

AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF

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Abstract approved: _

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Timber-dependent, rural communities in the Pacific Northwest face dramatic economic, political, and cultural change. New philosophies of forest management, primarily formulated in urban communities, require new approaches to the use and extraction of resources. What are the roles of rural communities that wish to adapt and sustain themselves? Two rural communities, one from Washington State, and one from Oregon, serve as case studies for coping with change. These cases build an ethnographic foundation on which to explore the rural-urban dynamic. The theories that elaborate the rural-urban relationship are central-place theory, and hermeneutic theory, which is used to understand the symbols and meaning of actions and ideas. Adaptive management, with new power relations, provides one possible solution to expedite the environmental and cultural sustainability of rural communities.

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**Nature and Culture in Two Pacific Northwest
Timber-Dependent Communities**

by

Amanda Six

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I understand that my thesis will become part of the permanent collection of Oregon State University libraries. My signature below authorizes release of my thesis to any reader upon request.

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Amanda Six, Author

This thesis is dedicated to the men and women of the rural Pacific Northwest who believe in their way of life, respect the natural environment, and would like to gain the knowledge and power necessary to have their voices heard.

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Nature and Culture in Two Pacific Northwest Timber-Dependent Communities

INTRODUCTION

Rural communities worldwide, have traditionally been politically, economically, and socially dominated by their urban counterparts. In the Pacific Northwest, the many communities based upon forest products have increasingly lost power to urban centers as the industry has grown and centralized. Many of the decisions made regarding resource management are made by urban based corporations and interest groups, while the people that are most directly affected are those living in rural areas. I hope to reach some conclusions that will facilitate the management procedures by integrating more of the people whose lives are completely intertwined with the forest and the ways in which it is used.

An anthropological study of a Western culture is complicated by our double usage of the word "culture." In a thesis which explores rural versus urban notions of life, the two meanings of culture become even more material to the understandings. In his book Distinction, Pierre Bourdieu feels that the notion of "culture" in its aesthetic sense should be integral to any study of "culture" in the sociological sense. Anthropology attempts to understand not only the consumption of cultural goods, but also their use within regulated social conditions. The different notions of "taste" that dictate legitimate aspects of culture must be acknowledged and understood to form a more complete picture of the distribution of cultural goods. This bifocused notion of culture will be fundamental to my use of anthropological theory, and my perspective of the reality I observe.

In order to ground my study in some aspect of "real life" I will be utilizing data that I collected in the Upper McKenzie Valley of west-central Oregon, during the summer of 1993. These data include field notes from interviews and observation, quantitative information from 283 surveys, and transcriptions from in-depth interviews, some of which were recorded. Furthermore, I will be employing transcriptions I collected from extensive interviews with ten members of a rural logging community in northeastern Washington State. These interviews were conducted for an anthropological study I did of the area in the summer of 1990, and are supplemented by extensive participant-observation notes.

The first chapter outlines and develops the theories used in this study. The second chapter describes the two rural communities used as case studies. This helps to increase the understanding of the cultural aspects imbedded in resource management. The final chapter explores the power relationships that have historically affected rural, timber-dependent areas, as well as, the potential for adaptability and sustainability of both rural communities and the natural environment upon which they depend.

Fundamentally, my research is about the social manifestations of forest management in the Pacific Northwest. There is a very tangible and necessary connection between social systems and environmental systems. The interplay between these two systems is highly interwoven and bi-directional. I report on this relationship, observe some of its faults, and propose some new directions.

METHODOLOGY

My fieldwork for this project was done in the Upper McKenzie Valley of west-central Oregon. I lived for three months at the H.J. Andrews Experimental Forest near the unincorporated town of Blue River, Oregon. I was an intern with the U.S. Forest Service at the Blue River Ranger Station and my internship supervisor was District Ranger Lynn Burditt. The purpose of my internship was to gather information about the different people, either locals or tourists, in the Upper McKenzie, and their relationship to, and understanding of, forest management. My research can be divided into three main categories: participant-observation, interviews, and a survey.

For participant-observation I attended several Forest Service meetings, often held in conjunction with other organizations and interest groups: BLM (Bureau of Land Management), EWEB (Eugene Water and Energy Board), MVRA (McKenzie Valley Residents Association), ODFW (Oregon Department of Fish and Wildlife), etc.

