chavez & Selin, 1995).

Understanding this evolution in its totality is especially important in a national trails context. The establishment of a trail is typically a multi-decade undertaking involving a disbursed network of partners and stakeholders. Building a partnership can be resource intensive and comes with costs. New partners must be educated on processes, norms, and lessons learned. Hence, the turnover of partners and key people results in a loss of critical institutional knowledge and valuable expertise developed through experience (Brinkerhoff, 2002). In short, constantly initiating and progressing through a sequence of short term partnerships with narrow aims tends to be inefficient and taxing at best.

While not every organizational objective or goal needs to be addressed with a partnership, efficiencies are best gained in complex endeavors through long term partnerships. An organization's ability to form productive long term partnerships is greatly enhanced by an understanding of the partnership process itself and the key process benchmarks. It naturally follows that one of the defining characteristics of successful long term partnerships is the ability of the involved parties to broaden their purpose and scope as their initial goals are met (Catherine, 1999; Chavez & Selin, 1995; Waddock, 1989). This prevents the tendency for partnerships to dissipate after the reasons driving their origin are addressed. The new objectives and goals derived from the iterative process breathe new life into the partnership and allow the organizations to build on their existing efficiencies (Selin & Chavez, 1994).

SUCCESS FACTORS FOR PARTNERSHIPS

A second line of case study research in the tourism and recreation management field focuses on identifying factors which make partnerships successful using categorization schemes (McCool, 2009; Laing, et al, 2008; Weiler, et al, 2007; Catherine, 1999; Andereck, 1997; Selin & Myers, 1995; Selin & Chavez, 1994). This conceptual framework also captures the barriers to partnerships, which can be interpreted as the absence of success factors. While there is some nuance to the categorization frameworks, they generally follow an approach used by Selin and Chavez (1994).

The first dimension includes personal factors, which refer to the characteristics of the individuals participating in the partnership. The second dimension includes interpersonal factors, which refer to the relationship dynamics between the participants in the partnership. The third dimension, organizational factors, encompasses issues related to the structure of the partnership and the emphasis place on it by the parent organizations. The fourth dimension deals with operational factors. The factors in this category involve the partnership processes and the way the arrangement functions (Selin & Chavez, 1994).

Any number of factors may be relevant in the development of a national trail, but several factors have had substantial influence on partnership success in a variety of settings and seem well suited to the dynamics of long distance, multi-jurisdictional trail development.

PERSONAL

Strong leadership is often referenced as an important component of successful partnerships (Andereck, 1997; Selin & Chavez, 1994). Strong leadership in this sense refers in large part to certain personal qualities, such as motivation and drive, vision, the ability to inspire others, and charisma (Selin & Chavez, 1994). This characterization paints the picture of an executive leader, similar to what one would find amongst corporate CEOs or military commanders. The executive leader has a vision, and marshals and directs his team to this end (Innes, 2010, p. 201; Berman, 2010, p. 11).

Margerum (2011, p. 149-157) and Innes (2010) suggests that its not strong leadership in the executive sense, but good collaborative leadership that fosters success. Good collaborative leaders are "enablers that allow groups of people to increase their performance through processes of communication and support (Margerum, 2011, p. 149)." A good collaborative leader is one who is viewed as a legitimate convener, an effective communicator, and a skilled facilitator. The central role of the leader does not lie only in bringing people together, it also involves encouraging others and fostering their initiative (Innes, 2010, p. 92). As a partnership moves into its implementation stage, an effective leader constantly works to maintain and enhance the networks that support the partnership's objectives, including "social, interorganizational, and political networks (Margerum, 2011, p. 156)."

A mix of personalities, backgrounds and philosophies amongst participants adds great value to a partnership as well (Selin & Chavez, 1994). Trail development involves a range of activities, including

marketing and promotion, land acquisition, interpretation, and signage emplacement. These activities are best addressed by participants who bring a diversity of skillsets and "a wide range of ideas (Andereck, 1997)."

The belief amongst partners that the purpose and objectives of the partnership are important is another prerequisite for success—this is often referred to as salience. In successful partnerships, this belief tends to be held at two levels. First, the parent organization tends to remain committed when it feels the objectives of the partnership are important and that those objectives align with their own core mission. Otherwise, there is no incentive for continued participation (Weiler, et al, 2007; Andereck, 1997). Second, and perhaps more importantly, the actual organizational representatives who participates in the partnership should care about the issues being addressed. Commitment to a partnership is unlikely to be found in an organizational representative who sees participation as just another responsibility lumped onto an existing workload. Participants with a genuine personal interest in the purpose and goals being addressed are important if long term commitment is to be expected (Catherine, 1999).

Before moving further, it must be clarified that the organization and its representative can have conflicting views of the salience of the partnership and its activities. Organizational representatives can become highly committed to partnerships activities as a result of personal values or personal relationships, and often serve as advocates for the partnership within their own organizations. But, organizations have a range of issues and objectives to balance and may decide to pull funding from activities involving external relationships when resources become scarce (Margerum, 2011, p. 215-220).

INTERPERSONAL

Trust and open, regular communication between the partners are necessary ingredients for success. Trust—the belief that another person or entity will act faithfully on promises made—is the foundation for the interpersonal interactions that take place between the partners (McCool, 2009). Partners should feel there are no hidden agendas and that other partners are not just paying them lip service. Good communication is also a key success ingredient (Selin & Chavez, 1994) and is especially relevant in a long distance trail setting, where partners are geographically disbursed and opportunities for face to face interaction are rare. This communication must be two-way, meaning both "parties share information and listen (Margerum, 2011, p. 7-8)."

A shared vision is another correlate of partnership success (Weiler, et al, 2007; Selin & Chavez, 1994). This shared vision provides an overarching framework for decision making, guides the actions of the partners across time, and acts as a compass in turbulent environments characterized by scarce resources and competing demands on the partner organizations.

The behavior of the lead agency in a partnership is also of particular importance, especially its willingness to share power (Laing, et al, 2008). Power sharing is often used as an umbrella term, but a fundamental component is the lead agencies willingness and/or ability to provide other partners access

to information (McCool, 2009). In a national trails setting, this may be easier said than done. Federal agencies operate in highly controlled environments, with extensive regulations governing the storage and sharing of data. Consequently, the sharing of information with partners can involve substantial effort from federal trail managers. Partners are likely to stay engaged and satisfied when federal staff are flexible and creative in making information available to all the relevant stakeholders (Laing, et al, 2008).

ORGANIZATIONAL

Administrative support is repeatedly cited as a crucial factor in successful partnerships. This entails meaningful support, not just verbal, for partnership activities from the parent agencies. Meaningful support entails several key actions, including planning for staff continuity, the direct participation of high level managers (Andereck, 1997), and an adequate resource commitment (Weiler, et al, 2007). An organization can also emphasize the importance of its outside linkages through internal personnel policies, such as providing training and reflecting inter-organizational activities in employee performance reviews (Margerum, 2011, p. 216-217).

Time and cost efficient processes increase the likelihood of success as well (Laing, et al, 2008). On-going commitment from partners is directly tied to their perception that the benefits of participation outweigh the costs. The compartmentalized nature of large government agencies increase the likelihood that partnership processes and actions will get bogged down by the bureaucratic inertia commonly found within those agencies. Partners from the private sector are especially unlikely to remain committed to an arrangement mired in red tape and cumbersome processes (Selin & Chavez, 1994).

OPERATIONAL

A detailed, written plan with tangible goals can serve several purposes in a successful partnership. First, it creates efficiency and accountability by clearly defining the roles and responsibilities of various partners. Second, the tangible goals contained within a written plan are critical for capturing the support of the community. Grassroots support is much more likely to materialize when people can see and understand the plan, and what the final product might look like (Selin & Chavez, 1994). Tangible goals create the linkages for people to conceptualize and then get behind the larger vision.

Tangible goals contribute to clear outcomes that can be measured and tracked, and this creates a sense of progress and accomplishment for the partners. Organizations are much more likely to stay committed to the partnership when they can refer to clear benchmarks of progress (Andereck, 1997), and when the partnership has a concrete record of acting on and implementing decisions reached (Weiler, et al, 2007). All talk and no action can lead to a downward spiral where parent organizations divert resources and key persons away from the partnership as a result of inertia, which then further cripples the partnership's ability to meet its objectives and goals.

Other researchers suggest detailed written plans have limited value. A well put together plan is important, but conditions and the people involved can change quickly. Consequently, many inter-

organizational relationships are productive at first, but slowly fall apart in turbulent environments where people move, priorities shift, and resources ebb and flow. For this reason, it's important to have a structure that clearly defines roles and responsibilities, and how information exchange and joint decision making will occur on an on-going basis. These "coordination procedures" (Margerum, 2011, p. 223) provide a framework for sustaining the effort with two general types of rules— information and decision rules. Information rules establish the content of the information to be exchanged, the form it should take, as well as the how and when. Decision rules lay out the processes by which the participants will make decisions (Margerum, 2011, p. 216-226).

NATIONAL TRAILS

The primary factors which enhance and hinder long distance trail development efforts are explored in the remainder of this review. The general context for framing these challenges and success factors is driven in large part by the federal government. The federal government's appetite and capacity to engage in large scale land purchases to establish national trails, and to provide sufficient support for daily trail development efforts, has waned considerably during the last two decades.

SUCCESS FACTORS

ENGAGING A BROAD ARRAY OF STAKEHOLDERS IN TRAIL PLANNING EFFORTS

One of the primary success factors in the development of a long distance national trail is the close involvement of variety of stakeholders in the initial planning efforts. Many national trails exist only as a concept at their designation, and this creates a need for more than a token public participation process. Bringing a variety of stakeholders into trail planning processes connects the newly appointed trail managers to a wealth of historic and local knowledge. This is critical for refining the trail route and for inventorying and mapping key resources in the corridor. An extensive public participation process also has practical value during implementation. The opportunity to participate in trail planning processes gives stakeholders a sense of ownership, which typically translates into grassroots support for physical trail development (Gaines & Krakow, 1996).

The value of a bringing a diverse set of stakeholders into multi-jurisdictional trail planning efforts is echoed repeatedly across regional trails literature. A multi-disciplinary approach to trail planning injects a variety of skillsets into planning efforts and ensures that the expertise needed to overcome technical challenges is present from the outset (Rottle, 2006). Most notably, the planning effort provides a forum for converting stakeholders into partners (Rottle, 2006; Erickson, 2004), and generates political support for the trail from multiple constituencies (Ryan, Fabos, & Allan, 2006).

CAREFUL PRIORITIZATION OF RESOURCES

Moving a trail from a concept into a recognizable system is a massive undertaking, and one in which resources are rarely sufficient. Acquiring land and easements are intensive processes, and must be undertaken in a strategic manner if the momentum of the development effort is to be sustained. The

initial development of the Trail of Tears National Historic Trail focused on identifying high potential trail segments and resources, or in lay terms, areas critical to preserving and interpreting the event that the trail commemorates. The identification of these segments created a framework for trail managers and partners to prioritize limited resources (Gaines & Krakow, 1996).

As trail development efforts move from the planning into the implementation stages, it's also critical that key partners are identified and that their roles and responsibilities are clearly defined. A complex array of organizational relationships typically form during the efforts to designate and then plan for a national trail, and the distinction between stakeholder and partner is not always clear. Trail development efforts are improved when trail managers systematically identify the most promising potential partners and then clearly define the expectations and responsibilities amongst them (Gaines & Krakow, 1996).

Research on tourism and public lands shows who might be a promising community partner. Trails have five primary value categories. These are their potential to 1) increase property values, 2) enhance health by providing recreation opportunities, 3) act as transportation arteries, 4) provide ecological services, and 5) act as economic development tools (Lindsey, et al, 2004). While it is difficult to isolate specific aspects of these intertwined values, the economic value of a prominent national trail provides a strong platform for recruiting communities to engage in trail development efforts. The logic with this advocacy platform is supported by research that shows a considerable positive economic impact for local and regional economies as a result of "national" land designations (Cline, Weiler, & Aydin, 2011). Even changes in the type of "national" land designation can lead to positive economic impacts by increasing visitation and associated tourism spending in an area (Weiler & Seidl, 2004).

The positive economic impacts appear to be well understood in rural communities experiencing declines in traditional extractive industries such as logging and mining. Structural shifts in the US economy in recent decades have hit communities dependent on these industries particularly hard (Davis & Morais, 2004; Lorah, 2000). The range of positive economic impacts associated with recreational amenities, such as managing agency expenditures, increases in tourism, and corporate relocations (National Park Service, 1995) offer ways to revive a struggling economy. This seems to explain the growing number of rural communities calling for and coalescing around national designations as part of larger economic development strategies (Laven, et al, 2010) and establishing partnerships with federal agencies to generate heritage and natural resource based tourism plans (Howe, McMahon, & Propst, 2001).

PARTNERSHIPS WITH NONPROFIT FRIENDS GROUPS

Success in many trail development settings is attributed to the establishment of a broad and diverse network of partnerships (Ryan, Fabos, & Allan, 2006; Erickson, 2004; Flink, Olka, & Searns, 2001), but the development of the Appalachian Trail, or AT, was the quintessential example of the leveraging of resources that can be accomplished with a successful partnership. This 2,000 mile undertaking was

made possible when the energy and local expertise held by grassroots organizations was combined with the technical expertise and financial resources of federal agencies (Mittlefehldt, 2010).

In 1978, the National Trails Act brought the unfinished AT under federal management, but private citizens continued to carry out the legacy of "the peoples trail" by acting in the lead role on the ground. Volunteers engaged in all aspects of the AT's development (Parsons, 1994), and they were especially important in the land acquisition program. Private citizens from hiking clubs and trail support groups brought their local knowledge and relationships to bear in scouting new routes, making contact with landowners, and even mediating land transactions for the NPS. In communities within the trail corridor, this meant that the faces of the trail vision were not technocrats or professional land managers from large government agencies, but local community members. This eased local resistance to the larger federal effort and showed that grassroots support is the foundation of success (Mittlefehldt, 2010).

Private support groups are often cited as critical to trail building efforts. In a national trails setting, these support groups are usually nonprofit organizations referred to as "Friends Groups." Some attention has been given to the NPS's increased reliance on Friends Groups to make up for agency staff and budget constraints (Eagles, 2008; Fortwangler, 2007), but little attention has been given to what characteristics make a Friends Group effective in a trail building context. Effectiveness, here, refers to an organization's ability to achieve its stated aims (Herman & Renz, 2008).

Friends Groups are typically small nonprofits, with a small governing board and membership in the dozens. Nonprofit literature offers insight into the dynamics of small nonprofits and the elements that make them effective. First and foremost, the effectiveness of small nonprofits is directly tied to certain skills amongst their board members, including management, organizational, and technical skills. Board members should also possess social, inter-organizational, and political networks that connect them to communities (Margerum, 2011, p. 150-171).

Small nonprofits often rely on a core group of actors to do most of the work. One implication is that board members and staff are likely to wear many different hats—meaning, roles and responsibilities are easily blurred amongst board members, staff, and volunteers. But, the major downside of reliance on a small group of actors is increased potential for burnout and for a vacuum to develop if key people are lost (Margerum, 2011, p. 151). If a nonprofit is going to sustain itself overtime, the organization needs systematic processes to prepare for transitions or the loss of key people. These processes include succession plans, mentoring junior staff, and continuous recruit of new members capable of filling key roles in the organization (Berman, 2010, p. 209-213).

Nonprofit effectiveness also refers to an organization's ability to recruit and manage volunteers. An effective nonprofit knows exactly what tasks it is recruiting volunteers for. Event recruitment, for example, requires mobilizing a large number of people with minimal training for a short time. Long term volunteer recruitment is more difficult, as the organization must ensure the volunteer is not underutilized, nor pressed to the point of burnout. In essence, an effective nonprofit fully utilizes its

volunteer's ability—meaning volunteer skills and motivations are properly matched to available tasks. It follows that volunteer satisfaction is related primarily to effective supervision—they were given meaningful work, good guidance, and appropriate recognition (Berman, 2010, p. 192-195).

A nonprofit's ability to conduct fundraising has a large impact on effectiveness. Fund raising discussion in the nonprofit literature often centers on the technicalities of developing a fundraising plan, the nuance of "the act" of asking for money, and responsible use of the gift. Others have stressed that one of the most important components of fundraising is cultivating long term personal relationships with significant donors. To accomplish this, contact with the donor must be: "personal, relevant to the donor's unique interests, timed to the pace and style of the donor, and delivered via the donors preferred medium (Ott & Dicke, 2012, p. 120)." The relationship is enhanced further by inviting donors to participate in events that showcase the nonprofit's accomplishments, and giving donors special attention and recognition (Ott & Dicke, 2012, p. 117-125).

USE A VARIETY OF FUNDING AND LAND ACQUISITION MECHANISMS

Flexibility with funding sources and land acquisition mechanisms is a necessity in long distance trail development (Rottle, 2006; Ryan, Fabos, & Allan, 2006). The AT's development effort provides one successful example of a customized and flexible approach to land acquisition. The multitude of landowners and jurisdictions within the trail corridor rendered a one size fits all approach impractical. Fee simple purchases, land exchanges, donations, and cooperative agreements were all used, but easements proved to be the most useful tool for establishing and protecting the trail corridor. Each easement was tailored to the individual concerns of landowners, and the NPS used language in the legal paperwork that created no more restrictions than were absolutely necessary for the preservation of the trail (Mittlefehldt, 2010).

The customized and flexible land acquisition effort helped the trail managers minimize heavy handed options, such as eminent domain, which tend to spoil relationships with entire communities (Flink, Olka, & Searns, 2001). In the end, the final route of the Appalachian Trail differed significantly from the original plans developed by the NPS and local trail coordinators. This incongruity between plan and reality was indicative of the conflict generated by the development effort (Mittlefehldt, 2010), but also symbolized that success hinges on flexibility amongst trail managers and supporters and a willingness to be pragmatic based on conditions on the ground.

