

Visceral value: Nature-based recreation and embodied more-than-capitalist practices on United States Forest Service trails

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Abstract

On United States public lands, large-scale structural capitalocentric valuations are at odds with the embodied non-monetary valuations expressed by nature-based recreators. Valuing United States Forest Service lands through a capitalocentric lens does not account for the *more-than-capitalist* (MtC) valuations occurring within these sites, and has facilitated large-scale selloffs and reduction of these lands for commercial and extractive purposes. Capitalocentric valuations often fail to express the local, embodied, and intimate valuations of nature in these spaces. These lands are covered by the US public lands multiple-use mandate which defines recreational access as equal in importance to that of natural resource extraction. However, in practice, recreational and non-extractive (ie. non-monetary) access is not well represented in valuation methods, and its true value is not reported and recognized as equally valuable against corporate and national capitalocentric monetary valuations. So recreational, non-monetary, and local valuations of US public lands are un-accounted for or under-represented in large-scale structural valuations of US public lands. This article argues that nature-based trail recreators actually value US public lands via non-monetary *visceral value* – valuation strategies that are rooted in intimate and embodied interactions with nature – directly challenging the strictly monetary value given to these lands by national and corporate entities. The article develops the concept of *visceral value* in MtC valuations, using the embodied experiences of nature-based recreators using USFS trails. Rescaling the assessment of value to the site of the individual recreator body directly confronts capitalocentric urges to universalize all used, usable and potential resources into monetary, extractive, production or labor use-values.

Keywords: more-than-capitalist economy, nature-based recreation, value, US public land, nature

Resume

Sur les terres publiques américaines, les évaluations capitalocentriques structurelles à grande échelle sont en contradiction avec les évaluations non monétaires incarnées exprimées par les créateurs basés sur la nature. L'évaluation des terres du Service forestier des États-Unis à travers une optique capitalocentrique ne tient pas compte des évaluations plus que capitalistes (MtC) qui se produisent sur ces sites et a facilité la vente et la réduction à grande échelle de ces terres à des fins commerciales et extractives. Les valorisations capitalocentriques échouent souvent à exprimer les valorisations locales, incarnées et intimes de la nature dans ces espaces. Ces terres sont couvertes par le mandat à usage multiple des terres publiques américaines qui définit l'accès récréatif comme égal à celui de l'extraction des ressources naturelles. Cependant, dans la pratique, l'accès récréatif et non extractif (c'est-à-dire non monétaire) n'est pas représenté dans ses propres termes d'évaluation et sa véritable valeur n'est pas non plus déclarée et reconnue comme ayant une valeur égale aux évaluations monétaires centrées sur les entreprises et sur le capital national. Ces évaluations récréatives, non monétaires et locales des terres publiques américaines ne sont pas prises en compte et sous/non représentées dans les évaluations structurelles à grande échelle des terres publiques américaines. Cet article soutient que les créateurs de sentiers basés sur la nature valorisent les terres publiques américaines via des stratégies de valorisation viscérales non monétaires qui sont enracinées dans des interactions intimes et incarnées avec la nature, remettant directement en question la valeur strictement monétaire donnée à ces terres par des entités structurelles nationales et corporatives. L'article développe le concept de 'valeur viscérale' dans les évaluations

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de la MtC, en utilisant les expériences incarnées des récréateurs basés sur la nature qui empruntent les sentiers de l'USFS. Le fait de ramener l'évaluation de la valeur au site du corps de l'individu qui s'adonne à la récréation confronte directement les efforts capitalocentriques visant à universaliser toutes les ressources utilisées, utilisables et potentielles en valeurs monétaires, extractives, de production ou d'utilisation de la main-d'œuvre.

Mots-clés: économie plus que capitaliste, loisirs basés sur la nature, valeur, terres publiques américaines, nature

Resumen

En las tierras públicas estadounidenses, las valoraciones capitalocéntricas estructurales a gran escala están en desacuerdo con las valoraciones no monetarias e encarnadas expresadas por los recreadores basados en la naturaleza. La valoración de las tierras del Servicio Forestal de los Estados Unidos a través de una lente capitalocéntrica no tiene en cuenta las valoraciones más que capitalistas (MtC) que ocurren dentro de estos sitios y ha facilitado la venta y reducción a gran escala de estas tierras para fines comerciales y extractivos. Las valoraciones capitalocéntricas a menudo no logran expresar las valoraciones locales, encarnadas e íntimas de la naturaleza en estos espacios. Estas tierras están cubiertas por el mandato de uso múltiple de tierras públicas de EE. UU. que define el acceso recreativo como igual al de la extracción de recursos naturales. Sin embargo, en la práctica, el acceso recreativo y no extractivo (es decir, no monetario) no está representado dentro de sus propios términos de valoración ni su verdadero valor es reportado y reconocido como igualmente valioso para las valoraciones monetarias capitalocéntricas nacionales y corporativas. Estas valoraciones recreativas, no monetarias y locales de tierras públicas estadounidenses no se contabilizan y no están representadas o están insuficientemente representadas en las valoraciones estructurales a gran escala de tierras públicas estadounidenses. Este artículo sostiene que los recreadores de senderos basados en la naturaleza valoran las tierras públicas estadounidenses a través de estrategias de valoración viscerales no monetarias que están arraigadas en interacciones íntimas y encarnadas con la naturaleza, desafiando directamente el valor estrictamente monetario otorgado a estas tierras por entidades estructurales nacionales y corporativas. Este artículo desarrolla el concepto de *valor visceral* para representar las valoraciones del MtC que ocurren a través de experiencias encarnadas de recreadores basados en la naturaleza dentro de los senderos del USFS. Reescalar la evaluación del valor desde valoraciones capitalocéntricas estructurales al lugar del cuerpo recreador individual confronta directamente los impulsos capitalocéntricos de universalizar todos los recursos usados/utilizables/potenciales en valores de uso monetarios/extractivos/de producción/laborales.

Palabras-clave: economía más que capitalista, recreación basada en la naturaleza, valor, tierras públicas de los EE. UU., naturaleza

1. Introduction

Matt Huber writes that "the question of value is at the center of our global ecological crisis" (Huber, 2018, p. 148). Within capitalocentric socio-economic systems, valuations of natures and their "natural resources" are often defined in capitalocentric terms of material use and extraction (Braun, 2003, 2006, 2008, 2015; Bakker, 2005; Bingham & Hinchcliffe, 2008; Castree, 2014; Gibson-Graham *et al.*, 2015; Hesketh, 2016; Kosek, 2006; Lowenhaupt-Tsing, 2015; McCarthy & Prudham, 2004; McKibben, 2007; Proctor, 2013). Nature-based recreators² offer valuations of natures that take a different form. This can be attributed to the ways that nature-based recreators practice outdoor recreation in nature³ settings where they are in direct intimate contact and connection with the natural elements and surroundings (Humberstone, 2013: 496-497). This article argues that nature-based trail recreators value US public lands via non-monetary "visceral value": valuation strategies

² The concept of "nature-based recreation" (NBR) comes from leisure, sport and tourism sciences (See Dorwart *et al.*, 2009; Rosa *et al.*, 2019; Remacha *et al.*, 2011). A similar term, "nature-based movement," is employed by Barbara Humberstone (2011, 2013).