The interview category can be further broken down into formal and informal interviews. Formal interviews were pre-arranged, held with community members and leaders, and were longer and more in-depth than the informal interviews. The informal interviews were conducted in different places in the Upper McKenzie: the Cougar Hot Springs, various stores in the towns, at the Blue River Ranger Station, Delta Creek Campground, the Three Sisters Wilderness, and along the McKenzie River at boat landings, and fishing sites. In other words, I attempted to

vary not only the site, but the type of activity, in an attempt to reach a broad cross section of the population.

My use of the survey in my thesis is perhaps a bit unorthodox. After collecting the survey and compiling the data, I felt that the results were not useful for three reasons. First, my sample size of 283 was too small and too scattered among a wide range of interest groups to reflect anything concrete about a specific sub-culture. Second, the hermeneutic theory of anthropology that I use to understand cultural meaning does not jibe with the surface analysis gleaned from the survey. And third, because I gave the survey to people in the Upper McKenzie, regardless of their place of origin, I was unable to establish a significant distinction between rural and urban ideologies that would have augmented my use of central-place theory. Therefore, I have chosen to use the survey as a tool to explicate the knowledge and power differentials which resonate throughout the rural-urban continuum and interaction. I emphasize which individuals, based upon their biographic background, answered which questions, and the ways in which they responded. The survey is therefore a metaphor of the power processes I observed, rather than a collection of data which I found useful on its own.

The second case study for which I gained material was from the community of Selkirk in northern Pend Oreille County, Washington. My style of research in this area was very different from the Upper McKenzie. I was born and raised in Selkirk, continue to have family there, and therefore use a lifetime of personal knowledge and experience to supplement my formal anthropological research. In addition to my own knowledge of the area, I also conducted ten, very in-depth interviews with carefully chosen informants. They were selected on the basis of time

spent in the community (all were either natives or lifelong residents), their ability to be articulate, their diversity of community participation. I interviewed six men and four women of varying in age from 30 to 80. From this research I produced a separate ethnography (Six, 1991). on the area, and have used information from that report in my continuing research here.

CHAPTER ONE

THEORIES

CENTRAL-PLACE

"...city kids are richer, they have more opportunities, and it's easier to get jobs. They think us kids in small towns are just hicks, or they don't think about us at all."

-McKenzie High School senior, 1993

HERMENEUTICS

"The severe schools shall never laugh me out of the philosophy of Hermes, that this visible world is but a picture of the invisible wherein as in a portrait, things are not truly, but in equivocal shapes, and as they counterfeit some real substance in that invisible fabric."

-Sir Thomas Browne, 1665

I have structured my thesis around two separate, yet synergistic, theories of human life. The first is central-place theory, and the second is called hermeneutics. As used in this study, central-place theory deals primarily with the political, economic, and geographic spheres of inquiry, while hermeneutics pursues the symbols, or meanings, in everyday life. While each theory has its individual focuses, no aspect of human life is ever entirely separate from another. For example, the political processes and hierarchies present in our society are not independent of symbolic meaning and ordering: job titles, "power" neckties, and executive offices above managerial offices within a building, are all examples. Nevertheless, because certain theories accentuate and clarify specific aspects of the totality of human life, the theories will be used here in collaborative conjunction.

CENTRAL-PLACE THEORY

Central-place theory is the idea that population centers have more power (economic, political, and cultural) than the less populated areas surrounding them. "The population centers, whether small crossroads communities or large cities are geographically organized into hierarchical retail and public service markets" [Flora, et al 1992:165]. But before I formally elaborate the concept of central-place theory, it would perhaps be helpful to define "power." The concept of "power" that I will be using is based upon the works of Michel Foucault. Power, for Foucault is a very complex, multi-layered concept that goes much further into the

cultural fabric than simply domination and submission. He writes: "What makes power hold good, what makes it accepted, is simply the fact that it doesn't only weigh on us as a force that says no, but that it traverses and produces things, it induces pleasure, forms knowledge, produces discourse. It needs to be considered as a productive network which runs through the whole social body, much more than as a negative instance whose function is repression" [Foucault 1984:61]. Thus, the influence of the center, over the periphery, in central-place theory, is primarily a production of power, or knowledge. Power is not an inherent characteristic of an enmassed population center; the power must be constructed, utilized, and legitimated. And perhaps most importantly, power is produced, i.e. legitimated, by the powerless as much as it is by the powerful. Furthermore, the centers extract power, people, resources, ideas, products, etc., from the peripheries, leaving them not only quantitatively diminished, but qualitatively abridged. Wendell Berry writes that in the United States today there are great powers "centered almost exclusively in our great commercial and industrial cities, which have drawn irresistibly into themselves both the products of the countryside and the people and talents of the country communities" [Berry 1990:155]. While Berry perhaps adds a moralistic component to central-place theory, he does a fine job of expounding the on-the-ground ramifications of the "great centralizing effect;" both upon the economy and the people involved. Central-place theory also has an implicit notion that political, economic, or social influences emanating from an urban area may, and often do, affect rural areas, but not the other way around. Urban areas are all-encompassing, rural areas are limited in their influence.