MANAGERS WHO ARE EFFECTIVE IN A SHARED POWER ENVIRONMENT

Non-traditional parks require managers to administer a resource over which they have very little actual ownership (Belcher & Wellman, 1991). These dynamics require federal staff with skills not traditionally needed in the flagship units of the national park system, where land and resources are in the exclusive control of the agency and external relationships are a secondary concern. Success in non-

³ A legally binding agreement between a landowner and another party in which the landowner grants rights of public access or forgoes development rights on portions of a property for recreation and/or conservation purposes (Flink, Olka, & Searns, 2001).

traditional parks requires federal managers and their supporting staff to operate effectively in a shared power environment (Hamin, 2001). Interpersonal qualities are especially important in this context. The professional trail staff must be sensitive to local values and issues and genuinely committed to two-way communication. Their effectiveness is often a function of their ability to cultivate partnerships and to manage resources as a component of communities (Belcher & Wellman, 1991).

CHALLENGES

The previous section examined the factors which make for successful trail development efforts and touched on some of the challenges. This section explores three major challenges to trail development in more detail: relevance, inadequate resources, and local resistance.

RELEVANCE

One of the fundamental challenges facing the development of a national trail is awareness of its existence. Scholars and historians may have great interest in the stories and resources that a national historic trail like the Juan Bautista de Anza preserves. But these stories and resources are often obscure to the general public, and even to other trail managers.

Surveys of national recreation trail managers across the country show national trails are not a high priority in their portfolio of resource and land management responsibilities. Tynon, Harding, and Chavez's (1998) study of management strategies for national recreation trails revealed that less than half of federal, state, and local trail managers rated trail management as a top priority. Surprisingly, only one manager reported actively building partnerships to manage and maintain a trail. This research even generated some alarming comments from trail managers, including, "We haven't been able to locate this trail" and even, "No one has heard of this trail" (Tynon, et al, 1998). The picture painted is that these trails are a small part of a larger set of responsibilities for managers, and that the national designation has not materialized as intended (Chavez, et al, 1999) (Tynon, et al, 1998).

Chavez and Tynon's findings are relatively dated and involve national recreation trails, which tend to be smaller in stature than national historic or scenic trails. But relevance problems highlighted over a decade ago continue today. Widespread unawareness of the existence of national trails is especially problematic with the general public. As the Federal Interagency Council on Trails (2012) pointed out, "A few trails have gained national stature, but even after 44 years, most trails in the system are not known to the general public." The shaky foundation exposed here is that awareness generates support, which often translates into the dedicated constituency needed for trail building (Flink, Olka, & Searns, 2001). The opposite is also very true, and appears to be an acute issue for a new trail.

LIMITED CAPACITY OF FEDERAL PARTNERS

Problems with relevance are magnified by the limited capacity of federal partners, who champion, direct, and support trail development. The National Park System has expanded in size and diversity since its inception, and is currently composed of nearly 400 units. Not every new unit is met

with enthusiasm inside the agency. Purists within the park service argue that new non-traditional additions, such as national trails, water down the brand and hurt the reputation of the agency and its core resources (Keiter, 2010). Their concerns are not just philosophical. The primary funding sources for NPS land acquisition efforts, such as the Land and Water Conservation Fund, have become increasingly scarce (Hamin, 2001). New additions to the national park system come with substantial costs and are not necessarily accompanied by new funding appropriations from congress. These trends heighten the strain on an agency that has been chronically underfunded (Keiter, 2010), and create internal conflict as each park unit struggles to maintain its own resources.

LACK OF SUPPORT AND RESISTANCE IN LOCAL COMMUNITIES

The limited capacity of federal partners is magnified by reluctance from local governments to take the lead in trail building. Overuse of the "national" designation is partly to blame for this reluctance. The National Trails Act envisioned a system of trails managed by federal agencies, but where much of the heavy lifting in trail development would be carried out by local governments and grassroots support groups. Unfortunately, the tangible resources needed to orchestrate and support local efforts have not been forthcoming from the federal government after many designations. In essence, congress has designated many more trails than have actually been built, or that can be feasibly supported (Davis, 1986).

A local government's reluctance to expend resources in trail development is usually magnified by economic principles. Local governments tend to favor land use decisions that increase their tax base, and these decisions do not necessarily support the establishment or preservation of trail rights of way (Davis , 1986). Some research has shown that trails, and other linear amenities like greenways, have positive impacts on property values (Asabere & Huffman, 2009; Lindsey, Man, Payton, & Dickson, 2004; National Park Service, 1995). But, other studies have shown that trails have no positive impact (Crompton, 2001), or that positive impacts tend to be confined to properties physically touching a trail and are highly dependent on neighborhood characteristics like resident income (Campbell & Munroe, 2007).

Resistance from landowners, often referred to as a not-in-my-backyard (NIMBY) attitude, is another major obstacle in communities. Sometimes, there is a legal basis for the NIMBYism. The classic property rights issue that often arises during a trail development effort is a *taking*. For example, an attempt to establish an easement for a trail may satisfy the categorical takings test of *a permanent physical invasion of property authorized by the government* (Loretto, 1982). Resistance also stems from legal concerns over liability, safety concerns involving trespassing and crime, and loss of privacy (Ivy & Moore, 2007). Local resistance to a trail development effort may also arise from other factors which are difficult to reconcile, including a general mistrust in the government (Mittlefehldt, 2010) or discomfort with trail users who are not community members (Bowen, 2009).

CONCLUSION OF THE LITERATURE REVIEW

Developing a national trail is often a significant, multi-decade undertaking. Partnerships are a key component of these efforts. Partnerships tend to be most productive when organizations understand what a partnership entails, key benchmarks in the partnership process, and the range of factors that influence partnership success. National trail managers and supporters face profound challenges as they build trails, and they use a variety of strategies and actions to address these challenges. The key partnership and trail development issues covered in this chapter are captured in the chart below.

LITERATURE REVIEW SUMMARY		
LESSONS FOR NATIONAL TRAIL DEVELOPMENT	CHALLENGES FACING NATIONAL TRAILS	
Cultivate partnerships with public and private	Limited popularity and widespread unawareness that the	
supporters.	trails exist.	
 Understand that a partnership is built on both an 	Limited resources provided by federal agencies.	
alignment in purpose and needs to partner.	Lack of support from local governments.	
 Understand key benchmarks in the partnership process. 	■ NIMBYism.	
A mix of personal, interpersonal, operational, and	Limited trail experience and institutional knowledge	
organizational factors are needed to sustain a productive	amongst federal agency personnel.	
partnership.		
Engage a broad array of stakeholders in trail planning		
efforts.		
Carefully prioritize trail resources.		
Use a variety of financial resources and land acquisition		
mechanisms.		

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

I utilized a single-case study design to answer the question: what are the primary factors that have helped and hindered the Anza Trail partner's efforts to create a continuous, unified recreation trail? The case study relied primarily on qualitative data collected during semi-structured interviews.

DATA COLLECTION

The data collection process began with a document analysis of the Anza Trail's founding legislation, NPS action plans and the 1996 Comprehensive Management Plan. These documents were reviewed to gather foundational information on 1) the planning and management models guiding trail development, 2) the primary responsibilities of each entity involved with the trail, and 3) the growth and existing state of the trail. The literature review and document analysis provided a clearer picture of potential key informants, supported question formulation for the interview process, and provided a framework for understanding the development of the recreational trail.

The second source of data for this research was in-depth semi-structured interviews. Interviews were selected as a method of data collection for two reasons. First, I sought to identify the insights and lessons Anza Trail partners gained through their experiences, and this is difficult to obtain with a survey instrument and closed-ended questions. Second, semi-structured interviews allowed key informants to better guide the conversation toward what was important, allowed them to bring out issues not previously thought of, and afforded the opportunity for follow up questions (Yin, 2009).

THE SAMPLING PROCESS AND INTERVIEW PROCEDURES

I conducted interviews with 18 key informants during data collection. 15 in-person interviews were carried out in Oregon, California, and Arizona at a place of the key informant's choosing. Three interviews were carried out by phone and email. The key informants were leaders of nonprofit friends groups (including the Amigos, Anza Trail Coalition, and Anza Trail Foundation), long time volunteers, NPS employees, and county and municipal government employees. The key informants collectively possessed over 190 years of experience with the Anza Trail and other long distance trails. The key informants for the research were selected: 1) to obtain a variety of viewpoints, 2) to obtain a geographically representative sample. These objectives helped to minimize the risk of bias, allowed for triangulation, and ensured key pieces of the story were captured.

I began the subject recruitment and interview process by contacting the National Park Service's Anza Trail Superintendent and her staff by phone. They provided information on potential key informants in California and Arizona. I used the contacts provided by the NPS and a snowball sampling process to identify key informants from federal agencies, state and local agencies, and nonprofit friends groups throughout the trail corridor. The primary means of contacting key informants was by telephone and email. Face to face interviews were arranged when feasible for the key informant.

I began each interview with standard informed consent procedures. The interviews then focused on 10 substantive questions related to trail development and partnerships, and lasted from 45 minutes to two hours. The questions were developed using themes from the literature review and after consultation with NPS planners and managers in Denver and Oregon. The interview guide is included in Appendix B. I asked the questions to each key informant in the same order, with slight modifications to the wording depending upon the organization the person represented.

At the conclusion of each interview, the key informants were asked to fill out a ratings sheet with 11 factors identified as important to trail development and partnerships. Key informants were asked to rate the relative importance of each factor in the development of the Anza Trail (10 being the most important, and 0 being not important) and to limit the score of 10 to no more than four factors. This sheet also helped to remind the interviewees of a factor they may have forgotten to mention during the interview. The scores were analyzed during the data analysis process as a supplement to the interview data. The ratings sheet and the average scores are included in Appendix C.

Follow-up interviews were conducted with four key informants to validate and further develop the key themes and ideas that emerged during the in-person interview process. These follow-up interviews took place after data analysis was completed, and were conducted via phone and email.

ANALYSIS

After the interviews were completed, the audio recordings and any hand written notes were transcribed verbatim. The answers to each question from all the interviews were consolidated under the interview guide question headings. A basic winnowing process was applied to the data under each question and common themes were bracketed in the text (Seidman, 1998). The data was then categorized according to these common themes.

For each interview question, the common themes were used to develop an analytical matrix that allowed the information to be visually displayed according to the frequency with which a factor was mentioned and its importance (Yin, Analyzing Case Study Evidence, 2009). The importance of a particular factor was determined based on the emphasis placed on it by the interviewee, such as when a factor was mentioned repeatedly or the interviewee explicitly stated its extreme importance. Frequency examined the total number of people who mentioned a particular factor.

Common themes and key events were then examined across all questions. Common themes related to trail development were analyzed using the dichotomy between Arizona and California, and areas where little progress has been made versus those where much progress has been made. Different viewpoints, according to people's role and experience, were compared across all the areas of analysis. The average scores from the ratings sheet were also used to help determine which issues and themes should be emphasized as important.

CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS

This chapter presents the key findings from the interviews and document analysis. The chapter is divided into two sections: case history and summary of key findings. The key themes that arose from individual interview questions are included in Appendix D.

ANZA TRAIL CASE HISTORY

In 1775, Captain Juan Bautista de Anza led a column of 300 settlers and soldiers on a six month overland journey from Culiacan, in Spanish-held Mexico, to California's San Francisco Bay. In doing so, he secured a strategic port for Spain, established San Francisco as a settlement, and opened up a ground route for supply and commerce to Spanish footholds in new colonial territory. Anza displayed remarkable military prowess, diplomatic acumen, and administrative capacity before and during the expedition. This expedition was the first major achievement in Anza's career, which later included an appointment as the Governor of Spanish-held New Mexico, and a bold combat campaign against the Comanche Indians in present day Colorado.

SOCIAL ANTECEDENTS- 1976-1990

The story of Anza's expedition lay dormant for two centuries, known mostly in historic and academic circles. But in the years leading up to America's bicentennial in 1976, the story of Anza's expedition drew the interest of George Cardinet, a resident of the San Francisco area. George had personal wealth from a family candy business and was a passionate long distance trail advocate.

George Cardinet had been involved in trail building work since the 1940s. He played a role in the development of many state and national trails including, most notably, the Pacific Crest National Scenic Trail. George was a man of big events, and in 1976, he organized a re-enactment ride of Anza's expedition from Mexico to San Francisco. George used the re-enactment ride as a promotional platform to begin garnering support for the Juan Bautista de Anza National Historic Trail. Getting "national trail" designation for the Anza expedition would become a huge focus for George. For the Anza Trail, he envisioned a continuous 1,200 mile recreation trail, not just an auto-touring route linking historic sites, as is the case with many other national historic trails.

George was wealthy, charismatic, and had political connections. His advocacy won the support of congressional representatives from California and this prompted an NPS trail feasibility study. The NPS study concluded the Anza Trail should be established as a national historic trail, with the final product being George's vision of a 1,200 mile recreation trail. In 1990, the Anza Trail received its national designation. The NPS was given responsibility for managing the trail development effort, and a trail superintendent was assigned.

INITIATION OF PLANNING- 1990 TO 1992

The trail building effort formally began with the initiation of planning. The first NPS trail superintendent set planning in motion by phoning Barbara Rice, a close friend who had extensive experience in multi-jurisdictional trail building. Barbara's advice would serve as the structural model for the trail development effort. Barbara Rice advised the first superintendent to establish a trail advisory committee composed of two person teams in each of the 20 counties along the trail: one representative from a local government agency, such as a county recreation department, and one private citizen with an interest in trail building or the Anza story. Those two persons would work to form county level committees to spearhead the trail development effort in their respective counties.

The first superintendent adopted Barbara's approach, and began recruiting people for the planning effort. She recruited people over the phone, and usually started by calling a park director for each county and trying to enlist their support. She then asked the government representative to recommend a private citizen who was closely involved with local trail efforts. The superintendent also looked to George Cardinet and Nancy DuPont, a leading member of the Amigos de Anza, for recommendations on private citizens who could participate. It took several months, but the superintendent eventually recruited public and private representatives from each county along the trail for the formal planning effort.

FRIENDS GROUPS

The NPS superintendent was the only federal employee dedicated to the Anza Trail in the early years, but she had support from two friends groups, the Amigos de Anza and the Anza Trail Coalition of Arizona (ATCA).

The Amigos de Anza formed shortly after the designation in 1990, and they were recognized as the *lead* friends group (501C-3) for the Anza Trail. Most importantly, this status meant federal funding support for the Amigos. The Amigos were first and foremost an equestrian organization, and they dedicated themselves to promoting the Anza Trail through riding events and re-enactments in historic attire. This tradition continues today.

The Amigos were effective in building support for the trail development effort through the mid-1990s, in large part because of George Cardinet's energy, charisma, and personal wealth. As one of the Amigos remembered, "George campaigned tirelessly for the trail through California, Arizona, and even Mexico." George personally funded these trips to cultivate support, build relationships with influential elected officials, and to participate in local decision-making and planning processes.

The Anza Trail Coalition of Arizona (ATCA) was formed as a 501C-3 in 1992. The ATCA is an all-volunteer organization that has three objectives: 1) to build and restore the Anza Trail, 2) to maintain the trail, and 3) to interpret the trail through education and re-enactments. The coalition began with a four person governing board and a county coordinator system.

The Coalition was led in the 1990s by Richard Williams. Richard was a passionate advocate of the Anza story and had a long career with Arizona State Parks. Richard had an extensive social and professional network from his career and his passion for history. Richard used this social network to fill county coordinator positions in the ATCA and to establish Arizona's most well-known segments of the Anza Trail. Today, Karol Stubbs serves as the president of the ATCA.

The Coalition played the lead role in developing trail segments in Santa Cruz, Pima, and Maricopa Counties of Arizona. Their commitment to the trail was repeatedly described as "tenacious and passionate" by government interviewees. The coalition remains active today in many parts of Arizona.

DIRECTION SETTING- 1992-1993

In 1992, the first superintendent brought the county teams together for a formal planning

session. Their mission was to operationalize the Anza Trail vision. The teams started by physically mapping the route of Anza's expedition, which had not been done before. The superintendent provided the two person team from each county with maps of the county and journals from the expedition. Their principal task was to look at the maps and journals and figure out the exact path that Anza's expedition followed. The teams did preliminary work during the first planning session, and then returned home to conduct additional research, information gathering, and the actual mapping.

The first-hand accounts of the expedition were well written and detailed. The teams took into account the starting point of the expedition, and known sites where the expedition stopped, such as camp sites, native Indian settlements, and Spanish outposts. The expedition generally followed the most feasible and expedient route. Feasible and expedient typically meant travelling along water courses,

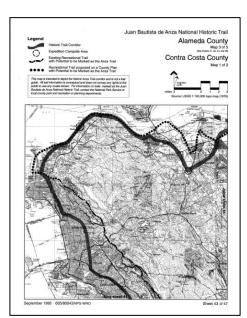


Figure 1: Mapping Outcome

which ensured the settlers a regular supply of water. It also meant following the path of least resistance in terms of terrain—using valleys, passes, and Indian trail networks.

Once the historic route was identified, the county teams identified existing and planned trails that aligned with or were close to the expedition's route of travel. This included federal, state, county, and municipal trails. The teams' attention centered on identifying high potential trail segments—those with intact natural landscapes, scenic views, open space—which would offer outstanding recreation opportunities. These segments would be a center piece of the larger trail system. The superintendent coordinated with each county team to ensure the trails that were identified would line up with trails in adjacent jurisdictions. In the end, the process created three map layers: the historic corridor, existing

trails, and proposed trails. The three layers were consolidated onto one map for each county. An example of one consolidated map is shown in the Figure 1.

The superintendent kept in touch with the teams on a biweekly basis until she had all the maps back in the spring of 1993. After just a few months of work and research, a 1,200 mile historic expedition had been mapped, along with existing and proposed trails that aligned with the historic route of travel. The process moved quickly and team members expressed that they "really enjoyed the intellectual exercise and bringing history to life."