³ While acknowledging the complicated political and historical contexts associated with the term "nature" (Bingham & Hinchcliffe, 2008; McCarthy & Prudham, 2004; Braun, 2006 & 2008; Lorimer, 2012; Bakker, 2010; Brown, 2014), I use "nature/s" to refer to the USFS biological environments that contain minimal human created urban infrastructures and are inclusive of humans as one of many more-than-human relational actors (Gibson-Graham *et al.*, 2016; Stinson, 2008; Howe & Morris, 2009). The article does not attempt to present these "wild" spaces as unpeopled or separate from human influence, for it is the human engagement within these spaces via nature-based movement and recreation that allows for this investigation into the MtC valuations of these lands.

that are rooted in intimate and embodied interactions with nature, directly challenging the strictly monetary value given to these lands by structural national and corporate entities.

In the Humboldt-Toiyabe National Forest in the region of Reno and Carson City, Nevada, recreational users value nature as more-than-capitalist (MtC).⁴ "More-than-Capitalist" accounts for the co-existence of multiple socioeconomies simultaneously within the same spatio-temporal contexts (See Gibson-Graham, 2006; Roelvink, 2015; Miller, 2019; Braun, 2008). Following approaches explained in the following sections that understand "value" as an open construct inclusive of myriad practices, bodies, and actors (see Gibson-Graham, 2006; Miller, 2019; Roelvink, 2016), "value" is defined here as perceived, experienced, and reported worth of the material and immaterial. More specifically, MtC value is the intrinsic and relational worth determined and practiced by embodied and emplaced subjects, human and more-than-human (MtH), who are embedded within their own socio-geographic contexts. More-than-human can be understood here as: any life and non-life, both biologically existing or of human construction. MtH encompasses all beings and material components, whether in "natures" or urban settings. MtH space is "constitutive" not just "contextual" (Howe, 2015) in human experiences.

Scholars term, theorize, and define more-than-human in varied ways: post-human, non-human, beyond human, other-than-human, etc. (see Barlett, 2005; Bennett, 2001, 2010; Basso, 1996; Bell *et al.*, 2017; Braun, 2006; Castree, 2012; Fishel, 2019; Haraway, 2008, 2016; Wilkinson *et al.*, 2020; Howe, 2015; Kohn, 2013; Lowenhaupt-Tsing, 2005, 2015; Raffles, 2002; Lowenhaupt-Tsing *et al.*, 2017). These terms tend to connote oppositional relationships between humans and MtH, perpetuating a human-centered focus, which this article does not promote. "More-than-human" is employed here for its inclusionary connotations, considering humans as part of, not separate from MtH.

Value remains at the heart of capitalist consumptive patterns and cultural systems, which has left much of the "immeasurable" elements of life and experience unaccounted for. Layla, trail recreator and employee within the Humboldt-Toiyabe National Forest, shares the difficulty US public land management agencies confront when attempting to represent the non-monetary value of US public lands within this capitalocentric socioeconomic valuing system:

Nobody is able to describe what the [non-monetary] value of our public lands are, we just keep struggling at it, and we are collecting data from all the state agencies on participation rates ... trying to find ways to draw that value. Of course its valuable, it's kinda tough but it has to have some fundamental aspects that can be quantified ... or it won't get put into use [For example,] Norwegian *friluftsliv* ... [is] a Norwegian cultural phenomena and they really believe that being in nature is vital to their life and they incorporate volunteering to do things in nature as vital to their life and this centeredness around nature ... even more esoteric than just saying, trails are really valuable. If you look at it [as] a cultural phenomenon, there's all kinds of things we can't quantify that are necessary for our culture ... (Layla, Interview 1, 11/30/2020)

Layla stresses the need to and importance of representing these underrepresented non-monetary valuations of US public lands, and emphasizes the cultural component married to the valuation habits. Unsurprisingly, US public land structure and governance has been intimately tied to the capitalist socio-political-economic practices in the US. As such, they have been valued monetarily by large-scale structural systems, often facilitating public land designation removal, sale, and overextraction of natural resources.

When examining the various forms of valuations associated with United States Forest Service (USFS) lands, "the conceptual legacy of seeing nature as commodity" (Wilson, 2014, p. 183) has been prioritized by the US government and corporations, and in so doing has established value for these spaces based on what Agrawal terms "market price," via hypothetical statistics of yield, projected revenues, and volume conversions of the living natural resources into material use (Agrawal, 2005: 59). This form of valuation of USFS lands

⁴ Similar terms to MtC are non-capitalist, other-than-capitalist, and alternative economies. However, these tend to reinforce the totalizing imagery of capitalist dominance as well as the dichotomies of capitalism vs. all other socioeconomic practices.

serves only one of the primary use designations for these public spaces: extraction. This sits counter to the "multiple-use" mandate dictated for these spaces by the US government. Recreation is another of the multiple-use emphases on public lands, and it saw a resurgence in popularity with the environmental decade of the 1970s. Greater attention was paid to concepts of protection and preservation for natures and wilderness within the US public land systems, particularly for the USFS lands containing the US National Parks and designated wilderness areas, which strongly promote recreational access (Stinson, 2017; Wilson, 2014; Ketcham, 2019; Clayton, 2019; Baden & Snow, 1997). This shift led to a "growing number of Americans who valued [U.S. public lands] primarily for their beauty, wildlife, open spaces, for the chance to walk and camp and experience in quiet and solitude the rhythms of the land" (Ketcham, 2019, p. 26).

If recreation is supposedly "equal" to extraction within the "multiple-use" land mandates for the USFS, then it should be valued accordingly. The valuation systems of recreational users need to be accurately represented via their non-market and non-monetary MtC strategies. What would it look like if these non-monetary valuations were represented and considered in the total valuations of these spaces? The existing disparate scalar valuations of public lands demonstrate what Gibson-Graham (2006) refer to as a core tension of "capitalocentrism" which

...distributes positive value to those activities associated with capitalist economic activity, however defined, and assigns lesser value to all other processes of producing and distributing goods and services by identifying them in relation to capitalism as the same as, the opposite of, a complement to, or contained within. (Gibson-Graham, 2006, p. 56)

Capitalocentrism functions via the abstraction and quantification of value into narrow terms of monetary worth, attempting to establish monetary "equivalence" between dissimilar goods, ideas, and services (Chomsky & Waterstone, 2021; Comaroff & Comaroff, 2001; Harvey, 2005, 2006, 2017; Henderson, 2013; Parker, 2018; Miller, 2019). This tendency towards capitalocentric valuations of nature has been covered in detail by economists, geographers, and anthropologists (McCarthy & Prudham, 2004; Moore, *et al*, 2003; McKibben, 2007), as have the destructive and unsustainable impacts on natures and humans that result from these valuations (Plehwé *et al*, 2020; Barlett, 2005; Proctor, 2013; Gibson-Graham, 2006; Lowenhaupt-Tsing, 2005, 2015).