An interesting aspect of central-place theory is that it is in many ways a "native" theory in this study of rural communities. In other words, it is a theory actively used by the very people this thesis studies. Rural people have intuited and discussed the very notions configuring central-place theory for centuries. In the Selkirk Valley, for example, when the cement plant and main source of employment for the community was closed, there was a very palpable sense that an urban center had, without a thought to the livelihood of a community, heedlessly decamped. A third generation employee of the plant summed up his feelings:

"I just love the people I work with, and I mean here ya' walk to work and all these kinds of things... Everything looked to me like we were doin' well enough that it might continue to operate, and then lo' and behold, in March...it was really strange because there was some bigwigs that came down from the corporate offices in Calgary, and we thought they were there on some kinda' union business... Maybe we got somewhat blinded in we wanted to believe so bad that it was gonna continue to operate. We shoulda' known better, but what could we do?" [resident of Selkirk]

The people in numerous resource-dependent communities have lived for years, and generations, with the understanding that the products they extract and produce are managed and utilized primarily by urban centers. Today, many sociologists and political scientists even use metaphors of feudalism and colonialism to articulate the rural-urban relationship in the United States today.

For urban people, however, central-place theory may not seem so self-evident. Wendell Berry writes: "For a long time now, the prevailing assumption has been that if the nation is all right, then all the localities within it will be all right also. I see little reason to believe this is true. At present, in fact, both the nation and the national economy are living at the expense of localities and local communities- as all small-town and

country people have reason to know" [Berry 1990:167]. For urbanities, the system of resource extraction has, for the most part, been to their betterment. There has been little reason to question the system, much less participate in the rural culture which is most profoundly aware of the ramifications of urban domination.

As a supplement to the basic central-place theory, I will utilize Pierre Bourdieu's notion of "socially ranked geographical space" [Bourdieu 1984:124]. Essentially, Bourdieu states that a person's geographical distance from a "center" is, in and of itself, an important factor in determining that individual's access to power. He writes that "a group's real social distance from certain assets must integrate the geographical distance, which itself depends on the group's spatial distribution and, more precisely, its distribution with respect to the 'focal point' of economic and cultural values, i.e. (cities) or major regional centers" [Bourdieu 19984:124]. Thus while central-place theory recognizes the exchange and flow of power (social, economic, and political) between the center and periphery, Bourdieu's theory on geographic space adds both the dimension of physicality, and the ability to identify points along the rural-urban continuum.

Central-place theory is also valuable while exploring resource management because it is a model that may also be applied to land use patterns. The ways in which forest and land management policies are applied change as one moves from urban and population centers to the periphery and non-population areas. Extrapolating to one more level, it is possible to correlate tangible land use practices with the philosophies of resource management, and the locale of the postulating agency or

individual on the rural-urban spectrum. At this level, it is advantageous to move onto the theory of hermeneutic anthropology.

HERMENEUTICS

Hermeneutic anthropology means interpretive anthropology. The word hermeneutic "refers to Hermes, messenger of the Greek gods, and himself god of eloquence and cunning as well as of roads and theft" [Shapiro 1984:23]. Initially, the hermeneutic method was used to analyze Biblical texts in search of God's hidden meanings. In contemporary anthropology it refers to an epistemology and methodology in which human life may be understood and explained by searching (a connection to the god of roads?) for the meaning imbedded in the representational "forms" inherent in all aspects of human interaction. This statement presumes two things: first, that no human understanding of the world (and therefore his or her interaction in it) occurs without the mediation of symbols; second, that social scientists are capable of not only discovering what the meanings mean, but why those meanings are significant in the culture at all. The latter assumption leads directly to the foundation of this interpretive process: the "hermeneutic circle." While Wilhelm Dilthey (a turn-of-the-century German philosopher) coined the phrase and helped drag the whole concept into the social sciences, it is Clifford Geertz who eloquently describes the circle: "Hopping back and forth between the whole conceived through the parts which actualize it and the parts conceived through the whole which motivates them, we seek to turn them, by a sort of intellectual perpetual motion, into explications of one another" [Geertz 1986:86]. In other words, symbolic anthropology is not simply