STRUCTURING

The superintendent, Amigos, and ATCA began looking towards implementation. The two-person public-private teams had worked very efficiently, and many had matured into larger county level committees during the direction setting stage. The speed and efficiency of the process in the first few years was reason for excitement; many closely involved in the effort expected the implementation phase to be efficient.

The trail superintendent knew that implementation would take many years, and that a permanent organizational structure would be critical. Consequently, she moved to convert the teams into permanent committees for trail building. The committees would operate as a county level management structure. They would cultivate support and assist local groups in carrying out the trench work—raising funds, applying political pressure, participating in public meetings, getting approvals, and constructing trail.

IMPLEMENTATION- EARLY YEARS 1993-1998

By 1993, the trail was mapped and a county level management structure was in place to orchestrate the actual trail building effort. But, implementation did not go according to plan. As one federal employee remarked "when it came to putting trail on the ground, well that's a real slog. The effort really lost momentum. It felt like much of the support and interest generated during planning just died." Interviewees attributed this loss of momentum after direction setting to three factors: loss of structure, fighting amongst the friends groups, and problems between the Amigos and the NPS.

STRUCTURE DISSIPATES

The mapping effort was one component of a larger Comprehensive Management Plan (CMP) that the NPS was creating for the Anza Trail. After the mapping effort, the environmental impact statement still needed to be done. Multiple levels of NPS reviews and approvals were needed as well. The CMP was not completed until April 1996, and few trail building projects were carried out as the plan was being finished. Internal support—within the NPS—was limited as well. The superintendent was the only dedicated federal employee for the trail. She was a part-time employee, and was also tasked with developing management plans for other park units. The NPS was also not financially supportive of a full-time trail advisory committee, who could have helped to coordinate the bi-state effort.

By the end of 1996, the county level management structure already had major holes in it. As one Anza Trail supporter remembered, "several years of lukewarm agency support and comprehensive planning process allowed inertia to set in." The county level committees disintegrated as people got promoted, moved on, or lost interest. In 1998, the NPS appointed a new regional director who was more supportive of non-traditional parks. The trail superintendent was converted into a full time position and agency funding for the trail increased. But, the funding stream that was available for planning could not be turned back on to re-invigorate the effort.

FRIENDS GROUPS IN-FIGHTING

The Amigos and the ATCA were in conflict during this period for who would be recognized as the lead friends group. The initial intent was for the groups to function as a single trail wide friends group. George Cardinet and Richard Williams where both described as "strong willed" and "visionary," and each had their own ideas about the future of the trail. The conflict between the leaders of the groups was partially about egos, which one federal employee referred to as "founder's syndrome." But, as one nonprofit member in Arizona pointed out, "it was really about a federal funding stream, and where resources would be directed." The conflict between the two groups was never resolved, and a single trail-wide nonprofit support group was not formed.

There was, and continues to be, fighting amongst Anza supporters in Arizona. Strong leaders within local constituencies were repeatedly described as important for making progress, but strong leaders were also noted as a hindrance to inter-county cooperation. Some members also perceived that "all the resources and funding were being channeled to Santa Cruz County, instead of being allocated more fairly." One federal employee described the turf and ego battles as "frustrating. They are going in multiple directions instead of rowing together."

AMIGOS STRUGGLE

George Cardinet was 81 years old when the Anza Trail received its national designation. For several years after the designation, he continued the same vigorous campaigning and support-raising he engaged in during the 1970s and 80s. But as the planning process drew to a close, George's age became a factor and he could no longer fill the champion role. As one Amigos member pointed out, "it just really hurt us after George was no longer involved. He just had so much energy and experience. You can't replace people like that." George spent much of his later years at Nancy DuPont's horse ranch in Walnut Creek, CA. He still participated in the trail building effort, but in a much more limited degree. George died a legend on January 19, 2007 at age 98.

The NPS and the Amigos leadership also had conflicting views of the role of the Amigos in the trail building effort. The Amigos saw themselves as equestrians and historic re-enactors, not necessarily as trail builders. The Amigos' strength was in organizing large riding events to promote the Anza Trail and the Anza story. These events, such as the 1996 re-enactment ride, the Tournament of Roses Parade, and festivals at the Presidio in San Francisco, undoubtedly raised awareness for the trail and connected

people to the story. These events also ate into a very small trail budget, which was \$69K annually during much of the 1990s. The 1996 re-enactment ride, for example, cost nearly \$60K, of which the Amigos and NPS split the cost half and half.

Conflicting views of the role of the Amigos created strain on the federal-nonprofit relationship. This strain surfaced more and more after the 1996 re-enactment, as evidenced by remarks from federal employees to Amigos leadership; including, "All you guys do is ride around, you don't do anything for the trail" and "you're going to wake up in the morning and wonder what your job is." The Amigos had proven they could put on events, but the NPS was looking for concrete actions involving trail building, not promotional capacity alone.

The NPS was also concerned about the constituency of the Amigos. As one Amigos member pointed out, "we just didn't have a strong base of support in many parts of the state." The Amigos were strong in the Bay Area, and had very capable representatives in a handful of other counties in central California. But, they did not have the trail wide constituency that the NPS was hoping for. The NPS reacted by redirecting their funds elsewhere.

TRAIL BUILDING STRATEGY- 1998-2009

As the 1990s drew to a close, it became obvious to many Anza Trail supporters that they would need to move away from the original plan, where high potential trail segments would be a major focus of trail projects. The Anza supporters moved toward a strategy that focused on what three federal employees called "hitting the low hanging fruit." This strategy has been carried out for much of the last 12 years.

ADDING ANZA SIGNS TO FEDERAL TRAILS

In some areas, the Anza Trail was established over existing trails managed by federal agencies. The Anza Trail staff reasoned that this approach would require minimal effort, as it would mainly be an exercise in adding signs and interpretive panels to a high quality existing trail. The Santa Monica Mountains National Recreation Area (SAMO), in Southern California, provides the best example of this type of approach. SAMO is managed by the NPS and is located just south of the historic corridor on the western outskirts of Los Angeles. The historic route of travel in this area runs directly along highway 101 and much of it remains in private ownership. However, SAMO had a trail system along a high ridge that paralleled and overlooked the historic route of travel.

The most feasible approach to establishing the Anza Trail in this area would be to place Anza Trail signs and interpretive panels along the NPS-managed ridge trail through SAMO. The existing trail would need no additional work to be brought up to certification standards. This is exactly what was done. The Anza Trail superintendent contacted the SAMO superintendent and requested his help with the project. The SAMO superintendent saw it as an opportunity to enhance their existing interpretive programs and the project was carried out. In summary, the Anza Trail grew in length with no new trail, only by adding signs to an existing federal trail.

TARGETING LARGE NON-FEDERAL AGENCIES

The Anza Trail also grew when Anza Trail supporters targeted large non-federal land management agencies, such as a state parks department or a regional parks district. In essence, agencies that manage trails on a county, regional, or state scale. The general approach was the same: identify existing and proposed trails managed by these agencies, and then add Anza Trail infrastructure to what was already in place. But, this approach had an added layer of difficulty because nonfederal segments had to be "certified" according to national trail standards.

The best example of this approach occurred in Contra Costa and Alameda Counties, in and around Oakland, California. The East Bay Regional Parks District (EBRPD) manages park lands across the two counties and has a regional trail along the high ridges overlooking the East Bay. Anza's historic route had been obliterated by the growth of the Oakland-Berkley urban area, but as one federal employee saw the opportunity, "EBRPD's ridge trail was largely finished, closely paralleled the historic route, and offered scenic views." In essence, several dozen miles of Anza Trail could be established by laying the Anza Trail over the park district's ridge trail.

There were also close personal relationships between Anza Trail supporters and leading members of the EBRPD, and a history of cooperation between the EBRPD and the NPS. The trail development manager for the EBRPD, Jim Townsend, was a good friend of George Cardinet, and both Jim and his daughter were active in the Amigos organization. A member of the EBRPD Board of Directors was also a history buff, and had a keen interest in the Anza story. In terms of organizational relationships, Jim Townsend pointed out that "the NPS and the EBRPD had worked closely on other park projects for many years before the Anza Trail, including Rosie the Riveter National Historic Site and the Eugene O'Neill National Historic Site."

The second NPS superintendent worked closely with Jim Townsend to expand the Anza Trail in the East Bay. In the end, the Anza Trail corridor was mapped exactly over the existing ridge trail. The Anza Trail is now reflected in the EBRPD master plan and many miles of the Anza Trail now exist in the East Bay because of this overlapping alignment. The Anza Trail continues to grow as the existing ridge trail system is expanded.

BUILDING TRAIL FROM SCRATCH

Santa Cruz County, in Southern Arizona, provides the best example of building trail from scratch. The land within the trail corridor was almost entirely in private ownership. The effort in Santa Cruz County was led by the Anza Trail Coalition of Arizona (a 501C-3). The ATCA president typically played the lead role in negotiating easements with landowners. Contact usually started with a face to face introduction, where a custom landowner guide was provided. The guide walked the landowner through the Anza story, provided testimonials from other landowners, information on state law regarding liability, and the partnership between the ATCA, Santa Cruz County, and the NPS.

The ATCA leaders would leave the guide with the landowners and give them time to look through it. They would circle back later and gently try to elicit a yes or maybe from the landowner for an easement. The ATCA leadership would then go with the landowner onto their property to identify where the trail might go. Slowly but surely, ATCA leaders moved through this sequence. The coalition also had support from the NPS and local government agencies. NPS trail specialists in Arizona helped with developing the landowner guide. The county conducted easement surveys and held the easements with the local landowners. Local agency support was also provided through mapping assistance, endorsements for grants and funding, and by allowing Anza Trail access through existing trailheads.

The first segment of trail in Santa Cruz County was established between Tumacacori and the Tubac Presidio, where Anza served as the Commandant prior to the expedition in 1775. As one federal employee explained, "Richard Williams played the key role in establishing the segment." Richard had a personal relationship with the property owner, Roy Ross. Roy was a developer and he saw the trail as an amenity and marketing opportunity for a growing residential community. Roy authorized the easement and adjacent landowners followed suit. Now completed, the segment is approximately 4 miles in length. A visitor starting at the southern end walks or rides under the shade of cottonwood and mesquite trees and then emerges from the trail at the archeological remains of Anza's former post. The segment was hailed by a local planner as "absolutely beautiful and critical for building momentum in other areas" and by one federal employee as "a slam dunk."

PRESENT DAY- 2009 FORWARD

As the first decade of the 21st century drew to a close, the original torch bearers for the Anza Trail were starting to age and many were withdrawing from trail work. The majority of interviewees noted that there had been very little new blood infused into the effort during the last 20 years. One federal employee reflected, "the groundwork for the network of partners was really laid during the initial planning efforts. We had our stalwart supporters who were involved since well before 1990, and another group of people who became supporters as a result of their participation in the planning effort."

The two groups became the core nucleus of support for the trail, and the faces of those involved remained very much the same for two decades. One important function of this core group of supporters was their role as the continuity for the effort and as a source of institutional knowledge. One new federal employee commented on the continuity: "federal employees will rarely have the same tenure as dedicated, passionate volunteers. I think the federal turnover really fatigues the stalwart supporters and they become wary of investing back in you."

NEW STRATEGY- OUTREACH TO YOUTH AND NEW AUDIENCES

This aging-in-place phenomenon alerted the federal trail managers of the need to broaden and diversify the network of partners, supporters, and volunteers. The previous effort, in essence, had plateaued. As one federal employee observed, "prior to the current superintendent, there were no

innovative programs aimed at engaging new audiences. We needed to reach out beyond the same core group of people, many of whom are well past retirement, and try to connect to new constituencies."

The third trail superintendent, who took over the effort in 2009, had experience in building partnerships and connecting to youth and diverse audiences. The third superintendent wanted to focus on finding a new group of torch-bearers to take over for the first generation.

One such example is the Anza Trail youth ambassadors program, which started amongst high school students in Nogales, Arizona. A small investment from the NPS helped this grassroots initiative to flourish. The students organize projects and educational programs centering on the trail. One local supporter beamed about the snowball effect of the program, "when we got the high school kids involved, it pulled in the parents, and then even the extended family. Before long, you had a big piece of the community involved in Anza Trail projects. It was just marvelous."

THE ANZA TRAIL FOUNDATION IS FORMED TO FILL THE TRAILWIDE FRIENDS GROUP VOID

Trail supporters and the NPS managers also looked to fill the void caused by George's death and the split between the Amigos and the ATCA by forming the Anza Trail Foundation. The Anza Trail Foundation (ATF) was formed as a 501C-3 in 2010, with the intention of serving as a unified, trail-wide support group. The formally stated ATF mission is to promote awareness of the Anza story and to work with organizations and individuals to help preserve the trail. The expectation is that they will act "primarily in a private fund raising role."

The foundation currently has a 7-person board, all of whom are volunteers, and no general membership. The exact structure and role of the organization is still being determined. As one ATF member explained, "we wanted a passionate group that would be both geographically representative and balanced, but this is tough when we are all volunteers. We are still trying to figure out who we are and what we need."

SUMMARY OF KEY FINDINGS

The summary of key findings is a synthesis of the most important and frequently mentioned issues in the development of the Anza Trail. It was created after an analysis of each individual discussion topic, and by identifying the common themes that arose across all the discussion topics. The full analysis of each discussion topic is included in Appendix D.

Primary factors which helped	Primary factors which hindered
The major friends group in Arizona had an explicit	The major friends group in California did not
trail building mission, and was strong as a	materialize as a trail building organization.
nonprofit entity.	
Local governments and private citizens	A three-year period of inertia during the planning
operationalized the trail vision during the initial	process caused local enthusiasm and support to
stages of the planning process.	dissipate.
Supporters and NPS managers pursued a strategy	Difficulty recruiting new participants due to
of "finding the path of least resistance" during the	relevance of story, limited incentives, and trouble
implementation phase.	communicating the vision.

Each of the key findings is discussed in detail in the following chapter. In addition to the factors listed above, a number of important positive and negative themes arose throughout the interviews concerning the role and performance of the NPS in the effort. The implications of these themes are discussed in a short section titled: the Role of Federal Trail Managers.

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION, RECOMMENDATIONS, AND CONCLUSION

This chapter examines each issue from the summary of key findings using theory and existing research. The discussion of each issue concludes with recommendations for other national trails. The key findings are arranged under five headings: difficulty recruiting new participants, the role of federal trail managers, the capacity of friends groups, highs and lows during the planning effort, and trail building strategy. Each section generally builds upon the previous. The chapter concludes with the broader implications of this research.

DIFFICULTY RECRUITING NEW PARTICIPANTS

One of the single most challenging issues in the trail development effort was getting new people to participate in the vision at the local level. From the very beginning, the core group of supporters did not have sufficient influence to effectively carry out trail development across the entire 1,200 mile corridor. This meant that more local champions and supportive agencies were needed to implement the vision. But, Anza Trail supporters had difficulty recruiting new volunteers and partners.

Partnership research shows that productive, long term partnerships are built on both an *alignment in purpose* and *needs*. Without both elements, the foundation of the partnership is weak. The alignment in purpose should answer the questions: why is this important, and how does this complement our own objectives? A *need* to partner is based on more tangible incentives. An entity will ask: what specifically is in this for us?

An examination of the different motivations and incentives driving participation across the entire trail provides important lessons for recruiting and retaining participants in trail development efforts. The recruitment of new supporters for the Anza Trail typically started with the story of Anza's expedition. It was a cultural heritage story of determined people braving harsh conditions to settle in a new home. In California, the cultural heritage story generated only a small following for the trail. One indicator of the trail's small following is the annual volunteer hours logged by the primary friends groups. In 2011, the Anza Trail received roughly 21,500 hours in volunteer support, which placed it well below the combined average of 42,870 hours for national historic and scenic trails (Partnership for the National Trails, 2011).

The trail's core group of supporters had incredible passion for the Anza story. But some fell short when they did not recognize that other messages were often more effective for "selling" the trail. For example, the hives of trail activity in California tended to be wealthier counties, where people were responding to environmental concerns and a desire for close-to-home recreation. The cultural heritage story also carried less weight because of fewer intact cultural resources associated with Anza.

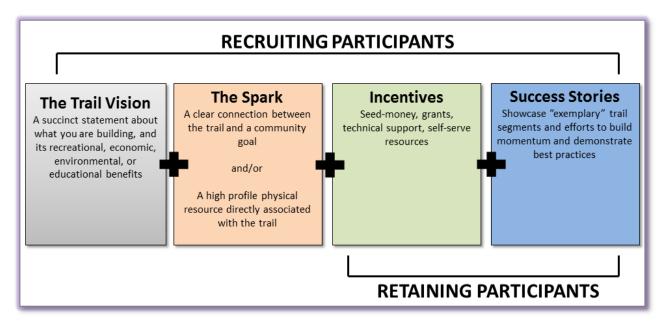
In Arizona, the cultural heritage story carried more weight, and there was a higher degree of grassroots support for the trail. The story was enhanced by intact cultural resources, like the Tubac Presidio, which generated brand recognition for the trail. Economic benefits were also a more relevant

factor in Arizona. The hives of trail building activity were Pima and Santa Cruz County—two areas with average incomes well below the state average (US Census Bureau, 2010). The trail's potential economic benefits were more appealing to local agencies and private citizens in these less affluent areas. The trail was a tool to improve a community's image and a magnet for cultural tourism (see Appendix E for more detailed information on trail miles and socioeconomic factors in Arizona and California).

Specific incentives—tools, money, training—played a major role in participation. Many communities looked to the NPS with lofty expectations regarding specific incentives, and some expressed dissatisfaction with what was actually delivered. New federal employees had difficulty communicating incentives as well, showing that it takes time and experience to clearly articulate the incentives and value-added from the federal side.