In response to these deficit-based studies, scholars call for recognition of alternative ways of perceiving and valuing natures (Braun, 2003, 2006, 2008, 2015; Haraway, 2008; Roelvink, 2015; Miller, 2019). Valuing natures in non-quantified or monetized ways is not a new concept outside of capitalocentrism. Layla, quoted above, describes *friluftsliv*, a Norwegian lifeway that is equated with the idea in English of "nature-based outdoor recreation" (Beery, 2013, p. 94), and consists of "connecting nature and humans as equal elements" (Anderson & Rolland, 2018, p. 362). Within *friluftsliv*, the value of nature is not quantified, and the co-experiencing among humans and natures is understood as the norm and a necessity, of immeasurable value within the Norwegian cultural system. It is just one example of the ways that human relationships with natures are culturally valued without capitalist monetization or quantification. In a similar vein, Humberstone theorizes nature-based mobilities and the subsequent interrelationships that occur, through which recreators "may find values that are counter to capitalist consumption and sympathetic to nature not as resource but as 'partner'" (Humberstone, 2011, p. 500).

In the hope of identifying and contributing to new possibilities for framing and language for MtC valuations, this article develops the concept of "visceral value," which generally refers to the MtC valuations rooted in the embodied experiences of nature-based recreators⁵ with/in and as part of natures. Visceral value stems from Miller's (2019) concept, highlighting the wide variety of possible and existing means of valuing 'resources.' Visceral valuations expose conflicting, yet coexisting, valuations of natures that co-exist at various

⁵ Participant mobilities with/in trail places discussed here are referred to as "nature-based movement": outdoor recreation that takes place in natural settings where the recreator is in direct intimate contact and connection with natural elements and surroundings (Humberstone, 2013, pp. 496-497). Barbara Humberstone (2011, 2013) develops the term from the leisure, sport and tourism sciences, and nature-based recreation (See Dorwart *et al.*, 2009; Rosa *et al.*, 2019; and Remacha *et al.*, 2011).

scalar levels within the USFS lands. Visceral value aids in shifting capitalocentric discourse and definitions of value towards the qualitative and experiential valuations of individual bodies; directly questioning capitalocentric urges to universalize all used, usable and potential resources into monetary, extractive, production or labor use-values.

These more-than-capitalist valuations are important to consider in relation to public lands, which are directly threatened by the capitalocentric value focus. The research expands discourse and practice to all situations in which MtC valuations are present and possible. Highlighting underrepresented MtC valuations demonstrates their worth to the organisational powers that govern these spaces. Not only does visceral value provide a discursive and conceptual tool for non-monetary valuations, it also expands existing capitalocentric socio-economic definitions of "value" and "worth" to include MtC, and expands valuations of these spaces beyond capitalocentric extraction.

The research discussed in this article examines MtC valuations practiced by nature-based recreators within the Humboldt-Toiyabe National Forest. It provides example of how MtC value may be researched and discussed in productive and representative ways without falling into capitalocentric abstraction or translation. I encourage the broadening of discourse and practice to focus on non-monetary valuation. Gibson-Graham made the call to expand the database of existing and possible socioeconomic practices, dismantling capitalocentric dominance (1996 & 2006). Applying the approach to varied contexts in which MtC valuations may be used, establishes more holistic and representative systems of value. Public land management agencies and scholars desiring to explore the MtC valuation can learn from these examples.

I first survey theories of capitalocentric and more-than-capitalist value, employing Miller's concept of the "instituting of incommensurability," to propose MtC valuations of US public lands. I then present visceral value as a novel tool to illustrate how users value USFS lands and trails. I then review the background to and methods of this research project, including qualitative mixed methods. These were a questionnaire, interviews, a journal, and photo-elicitation. Finally, I argue that the data from recreators should be understood as visceral value.

2. A weak theory approach

Gibson-Graham famously asked "what if we theorized capitalism not as something large and embracing but as something partial, as one social constituent among many?" (Gibson-Graham, 1996, p. 260). MtC perspectives and theorizations create space for diverse economic "social constituents" and their unique valuation systems that coexist and overlap with one another, including pluralities of capitalism(s). The MtC approach offers a "weak theory" stance that recognizes the inherent diversity among individual practitioners and their local geographical sites (Sedgewick, 2003; Gibson-Graham, 1996 & 2006; Roelvink, 2016; Miller, 2019). It is therefore different to the strong, critical, and closed stances of traditional capitalocentric theorizing (see Gibson-Graham & Roelvink, 2009, p. 324). Weak theory opens theory, discourse and practice to the wide range of possible and existing more-than-capitalist valuations, and the "instituting of incommensurability" (Miller, 2019; Gibson-Graham, 1996, p. XIV).

Value abstraction, or instituting of incommensurability?

Valuations of human experiences in nature-based settings tend to be rooted in capitalocentric 'abstraction', as argued above. Abstraction in this context tries to establish equivalence between goods and services of unlike form, so that "resources" are monetized and converted into potential monetary and dollar amounts (Miller, 2019; Parker, 2018). This leads to what Miller refers to as false value comparisons of incommensurable "multiple beings and becomings" (Miller, 2019, p. 205). Miller explains that these continued practices of abstraction serve to dictate what, and who, is considered 'life' and what and who is considered 'resource' (2019, p. 203); in other words what is considered valuable.

Miller proposes that monetary "measurement" can be avoided by MtC theorizing, strategizing, and applied practice. One component of his weak-theory inspired theoretical toolkit is the "instituting of incommensurability"; the recognition of existing and possible myriad "incommensurable" diversities (human

and MtH) that should be valued without abstraction (Miller, 2019, p. 205). Incommensurability calls for the visibility of difference: the experiences, goods, services, and relations that are incomparable and immeasurable, combating capitalocentric urges towards streamlining of value into monetary representations and abstractions. Miller applies this concept to socioeconomic research with humans and their environments in rural Maine. He explains that, "in the hegemonic frame of 'the economy,' valuation is enacted via a monetary index, a rendering commensurable of all beings and relations in such a way that they can be ranked and compared" (2019, pp. 202-203). For example, one of his participants, director of an economic development think-tank in rural Maine, explains that census data focused on poverty in Maine is not representative of the local residents who, according to the capitalocentric Census are considered to be living in poverty. However, these residents do not consider themselves impoverished since they are "rich" in community health and social relationships. They are "living in a value system that's different than the national census value system" (Miller, 2019, p. 203) which is based on monetary income and value.

These tensions between capitalocentric and non-monetary valuing also exist within US public lands. The capitalocentric concept of value is the arbitrary and relative monetary 'worth' placed on any perceivable or sellable 'commodity' (human and MtH, material and immaterial) by the operations of capitalist markets (see Chomsky & Waterstone, 2021; Comaroff & Comaroff, 2001; Harvey, 2005, 2006, 2017; Henderson, 2013; Parker, 2018; Miller, 2019). When attempting to assess value of and on US public lands, it is common for national and corporate structures to translate incommensurable and immeasurable resources via abstraction, instead of allowing the MtC valuations of place and experience to be considered on their own terms. Attempts to represent value of immeasurable resources and experiences within natural environments and nature-based recreation are often abstractions and translations that make the data palatable to capitalocentric audiences. Ideas of "ecosystem services" (see Huber, 2018) and "experiential value" (see Yu, 2019, p. 1) are two results of this process of taking intangible, embodied, and experiential valuations and converting them to tangible values for ease of capitalist abstraction or comprehension (Harmon, 2004, p. 9). For example, Huber (2018) questions efforts to represent "ecosystem services" in monetary value terms, because the "abstract value systems stand in contradiction to the inherent particularities of ecological systems" (Huber, 2018, p. 152). There are also attempts to create schemas of non-monetary valuation, such as experiential or evaluative categories like "social capital." These tend to translate qualitative field data into frameworks and semiotics that carry connotations of capitalist evaluation such as "assets," "exchange," "transactions," etc. (see Mann & Leahy; Forsell *et al*, 2020; Loomis, 2005). While the data within these studies is fruitful for expanding dialogue and definitions of these capitalist terms, it still reflects capitalocentrism in content and structure.