using a few high profile cultural symbols as a sort of sieve through which all the culture may be strained and made clear, it is an intellectual exercise in using human action to acknowledge and explain a culture, and vice versa. Hermeneutics is a method of inquiry which emphasizes semantic, as opposed to logical or causal, organization. As a paradigm for the study of human life, however, hermeneutics was not suggested until the twentieth century when Martin Heidegger wrote in 1927 that "the hermeneutic method is the appropriate approach for the study of human action" [Packer 1989:1081].

I share Clifford Geertz's notion of culture as being essentially semiotic; culture is composed of "structures of signification." Reality is socially constructed and everything we think, know, and analyze is accessible to us through publicly shared and disseminated symbols. The globs of sound that say "green" are entirely arbitrary to either the color, the sense of jealous emotion, or the environmental movement, but nevertheless represent at least three examples of reality as English speakers perceive it. Furthermore, the act of saying "green" is a symbolic act of human communication. This last aspect is important because it emphasizes the human action (an important notion in hermeneutic anthropology with a major contribution from the works of Max Weber¹) and the nonexistent state of culture stasis (although, of course, inaction, may at times actually constitute action; the null hypothesis of social behavior). As Geertz says, "man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun" [Geertz 1973:5]. And I would finish, with emphasis on the kinetic tense, "continues to spin."

¹Weber stresses the importance of observing human action in the study of society (although it should be remembered that non-action is itself a type of action.)

Hermeneutics is the theory of interpretation. It is ultimately concerned with discovering the meaning of human activity. All meaning in human life is symbolically represented; nothing, not even the physical world, has meaning for us (and is therefore real) except in the ways that human cognition has structured it in a network of significance. It is intellectually impossible for us to imagine a world free of our imposed meanings. That does not make the world any less "real", or somehow diluted because of human interpretation, it is simply the way our brains deal with our existence. Granted, hermeneutics itself is a human construction, but it is one step closer to being applicable to human activity than paradigms modeled after the natural sciences because it is not a model of a model.

Work in the natural sciences follows a pattern of observation, verification, and prediction. These scientists interpret the physical world and make statements and laws about it. Even for these scientists, the world must pass through their human cognitive systems and be regurgitated as "true" or "false", and either way it is but a small part of a complex of meaning only accessible via representation. So in this practice of interpretation and explanation, natural scientists are hermeneutic. The added complexity in the social sciences is that the object of study, human culture, is already a product of interpretation. This makes for a kind of double hermeneutic; an interpretation of an interpretation. First, an interpretation of the world by a human brain trained in a culture, and second, by another cultured human brain trained in hermeneutic anthropology. Consequently, the logic and methodology of the social sciences, or in this present case anthropology in particular, cannot simply mirror the practice of the single-level interpretation of the natural

sciences. As academic disciplines, the natural sciences have been able to come to a great deal of consensus, agreement, and mutual understanding by virtue of the interpreted construction of the non-sentient world they have co-designed. This is not to say that this construction of physical reality is somehow faulty because it is a human fabrication; on the contrary, that is simply the only way we can comprehend reality, and any consensus we can agree upon (in terms of 'scientific proof') is beneficial to human existence.

Anthropology, however, is dealing with a confounded situation. This does not make it a lesser-science, or a hopeless undertaking, it just makes it a different sort of intellectual exercise. We are not seeking to find one raw social reality which we social scientists may interpret for our accumulative knowledge bank (as natural scientists do of the physical world.) The social reality is already an interpretation, and that is what we study. Anthropologists attempt to explain the various ways in which human cultures have devised to interpret the world. We do that by participant observation; an attempt to gain mutual knowledge with the actors in a given cultural situation. Obviously easier said than done. We try to figure out the actors' reasons for their actions (that is, their interpretations of what is going on) and not some mystical "real" reason behind their acts, thoughts, emotions, or beliefs. There is no "real" there because there is no social "reality" apart from the interpretation of the actors themselves. So, in my work in the Northwest regarding forest management issues, I asked people what they think, how they feel, where they get their ideas, and I watched their social interaction with others to see in what way they actualize their notions, and what concepts are significant in their actions, and ultimately, why. Significantly, I was also

inescapably a part of their social world, and so my notions and actions too, were part of the social environment in which they exist.