Finally, success stories played a big role in participation. Interviewees in Arizona pointed to a snowball effect amongst property owners and community members in Santa Cruz County once a few trail easements were obtained. In California, the establishment of the trail in the Santa Monica Mountains was regarded as a big win and broadcasted widely. These "exemplary segments" raised awareness, built momentum, and drew new people to the effort.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR "SELLING A TRAIL" AND RETAINING PARTICIPANTS



Four factors are critical for recruiting and retaining public and private participants in national trail development efforts: the trail vision, a spark, incentives, and success stories. These factors form the basis for a trail "elevator pitch," which should be customized to each new potential partner.

The trail vision and the spark should be the opening lines in any recruitment pitch. The trail vision should be a clear and succinct statement about what is being built and the recreational, economic, environmental or educational benefits associated with it. Communicating the vision is easiest

when using graphical aids like a map. The second element, a spark, stimulates the interest of a potential supporter by tying the trail to something a person is most likely to identify with. Two techniques work to create a spark: 1) a clearly articulated connection between the trail and a community goal, and/or 2) a high profile physical resource directly associated with the trail.

Incentives and success stories are very useful in recruitment efforts, but even more critical when it comes to actually retaining participants. Federal agencies typically provide the tangible incentives for participation: seed-money, increased opportunities for grants, technical support, web-based communication and mapping tools, and self-serve resources like interpretive materials.

Success stories come from exemplary trail segments. Telling a success story means spotlighting a particular piece of trail and saying, "we are very proud of this," either for aesthetic or community involvement reasons. Success stories create enthusiasm and build momentum. They also bring the trail out of the abstract in the early stages, and can be used to convey best practices.

THE ROLE OF FEDERAL TRAIL MANAGERS

The National Trail System Act envisioned federal agencies in a minor supporting role in trail development efforts. But, the Anza Trail effort showed federal employees playing an aggressive role in a number of areas: resolving disputes amongst the friends groups, recruiting new participants, building the Anza Trail Foundation, and paving the way for trail projects on federal and nonfederal lands. At the same time, many local public and private supporters expressed dissatisfaction with the overall support provided by the NPS and a lack of clarity about the NPS agenda.

There is a distinction in partnership and collaborative research between executive leaders and collaborative leaders. Executive leaders are marshaling and directing others toward a vision. They fit the traditional leadership profile of influential leaders in the corporate and military world. Collaborative leaders bring people together, build consensus amongst them, and foster their initiative. Collaborative leaders are good communicators and facilitators, and they have well developed interpersonal skills that allow them to network effectively.

Partnership research highlights that internal support from the parent organizations is important for the long term success of a given project (Andereck, 1997; Weiler, Laing, & Moore, 2007; Margerum, 2011). In the Anza Trail context, the key parent organization is the NPS. Studies involving the NPS have shown the agency is underfunded and that a hierarchy of parks is a real phenomenon in the agency culture—with nontraditional parks occupying a lower tier in the hierarchy.

The Anza Trail's NPS superintendents and staff were valued by others for their ability to carry out three functions: to support the person on-the-ground, to resolve conflicts, and to generate internal support for the trail from the NPS.

The NPS employees' ability to support people on-the-ground was hindered by their positioning in San Francisco, at the very northern end of the trail. The positioning made it difficult and expensive for

NPS employees to provide direct face-to-face assistance to many trail supporters, especially in Arizona. Without a physical presence, the NPS employees were out of sight and out of mind. The take-away is that even in an age of rapidly advancing communication technology, geographic positioning still counts. Positioning was of the utmost importance in this setting—where time and resources were so restricted, and a dispersed network of people had to be supported by a small staff.

The NPS leaders had to build consensus and resolve conflict amongst and within the friends groups. In-fighting amongst supporters was probably inevitable because people were passionate about the cause and they competed with each other for scarce federal resources. The fighting between George Cardinet and Richard Williams arose largely from disagreements over how federal resources would be allocated. The ATCA had internal fracturing caused by strong personalities and perceptions of unfair distribution of federal money. The ironic dynamic lies in the fact that the core advocates were repeatedly cited as effective because they were strong-willed, aggressive, and driven. They were executive leaders marshaling people toward their vision. But the same strong-willed, passionate people created counter-productive forces when asked to play nicely with others. A collaborative leader was needed to hold them together.

The NPS leaders also had to generate internal support for the trail building effort. In partnership language, the superintendent cultivated the vertical link to the larger parent organization, the NPS. The Anza Trail story shows that NPS support is not automatic for national trails. The NPS superintendent, in effect, was the agency champion for the trail. Agency resources were more abundant when trail projects were strongly linked to important agency objectives. Without a strong link, the trail effort saw only token crumbs from the agency, as was the case for much of the 1990s. When the link was strong, the specific incentives available for others tended to be more powerful.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FEDERAL AGENCIES AND THEIR TRAIL MANAGERS

The federal managers of national trails can best support trail development efforts when:

- 1) They are geographically positioned to cover the largest possible span of supporters along the trail. One good litmus test to evaluate positioning: can a federal employee make a round trip by car to any trail community in a day or less?
- 2) They have collaborative leadership skills. Plainly speaking, "cat-herders" are more valuable than administrators and interpretive experts.
- 3) They make compelling connections between trail projects and key agency objectives. Two key NPS objectives likely to be important for the foreseeable future are connecting to youth and connecting to nontraditional audiences such as Hispanics and Latinos.

THE CAPACITY OF FRIENDS GROUPS

THE ROLE OF THE AMIGOS

One of the major challenges in California was the Amigos did not have the capacity to implement the vision. The Amigos were initially recognized and funded as the *lead* friends group by the NPS. At first, the Amigos looked to be a powerful partner for the trail effort. George Cardinet was mobilizing support and the Amigos were organizing high profile promotional events. But, George's organization was not geared to carry out the ultimate plan. The misalignment was not obvious at first, and substantial strain on the NPS-Amigos relationship developed during the 1990s.

In a trail development effort, six major activities need to be carried out: promotion, raising political support, fundraising, navigating public processes, land acquisition, and shovel work. The conflict between the Amigos and the NPS after the 1996 re-enactment ride was over the role of the Amigos in the future of the trail development effort. The Amigos were the lead friends group, but they ultimately saw themselves as equestrians who would promote the trail through re-enactments and riding events.

The trail development effort needed more than promotional capacity from the *lead* friends group. The NPS pushed the Amigos to take on an expanded role, but trail building matched the passions of only a few Amigos members. As a result, the NPS pulled the Amigos' financial support and redirected it elsewhere. In summary—to the dismay of the NPS—a friends group that would actually put trail on the ground never materialized in California.

The ATCA turned out to be a more ideal long term partner for the NPS because the ATCA took direct action to put trail on the ground. The NPS superintendent got progress that could be reported to the parent organization, and the ATCA got funds to help them carry out their passions.

COMPARING THE AMIGOS AND THE ATCA

Friends groups are a center piece of the national trail system, but very little has been said about what makes them successful over the course of a trail building effort. Other trail studies stress that trail managers need to identify their most promising potential partners and clearly define their roles and responsibilities. But, they offer little hint of what "promising" looks like. A comparison of the Amigos and the ATCA, using a framework based on nonprofit management literature, offers a method for defining a "promising" friends group.

EXECUTIVE LEADERSHIP

George Cardinet displayed remarkable qualities as an executive leader. George was the original visionary for the trail, and he inspired many others to participate with his passion and charisma. His organizational and administrative skills—built during a business career and previous experiences with other trails—helped the Amigos to achieve a number of their goals. George also built the personal relationships that many cited as important reasons for participation in the effort.

In Arizona, Richard's Williams possessed many of the same qualities as George. Even after Richard's death, respect and endearment to Richard were cited as compelling motivations for the continued participation of some volunteers. Richard's long career with the Arizona State Parks also helped him to organize ATCA activities in a systematic fashion. Richard's personal relationships and social network had a major impact on the effort. Most notably, Richard's relationship with Roy Ross cleared the way for one of the biggest trail success stories: the Tumacacori to Tubac segment in Southern Arizona.

SUPPORTING STAFF

Figures like George Cardinet are common with new park designations—a passionate champion mobilizes others around a vision for a protected area (Ise, 1979; Runte, 2010). But, the champion role is different with a national trail. Once a traditional park is designated, a government agency assumes full control. That is not the case with a national trail. The champion must fight for the designation, and then remain effective through years or even decades of implementation. A trail champion must be backed by a sustainable structure and a good succession plan.

A serious void formed after George withdrew as the trail champion in the late 1990s. Nancy DuPont succeeded George as the Amigos president. Nancy worked with George for many years and had a long career in the newspaper business. She was a passionate equestrian and had a knack for promotion. But, Nancy could not take on the same role George played. She had neither the wealth nor the career flexibility to continue George's aggressive support-raising campaign. Her interests lay mainly in promotional activities, and not in multi-jurisdictional trail building.

Richard Williams also had a successor, but his organization continued to operate at a high level after Richard withdrew as the ATCA president. Richard was succeeded by Karol Stubbs. Karol's situation was different from Nancy's in two key ways. First, Karol shared the same passion as Richard. She cared about the Anza story *and* she wanted to put trail on the ground. Second, the shoes Karol had to fill were not as big. Richard's focus was on the Anza Trail in Arizona: the trail reached across five counties and roughly 300 miles. Nancy, on the other hand, had 15 counties and nearly 900 miles of trail to cover.

RECRUITMENT

Both organizations experienced an aging-in-place phenomenon. The core group of actors remained the same for many years, and few new torch bearers became involved across time. The upside was that the stalwart supporters became the continuity for the effort and a repository of institutional knowledge. The downside was that the core supporters came from an older demographic—many people were participating as a type of retirement project. This meant a limited number of years that their full participation could be expected. Today, the federal trail managers realize the sun will soon set on the active involvement of many of the trail's original torch bearers. The federal employees, consequently, have taken on a more aggressive role in recruiting new people to carry the flame.

GEOGRAPHIC DISPERSION

The Amigos had a substantial base of support in the San Francisco Bay Area. But they had only a handful of county coordinators to advance their goals in other parts of California. George, in essence, was making up for the geographic gaps by aggressively campaigning throughout the state. After George withdrew, the geographic gaps became much more apparent, and the NPS pushed the Amigos to expand their base of support. The Amigos tried, but their influence never extended beyond a few counties in central California. The trail on the ground today in central California is largely a result of a few stalwart Amigos members.

The ATCA also used a county coordinator structure. Their base of support was largely in Santa Cruz County, but a few dedicated people on the ground in Pima, Pinal, Maricopa, and Yuma Counties provided sufficient leverage to advance the trail agenda. Extensive progress has since been made in Santa Cruz and Pima Counties. Limited progress occurred in Pinal, Maricopa, and Yuma Counties. The limiting factors in these counties were less about the absence of dedicated volunteers and more about undesirable recreation areas characterized by harsh desert and few population centers.

MOBILIZING VOLUNTEERS

Both organizations mobilized volunteers to carry out basic trail development activities: promotion, raising political support, navigating public processes, and shovel work. Shovel work was named as the easiest activity to recruit people for. It provided instant gratification and did not entail a long term commitment. From a nonprofit management perspective, it required mobilizing a large number of unskilled volunteers for a short time. Promotion—such as tabling public events—was also named as relatively easy to recruit people for. Most promotional events required a couple of knowledgeable people and were handled in house without additional volunteers.

The ability to raise political support and navigate a public process were also important activities, but fewer volunteers were clamoring to do them. The actions typically didn't require large numbers of people, so they were done by the core nonprofit members. Political support was raised at multiple levels. George was creating high level political support with trips to the NPS headquarters and to congressional offices in DC. Other volunteers created political support locally with county and municipal officials. Both organizations also had to navigate public processes. Their members took actions such as voicing support at public hearings and commenting on local master plans. The public process actions cleared the way for shovel work by generating policy-level support from local agencies.

TECHNICAL EXPERTISE

Both organizations engaged in certain activities that required specialized skills. The ATCA engaged in land acquisition and fundraising, while the Amigos members concentrated primarily on the latter. The primary land acquisition activity was the negotiation of easements for the trail. In Arizona, ATCA leaders filled this duty, which put a local face on the trail idea. They used principles cited in other

trail's literature: they were methodical and patient, and customized their approach to the concerns of each landowner.

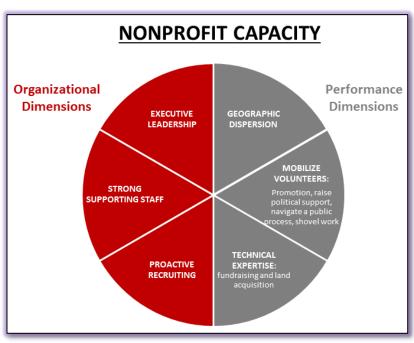
Fundraising efforts were carried out by the friends groups, but not to the extent one might expect. The Amigos generated tens of thousands for some of the high profile promotional events, but most of the funds were used to cover the costs of the events. Much of the trail development in Arizona took place in floodplains that could not be used for more profitable purposes. As a result, easements came at little cost. The limited fundraising activity is best understood by comparing private donations for the Anza Trail to the federal budget for the trail. The annual NPS trail budget was \$554,600 in 2011. Private contributions from the friends groups totaled only \$26,000 during the same year. The nonprofits' primary contributions came through the value of their volunteer hours, which accounted for \$460,000, or 44%, of the total funding for the trail (Partnership for the National Trails, 2011).

RECOMMENDATION- EVALUATE AND BUILD NONPROFIT CAPACITY

New scenic and historic trail feasibility studies are often initiated by federal agencies as a result of a vocal private group. These studies focus on the significance of the story, potential options for management, and general support for the trail amongst various stakeholders. The implicit assumption with many trail studies is that the group of supporters pushing for the designation will continually play an active role in developing the trail.

The Anza Trail effort provides three important lessons for federal agencies involved in national trail development efforts. (1) Feasibility studies for national scenic and historic trails should include a deliberate assessment of nonprofit capacity. This information can be gathered through in-person interviews with the groups' leaders and by reviewing their strategic plans. When nonprofit capacity is found to be seriously lacking, the federal agency should recommend not adding the trail to the system.

The assessment should examine the advocating group/s based on organizational and performance dimensions. Organizational dimensions include three components: executive leadership, strong supporting staff, and proactive recruiting. Each of the three affects an organization's ability to sustain itself over time. The executive leaders should have a) inspiring personal traits, b) organizational and management skills, and c) social and professional networks of value to the



trail development effort. Second, there should be strong supporting staff—they should be able to administering the day to day activities of the organization, and be given leadership opportunities so that they are capable of succeeding the current leaders if a need arises. Proactive recruiting means the organization deliberately seeks out new members who have skill sets that fill organizational and performance dimensions.

Three performance dimensions influence a nonprofit's ability to accomplish specific objectives in trail development: geographic dispersion, mobilizing volunteers and technical expertise. Geographic dispersion means recruiting and fostering supporters throughout the trail corridor; for example, a nonprofit with chapters in multiple communities would appear to satisfy this dimension. Mobilizing volunteers means an ability to match and direct volunteers in four key tasks for trail building: promotion, raising political support, navigating public processes, and shovel work. Technical expertise involves two specialized skills: fundraising and land acquisition.

- (2) During the trail feasibility study, the federal agency should set clear expectations about the trail development roles that will need to be filled. The study should definitively answer: Who is *willing* and *able* to do what? And, *where*? Performance in relation to these expectations can later become the basis for any federal funding of nonprofit staff positions. By the end of these two steps, the agency should be able to make a more informed recommendation to Congress about adding a trail to the system.
- (3) If a trail becomes part of the system, then the federal agency can best influence the success of the effort by making proactive investments in friends groups to build their capacity. The objective of each investment is to enhance organizational and performance dimensions so that a group becomes self-perpetuating and effective on its own.

The best investment technique is training for friends group leaders and board members. Federal managers have three good training tools: online courses, regional skills-workshops, and intensive on-site mentoring. Online courses are the most convenient, and can be used to supplement the face-to-face options. Federal agencies have an extensive menu of web-based education courses for their employees. The federal trail managers can design a curriculum from this larger menu to build specific skillsets amongst their private counterparts. Second, trail managers can organize regional workshops aimed at developing specific skillsets. For example, in the fall of 2012, the federal staff for the Anza Trail organized workshops for the members of the newly formed Anza Trail Foundation that centered on nonprofit management. This type of training can also be enhanced by bringing in experienced trail managers and nonprofit leaders from other trails.

Intensive on-site mentoring—training leaders at their home base—can produce the best results, but should also be saved for leaders most likely to stay involved. The Rivers and Trails Conservation Assistance (RTCA) Program is a very small wing of the NPS geared to this type of training.

HIGHS AND LOWS DURING THE PLANNING EFFORT

A GRASSROOTS APPROACH TO THE VISIONING PHASE

From 1992-1993, local citizens and local agencies were given a significant role in defining the trail vision. This "grassroots" approach was a major enhancing factor in the trail development effort.

Research on partnerships reveals that a shared vision is one of the most common correlates of partnership success. The vision provides inspiration and an overarching framework for decision making. Studies of other long distance trails show that a wide range of stakeholders should be brought into the visioning and planning processes for a trail. One benefit of doing so is that local stakeholders connect trail managers to a wealth of local knowledge. Stakeholder participation also encourages a sense of ownership and commitment to the final product.

At the outset of planning for the Anza Trail, the trail superintendent and the core group of private supporters had only a very broad vision. The vision was born out of George Cardinet's passion and formally recognized by congressional legislation. The broad vision called for a continuous, unified 1,200 mile recreation trail, which would follow the route of Anza's expedition as closely as possible. But, the vision needed to be operationalized—it needed to become a physical line on a map.

The trail superintendent took a true bottom-up approach to operationalizing the vision. The group assembled for the visioning and mapping effort was composed of two-person, public-private teams from the 20 counties along the trail. The group was geographically representative and diverse. The participants were asked to map the historic route and existing and proposed trails that aligned with the route. The effort moved quickly because the participants had local knowledge and expertise.