In clearing new paths for representing nature-based experiences in MtC terms, there needs to be a focus on the "intangible values" of these spaces (see Brown *et al*, 2014; Harmon, 2004). Harmon explains that it is not the "tangible values" that cause people to "care deeply" about natural and protected spaces, but "intangible values." Intangible values account for the values that people make within nature-spaces; the intangible or nonmaterial valuations of the "intrinsic value of nature" (Harmon, 2004, p. 9). Harmon presents the World Commission on Protected Areas list of eleven intangible values, including: recreational values, therapeutic values, spiritual values, cultural values, identity values, existence values, artistic values, aesthetic values, educational values, scientific research and monitoring values, and peace values (Harmon, 2004, p. 10). However, while these are representative of many aspects of human experiences, what is missing here is the acknowledgement of the more-than-human relations that co-produce value, leaving us still with a wholly anthropocentric conception of value, which is unrepresentative of recreator-reported valuations.

These practices of recovering intangible values reinforce capitalocentric dominance even while they are attempting to be more representative, and as such continue to mirror capitalocentric habits. What is needed is an ideological and perceptual shift regarding definitions and constructions of "value;" what it looks like and what it represents within its own human-MtH emplaced contexts. What limitations do capitalocentric categorizations and quantifications carry that the infinitely variable systems of MtC valuations do not? Who and what is represented in MtC valuations that was not within capitalocentric valuations? In line with MtC diverse economies theorists and practitioners, I avoid the tendency to translate, abstract and monetize value. Instead, I follow the lead of Gibson-Graham (1996, 2006), Roelvink (2014), and Miller (2019) in representing

contextualized and diverse systems of valuation that are particular to geographies and practices. Value within the MtC context is open to represent and be present within a diverse array of exchanges, transactions, and relations. In the context of this study, when considering valuations of nature-based recreators, place-based experiences are central. The article focuses on the experiential and intrinsic value of natures and nature-based recreation, valued by recreators as, "beyond measure." Within this context, there is no one set of "commensurate terms" (Miller, 2019, p. 203) nor monetary quantifications. Instead, in the contexts of nature-based recreation in USFS trails, interactions between human and MtH are valued *viscerally*.

Visceral value

What are nature-based recreators valuing in trail places and how do they come to know these valuations? Embodied experiences are key here. For nature-based recreators, MtC valuations are formed via experiences of the whole self being affected by and relating with USFS places and trails. Value is determined, practiced, and experienced by recreators quite literally, on the ground, or more accurately, with the ground (Ingold, 2011). Nature-based recreation engages "perceptions and awareness" that are different from those of non-nature-based recreation practices (Humberstone, 2011, p. 497). Nature-based movement research presents various means of noting experience, meaning, and value for human participants (See Allen-Collinson & Leledaki, 2015; Humberstone, 2011, 2013; Allen-Collinson & Hockey, 2010; Paterson, 2009; Brown, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017; Allen-Collinson, 2018).

Within the growing and rich existing scholarship on nature-based movement (Humberstone, 2011: 497) and MtC economies (Gibson-Graham *et al.*, 2016, p. 705), there is discussion of "embodied capital" (Dant & Wheaton (2007, p. 10), "affective/emotional economies" (Ahmed, 2004; Brown, 2016; Humberstone, 2011), and "embodied cultural capital or physical capital" (Howe, 2009, p. 312). Missing here is discussion of how value is experienced, constructed, and conveyed with and within the natures and geographical places where the nature-based movement is being practiced. Valuation in this context is occurring between humans and more-than-humans. Nature-based recreator valuing is expressed as more-than-capitalist by recreators, working in concert with natures. Exchanges occurring during the experience of nature-based recreation are expressed by recreators as value created due to the visceral relations they are practicing within the MtH trail space, via movement. These types of holistic valuation can be understood as "visceral value." I introduce the term to contribute to expanding notions of value to incorporate non-monetary and "invaluable" human embodied experiences within and as part of natures.

Visceral value highlights the diverse and non-quantifiable ways that nature-based recreators create and practice value. Nature-based recreators report that their valuations of trail places and their experiences occur mainly via visceral experiences taking place during body movement within the USFS trail sites. These valuations are expressed by recreators as "beyond measure" and capitalist abstraction, yet, much like Norwegian *friluftsliv* they are the central means of valuing these public land spaces for recreators. The acceptance of recreator-reported valuations falls in line with Miller's notion of "instituting of incommensurability" since they are not abstracting, interpreting, or monetizing the valuation. Visceral value refers to the MtC valuations produced through sensations and relations stemming from physical, mental, emotional, and spiritual experiences between humans and more than human natures. Visceral value takes into account the "'value beyond measure' of natural beauty and the 'services' that come to us from others," combating capitalocentric "demands for quantification" (Miller, 2019, p. 205).

The concept emerges from the field of visceral geographies, with its focus on the interrelations between bodily experience, affect, biological environment, and the material and immaterial components of culture and environment (Hayes-Conroy, 2017, p. 52). Visceral is defined as "the sensations, moods, and ways of being that emerge from our sensory engagement with the material and discursive environments in which we live" (Longhurst, 2009 cited in Hayes-Conroy & Hayes-Conroy, 2010, p. 1274). Visceral value is also inspired by William Connolly's (2002) work with the "visceral register" in relation to politics, surveyed by Gibson-Graham (2006, p. 24). The visceral register recognizes the ways that humans register life experiences and events via visceral avenues. Experiences of the visceral register give rise to "affective responses, gut reactions, and

embodied actions that cannot help but influence other registers of being." They are prime sites of becoming for individuals making and imagining community, self, and place (Gibson-Graham, 2006, p. 24).

3. In the Humboldt-Toiyabe National Forest

Research took place from June 2019 to February 2021, investigating the relationships that trail recreators have with US Forest Service trail spaces. I focused specifically on trails that left from no-fee USFS single-track trailheads (meaning where trails begin, often with vehicle parking) throughout the Humboldt-Toiyabe National Forest that are within 30 miles (48 km) of Reno and Carson (Figure 1). These were selected for their accessibility: ease of access for a wide variety of recreators from a variety of metropolitan areas (Reno, Carson, Truckee, Sacramento, etc.); the lack of fees charged for parking or access; and multi-use status that allows for multiple forms of recreation to coexist (ex. hiking, trail running, mountain biking, horseback riding, dirt biking, etc.).

The US Department of Agriculture "Forest Service" land designation includes "recreation" as one of its predominant uses. The Humboldt-Toiyabe National Forest spans 6.3 million acres (2.5 m hectares), from the California and Nevada Sierra Nevada Mountains in its Westernmost reaches, to the Idaho state border in the North, and to the Utah state border in the East; it is thus one of the largest of the US National Forests in the lower 48 states. Housed within these Humboldt-Toiyabe National Forest acres are 150,000 miles (241,400 km) of multi-use recreational trails, with human and/or machine powered access depending on Wilderness designations. The Reno and Carson portions of the Humboldt-Toiyabe are home to the Sierra Nevada mountain range, with peaks reaching nearly 11,000 feet (3,353 m). Reno and Carson urban centers sit in basins at the feet of this range offering USFS trail recreators the opportunity to explore varied topographies and climates ranging from high desert scrub in the lower elevations, to lush dense forest at around 9,000 feet (2,743 m) and high alpine cover on the mountain tops.