An argument may be launched that if anthropology is simply an individual's interpretation of somebody else's interpretation, then we are simply caught in a giant tautology. It must be kept in mind, however, that an individual's perception of reality is a product of socialization, and action in that social world, and therefore is not simply a version of reality sprung impossibly from the individual. In an extreme position it could be argued that a small group of individuals may construct their own reality. In theory that may be true, but it does not happen in human life (even new and deviant sub-cultures are fundamentally based in the construction of reality the actors were socialized in). An individual may construct, wholly independent of others, a reality that is an "ideal type" in Weber's sense. That merely provides an epistemological framework in which to practice anthropology; it is not considered to exist in a pure form in social reality. In other words, reality for humans is fundamentally a social experience. The ways in which we understand and negotiate our way through life are culturally devised, and culture is a group experience even at the individual level of expression. Thus, humans, not to mention culture, are dependent on the social networks which sustain their respective realities. Those networks are known, symbolically, as "communities."

At the very basis of my theory of culture is the notion of "community." Community is the locally constructed symbol of social action. All cultures do not, of course, use the word "community" or even have a concept exactly parallel, and filled with all the connotations, that we have. The point is that all cultures build into their process of

socialization a sense of "us versus them." Notice how a woman from the Upper McKenzie Valley changes her definition of where she is from depending upon whom she is talking to. The "us" and the "them" is different in each case:

I guess I think of myself as being from Blue River. Sometimes, if I'm in Eugene, or somewhere else, I tell people I live up the McKenzie. People along the river often say they 'live on the McKenzie,' which mostly means they don't live in Eugene or Springfield- thank goodness." [woman from the Upper McKenzie]

This is "us versus them" identification is at the very core of defining "self" (again variously defined cross-culturally) and is therefore at the core of all social interaction: the "public" that Geertz requires for his "systems of meaning" to work is ultimately composed of individual actors.

For Geertz, however, and many other symbolic anthropologists, the "system of meaning" seems to exist in a conceptual realm divorced from symbolic signification. Marshall Sahlins, for example, in his articulation of "the sense of a sign", writes that "it is complete and systematic only in the society (or community of speakers) as a whole" [Sahlins 1985:ix]. This definition is deficient, however, because Sahlins inadvertently suggests that the relationships between people are a prerequisite for symbolic interaction, when in reality, these interactions are themselves symbolically represented. The relationships between people must have meaning for any symbolic system to work at all. This is not to claim that the social relationships are somehow a priori to systems of meaning, rather the point is that the systems are reciprocally defining, maintaining, and reconstructing. Established relationships among people, that precipitate any given interaction, are themselves integral to the system which gives those interactions meaning. It is ironic that in the

pursuit of understanding why society sticks together, social scientists often take the existence of a self-defined society, or community, for granted. Through non-definition, a "community" merely becomes a coincidence of human bodies, time, and geography. It is through an interactive system that anything has meaning at all. Perhaps it would be beneficial to clarify what a "system of meaning" is.

A system of meaning is a notion indicative of the complex, interwoven, and dynamic processes of daily human life. We all have patterns, habits, and expectations incorporated into our actions and thoughts, private and social. These actions, in turn, have "meaning" as part of the total complex of which each is a reflection of some other. The "meaning" behind every part of our lives need not be explicit or obvious to us. It hardly could be. Rather, the point is that "meaning" here implies action or use (physical or mental), and not necessarily cogency or completion by the actor, in terms of a larger social reality through which it is simultaneously a re-action to, and pre-action for, another constituent or process of human life. A "system of meaning" is made somewhat tangible, both for actors and anthropologists, in its mirrored reality of a "symbol system." This is not to say that a symbol system is a false or constructed reality. On the contrary, the two systems (in so far as they are even distinguishable) are necessary manifestations of each other. Meaning has no meaning without a system of symbols, and a symbol does not exist without a system of meaning to interpret and act upon it. About symbol systems Geertz writes: "...they are extrinsic sources of information in terms of which human life can be patterned- extra personal mechanisms for the perception, understanding, judgment, and manipulation of the world" [Geertz 1973:216]. The "extrinsic" in this

definition implies the social world (versus innate or biological impulses) which are social, or interdependent, because of a system of meaning.