Personal relationships between public and private organizations were formed as people cooperated and shared information during the mapping effort. Each of the teams returned to their home counties and many initiated additional face-to-face work sessions. A sense of ownership was also created when participants were asked to align the Anza Trail with existing and proposed trails in their own communities. Resources could be pooled toward a common goal, instead of being inefficiently expended on separate efforts.

LOSS OF MOMENTUM AFTER THE VISIONING PHASE

Community and stakeholder input (the visioning phase) was completed by 1993, but the comprehensive plan was not completed until 1996. During this 3-year period, key parts of the implementation structure dissolved.

Studies of partnerships have found that detailed, written plans are important factors in successful inter-organizational endeavors. But, the conditions and the persons involved in any endeavor can change quickly. Researchers like Margerum (2011) suggest that detailed, written plans have little value when not backed by a sustainable structure for implementation.

A sense of progress and small wins along the way to a bigger goal are closely interconnected correlates of partnership success. A sense of progress is important because it increases the likelihood that parties will remain committed to an inter-organizational endeavor. Small wins occur as parties reach benchmarks on the way to their mutual goals. Collaborative research also makes the distinction between personal and organizational commitments. In other words, the agency representative and the agency itself do not necessarily share the same commitment to a project or relationship.

One critical objective of the Anza Trail planning process was to convert the public-private teams into a permanent trail advisory committee for the implementation phase. They would act as the overarching structure for developing the 1,200 mile trail. The teams had the information they needed to begin initiating local trail projects in 1993—when the visioning and mapping effort was completed. The teams waited back in their home counties, but the NPS did not complete the formal comprehensive plan for another three years.

So why did it take so long? Simply put, the robust requirements of the NPS planning process were met with inadequate NPS resources. The environmental impact statement and multiple levels of agency review (and approval) were the two most significant hurdles after the visioning phase. The NPS superintendent was working alone on these tasks, and she was only a part-time employee.

Throughout this three year period, agency resources—the superintendent and the small trail budget—were consumed by the plan. Resources were not directed toward initiating projects or funding the activities of a permanent advisory committee. The agency was following its normal processes, but the consequence was that inertia took hold, enthusiasm dissolved, and the implementation structure dissipated in many counties. Most importantly, some of the crucial public representatives lost interest or moved on. Losing key public representatives was especially problematic because organizational commitments had not been obtained from their parent agencies.

For Anza Trail supporters, the master stroke in creating organizational commitment for the trail—at the county and municipal level—was getting the trail reflected in local policy documents. Bringing local agency representatives into the planning process was the first step in securing organizational commitments from their parent agencies. But, the agency representatives and local private advocates would not take action to obtain organizational commitments when the NPS had not formally approved the trail plan. Uncertainty was holding the effort back. Over a period of three years, some of the important agency representatives moved on. Their sense of ownership and their personal relationships left with them. Their loss was detrimental to the effort because NPS planning funds would not be turned back on to cultivate replacements.

The hard lessons about losing momentum in the 1990s appear to be better understood today, where one currently finds an emphasis on quantified, trackable goals throughout the network of supporters. As one federal employee observed when describing their increased attention to the matter, "you can just get so lost in building relationships, and you look back after a couple of years and say:

wow, what did we actually accomplish?" Governmental and private interviewees alike explained that quantified, trackable goals were the vehicle to sustain momentum and to create a sense of achievement.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR TRAIL PLANNING PROCESSES

The Anza Trail shows three lessons for long distance trail planning. First, be strategic about who is invited to plan. The planning process should be approached as an opportunity to cultivate relationships with persons and organizations capable of playing a significant role in the effort. The tacit aim of the planning process is to build a sustainable structure for the implementation phase.

Second, the plan should define the trail corridor using key cultural and natural resources, and other existing and proposed trails. In other words, make the maximum use of the assets that already exist. And third, at the end of the stakeholder input phase, local supporters should have (1) a clear timeline regarding the federal agencies remaining actions, and (2) reasonable assurance that future federal support will be provided for local projects they wish to initiate immediately.

Overall, the Anza Trail effort shows a need for a shorter period between the initiation of planning and the implementation efforts for national trails. In traditional park planning, time is practically irrelevant, and there is little harm done when a planning process takes half a decade. However, the fluid dynamics and grassroots spirit of a trail development effort do not favor inertia. When a trail effort stalls, local volunteers and agency representatives are much more likely to walk away. *Quite simply, the enthusiasm clock is ticking.*

There are two remedies the NPS can use to avoid repeating these mistakes. The first remedy: provide more robust funds for trail planning efforts. This would allow a small trail staff to speed up planning work by contracting it out to third parties like NPS regional offices, the Denver Service Center, or private firms. Trail staff could thus focus on keeping participants meaningfully engaged. The second remedy: design and implement a streamlined planning and approval process for national trails, which would allow a small trail staff to complete the requirements within a 1-2 year window.

TRAIL BUILDING STRATEGY- FOLLOW THE PATH OF LEAST RESISTANCE

The 1996 Comprehensive Management Plan for the Anza Trail approached the trail building effort primarily through an aesthetic lens. The plan was following basic guidance set forth in the National Trail System Act. The plan identified high-potential trail segments with criteria such as intact natural landscapes and scenic vistas. The high-potential trail segments would be joined by linking trails, which could be of lesser aesthetic quality; for example, paved trails through dense urban areas. The plan called for resources and effort to be directed toward high potential trail segments.

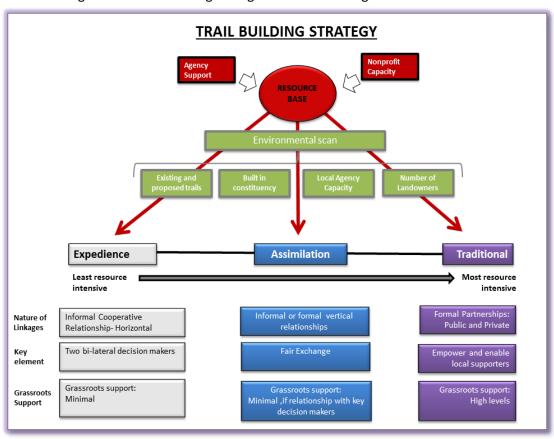
But, when one examines decision making and progress across the last 15 years, aesthetics turn out to be of much smaller consequence. The trail development effort has been driven by two

constraints: scarce resources and a limited number of supporters. As a result, trail managers and supporters used a more pragmatic strategy to put trail on the ground: *follow the path of least resistance*.

Trail managers and supporters identified the path of least resistance by examining four factors at a county level: existing and proposed trails, a built-in constituency, local agency capacity, and the number of landowners in the trail corridor. Existing and proposed trails that overlapped with the Anza corridor could be *marked* and *used* as the Anza Trail. A built-in-constituency showed whether there was grassroots support for trail building in general. By and large, Anza Trail supporters attempted to fill their own ranks by connecting to existing groups with historic, environmental, and recreation interests.

Trail supporters examined local agency capacity because they wanted to build relationships with large agencies that controlled sizable amounts of land—large agencies could add lots of trail miles, and they needed less support for on-going trail maintenance. The number of landowners in the trail corridor was important because more landowners meant more negotiations, more time, and more money.

After the environmental scan, trail managers and supporters directed their resources toward three approaches to trail building: *expedience*, *assimilation* and the *traditional approach*. These three approaches offer guidance for those organizing other trail building efforts.⁴



⁴ All three approaches can be used simultaneously, and are not necessarily mutually exclusive. Webster's dictionary provides the basis for the terminology selected. Expedience is characterized by "concern with what is opportune." Assimilation is to "absorb into the system; make similar." Traditional is defined as "characteristic manner, method, or style." The traditional approach to trail building is what was envisioned in the National Trail System Act. It involves community-driven efforts to build new trail from scratch.

EXPEDIENCE

The most expedient approach to begin the implementation phase is to direct resources toward existing trails on federal lands. This approach can quickly generate the early success stories needed to build momentum. Anza Trail managers executed this strategy when they added Anza signs to existing federal trails in the Santa Monica Mountains National Recreation Area, outside Los Angeles. This approach was typically accomplished through an informal cooperative relationship between bi-lateral decision makers—two federal land managers, often at the superintendent level. This was the least resource intensive approach for several reasons. With federal agencies, decision making is centralized: one person usually holds approval authority to move trail projects forward. Hence, approval and support for trail projects centered on a personal or professional relationship between the two decision-makers. Second, trails on federal lands were of high quality by national trail standards—meaning little, if any, work was needed to certify a segment. Grassroots support did not need to be high in this setting.

ASSIMILATION

On nonfederal lands, early projects should focus on existing trails in the counties where prominent volunteers reside. Assimilation occurred when the Anza Trail was incorporated into the existing ridgeline trail managed by the EBRPD outside Oakland, CA. Assimilation was typically accomplished through an informal relationship between a decision maker in a state or county agency and a federal manager or nonprofit leader. The relationships were often built on personal ties or a history of cooperation between organizations. From the federal viewpoint, the approach entailed a vertical relationship, as opposed to a horizontal relationship. This approach required a moderate expenditure of resources for two reasons. One, decision making in the local agencies tended to be centralized, but less so than in the federal agencies. Consequently, approval from multiple managers was needed to generate organizational support in many agencies. Second, and most importantly, state, county, and municipal trails could rarely meet certification standards without investing time and money.

The key ingredient in this approach on the Anza Trail was a perceived fair exchange in resources between the federal and non-federal agencies. The NPS wanted progress, but also sought to protect the "national" brand with certification requirements. The local agency wanted the "national" status, but was hesitant to expend resources to certify *its* trail for a federal agency. Specific federal incentives—namely, monetary support—were very important to the local agencies. Finally, grassroots support for the Anza Trail could be minimal when personal relationships or a history of cooperation joined the NPS and the non-federal agency.

THE TRADITIONAL APPROACH

The traditional approach—building from scratch—should be used sparingly in the early stages of trail development. It is resource intensive and slow going. The approach should be increasingly used as the trail's audience size and base of support expands. The ATCA used this approach in Santa Cruz

County, Arizona, because the land in the trail corridor was entirely in private ownership. This approach typically required a formal partnership between a friends group, a local agency, and the NPS. The formality of the relationship was driven by higher resource expenditures amongst all three parties. Consequently, formal arrangements—such as cooperative agreements—were usually needed to define roles and responsibilities, how funding would be used, and reporting procedures.

This approach was the most resource intensive for several reasons. First, a dedicated Anza friends group was a necessity for spearheading trail building projects. The lead actors within the group typically carried out the full scope of performance dimensions described in the nonprofit capacity model. The group was best received when its members were drawn from the immediate communities where the trail building efforts took place. It makes intuitive sense that fellow community members were less likely to provoke "outsider" suspicions and cries of "not in my back yard" from their own neighbors. Second, acquiring easements for the trail was a slow and tedious process. Trail segments were added at a micro-scale, with negotiations and projects proceeding one landowner at a time. The federal entity played an enabling role for the lead actors. The NPS managers did their best work when they focused on creating tools that made the local supporters and agencies self-sufficient.

IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSION

This section highlights the contribution of this study to scholarly research, and concludes with a reflection on federal involvement in national trails.

One looking for information on long distance trails is hard pressed to find systematic studies of the national trail system, which includes some of the nation's longest and most celebrated trails. The national trail system continues to expand, but attention seems focused on county and municipal trails. The findings of such studies offer limited advice for multi-jurisdictional trail building efforts.

This study contributes to long distance trails literature by providing a systematic look at a multistate national trail effort from a variety of viewpoints. A small number of studies have revealed problems the national trail system faces, including popularity, federal agency support, and local government support (Davis J. , 1986; Chavez, et al, 1999; Federal Interagency Council on Trails, 2012). This study describes how paid practitioners and trail supporters are responding to these problems through a path of least resistance approach to trail building.

In some trail studies, there is attention given to the importance of partnerships (Erickson, 2004; Ryan, et al, 2006), but the dynamics of partnerships are swept aside. A few trail studies go a step further by emphasizing the need to identify roles and responsibilities within a network of partners (Gaines & Krakow, 1996). This study finds that federal agencies should make proactive investments in nonprofit "friends groups" from the outset to ensure a trail development effort is sustainable. The study goes on to identify four elements that drive trail partnership participation, and specific methods for assessing and building nonprofit capacity.

Several trail studies highlight the importance of grassroots support for trail development efforts (Gaines & Krakow, 1996; Bowen, 2009; Mittlefehldt, 2010). This study shows that widespread community support is ideal, but that a handful of well-organized and committed citizen advocates can have a powerful influence on a trail development effort, even at a multi-state scale.

Engaging a broad array of stakeholders is an ideal goal for a planning process, and trails literature goes a long way in expressing how important an inclusionary attitude is (Gaines & Krakow, 1996; Erickson, 2004; Ryan, et al, 2006; Rottle, 2006). But, practical constraints—involving financial resources and the total number of potential stakeholders—should also ground recommendations in reality. This research says: be strategic about who is invited to plan, because the planning process should build relationships and a structure for the implementation phase.

Selin and Chavez (1994) found that detailed, written plans were an important element in successful multi-party projects. Other researchers highlight that written plans have limited value when not backed by a clear and sustainable structure for implementation (Margerum, 2011). This study revealed an interesting relationship between detailed plans and implementation efforts. The NPS's

resources for the Anza Trail were small in comparison to NPS planning requirements. The mismatch caused inertia to set in, and the implementation structure fell apart as supporters lost interest.

KEY LESSONS FOR THE NPS

The applied lessons of this research are best understood by turning away from the academic literature, and toward the National Park Service. There is an on-going debate within the NPS about how "national designations" should be used. This research provides several lessons to inform the debate. The Appalachian Trail (AT) is most famous for its grassroots spirit—it was built through widespread volunteerism and local initiative. The Anza Trail development effort shows the AT model is very difficult to replicate. Hence, using national designations to recognize conceptual and unfinished trails carries considerable risks, in terms of lifecycle costs and protecting the "national" brand.

The biggest risk with using the national designation to recognize an unfinished trail is that the federal agency may end up as *the last one standing*. In other words, the grassroots spirit—that fuels the trail development effort—dissipates before the trail is completed.

The Anza Trail story revealed that a federal agency's normal planning and decision making processes can seriously stifle the grassroots spirit of a trail development effort. Thus, there are *two take-away lessons from the Anza Trail for federal agencies*: First, bureaucratic inertia and lackluster agency support during the early years of a trail development effort have far reaching negative implications. And second, invest in nonprofit capacity right from the outset. This is the best way to ensure the effort becomes self-sustaining. Those involved with new trails should understand that a federal agency brings lots of "baggage" when it steps into the fray: cumbersome processes, NEPA requirements, and amplified NIMBYism in local communities. If the federal agency is unable to contribute significant material resources (money, money, and more money), then the costs of involving federal agencies can easily outweigh the benefits.

This research also highlights the growing importance of certain skill sets amongst NPS employees. For decades, the NPS has valued educational and professional backgrounds in the natural sciences, law enforcement, historic preservation, and interpretation. However, three significant trends—increasing numbers of nontraditional park units like national trails, dwindling budgets, and the advancement of scientific knowledge concerning ecosystems and climate change—all have one unifying theme: agency personnel must operate across park boundaries and in a larger regional context. If the NPS is to going achieve its goals in this new world, its employees will increasingly need skills in collaboration, building partnerships, and conducting community outreach.

Finally, the national trail system would benefit greatly from additional research. This study captured a range of perspectives from a diverse group of people, but involved only a single trail. Practitioners would likely benefit from additional lessons-learned studies involving a larger sample of trails. These studies could better explore the backgrounds of trail managers and nonprofit leaders, what skill sets they felt were most important, and what training they felt they needed.

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX A:

MANAGEMENT AND DEVELOPMENT OVERVIEW FOR THE TRAIL

DESIGNATION OF THE TRAIL

The Juan Bautista de Anza National Historic Trail was established by Public Law 101-365 on August 15th, 1990. The enabling legislation, which was put forward by California Representative George Miller in the House of Representatives, established a vision for a 1,200 mile trail running from Nogales, AZ to San Francisco, CA as a unit of the national trail system. Management responsibility was assigned to the Secretary of the Interior (101st Congress of the United States, 1990).

The legislation recognized the importance of nonprofit organizations in the trail development effort, and explicitly states that the Department of the Interior will encourage "volunteer trail groups to participate in the development and maintenance of the trail (101st Congress of the United States, 1990)."

The take-away here is that the enabling legislation created the trail primarily as a concept, set aside no land for the trail, and stressed that the development of this trail should be accomplished by partnerships between local support groups and government agencies. In other words, the trail's enabling legislation and the National Trails System Act both state the importance of local agencies and supporters, but do not provide explicit incentives for their involvement.

MANAGEMENT

The National Park Service was assigned responsibility for the trail within the Department of the Interior, and began planning for the management and development of the trail soon after P.L. 101-365 was passed. The initial annual budget allotted for the trail was approximately \$69,000, which included just one federal superintendent who would operate from the NPS's Oakland, CA office. Today, the trail budget has increased to \$554,000 annually, which includes three full time staff: a trail superintendent, outdoor recreation planner, and interpretive specialist. The staff operates out of an NPS regional office in San Francisco.

The overall vision for the trail and the roles of each entity involved in trail development efforts were formally established in the trail's 1996 Comprehensive Management Plan (CMP). The key components of that plan as they relate to the development of the recreational trail are outlined in the following sections.

MISSION AND VISION

The NPS's mission, as established in the 1996 CMP, is to foster the creation of an extended trail which will follow as closely as possible and practicable the original route followed by Anza's expedition. This trail would have two components, consisting of a marked auto-touring route which would follow existing roads, and a recreational trail (National Park Service, 1996). The vision established to guide the long term development of the recreational trail, which is the exclusive focus of this research is: "a continuous and unified multi-use (non-motorized) off-road trail which would allow a traveler to hike, ride horseback, or bicycle from Nogales, AZ to San Francisco, CA (National Park Service, 1996)."