U.S. public lands have become an important symbol in the American national imaginary. They encompass close to one third of the total US land mass (Wilson, 2014, p. 11). Of these, there are various designations: Bureau of Land Management (BLM) land (247 million acres, 100 m hectares); National Forests and Grasslands (193 million acres, 78.1 m hectares), and National Wildlife Refuges (150 million acres, 60.7 m hectares) (Wilson, 2014, p. 4). These lands are now deeply embedded within US dominant culture and identity, even for Americans that have not physically visited these locations (Wilson, 2014, p. 63). US public lands are designated as multi-use "American commons" (Ketcham, 2019, p. 5) that offer a wide variety of stakeholders opportunities to practice and form their own unique inter-relationships with natures (Clayton, 2019: XV). These lands also reflect the multiple overlapping forms of valuation addressed in this article.

Two federal laws passed in 1872, The General Mining Act (GMA) and the Yellowstone National Park Act (YNPA) are prime examples of the structural tensions present in these spaces as the GMA served to designate mining as the "highest and best use" on federal lands and the YNPA formed the country's first National Park: Yellowstone National Park, with 2.2 million acres (890,300 ha). Yellowstone was set aside from private development, "preserved in perpetuity" for all Americans, due to its "aesthetic and inherent value" (Wilson, 2014, p. 39). Interestingly from a political ecology perspective, US public lands are considered "common property," theoretically offering "equal access" to all Americans, and holding natural resources to be conserved and "provisioned" according to the Multiple Use and Sustained Yield Act of 1960 (Jenkins, 2018, p. 35).

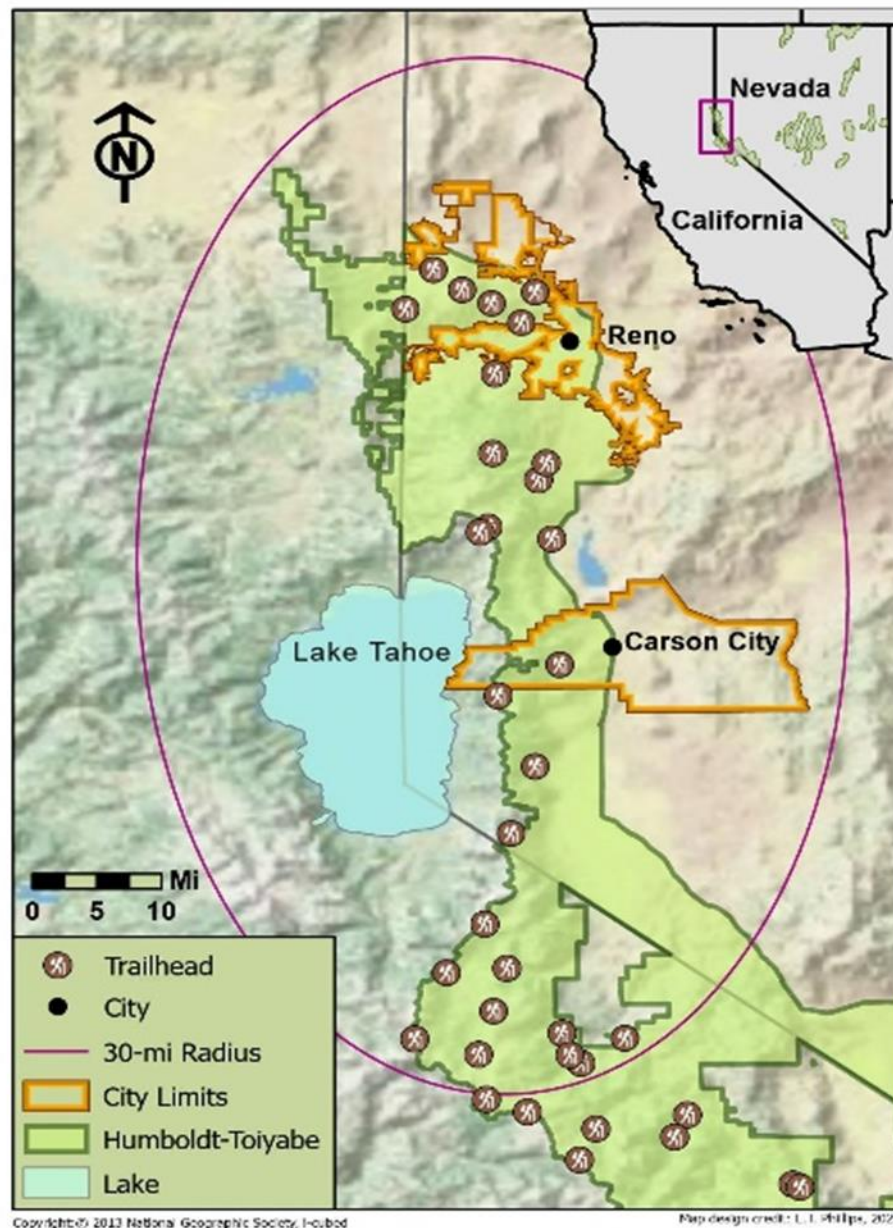


Figure 1: Study area in the Humboldt-Toiyabe National Forest. While all national forests in Nevada are named the Humboldt-Toiyabe National Forest, this study focuses on the region within 30 miles (48km) of Reno and Carson. Trailheads listed here are the official ones, but informal and unmarked trailheads exist that are also no-fee. Map created by Lauren Philips (2021)

As visceral valuations are experienced and expressed by recreators as sensory, bodily, and affective relations with the trail places, methods were designed specifically to capture visceral and mobile experiences of nature (Kline, 2023). The qualitative mixed methods employed were: questionnaires (in-person and via email); telephone and video interviews; journaling; and photo-elicitation.

Longer-term and in-depth qualitative data was collected from participants from June to September of 2019, and from September, 2020 to February, 2021. I began by sitting at trailheads with voluntary surveys for

trail-goers. This yielded 95 questionnaires. Then these participants were asked if they would like to participate in a longer-term study, and 39 of the original 95 expressed interest with 14 ultimately choosing to participate in an extended trail journaling process. Long-term participants kept written and audio-visual trail journals over a one-month period in which they completed at minimum 6 entries during or immediately following their trail activities. Each recreator received loose instructions for journaling, leaving the medium and topic of discussion up to each. Mainly, instructions asked them to record how they were feeling physically on the trail and how they experienced nature during these times. Aged between 27 years to 78 years, respondents lived in the Reno, NV, Carson, NV, and Truckee, CA areas and used the Humboldt-Toiyabe National Forest trails on a regular basis, ranging from 3 to 7 days per week. After participants finished their period of trail journaling, we closed out their participation in the project with a Zoom interview in which we discussed the topics that they referenced in their trail journals as well as their thoughts and reactions to the research process and its central themes.