ROLES OF THE NPS AND PARTNERS

The CMP includes a laundry list of responsibilities for the NPS, but the two most important overarching responsibilities are 1) "to promote the management and development of the entire trail as one integrated system; and 2) to define roles and responsibilities and develop effective partnerships between federal, state and local agencies, private landowners and other organizations supporting the trail (NPS, 1996)."

This broad language placed nearly every aspect of trail development within the purview of the NPS. The sole distinction being their lack of involvement in on-the-ground activities: providing the actual labor to physically construct, mark, and maintain the trail. However, federal partners, such as the NPS and BLM, would be expected to carry out on-the-ground activities within federal lands. In essence, the CMP established that the NPS would act primarily in a strategic role by guiding small-scale trail development projects toward the overall vision, by facilitating the efforts of local groups through monetary and technical assistance, and serve as the glue in the vast network of partners (National Park Service, 1996).

Volunteer groups were identified as the main entity to conduct physical trail building on non-federal lands. Their key tasks included raising funds for specific projects, mobilizing volunteers, constructing sections of trail, and emplacing trail markers and interpretive materials. These groups would then serve as the primary caretakers of specific segments of the trail for ongoing maintenance (NPS, 1996).

MODEL FOR PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT EFFORTS

The strategy for developing the recreational trail was first formally published in the 1996 CMP. The strategy established a process for building a continuous unified trail and carried forward two important components of the National Trails System Act: 1) High-potential trail segments⁵ must be identified during planning efforts, and 2) Trails that exist on state, local, or private lands can be brought into the system as side or connector trails (The United States Congress, 2009).

The plan called for trail continuity to be achieved by identifying existing trails on federal lands that aligned with the expedition's route and high-potential trail segments (these two categories are not necessarily mutually exclusive). High-potential segments were defined as having strong potential for interpretation and high quality recreation. These conditions would be met when a trail segment fell directly in the expedition's travel corridor, had outstanding scenic value, and a landscape similar to that encountered by the expedition.

Bringing high-potential trail segments into the system would be the focus of the initial volley of trail development efforts. These segments would eventually be joined by connector trails. Connector trails could parallel the historic travel route or link high potential trail segments through local and state trail systems. Connector trails, in essence, could be of lesser aesthetic quality. Unity would be achieved by a consistent marking and signage system established by the NPS (National Park Service, 1996). The basic quality control measure for trails brought into the system would be a certification standard, which is outlined in footnote one of Chapter One: Introduction.

Presently, 300 miles of the trail are certified, and the NPS continues to work with local agencies and trail advocates to identify and groom future trail segments for certification (Sheffield, 2010). A handful of

⁵ "Those segments of a trail which would afford high quality recreation experience in a portion of the route having greater than average scenic values or affording an opportunity to vicariously share the experience of the original users of a historic route (The United States Congress, 2009)."

geographic areas hold the overwhelming majority of certified trail segments. These areas are 1) the San Francisco Bay Area, 2) In and around San Luis Obispo from the town of Guadalupe to Paso Robles, 3) Along the California coast between Thousand Oaks and Isla Vista, 4) In and around Anza Borrego Desert State Park in Southern California, and 5) In southern Arizona between Nogales and Tucson. The remaining segments of the historic corridor have seen small bits of development (several miles or less) or none at all. Appendix G shows a high level view of the existing trail segments in California and Arizona.

APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW GUIDE

BUILDING A LONG DISTANCE TRAIL: A CASE STUDY OF THE JUAN BAUTISTA DE ANZA NATIONAL HISTORIC TRAIL

Introduction

Thank you for taking the time to participate in this interview. The interviews are being conducted as part of a research project which focuses on the best practices, challenges, and lessons learned in the development of the recreational segments of the Juan Bautista de Anza National Historic Trail. I expect the interview will last about 45 minutes.

Purpose

The research study has three objectives: (1) to determine the primary challenges faced by trail partners as they've tried to develop a continuous, unified recreational trail; (2) to determine the strategies and actions that have proven the most effective in addressing those challenges; (3) to make recommendations based on these findings for new national trails in the early stages of development.

I am seeking a variety of viewpoints in this research, including persons from federal agencies, state and municipal government, and private citizens involved with nongovernmental organizations. I believe that it is important to gather a range of perspectives, both big picture and on the ground.

Before we begin, I would like to review the informed consent form with you. Do you have any further questions before we begin?

INTRODUCTORY QUESTIONS

What is your involvement with the Anza trail and current job title? How long have you been involved with the Anza trail?

PARTNERSHIP RELATED

- 1. How has the **network of partners/your organizations relationship with the NPS** evolved during your work with the trail?
- 2. Developing the trail has been a multi-decade undertaking. What do you think has kept **nongovernmental partners/your organization** engaged in trail development efforts?
- 3. What challenges have you faced in working with **local/federal** partners for trail development efforts? What would you say is critical to maintaining a productive relationship with them?
- 4. Is there a group or person who has been particularly effective in advancing the vision for the trail? What makes them effective?
- 5. What communities have strongly embraced trail development efforts? What do you think are the primary reasons driving their support?
- 6. Do you think the national designation has produced tangible benefits for **partners/you**? Why or why not?

IMPLEMENTATION RELATED

- 7. As you've tried to bring **new trail segments/trail segments in your community** into the system, what aspects have been the most challenging for **partners/you?**
- 8. What resources or tools have proven to be the most effective in helping **local partners/you** to engage in **their/your** own trail development efforts? What issues led to the creation of these resources?
- 9. What key factors where present in sections of the Anza Trail that have been successfully developed, and how do these differ from sections of the trail which have not yet been developed?
- 10. What are some keys to success you have learned during your experience with the development of the trail that might help someone in your position on a new national trail? How would you advise them to prioritize their efforts in the early stages?

CLOSING

Finally, I would like to present a rating sheet to you. Please rate how important the following factors have been in the development of the Anza Trail, with a 10 being the most important, and a 0 being not important. Please limit a score of 10 to no more than three or four factors.

Are there any other topics or lessons you feel would be important to discuss before we conclude?

APPENDIX C: RATINGS SHEET & RESULTS

How important were the following in the development of the recreational segments of the Anza Trail:

(0= Not important, 5= Somewhat Important, 10= Very important. Please circle a number under each factor

)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Not im	portant	•	•	Som	ewhat impo	rtant	·	V	ery importa	nt
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effort	-		7	0		0-1				
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Not im	portant	l .	<u> </u>	Som	ewhat impo	rtant	II.		ery importa	nt
Organ	nizational	support								
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Organ	nizational	represent	tatives pe	rsonally o	ommitte	d to the vis	sion for th	e trail		
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
						_				
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techn	ical/finan		ance				T			T
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Suppo	ort from lo	cal comn	nunities							
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Flexib	ility in est	ablishing	the physi	cal path	of the rec	reational t	rail			
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
				1						

RATINGS SHEET RESULTS

Arranged most important to least important	Average Score
Support from local communities	9.3
Organizational representatives personally committed to the vision for the trail	8.9
Open and regular communication amongst stakeholders and partners	8.6
A shared vision amongst partners	8.5
The leadership and interpersonal skills of federal trail managers	8.3
Flexibility in establishing the physical path of the recreational trail	8.1
Organizational support	7.9
A mix of personalities, skillsets, and backgrounds amongst persons involved	6.9
Access to information	6.6
Adequate resources	6.4
Clearly defined roles and responsibilities amongst partners	6.1
Detailed written plans to guide actions	6.0
Clear and efficient processes for exchanging information	5.8
N=14	

APPENDIX D: CASE STUDY ANALYSIS

This section presents the key themes that emerged from ten discussion topics covered during the interview process. Many of these themes were introduced in the case history section, but are further developed here. Under each of the ten sections, the themes are generally arranged from most important to least important.

MOTIVATIONS FOR LONG TERM INVOLVEMENT

The primary motivations for long term involvement were local communities saw the Anza Trail as a way to enhance a community vision or goal, personal relationships, and personal passion. The trail's recreational value and potential economic benefits were also reasons for long term involvement. Nonprofit members also described important factors that had hampered their organization's long term involvement.

THE ANZA TRAIL ENHANCES A LOCAL TRAIL SYSTEM OR VISION

Five interviewees stated that communities stayed engaged in the development effort because the Anza Trail enhanced an existing trail system, or because the trail helped with the realization of a community driven vision. One county planner in California noted that the Anza Trail provided an existing trail with national significance and a powerful interpretive theme—meaning, the Anza story enhanced the educational and psychological experience of recreating on a local trail. A county planner in southern Arizona stated that the Anza story helped to accelerate a community vision for a regional trail system—where the Santa Cruz River would serve as a recreation corridor between both parks and municipalities.

PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS

Four interviewees said that their involvement or long term support for the Anza Trail was based largely on personal relationships. In the area around Oakland, California, dozens of miles of Anza Trail were created as a result of George Cardinet's relationship with employees from the East Bay Regional Parks District (EBRPD). One manager with the district remembered:

"I developed a close personal relationship with George because he was helping me raise my daughter. The trail became important to me as a result of this relationship, and as I rose into a position in this organization where I could have an impact, I decided to focus attention on the Anza Trail."

A federal employee in Arizona observed a similar dynamic, except between a trail supporter and a private landowner:

"The real reason there is trail on the ground in Santa Cruz County is because of personal relationships. You had Richard Williams out there selling the idea and he knew Roy Ross, a big landowner in county. Roy granted that first easement for the trail and everything snowballed from there. It would have never worked if the NPS was out there knocking on doors."

County agency employees stressed that one or a just a few committed private citizens could have a powerful impact when they had relationships with local officials and parks department staff. The two county planners worked in areas where the public was generally supportive of trails and parks. One parks manager in an area with many miles of Anza Trail observed:

"There was never a ground swell of public interest for the Anza Trail. In fact, I can count all the people who have ever called me about the Anza Trail on one hand."

PERSONAL PASSION

Six interviewees tied involvement in the trail development effort to a personal passion for the Anza story. Several long time trail supporters described themselves and others using phrases like "hard core history buff." Interviewees noted that Arizona had more intact cultural resources associated with Anza, which resulted in a larger group of supporters for the trail. Federal, county, and nonprofit supporters all acknowledged that history buffs made up the trail's core nucleus of support, but that the group was very limited in numeric size.

ECONOMIC AND RECREATIONAL BENEFITS

In Arizona, four interviewees mentioned that economic benefits were a driving reason for local support for the trail—both from landowners and county agencies. Some landowners and private developers viewed the trail as an amenity for increasing property values and the appeal of an area. Two interviewees, who worked for local agencies, said the trail was a way to stimulate heritage tourism and that the trail kept visitors in the area for longer periods. One government employee explained:

"You also have over half a million people who come down here annually for bird watching. The trail gets them out into the landscape, which keeps them here just a little bit longer. They consequently spend a bit more money."

Five interviewees attributed local support for the trail in part to its recreational value, especially for equestrian groups in California. Two federal employees noted that the recreational constituency was best expanded by allowing for multiple uses on the trail—including hiking, horseback riding, mountain biking, and ATVs. A nonprofit leader stressed that allowing for multiple uses increased the likelihood of conflict between trail users, but that user group conflict was a small price to pay when one considered the benefits of a larger constituency of supporters.

ISSUES WITH NONPROFITS THAT ARE HINDERING THEIR LONG TERM INVOLVEMENT

Without prompt, six interviewees discussed factors that hindered the long term involvement of friends groups in the trail development effort. Three interviewees discussed strain on the NPS-Amigos relationship as a result of different expectations over the role the Amigos would play in the trail development effort. Nancy DuPont, former director of the Amigos, stated:

"We really saw our role as education and awareness, and not as putting trail on the ground. That caused some big problems with the NPS after the 1996 re-enactment ride. They wanted us to expand out from the promotional role." Another volunteer described the same rift between the Amigos and the NPS. The volunteer noted that the NPS grew tired of investing in promotional events put on by the Amigos, but was still dependent of them for the same activities:

"The NPS lost interest in us because they didn't want to keep throwing money at events. That is understandable, but they still want us to do the big events like the Rose Bowl Parade. It's tough keep the organization strong when the agency just wants you once in a while."

Three interviewees discussed a lack of new members in the nonprofit support groups. One federal employee described an aging-in-place phenomenon. The employee stated that the original supporters for the trail became involved right at retirement, or very late in their professional careers, because that is often when people have sufficient time to do volunteer work. The employee noted that this was not a problem in and of itself, but that without an infusion of new members or youth, the friends groups and the larger Anza Trail effort would eventually dissolve. One volunteer observed the same phenomenon, and described George Cardinet's effort to build a youth riding group to draw in a younger group of supporters for the Trail:

"There are a whole lot of us old volunteers who will do whatever, but eventually we will pass on. So, if you don't get the kids to care, the vision dies. George Cardinet knew that to carry on the vision, you had to bring in kids, so he started the youth riding group within the Amigos."

THE CHALLENGES IN WORKING TOGETHER

The most challenging aspects of working together were different expectations between the Amigos and the NPS, a loss of momentum during the initial planning effort, no permanent NPS employees on the ground in Arizona, and a lack of incentives. Uncertainty involving the NPS agenda and fighting amongst trail support groups were also cited as challenges.

Different Expectations

Different expectations between the Amigos and the NPS were described by four interviewees as one of the single biggest issues that hindered the development effort in California. From the federal point of view, the Amigos did not materialize as an ideal partner because their focus was mainly organizing promotional events. The Amigos' expected high-profile promotional events to remain important to the NPS and the trail development effort as a whole. The Amigos also did not have a strong

base of support outside of the San Francisco Bay area. Nancy DuPont, former director of the Amigos, observed:

"I think we didn't fulfill the NPS idea of a lead partner because they didn't feel the whole trail corridor in California was being serviced by our organization. The NPS eventually pulled our seed money and left us largely on our own."

A Loss of Momentum

A loss of momentum during the initial planning process was cited as the origin of many problems by four interviewees. Two long time volunteers stated that lukewarm support from the NPS hurt the trail development effort from its very beginning. One federal employee described the key issues during the 1990s in more detail. The employee stated that much of the enthusiasm for the endeavor dissipated when the NPS took three years to complete the Comprehensive Management Plan. The inertia caused some volunteers to lose interest. Some of the important government representatives who participated in the early planning process also moved on before the trail could be incorporated into local planning documents. The first superintendent was also a part time employee. She had difficulty building new relationships to fill in the gaps because she was tasked with planning and management work for other park areas.

No Permanent NPS Employees on the Ground in Arizona

Three interviewees stated that the primary relationship challenge was no permanent NPS presence for the trail in Arizona. One county planner and one volunteer from Arizona noted that there was occasionally a seasonal NPS employee, but that a regular presence from the NPS was needed to make a difference. The county planner stressed the point:

"The NPS is all in San Francisco, 1,200 miles away! There is no one here. Occasionally, you get someone for a season, but that's just not long enough to have any meaningful impact. Once in a while the superintendent might visit, we talk, and then it's quiet again. It's like an absentee landlord."

The NPS employees were aware that they lacked a regular presence in many areas, and that this was a problem. One employee described how limited funding and staff made it difficult to see people face-to-face. The employee emphasized how it hurt volunteer morale:

"In many communities, there is just one or a couple of people who are really working to put trail on the ground. So, those people already feel like they are fighting a lonely fight and then they don't see us with any regularity."

A lack of incentives to encourage others to participate was a major challenge referenced by three interviewees. A federal employee stated that local agencies and municipalities have their own set of priorities and concerns. The NPS had few "carrots" to encourage local agency participation, and therefore, the trail was a low priority amongst a larger set of local concerns.

Local Agencies are Unsure of the NPS Agenda

Three government agency interviewees stated that they were unsure of the NPS's agenda and priorities for the trail. A county planner in California said their agency could better direct its own resources if it had a clearer sense of the NPS's priorities. A county planner in Arizona made a similar point, but in a much more pointed manner:

"What is the NPS's agenda? I don't have a clue. The NPS budget seems to be almost entirely for staff in an office. If that's all the money you have, then you need to make those staff as effective as possible and spread them out." A federal employee in Arizona elaborated on local frustrations caused by lack of information and hot-then-cold internal support from within the NPS:

"People get really frustrated when the agency appears so uncertain about what it provides and what it's trying to do. "Where is the corridor?" "How do I get this certified?" "What does certification get me?" People get upset when they get wishy-washy responses from the NPS about these key issues."

fighting amongst trail support groups

Fighting amongst trail support groups was described as a problem, but not a show stopper by four interviewees. The interviewees pointed out that the groups continued to function and make progress. But, the in-fighting meant a series of silo efforts, with no one directing and coordinating the development effort on a trail-wide scale. Three Amigos members described problems between the Amigos and the ATCA. They described how George Cardinet and Richard Williams fought with each

other over how the trail would be administered and how financial resources would be allocated. Both men were described as very passionate about their ideas and unwilling to compromise. The interviewees typically concluded discussion of the topic by emphasizing a point made by a federal employee:

"There were some really strong type-A personalities and a lot of passion on both sides. Those strong personalities made figures like George and Richard effective on their home turf, but they couldn't come together as allies." The ATCA also had internal disputes. Two ATCA volunteers attributed the internal disputes to how funding support was distributed amongst counties in Arizona, and also to personality conflicts. These disagreements caused the sudden withdrawal of several prominent volunteers from the ATCA.

KEY INGREDIENTS FOR A PRODUCTIVE RELATIONSHIP

The key ingredients of a productive relationship were connecting the Anza Trail vision to community goals, a sense of empowerment amongst local supporters, constant two-way communication, and the expression of appreciation and recognition.

Connect the Anza Trail vision to community goals

Three interviewees repeatedly emphasized that the centerpiece of a productive relationship with a community was a clear connection between the Anza Trail vision and a community's internal goals. Linking the Anza Trail vision to a community's internal goals meant that the mutual interests of two parties—trail supporters and community members—could be advanced simultaneously. One federal employee stressed that it takes great interpersonal skills to communicate the link in a concise and compelling way. Making the link also required some homework. One volunteer in Arizona described her review of the Town of Gila Bend's policy documents to identify a link between the town's goals and the Anza Trail vision. The volunteer found the town wanted to market itself as the crossroads of the southwest. The volunteer gained an audience with town officials, and catered to the town's crossroads image by pitching:

"Anza's expedition is a huge part of our national heritage, and they traveled through the Gila Bend area during the journey. This obviously builds the idea that the town is an important crossroads in the region."

Local supporters need to feel empowered

Four interviewees stated that in order to have a productive relationship, supporters on the ground need to feel like the larger federal agencies are taking meaningful actions to "empower them." A federal employee stressed that the NPS needs to be perceived as an enabler, not an obstacle. A county planner echoed this point:

"When we hear from the NPS, we want to know what they are doing to make things easier for us, not harder."

Two interviewees said that funding support was the main resource local groups sought out for "empowerment." One federal employee noted that funding could be a very contentious issue because of agency reporting and accountability standards. These standards are important and non-negotiable, but can often be a source of conflict. One federal employee summarized the issue:

"The local groups say, "just give it to us." And you have to say, what is it? Where is it? Accountability is not really part of the lexicon. They just want it yesterday and when you probe to find out exactly what they need, you come across as condescending. They say we just put up hurdles."

Constant two-way communication

Constant two-way communication was cited as important by five interviewees. Interviewees from a mix of backgrounds and positions said that frequent communication was needed to sustain authentic relationships. Face-to-face interaction with federal employees was obviously stressed as more impactful than a phone call. Two federal employees described how they tried to check in with the prominent supporters and volunteers regularly to keep up morale.

Interviewees from local agencies also emphasized the importance of frequent communication. They wanted to hear specifics—namely, information related to the NPS's priorities, technical information concerning certification, and what federal resources were available for their local efforts.

An experienced federal employee stressed that NPS resources and the benefits of the trail often fell well short of the expectations held by local agencies. The employee explained:

"You have to be conscious of how a local guy might view a federal agency as this huge entity with an over-abundance of resources. Communication with new supporters needs to be carefully managed to avoid creating pie-in-the-sky expectations about NPS capabilities and trail benefits."

Appreciation and recognition

Volunteers and federal interviewees said that expressing appreciation and recognition were two essential elements needed to sustain a relationship. As one example, a federal employee stated they were using the trail newsletter to highlight the accomplishments of volunteers. Private volunteers tended to emphasize NPS attendance at community events, small gifts like trail logos and t-shirts, and signed certificates of appreciation as meaningful.

THE MOST EFFECTIVE PARTICIPANTS IN THE TRAIL DEVELOPMENT EFFORT

George Cardinet was the most important person in the early stages of the trail development effort. In Arizona, Richard Williams and the ATCA were referenced as the most effective persons. NPS superintendents were described as important "enablers."

GEORGE CARDINET

Ten interviewees named George Cardinet as the most important person in the early stages of the effort, namely for qualities associated with executive leaders. A federal employee described George as the original "visionary," and went onto say that a "visionary" is the magic ingredient in any such effort. A county planner described George as a "giant." Two Amigos members remembered that the vision for a recreation trail was purely a result of George:

"George really wanted the recreational trail. He pounded on congress and the NPS about it. Everyone originally saw this trail like most other historic trails: just as concepts, an auto-touring route linking together historic sites. George wanted this to be a real trail on the ground and he succeeded."

George was described as skilled in building relationships, both professional and personal. He built up social and political networks during a business career and as an advocate for other long distance trails. Three interviewees stressed that George had a real knack for building relationships. One Amigos member remembered George's advice about making friends for the trail:

"George used to tell me: make them a partner to this. He meant that I needed to find a way to make what we wanted good for them. George had this way of communicating with people that really made them feel like they were a part of the vision."

Interviewees also characterized George as passionate and driven. He was completely dedicated to the vision for the trail and aggressive when pushing his agenda. He had the time and money to cover lots of ground campaigning. He used his personal wealth to fund trips all over California, Arizona, and Mexico to build up support and participate in planning processes. In doing so, he set a pace and an expectation that other volunteers found difficult to keep up with. Three interviewees stated that George's drive and passion were important for making progress, but that these same "bulldog" qualities made him hard to work with.

Three interviewees stated that George's unique personality, skills, and wealth made him irreplaceable as the champion for the trail. He eventually withdrew from the effort due to his age—he was 87 when the planning process was completed in 1996. The three interviewees emphasized that the trail effort in California lost steam and that the Amigos struggled in his absence. George was replaced by Nancy DuPont. Nancy also viewed the Amigos as a promotional organization, and not as a trail building entity. One close friend of George summarized the current state of the effort in California:

"There is no George now! And I would point out that the take-away is one truly committed and effective citizen advocate can have a greater impact on a project like this than a 100 bureaucrats like me. I would think that with any other proposed trail, people like George are what you need."

THE ANZA TRAIL COALITION OF ARIZONA

Eight interviewees stated that the Anza Trail Coalition of Arizona was the most important organization advancing the vision for the trail, and that they continue to remain effective.

Four interviewees cited Richard Williams, first President of the ATCA, as the single most important person within the ATCA. Descriptions of Richard closely mirrored those of George Cardinet. Richard's was described by other volunteers as a "strong leader, passionate and driven." He also brought important organizational and management skills to the trail building effort in Arizona. These skills were acquired during a long career with Arizona State Parks. One federal employee noted that "Richard thought systematically and jurisdictionally about the trail." Richard set up a county director system within the ATCA to orchestrate trail building on a statewide basis. He also had a strong political and social network as a result of his professional career and his personal passion for history. He used his social network to fill key positions within the ATCA, and his political network to generate local agency support for the trail. Richard lived in Santa Cruz County, and his relationship with Roy Ross—a landowner in the county—was described as the key ingredient in the creation of the first trail segment in Arizona.

THE ANZA TRAIL COALITION WAS EFFECTIVE AS AN ORGANIZATION

The ATCA was described as an effective organization for a number of reasons beyond Richard Williams. Like George, Richard became involved in the trail effort late in his life. When Richard eventually withdrew from the effort, he was replaced by Karol Stubbs. Three interviewees stated that Karol shared Richard's passion for actually putting trail on the ground. She continues to play the lead role in negotiating trail easements with landowners, and mobilizing volunteers for shovel work. She was also described by persons inside and outside the ATCA as a "strong personality and a directive leader, but very difficult to work with."

A county director structure also helped to make the ATCA effective. County directors had to formulate an action plan for putting trail on the ground, and they were actual residents of their respective county—meaning they were part of the fabric of the community. Four interviewees stressed the importance of having a local face sell the trail idea, especially in Arizona.

A federal employee stressed that "everyone has their geographic limits of where they can be effective." Two volunteers stated that Richard and Karol focused almost exclusively on Santa Cruz County, and they depended on their county directors to make progress in other areas. In some areas, a robust network of supporters never materialized, but the ATCA continued to make progress by having a passionate person on the ground to connect to local agencies and other trail support groups. Pima County, Arizona has invested over \$2 million dollars in the Anza Trail. A Pima County employee stated that the Anza Trail remained a priority in large part because of the local ATCA representative:

"Don Kucera has really done a lot. He just stays on the ball, checking in with me, pressing me. He keeps things on my radar screen. He also makes me aware of people's needs and interests in terms of trail amenities."

The ATCA could also mobilize sufficient volunteers for key trail development activities. Two interviewees stated that mobilizing a few dozen people for physical trail building was the fun, easy part. A federal employee in Arizona explained:

"Think about it from a volunteer's perspective. Volunteers want to do the shovel work: they want to build trail, restore the trail, clear brush, get their hands dirty. That's what gets people excited."

Two long time volunteers expressed that attending county supervisor meetings and public hearings were critical activities that came before anyone could do the fun stuff. These activities, they explained, were much more tedious. At the same time, public processes required fewer people than shovel work, so the lead ATCA representatives typically carried out such duties. One volunteer remembered how just one ATCA representative made an impact in Pinal County:

"It can be very dull participating in public processes, but that's what you have to do to get on the radar. In Pinal County, we had a one person show, it was just one woman. But she pressed hard and kept plugging away with the county supervisors. She eventually got a \$15K grant for the trail."

ATCA members were also described as capable of carrying out some of the more technical aspects of trail development. Karol Stubbs was described as effective because she had successfully negotiated easements with landowners for the trail. This required salesmanship, an ability to compromise, and discussion of the technical aspects of liability and other legal issues.

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE SUPERINTENDENTS ARE IMPORTANT ENABLERS

Five interviewees stated that the NPS superintendents had played an important role in the development effort. NPS superintendents were cited as important mainly in an "enabler" role. Two interviewees described how the superintendents were "accessible." A county planner stressed that the superintendents went to "great lengths to be available." Another county planner described NPS superintendents as a source of "best practices." They shared information on what other communities were doing concerning trail development—what materials they were providing, what was working, and what was not. This helped local agencies to better direct their own resources.

A parks manager in Arizona described how the NPS superintendents were important for mitigating disputes amongst trail supporters and for ensuring that someone was looking at the big picture. Local volunteers, explained the manager, could not be expected to coordinate trail development efforts outside their own communities. Two interviewees named the current superintendent as effective for her willingness to modify the overall strategy. One federal employee described the superintendent's efforts to connect to new audiences, including young Hispanics and Latinos. A volunteer applauded the superintendent's willingness to try new electronic mediums for outreach and promotion.

THE REASONS COMMUNITIES AND NON-FEDERAL AGENCIES HAVE BEEN SUPPORTIVE

Communities and local agencies tended to be most supportive when there was a match between the Anza Trail vision and a community goal, when there was a history of cooperation between the NPS and local agencies, and grassroots support for the trail. The socioeconomic characteristics of a community and the presence of intact cultural resources were also relevant factors in local support.

MATCH WITH LOCAL PLANS, BROADENING OF AN EXISTING RELATIONSHIP

Four interviewees stated that communities were supportive when the Anza Trail corridor aligned with local trail building projects. One prominent example was in the Paso Robles area of California, where the community wanted to build a local trail along a river. The Anza corridor fell along the river as well. The river, the local community project, and the Anza Trail all fell along the same path. The community mobilized around multiple benefits and the Anza Trail was completed.

Santa Clara County saw the Anza Trail as a way to further a regional vision for a park system connected by trails. A county planner explained:

"There is a strong vision in this county for a regional trail system. The Anza trail aligns with our vision and has helped to accelerate support for this idea of a string of pearls, meaning we wanted to use trails to link our county and municipal parks."

In other areas, the proposed Anza Trail did not align perfectly with an existing trail system, so the proposed route of the Anza Trail was moved to fit in with a local plan. In the eastern part of the San Francisco Bay, the original route of the Anza expedition had been obliterated by urban development. The Trail Superintendent worked with Jim Townsend, EBRPD's Trail Development Manager, to identify an alignment with the Park District's master plan. Jim explained:

"The NPS superintendent pulled out his historic maps and we compared them with our master plan map. We have been building a ridgeline trail above the urban area in the east bay. We decided that it would be most feasible to incorporate the Anza Trail into our ridgeline trail."

Three county planners highlighted that their local governments had a history of cooperation with the NPS and that the history of cooperation was an important factor in their adoption of the Anza Trail. Each of the three counties had other national park sites within their geographic boundaries and personal and professional relationships had developed during joint projects involving the other park sites.

GRASSROOTS SUPPORT OR LOCAL CHAMPIONS

Four interviewees from Arizona stated the importance of grassroots support or local champions for the Anza Trail. The interviewees stated that the ATCA had a strong influence because their members were tenacious, passionate, and members of the community.

A volunteer from Monterrey County in California stated that a committed group of local advocates was critical. He had encountered extensive resistance to the trail from farmers and ranchers along the Salinas River. The vocal resistance slowed down the effort in his area, but he eventually succeeded because he kept plugging away.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE COMMUNITY, AND URBAN VERSUS RURAL

Four interviewees explained that urban and rural areas had different dynamics, and that people's motivations changed according to socio-economic characteristics. In essence, rich areas saw amenity value in the trail, while poorer areas saw economic value. One federal employee attributed progress in affluent urban and suburban areas, such as San Francisco, Santa Clara, and San Luis Obispo County, to a desire amongst wealthier people to preserve open space. The employee also stated that affluent communities in California had contingents of people who were escaping from the unchecked urban development of places like Los Angeles. In effect, the sprawling population centers increased some people's desire for the establishment of parks and preservation of open space in outlying areas.

Interviewees mentioned that low income rural areas in California had generally been highly resistant to trail development efforts, especially where agriculture was the dominant land use pattern. One county planner in Southern Arizona—where the county has an average income well below the state average—attributed trail support in part to a desire to improve economic conditions within the community by generating cultural tourism.

INTACT HISTORIC RESOURCES

Three interviewees felt that communities with intact historical and cultural resources tended to have much higher levels of popular support for the Anza Trail. They explained that such resources served as tangible attractions to draw people's interest and connect them to the story. This resulted in much higher levels of awareness of the Anza expedition. Two of the interviewees were from southern Arizona, and they noted that the Tubac Presidio was the most visible and prominent resource.

THE BENEFITS AND NEGATIVE IMPACTS OF THE TRAIL'S NATIONAL STATUS

The primary benefits of involvement with the Anza Trail were increased opportunities for funding and grants, prestige, and personal satisfaction. The negative impacts of the trail's national status were fiercer local resistance and confusion over what the national designation would bring.

INCREASED OPPORTUNITIES FOR FUNDING AND GRANTS

Three federal employees stated the most helpful aspect of the national designation was that it provided direct access to NPS funds, such as the challenge cost share program. The designation also gave communities and support groups an edge when competing for other federal and state grants. The federal staff provided local supporters with letters of recommendation when they applied for funding outside the NPS. One NPS employee noted that they had no specific metrics for measuring economic impacts related to the trail.

PRESTIGE AND SYMBOLIC VALUE

Three county government employees felt that the trail's national status came with prestige, which improved the community's image and generated additional popular support for their local trails

plan. One federal employee in Arizona stated the designation improved the image of a community that had a reputation as crime-ridden:

"The mayor has a big image issue down there. People think, oh my god, I'm not going there, I'll get shot. The trail is something positive they can talk about. I think that helps with local pride."

PERSONAL BENEFIT

Three interviewees found it difficult to describe any material benefits, but felt their involvement with the trail had a positive impact on their lives. Two interviewees described networking opportunities and a chance to expand their skillsets. Jim Townsend, with the EBRPD, experienced a more profound personal impact:

"It has been a fabulous experience for my daughter growing up, being involved with George and Nancy and the Amigos, and participating in events like the Rose Bowl Parade. Those things were defining experiences for my child. It kept her out of the malls and out of trouble."

NEGATIVE IMPACT- GENERATES FIERCER LOCAL RESISTANCE AND COUNTER PRODUCTIVE

One federal and two county interviewees stated that the national status generated even more fierce resistance to trail projects. The issue was described as especially problematic in Arizona. According to one Pima County planner:

"People get really touchy about the feds out here. You say NPS to some people and they start talking about black helicopters in the night and tell you to leave. I am not kidding. That's not the norm, but it's real."

Two interviewees in California stated that people assumed the national designation would bring a flood of people into the area, which would generate liability and privacy issues. A volunteer explained:

"I was surprised at how many people were just outright hostile to our efforts. You just have lots of private landowners who get really bent out of shape over the whole Disneyland assumption that comes with the national designation. They think people are going to be running wild all over their property. "

Three interviewees felt that the national status was confusing or counter-productive. One federal employee noted that the national designation should only be used to recognize a completed trail, not a concept. The employee pointed out that the membership in nonprofit support groups tends to dissipate after the national designation because people mistakenly think the federal agencies will carry out the "heavy lifting" for trail development. Another federal employee urged great caution with the use of the designation. The employee believed that many people assume the national designation will automatically produce a stream of tourists and extensive agency support. Unfortunately, that was rarely the case. One parks manager in California stated his agency had seen little or no positive impact from the trail:

"Financially we have put much more into this trail than we had gotten out of it."

THE MOST CHALLENGING ASPECTS OF IMPLEMENTATION

The most challenging aspects of implementation were convincing people to adopt the vision at the local level, NIMBYism, and obtaining organizational commitments.

THE MOST CHALLENGING ASPECT- CONVINCING PEOPLE TO PARTICIPATE AT THE LOCAL LEVEL

Eight interviewees stated that the most challenging aspect of developing the trail had been convincing people to adopt the trail at the local level. Difficulty finding new local adopters was attributed to the lack of benefits, lack of a local champion, and a vision and story that are difficult to communicate.

Three local government employees stated there were no local benefits from investing time and resources to "certify" a trail segment. One parks manager in California argued:

"The certification issue has nothing to do with anything I do. This is an NPS priority and I have never had someone clearly articulate why it should be a priority for us. Why should I expend scarce resources on certifying something for the NPS?"

A county planner in Arizona also saw no value in certifying trail segments, and stated that the NPS should be taking the responsibility for certification:

"I think there is a big disconnect between the NPS goals and their means. The whole certification thing, it's like what are we getting? I think the NPS should be doing that for us. If the NPS doesn't have people on the ground and some money to throw at the local guy, then certification is just not going to be relevant."

Three interviewees stated that finding local champions for the trail had been difficult. Interviewees explained that the local champions were needed for grassroots organizing, applying pressure on local decision makers, and to "bird dog" county agencies—keep the trail agenda on an agency's radar. One volunteer observed that trail supporters could not typically come in from another geographic area and convince local officials to adopt the trail. Another volunteer also drew a fine distinction between short term volunteers and people willing to act as long term champions:

"It's easy to drum up volunteers for a few hours. But, finding volunteers and finding leaders, those are two different stories. I have not found anyone yet to really be the local champion in Gila Bend, and that's made progress difficult."