The methods here were not only designed to be specific to site and topic but were also dictated by the sudden onset of COVID-19, which severely restricted possibilities for participant-observation. Research design was also formulated in this fashion to best elicit and represent the MtC and MtH relations and valuations occurring. The participant trail journals were a form of experimentation with participant autoethnography. Pink (2015, p. 59) explains that "by attending to the bodily sensations and culturally specific sensory categories...through which these feelings are communicated about and given value, ethnographers can come to know about other people's lives in ways that are particularly intense." Traditionally, however, autoethnography is completed by the researcher themselves; an "autobiographic accounting through which the researcher's thoughts and feelings are made visible and through which the research is identified as credible and authentic" (Humberstone, 2011, p. 498). COVID 19 restrictions proved an ideal time to experiment with "messy methods" (Dowling, Lloyd, & Suchet-Pearson, 2017, p. 825) and decolonize this application of autoethnography. Through trail journals and photo-elicitation (Pink 2015) participants took on experiments with participant-completed autoethnography, shifting the locus of "expert knowledge" to the participant, and allowing for "an intimate examination of movements, feelings, sensations, and bodily encounters, and how they were made sense of by different recreationists" (Brown, 2016, p. 39).

4. Practicing more-than-capitalisms

Trail goers were solicited to describe what they feel they "give" and "get" during their trail experiences. The concepts of give and get represent forms of "exchange" and "reciprocity," terms commonly employed within socioeconomic discourse, the meanings of which are often attached to capitalocentric determinations of value. However, participants employed these terms as descriptors for more-than-capitalist contexts. When I asked participants directly if they think about money while on the trail, each responded that no, they do not. They even expressed that trail time actively helped them to stop thinking about monetary worries if they were experiencing them. Trail goers are fully aware of the structural and local presence of money related to the USFS trail space, such as donations at trail heads, paying taxes that support USFS lands, commercial and national sale of US public lands, and barriers to access at fee-based trail heads.

Participants were asked directly in their closing interviews what they value within USFS trail places. Further, they were asked if USFS public land trail spaces are experienced or perceived differently than non-USFS trail spaces for the recreation, relations, and identities of recreators. They expressed that USFS lands are essential for MtC valuations involving their recreation, relations, health, and identities. These nature-based recreators are in intimate contact with the trail places and they actively choose to live in Reno, Nevada, Carson, Nevada and Truckee, California because of the access and proximity to these trails. I asked Alyssa in our closing interview, "are USFS lands a necessary space for your recreation, your relationships to nature, and / or your personal or collective identity?" She explained:

Yes, if I didn't have it, I would be so depressed and miserable. We left Wisconsin because I was unhappy. I was like...if I wanna do anything here I have to drive hours and hours away... There's no mountains, like if I want to go up to Lake Superior it's a six hour drive, but here I can get to a trail in five minutes...I live in Northwest Reno and... the view of Mt. Rose Wilderness, I'm just

like, 'I wanna go up there, how do I get up there?' The sense of wonderment the sense of adventure, if I don't have that, I'm just, I'm not who I am... (Alyssa, closing Zoom interview, 2/9/21)

When asked the same question, Artemisia responded:

Ahhh 150% yes, yes! [laughs] Yeah so important. I've been so grateful, especially this year where I couldn't travel or they didn't really want you traveling, didn't really want you going to other communities, all my events were canceled, and I had so much opportunity so close to where I live to explore and be outdoors and do all the things I love. I mean, so grateful for that, yeah, never finished a ride not being grateful for where I live. I realize I made the choice, but I also probably didn't realize how abundant my wealth of, you know, public access was going to be living here, it's amazing. (Artemisia, closing Zoom interview, 11/24/20)

Artemisia points to a central component for nature-based recreators: the perceived and experienced more-than-capitalist "wealth" of USFS trails. Wealth is common concept expressed in direct and indirect socioeconomic vocabulary by recreators. There was a shared sentiment amongst the participants that they had an even greater appreciation for USFS trails during the COVID-19 pandemic, as Artemisia references above.

Gina echoes the importance of US public lands for her valuations when asked in our closing interview if she had any last thoughts or comments she wanted to include in the data:

Well, again, I just really value public lands... I really think it's very important for people to know that there's that beauty and there's that beauty in us and when we connect with nature it brings that out and it can be a great sense of peace, a tremendous sense of bringing forth that inner radiance which I think the world greatly needs right now... all we hear is all this terrible negativity and trouble and violence, it's just absolutely devastating, it just destroys your spirit. So I feel it's very, very important that we protect public lands of all kinds and allow open spaces and public spaces for people to go and recreate so they can get their sanity back, you know? (Gina, closing Zoom interview, 1/18/21)

Participants feel USFS lands such as the Humboldt-Toiyabe National Forest are vital for their lives and livelihoods. These are experiences and relations that they are not able to access in other environments. In our closing interview, I asked participants how their USFS trail time is different than their recreation in non-public land spaces.

It's definitely more freeing...there are less constraints, like in a city its busy, you have to follow the sidewalk and you cross at the light and there's lots of people so you really can't go sprinting down the sidewalk. Um, and social norms, like if you're sprinting down the sidewalk people are probably going to look at you funny. Um, and even in the house it's a small space like there are walls and being outside that just doesn't exist so the constraints end up being my own energy level or my legs being tired or my attention to space so it definitely changes, it changes the constraints. (Els, closing Zoom interview, 1/13/21)

Their expressed forms of visceral value reflect these sentiments. Throughout the data, participants shared photographs in conjunction with their verbal or written descriptions of the photograph in response to photo-elicitation methods (Pink, 2015), providing opportunity for the reader to experience their descriptions viscerally as well.

The visceral valuations of trail-goers

The data included here narrates the ways in which the USFS trail spaces are viscerally valued by trail-goers. These visceral valuations created and experienced via nature-based movement are essential forms of local and non-monetary valuations of USFS lands. Participants described their embodied and sensory

engagements with nature while moving their bodies on and with the USFS trails. They describe how they are being affected by their trail time in nature.

Being affected by an experience refers to the ways that humans find themselves impacted by "forces that impinge on bodies, which may or may not be felt" (Gallagher *et al.*, 2017, p. 625). This takes shape in visceral, emotional, spiritual, and other ways. For example, Antony describes how he feels while on USFS trails simply as, "ONLY PLACE HAPPY" (Antony, Questionnaire, 8/17/2020⁶). Scholars have linked learning to be affected to "an ethical practice" (Gibson-Graham & Roelvink, 2009, p. 325; Roelvink in Roelvink *et al.*, 2015, p. 228). Being affected is embodied and somatic (Bennett, 2008, p. 5).

For trail-goers, being affected does indeed allow them the ability to connect with the outdoors, with themselves, and to be present via their movement in these spaces. This combats the Western tendency to "divide the world into ontological pieces" that encourages human emotional detachment from nature and limits human ability to be part of and be affected by the natural world (Castree, 2014, p. 26). Participants value these connections viscerally and detail the feeling described by Ketcham: "you need to be present totally, awake to your surroundings" (Ketcham, 2019, p. 251). When you *are*, you are able to be affected. Participants purposefully visit trails that have fewer humans and have beautiful scenery that ignites their senses so that they have a better chance of being affected by and connecting with natures without human or technological disruption, demonstrating that it is not the movement alone that nature-based recreators value. It is the movement in concert with natures that is valued viscerally.

For participants, priorities get streamlined in these visceral experiences of being affected, and they are able to be fully present. They value the impact that nature/wilderness has on them. They express this as feeling "more alive" (Bill, questionnaire, 8/11/2019) and feeling limitless. Alyssa expands on these feelings of being affected by natures in her questionnaire:

I feel very honored and humbled when I am on public lands. I feel free. It gives me the opportunity to see the beauty in this world and reflect on my life... When I'm hiking/trail running I can't get enough of the views so I keep going. I'll hike/trail run until my legs shake because I want to see the next view over the mountains. I love the smell of the sage, lavender, and ponderosa when I'm hiking/trail running. I stop to touch and smell the plants. I even hug the trees! I also love the shadows of the foothills during sunrise and sunset. One of my favorite views is when you see the silhouette of the mountains after the sun has gone down. I feel like I'm on vacation every day because I love where I live. I love the beauty I'm surrounded by. (Alyssa, Questionnaire)

Alyssa moved to Reno with her family explicitly for the access to public lands. Being from the Midwest, with limited access to public lands, she made the decision to live where she can access these trails regularly with ease because of the immense value she places in these spaces. For Alyssa, being affected is one of the core reasons for visiting these trail spaces. The components of being affected become visceral sources of valuation that are sensory-based and relational with the more-than-human trail environment.

Trail-goers are intimately experiencing place in these trail settings; they are feeling and knowing the natures around them; they are being impacted by them- being affected- in holistic ways. When asked specifically what she feels she "gets" from her USFS trail time, Gina shares:

I feel that I get a deeper sense of spiritual connection, and connection with nature ...I feel like I get a healthier attitude about life and I feel like... for my body physically, it's healthy to be out and moving and feel the blood pumping and getting oxygen. All of the physical activity feels good to my body so those are things I feel I get... (Gina, Interview 1, 12/8/2020)

For participants, the physical, mental, and whole self "benefits" of trail time are experienced holistically. They all share that they benefit from "the restorative power of our open spaces." (John, trail journals, 11/4/2020). For

⁶ Some questionnaires do not contain completion dates as all information on questionnaires was completed voluntarily.

example, Carrie-Gail writes, "even when I am feeling physically unwell, spending time on the trails always makes my mind and body feel healed" (Carrie-Gail, trail journals, 9/6/2020). Time on USFS trails also provides "talk therapy," access to spiritual fulfillment, meditation, "refuge from stress," the solitude of being away from the city, and physical and mental stimulation unparalleled in other spaces (Layla, Questionnaire).

"Therapy" and "mental health" were often mentioned as common ways of being affected positively and valuing the benefits of their activity in these spaces for participants. Carrie-Gail refers to this as "trail therapy:" "We use our trail time to talk about our lives. Trail therapy comes from the Saturday long run with friends" (Carrie-Gail, trail journals, 9/5/2020). John references these benefits of "trail therapy" as well:

This is why I love being on the trails so much. On a morning when so much was feeling so uncertain, my time on the trail helped center me and calm me. My breathing became like a deep breathing exercise that you would experience in a therapist's office – measured, calming, nice. I was so glad to have this opportunity to get out this morning before returning to the reality of an election still up in the air (John, trail journals, 11/4/2020).

Participants value the stress relief, the feeling of grounding and coming 'home' that they feel from the combination of the exercise and the nature setting in which they opt to practice these mobilities. The exercise in nature is "an instant reliever of all things stress" (Erie, Questionnaire). Stressors get paused for the trail time: "work and relationship stress can be put on the back-burner while focusing on the trail" (Carrie-Gail, Questionnaire). Trail goers express a purposeful physical and mental distancing from urban stress that the USFS trails offer them. Bratman explains that body movement in nature-based environments provides many benefits, "activat[ing] our parasympathetic nervous system in ways that reduce stress and autonomic arousal, because of our innate connection to the natural world" (Bratman *et al.*, 2015, p. 42).

Stress is felt viscerally for recreators and they opt to practice movement on trails to relieve it. Stewart's trail journals (Figure 2) are an excellent example of the ways recreators viscerally value trail time for stress relief. Stewart's trail journal entry includes photographs and conveys the embodied experiences with this valuation:

This was also a stress relieving ride, I've had a rough and busy few weeks prior to this ride, so I wanted to pedal until I couldn't. I started this ride with a group but eventually finished alone. I first started the ride in frustration, then as I was able to focus on the trails and the activity itself, which became therapeutic. As my stress started to leave me, I noticed that the deciduous trees near Marlette Lake and Spooner summit had changed colors, which was a very nice experience. The TRT is also very scenic, so as I stopped to take in the views, I gained more and more joy. It's funny how physical activity in natural areas is the best method to resolve my problems. It's such a good place to reset my mind and put things in perspective.

Stewart's urban life stressors are viscerally felt. His engagements with natures via nature-based movement are invaluable for him. For Stewart, visceral value is rooted in his being affected via multiple sensory inputs, overcoming physical and mental challenges posed by the trail spaces, physical exertion, time away from urban and work stressors, solitude and the gratitude he practices there.

Bratman found that "...compared to the walk in an urban environment, the nature walk decreased anxiety, rumination, and negative affect, and maintained positive affect" (Bratman *et al.*, 2015, p. 47). As Dorothea explains:

This National Forest open space, so close to my home, offers me an essential opportunity to get exercise, connect with the mountains around here, and to express and work out my emotional states through the act of hiking (Dorothea, trail journals, 10/24/2020).



Figure 2: Stewart, trail journals, 10/17/2020. Photograph provided by Stewart within his trail journal.

These health benefits do not stay on the footpaths. They are carried with the recreators to the other geographical and mental realms of their lives:

I still feel so rejuvenated and refreshed from the run. I can't think of a single time I have regretted getting out. I get to the end of a run, short or long, and feel like I'm ready to take on work and challenges and the state of the world anew. (Els, trail journals, 10/17/2020)

It is for these reasons that USFS trail places are expressed as "vital" to participants' overall "well-being" (Layla, Questionnaire). For most participants, expressing the ways they place value on the physical and mental health benefits is often tied together with the ways these experiences are embedded within nature and tied to their senses. It is not only the movement itself that is providing benefits. Their visceral valuations are rooted in their being intimately affected by nature during their trail time and their movement. As Vivica shares, "I'm getting a part of my life that's not complete when I'm on the trails" (Vivica, interview 1, 10/20/20). Respondents said that they did not experience the same holistic health benefits if they were mobile in other environments (ie. manmade surfaces, more restrictive land designations, urban environments, etc.).

Stewart is a state employee who lives in Reno and works in Carson. He races and tours on bicycles, spending at least 5 days per week on the USFS trails around Reno and Carson. He accesses these lands year-round, shifting the mode of movement depending on the weather (ie. skiing in the winter months). As his work and home are in urban locations, he describes the differences he feels in his well-being and health on the USFS trails vs. in the urban structures:

I'm always so overwhelmed whenever I go to a big city, there's just a lot going on, it's sensory overload, and I'm always... more stressed like even subconsciously...it's kinda like you never really know what to expect, so it's ... at like a very primitive ...mindset I feel like there's a lot more danger in the cities, but on a trail... it's just so much more relaxing... it's so much more of a genuine amount of senses not like advertisements or something that's shoved in my face. So, I feel a lot more at ease on a trail versus like in a city sidewalk or something and I feel like I can take in all the everything around me a lot easier on a trail... (Stewart, closing Zoom Interview, 12/3/2021)

Stewart, like the other participants, spends time recreating with/in these USFS trails to "relax," be "at ease," feel safe, and connect with nature via the senses. These are common valuations expressed by participants regarding why they choose to recreate on the USFS trails as opposed to other locations and surfaces. Stewart describes the ways that the visceral interactions between his body movement and being away from the stressors in non-trail spaces impacts their physical and mental states.