Federal employees and volunteers also felt that communicating the trail vision and Anza's story were difficult to do in a concise and convincing manner. This was a major hindrance in attracting new people to the effort. A federal employee stated that in order to successfully recruit volunteers, one should develop a convincing 30 second pitch about what the trail is and why people should get involved. The trail concept and Anza's story did not lend themselves to quick "elevator pitches." The employee explained:

"Introducing the trail as a story to people is not a quick conversation. Then, you roll out the map and say, here's the historic corridor, here's the recreation trail and here's the auto-touring route. They don't all align, are you confused yet? There's just a lot of head scratching moments when I talk to new people."

THE MOST CHALLENGING ASPECT- DEALING WITH NIMBYISM

A "Not In My Back Yard" (NIMBY) attitude amongst local residents was cited as a major challenge by five interviewees. Interviewees stated that NIMBYism could only be overcome when private citizens within the community were selling the trail idea.

The driving factors behind the NIMBY attitude tended to vary according to location and community characteristics. One county planner in an affluent California community stated that wealthy residents stopped trail development efforts cold because they were concerned the trail's national status would bring in a flood of "outsiders and invaders," resulting in crime, trash, and loss of privacy. NIMBYism in rural communities in California and Arizona was attributed more to a general distrust of the federal government. Distrust in federal agencies was especially pronounced in Arizona, one federal employee in the state explained:

"You have folks that are just outright resistant to the federal government. You have this five-generations-on-the land phenomenon, which somehow gives a landowner god-like status. I could never go into Santa Cruz County, especially in uniform, and talk about trails. It would be like a taking."

Interviewees in Arizona also pointed out that landowner concerns stemmed from the trafficking of people and drugs across the US-Mexico border. They explained that the trail was used in some areas as a route for illegal activities, and stories of migrants and smugglers using the Anza Trail were common. The two interviewees also noted that federally recognized tribes were not interested in the trail because of mistrust of outsiders and a story that did not resonate with the tribal culture.

OBTAINING ORGANIZATIONAL COMMITMENTS HAS BEEN SOMEWHAT DIFFICULT

Four interviewees explained that it was difficult to convince counties and municipalities to incorporate the trail into their local plans and policy documents. Getting the trail reflected in local documents was necessary if long term commitment from an agency was to be expected, and for warding off threats to the trail corridor from urban development, power projects, and transmission lines. Two interviewees stated that it was often easy to find individuals within local agencies who were supportive of the trail as an idea, but getting the trail reflected in plans and official documents was much more challenging. Two volunteers stated that it was easy to get "pushed around" by competing interests when the exact route of the recreation trail was not mapped in local plans.

THE MOST USEFUL RESOURCES OR TOOLS FOR IMPLEMENTATION

Web-based communication and mapping tools, self-serve resources, printed promotional materials, seed money and technical support were cited as the most helpful tools.

WEB-BASED COMMUNICATION AND MAPPING TOOLS

Five interviewees stated that internet-based communication and mapping tools were very helpful because they improved efficiency, information availability, and day to day communication with supporters. These tools also reduced shipping expenses for the NPS. Two federal employees discussed how they were using the trail website to post self-serve information for interpretive materials and trail planning. One county planner in California stated that the NPS website was very useful, but she wanted links for each county website on the central NPS website. One federal employee worked with a private firm to develop the mapcollaborator program for the trail. The new program has an interface resembling Google maps, and allows trail supporters to upload information and pictures to certify new trail segments. The new program was also expected to reduce NPS travel expenses.

SELF-SERVE RESOURCES AND PRINTED PROMOTIONAL MATERIALS

Three county government interviewees answered that self-serve, web-based resources were valuable. The interviewees liked graphics, pictures, and text that they could modify for their own materials. Two interviewees also stated that they were using the exact materials, such as interpretive brochures, that the NPS produces. Additional discussion showed that the bigger local agencies were more likely to want materials they could modify—because they had their own back office support. Smaller agencies were using the exact NPS materials because they had less back office capacity for creating their own.

Two long time volunteers responded that visually captivating printed materials, such as trail brochures, were the most useful tool for their promotion efforts. One 12-year volunteer from Arizona explained:

"The Anza trail is definitely not well known, so I have little credibility when I walk into a town hall or a congressional office to promote the trail. You need those slick, professional materials to be taken seriously. When the brochures look good, you can at least get someone's initial attention."

SEED MONEY AND TECHNICAL SUPPORT

Three interviewees responded that NPS project seed-money was useful. One county park manager in California noted that \$10,000 of NPS seed-money raised the overall priority of an Anza Trail project for his agency, and that his agency ended up spending over four times that amount on the project.

Three interviewees cited technical support from the NPS as helpful. One interview noted that NPS support during the development of a landowner guide had been extremely valuable in southern Arizona, where nonprofit leaders were negotiating for trail easements with private landowners. Two interviewees mentioned NPS-facilitated training involving planning and nonprofit management.

KEY TO SUCCESS DURING IMPLEMENTATION

FIND THE PATH OF LEAST RESISTANCE

Federal employees attributed progress to their strategy of "finding the path of least resistance," and to their focus on building relationships with large land management agencies. Two federal employees said the path of least resistance was where a large government agency managed an existing or proposed trail. The employees felt that such conditions meant little work would be needed to certify a segment, and that the agency would need little help from the NPS in the on-going maintenance of the trail. Building relationships with large agencies also meant the highest return on investment—as measured through the time and resources needed to produce a certain amount of certified trail. In general, the trail managers had avoided focusing on areas with extensive private ownership. They reasoned that the resource commitment needed in those areas was beyond their means.

A federal employee stated that the biggest benefit of "a path of least resistance" strategy was that it built momentum and morale by quickly bringing in scenic segments of trail, and this approach made the trail something real. Not a single mile of the Anza Trail existed when it received its national designation. This meant that the trail was not yet a tangible thing, and that it was more difficult to entice new people to participate. But, once trail was actually put on the ground in federally managed lands, the trail supporters could point to those segments as success stories and attract people to something more tangible. The employee explained:

"When we are trying to generate support for the trail, people ask, "where is it?" You need to be able to give them a good answer. People need something they can see and experience, and it's always better when the views and surrounding landscape are of a high quality. That's what gets people excited. People want to get behind that kind of trail. No one endears themselves to a line on a map."

CONNECT TO COMMUNITIES

Four interviewees attributed progress to the alignment of the Anza Trail with local priorities and visions. Further discussion of this idea also indicated a need to be flexible with the proposed route of the Anza Trail. Essentially, Anza Trail supporters were willing to move the proposed Anza Trail corridor to make it fit in with existing and proposed local trails. This created "a perfect match" between local community projects and the Anza Trail agenda. When one county employee was asked why they had so many miles of Anza Trail, he replied:

"We aligned the Anza Trail with our own network of trails, plain and simple. It's a match in priorities really. George Cardinet wanted everything to be perfect and 100% historically accurate. I am a bit more practical. The benefit to the public and the memory of Anza is better served by completing something, as opposed to nothing."

Interviewees also discussed the importance of connecting to other advocacy groups within a community—such as support groups for other trails and park lands, and environmental conservation groups. These groups were referred to as a "built-in-constituency" for trails. Tapping into a built-in-constituency allowed Anza Trail supporters to find local champions and to generate more widespread support for their idea. Two interviewees in Arizona discussed Pima County as an example of connecting to a built-in-constituency, where the ATCA connected to existing hiking groups concerned about the impact of urban development on the surrounding recreation areas.

Four interviewees described progress in rural areas as challenging. Both federal employees and volunteers stated they had encountered fierce resistance from agricultural and ranching interests. Interviewees also attributed minimal progress in rural areas to the fact that negotiations for trail development had to progress one landowner at a time. Two interviewees in Arizona attributed a lack of success in Pinal, Maricopa, and Yuma counties mainly to harsh environmental conditions. They explained that progress in these counties was hindered by barren desert, few population centers near the Anza corridor, and high levels of perceived danger because of illegal trafficking across the US-Mexico border.

LOCAL PARTNERSHIPS

Six interviewees stressed that implementation efforts—involving building new trail from scratch—were the most successful when there was a partnership between a local support group and a local agency within a community. Each of the five interviewees described a similar picture of how private citizens and local agencies work together.

The local support group acts as the trail champion. They promote the trail at public events, participate in public processes, build relationships with influential people, and mobilize volunteers for trail building projects. The local agency representatives cannot openly advocate for the trail, but they support the effort in other important ways. Agency representatives know how to access local government funding support, and they are the most familiar with plans concerning urban development and park lands for an area. They have expertise—such as acquiring easements and surveying—that support groups may not sufficiently possess. The government representatives also act as the eyes and ears for the private supporters by informing them of potential threats to the trail, such as a new master planned community or transmission line. Two governmental representatives focused on the "how to" of generating agency interest. They emphasized that only a few key allies were needed to create agency support. A county planner in Arizona explained:

"Wholesale buy in from the agency is not needed. You need to focus on connecting to a decision-maker who is likely to be sympathetic to your cause—a parks director, a community development person, someone in environmental conservation. Build up a relationship with them and agency support will work itself out."

Four interviewees described Santa Cruz County, on the US-Mexico border in Southern Arizona, to emphasize an ideal partnership between a trail support group and a local agency. The trail corridor in the county was almost entirely in private ownership, meaning the ATCA had to negotiate with landowners for easements and mobilize large numbers of volunteers for trail building and maintenance. Richard Williams, first president of the ATCA, was a resident of the county and he had political and social connections throughout the area. Richard played the lead role in negotiating easements with private landowners. He used his social connections to mobilize volunteers for shovel work.

Santa Cruz County supported the ATCA and the Anza Trail for two main reasons. First, the county viewed the trail building effort as an economic development tool for the area. It was an amenity for local residents and a way to generate cultural tourism. Second, the county's community development director was a history buff and had a personal interest in the Anza story. The county has consequently supported the Anza Trail building effort in several ways: they conduct surveys for easements, legally hold the trail easements on behalf of the ATCA, and by providing funding and equipment for trail projects.

LESSONS LEARNED- PLANNING AND IMPLEMENTATION

The lessons that follow are organized according to three themes: strategy, nonprofit capacity, and connecting to communities.

STRATEGY

Three interviewees stressed that the trail vision should be defined by private citizens and local agencies. A mix of private citizens and governmental representatives infused local knowledge and technical expertise into the planning process. Most importantly, it created a sense of ownership amongst the participants. This sense of ownership would be the foundation of long term commitment.

Interviewees also emphasized the importance of keeping things simple. An interviewee said that the vision produced by the planning effort should be concise and easy to communicate. Communication with new supporters was much easier when the vision could be guickly explained and shown on a map.

A federal employee stated that the most important part of keeping it simple was the certification process. The NPS has streamlined, and become more lenient with certification criteria. Today, a segment can be certified if it exists on the ground and is marked as part of the Anza Trail. Certification can now be done digitally, which reduces costs and increases information availability for

local supporters. Federal employees noted that quality control was important to protect the national brand, but they have generally been flexible about what comes into the system. One employee said:

If you want to be successful, you have to be an opportunist. The 1996 comprehensive plan established objective criteria for quality control. But, if there is a great deal of community support and pride in a particular trail, we are absolutely willing to bring it into the system. We don't knit pick over aesthetic shortcomings."

Federal employees also stressed that trail projects should connect to key agency objectives. Internal support from the NPS could not be automatically assumed. Connecting trail projects to key agency objectives would ensure greater funding support from the NPS. The Anza Trail Ambassadors Program—where high school aged kids in Nogales, Arizona are designing and carrying out Anza Trail projects—received a great deal of funding support because it matched key agency objective from the "NPS Call to Action." The two "call to action" objectives the project advanced were connecting to youth and connecting to nontraditional audiences like Hispanics. One federal employee stated that it took ten years of working for the NPS to learn how to make these links in a compelling way. She explained:

"I didn't know much for the first ten years I worked for the NPS. Eventually, I realized: to get money, you have to think about the interests of the agency, and then clearly articulate how your project or your partner's projects will advance the interests of the agency."

Six interviewees discussed the importance of building and maintaining momentum with small, quantified goals. Arizona supporters provided an example when they established the goal of creating 24 miles of trail in Santa Cruz County by the 2012 Arizona Bi-Centennial. Interviewees explained that small goals were easy to operationalize into a sequence of steps and "bite size" tasks. Creating targets kept everyone focused. When those targets were met, the success could be celebrated and broadcasted—this kept morale high and drew in new people.

Conversely, interviewees identified "inaction" as highly detrimental to the trail building effort. Inaction was a big problem when the comprehensive plan was being completed. The initial mapping effort was described by one participant as a great success because relationships were built amongst trail supporters from federal agencies, local agencies, and nonprofit groups. A federal employee highlighted that many of the same relationships dissolved during the inertia that followed the mapping effort. The first superintendent explained that she struggled to complete the plan because she was the only employee assigned to the trail, and she was working part-time. She noted that the preparation of the environmental impact statement was difficult and resource intensive, and should not have fallen to one person. The environmental impact statement was particularly difficult because of the length of the trail and the different environments that it passed through. The NPS review and approval process was also drawn out.

CAPACITY OF THE NONPROFITS

Five nonprofit volunteers emphasized the important role of friends groups, and what such groups should be capable of doing. Two volunteers, with over 30 years of involvement in the Anza Trail, stated that the single most important activity for the friends group is to raise a constituency for the trail. In areas where group members resided, they could serve directly as local champions by spearheading trail building efforts. In areas without members, they would seek out local champions by connecting to other recreation and environmental support groups.

Volunteers also emphasized that in-fighting amongst supporters was highly likely because people were passionate about the cause and because financial resources were limited. They stated that NPS leadership was needed to resolve conflicts and to ensure the volunteer relationships remained productive. When consensus could not be created amongst different support groups, the NPS staff assumed a greater responsibility for ensuring that small-scale, silo efforts could be eventually be linked together.

CONNECTING TO COMMUNITIES AND SUPPORTERS

Seven interviewees discussed the importance of the "value proposition" or sales pitch. Widespread interest in their cause was not the norm, and many found it difficult to draw in new supporters. The value proposition was important for recruiting new volunteers, and for convincing local agencies to support the effort. Interviewees stressed that the value proposition should be concise, compelling, and customized to the unique interests of a particular community. Federal employees noted that being concise was important because people are constantly bombarded with advocacy and competing priorities. One federal employee explained:

"We are all selling a bale of goods. People will always have their own fires right in front of them, so they are thinking: why should I care about this? Remember this: You have three sentences to get someone's attention."

A 12-year volunteer in Arizona noted that, in order to be compelling, one had to find an emotional connection to potential supporters. Finding an emotional connection, she explained, often meant going beyond the story itself. She reasoned that people connect to the trail for different reasons. In some cases, the story plays only a marginal role in someone's motivation. She explained:

"It's like sales, you have to find something people can connect to. I've learned that selling the story is not enough. There is the story, then there's the recreational side and the economic side. You need to focus on the most compelling aspects of these different angles."

Customizing the value proposition meant accounting for the characteristics of the community, and tailoring "the pitch" to match community needs. A federal employee observed:

"For the poorer counties, like Santa Cruz, trail development is more about economic development, and those are the messages that people tend to respond to. In the wealthier counties, it's usually about preserving open space."

Three interviewees, with nearly 30 years of combined experience in trail building, stated that personal relationships were the key to success. They explained that first and foremost, the personal relationships needed to be authentic. One had to "get to know the dog's name," and know whether "the son was a football star." A federal employee noted that authentic relationships were important because the psychological nuance driving someone's involvement is usually complex. A solid personal relationship allowed one to focus communication on messages more likely to strike an emotional cord. A volunteer explained that turnover amongst federal staff and prominent volunteers also created setbacks—because personal relationships built previously were not automatically continued.

Relationships were best sustained by regular contact. Federal employees emphasized that limited resources made it very difficult to maintain regular contact with supporters. They acknowledged that face-to-face interaction was much more powerful than intermittent phone calls, but limited staff and geography made face-to-face contact impractical. The downside of no face-to-face contact was best explained by a county planner in Arizona:

"I can't really affect what our independent municipalities create as the Anza Trail. And the municipalities could sure care less about what the NPS would like to see when there are no NPS folks here on the ground. So, you end up with this hodge-podge of trails and no unified theme. I have a million other things on my plate, so I have no time to herd cats and watch over all the moving parts."

APPENDIX E: TRAIL MILES AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC INDICATORS

Mapped and certified Anza Trail miles are estimates. Mileage information courtesy of the National Park Service, 2012.

Relationship between Trail Miles and Socio-Economic Indicators**										
CALIFORNIA TRAIL MILES AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC INDICATORS										
California Counties that have strongly supported trail development effort	Mapped and certified miles of Anza Trail- 2012	median hh income	Persons per square mile	percent persons below poverty level						
Ventura	45 mi	\$75,348	447	9.2%						
Santa Clara	45 mi	\$86,850	1381	8.9%						
San Mateo	45 mi	\$85,648	1602	7.0%						
Contra Costa	50 mi	\$78,385	1465	9.0%						
AVERAGE for the four counties	46 mi	81,558	1224	8.5%						
STATE AVERAGES	16 mi*	60,883	239	14%						
ARIZONA TRAIL MILES AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC INDICATORS										
Arizona Counties that have strongly supported trail development efforts	Mapped and certified miles of Anza Trail- 2012	median hh income	Persons per square mile	percent persons below poverty level						
Santa Cruz	20 mi	\$36,519	38.3	25.2%						
Pima	50 mi	\$45,521	106.7	16.4%						
AVERAGE for Pima & Santa										
Cruz	35 mi	\$41,020	72.5	20.8%						
STATE AVERAGES	4 mi*	\$50,448	56.3	15.3%						

^{*}mileage figure does not include counties shown.

^{**}Source: US Census Bureau, State and County Quickfacts, 2006-2010

APPENDIX F: MAPPED AND CERTIFIED SEGMENTS OF THE ANZA TRAIL

Map A shows the trail corridor in black, and mapped and certified segments of recreational trail in red. Map B shows only the mapped and certified segments of the recreational trail. Map information provided by the National Park Service, August 2012.

Map A



Map B