John details the ways in which access, movement, physical and mental health, transactions, and nature-based places are intimately intertwined within the ways that these USFS trail places are valued by recreators, even equating the visceral experiential "gains" from nature-based relations as, "money in the bank:"

I get to go out and do this...I'm always mentally very excited about it, when I get there there's such a rejuvenating aspect to it no matter how tired you might be from the day's work it all just melts away. It's restorative for me to be out there physically and mentally and then afterwards again, even if I go out on a 30 mile day on the trail and even if it's cold and windy and wet, I think when I come home I don't necessarily feel exhausted as I feel I want to keep holding onto it, what made the day special, I can't think of hardly anywhere it feels like a waste of time. It feels like money in the bank for me to get out there and be a part of it, even if it might be kind of daunting, I never feel exhausted. In the long run it's doing me good. When I get back to my normal life it's gonna help me deal with. ...one step at a time and one mile at a time. It's helped me professionally handle challenges and when I'm out there its excitement and its good and its right. (John, Interview 1, 12/18/2021)

These benefits carry over into other-than-trail life for recreators. They continue to be affected mentally, physically, and spiritually from and connection with the nature-based movement they are practicing, which allows recreators to value natures and their mobilities even when "away" from these sites, begging the question, are they ever really away from or disconnected from these trail places and nature-based mobilities?

5. Conclusions

It's funny because there's this whole process you go through; as you're driving away you think about the very short past that you've just experienced. Literally there's so many memories and sensations that are so fresh they kind of wash over you. You feel warm and content, maybe it's the endorphins or something, then after a few hours it becomes more of an intellectual exercise, where you put it in context for what does this mean, whether its training for something or thinking about the last couple of outings relative to the last one, you're still processing it all. I think by the time you wake up the next morning you continue to think about it, and this is [as] far as I need to go with this. I need to start thinking about the next outing; from the time you finish and leave, its completely different. I'm sweaty I feel good too in my mind, what does this all mean? kind of thing. (John, Interview 1, 10/04/2021)

For John, the USFS trails never leave him, even when he geographically leaves the trails. John's summary of the ways he is being affected by USFS trail time is indicative of the MtC holistic and embodied valuations

practiced by nature-based recreators in the Humboldt-Toiyabe National Forest. The data presented here demonstrates Baden's sentiment that "the logic of the market will never fully express the human values that attach to the open, public lands of the West, for the ultimate market logic is privatization" (Baden & Snow, 1997, p. 105). In a time when "capitalism is killing the commons" (Ketcham, 2019) it is time to cut the umbilical cord between value and capital (Harvey, 2017, p. 51) and to clear space for multiple interpretations and practices of value to be represented and to co-exist.

I have proposed a more-than-capitalist intervention into the capitalocentric socio-economic understandings, practices, and vocabularies of value, rooted in Miller's idea of instituting incommensurability. To most accurately represent the embodied ways that nature-based recreators value USFS trail places, it is not via streamlined monetary value, it is instead via non-monetary visceral value – valuations co-produced between the nature-based recreator's moving body and the natures they interact with/in the trails of the Humboldt-Toiyabe National Forest. My focus on the relational and visceral components of participant experiences has highlighted the multi-scalar ways that USFS lands are valued via diverse MtC socioeconomies, demonstrating the "fuzzy multiplicity of real-life economic geographies and human behaviours" (Pani, 2017, p. 6). In so doing, it directly challenges the structural tendency to value USFS lands in capitalocentric terms.

At the local and inter-personal scale, valuation is not capitalocentric; it is generated by "invaluable" and "priceless" embodied experiences of recreators moving in and with nature, and by people being affected in the most positive of ways. This is evidence that large-scale capitalocentric value abstractions are not representative means of valuing US public lands. That valuation strategy does not represent the on-the-ground reality. I have also demonstrated that non-monetary valuations exist within stereotypically capitalocentrically valued spaces. As researchers, it is challenge to make these voices and experiences visible and heard; to represent MtC socioeconomies and to institute incommensurability.

The visceral valuations shared here by participants brings an on-the-ground lived and lively MtC valuation (and transactions) into focus, rescaling a socioeconomic focus to the local site of the body. Trail recreators value intrinsic and experiential assets assessed and practiced within the natural worlds around them. For nature-based recreators, the intrinsic value and embodied/affected experiences on the USFS trails are priceless, even when compared to highly prized experiences common within the capitalist socioeconomic norm:

[Sighs] I mean honestly, you can't put a price on it. I feel like at this point, I'm a guest in this setting...I wish I could give more than ...any financial or fiscal amount to... allow other people to experience places like this...there's so many moments that I've experienced on ... several trails where you just ... stop and ...you can't really buy that with anything. Any trip to a theme park or an event or watching a movie, it won't be the same as this, so it's invaluable. (Stewart, closing Zoom interview, 12/3/2020)

The participants practicing nature-based recreation in the Humboldt-Toiyabe National Forest practice visceral valuations, while acknowledging that these are also capitalist spaces. Their own valuations do not accord with capitalocentric valuations of places or landscapes.

We need, therefore, to diversify definitions and perceptions of value on USFS public lands. The discourse of MtC expands valuation possibilities (Markanday *et al.* 2024). There are existing and possible alternatives to capitalocentric valuation of nature. We can think bigger, and in order to think bigger, a scalar focus must be shifted to the local, to the individual body and to embodied experiences. The approach used here can support the work of political ecologists, concerned with environmental and social justice in the conservation of nature (Turner, 2014). It is time to be investigating and communicating the more-than-capitalist ways that value is created, expressed, and transacted within places so that these values can aid in de-capitalizing our socio-economic expressions of worth and value.

Further investigation can apply visceral value to aid in assessing true and whole values of nature and wild spaces. In particular, it can demonstrate the local and intimate relationships that these natures have with humans, and the non-monetary importance and worth that these sites and "resources" hold. This is an important

step in breaking down the capitalocentric hegemony over value in discourse and practice regarding the perception of nature as financial resource.

In finishing, I am left with several questions open for future investigation:

- What might these MtC visceral valuations mean for the health of humans and natures?
- How might these valuations be taken on by institutions, to begin to account for and represent the more than capitalist valuations of the actual value of USFS lands and trails?
- What is the real importance of recreation infrastructure on public lands for the health of humans, natures, and communities?
- What are the implications for future research, practice, and policy?
- How might visceral value be employed in other contexts?
- What does this research mean for the valuation of US public lands themselves?

By highlighting the ways that recreators are connecting with and valuing the natural environment relationally, we begin to understand life's connections. The political and economic agendas of colonialist and capitalist processes have separated human from nature, human from human, and life from nature. If we shift our socio-economic understandings of value and worth, we see whole visions of life and intrinsic value that make connection to nature a priority. Perhaps representing these visceral valuations is just the beginning, like snowflakes that become an avalanche? They demonstrate some of the infinite ways that we can "be one" (Savoy, 2015, p. 2) with the natural world and with one another as humans.

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