COMMUNITY

Fundamentally, community means human interaction. The word comes from "Latin *communis*, common" [American Heritage Dictionary, pg. 210]. For people to communicate there must be some basis of communality. "An assumption which has no contextual effect in a given context is irrelevant in that context. In other words, having some contextual effect in a context is a necessary condition for relevance" [Sperber and Wilson 1986:121]. And all human understanding is dependent upon the mediation of symbols. Therefore, the context itself must be symbolically represented for interaction and communication to be relevant. The symbol of "community" is exactly what represents the contextual framework upon which all other symbols gain their significance. "Community" is the symbol representative of the common ground people endorse in the act of relating to other human beings, and other symbols. But humans do not live in a vacuum with no natural environment; they are a product and producer of the environment around them. Culture, even in contemporary, urban America is effected by the natural environment in which it exists. At extremes, Miami, Florida, and Anchorage, Alaska are very different sub-cultures within the larger context of the United States, and Western cultures in general. Each city is, to a profound extent, dependent upon, and effected by, the natural environment in which it exists. An historian of local history tries to draw this link between place and people: "The cultural fabric of any region is a result of the interaction of culture and environment" [Rothman 1993:9].

And as communication increases worldwide, our environmental awareness shifts more and more to a global perspective. Culture shifts from a "sense of place" to a sense of places.

"Community" is an impression deeply imbedded in the psyche of Western cultures. It connotes images of the cozy, well-kept villages we first learned about in fairy tales. To this day, rural areas are still romanticized as the keepers of the flame that burn for the values of simplicity, naturalness, and friendly, honest people. Here is how a reporter, writing in 1990 for the Seattle Post Intelligence, described the community of Selkirk:

"...everyone seems to know each other. Most of them met their husbands and wives in grade school... Their fathers and fathers' fathers logged the hillsides and mined for zinc and lead. Quiet rhythms prevail here, a well-honed sense of order. Boots, cowboy hats, and a bottle of beer. No nonsense. No putting on airs... Every Fourth of July, the townsfolk come together over on the other side of the river, where the popular Smith clan has lived for generations... It seems as if half the girls in Ione are married to one of the blue-eyed Smith boys." [Seattle P-I, October 8, 1990, pg. C-4].

In other parts of the article the community is referred to as a "rugged hamlet," and a "sliver of civilization that lies at the swirling feet of the Pend Oreille River, tucked away in a lonesome corner of northeast Washington" [Ibid.]. The author of this article, writing for a primarily urban audience, opts for the familiar, idealized tropes used to depict rural communities. The implicit flip-side of this stereotype is that urban areas are mired with impersonal people, immorality, superficiality, not to mention crime and violence. The sociological counterpart to this folk-idea of the dichotomy between rural and urban was primarily developed in the late 19th century by Ferdinand Tonnies. In 1887, Tonnies published his book Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft, contrasting the ideal social types

translated respectively as "community" and "association" [McNeill 1988:31]. An important motivation for Tonnies in the formation of his theory was what he viewed as post-industrial decline of the quality of life for many people; especially urban ones. Many subsequent sociologists worked hard at preserving, both empirically and ideologically, the romantic perceptions of "community." As a result, a model formed wherein "rural=gemeinschaft=good" and "urban=gesellschaft=bad" [McNeill 1988:31]. By the 1930s, however this cut and dried division of society was seen as over-simplified and detrimental to understanding the complexity of reality. Sociologist Robert Redfield proposed what he called a "folk-urban continuum" [McNeill 1988:31]. And while this spectrum approach did acknowledge the variety of societal scenarios possible, it was still very much two dimensional in its premise. Both Tonnies' dichotomy and Redfield's continuum depend upon ideals and artificial distinctions. Neither view could adequately explain, for example, tight-knit "communities" within some inner-cities, or increasingly higher rates of rural crime.

Clearly, using "community" as an image which is somehow representative of an ideal, pristine rural state is inimical to the study of rural areas. This would result in a skewed perception of both rural culture, and the urban centers in contrast. Undeniably, the United States has become more urban in the last century: "In 1986-1987, rural areas saw a net out-migration of one million, with the higher educated more likely to leave" [Flora 1992:49]. Nevertheless, this does not necessarily parallel a loss of "community." Furthermore, as Paul Rabinow puts it, "the aim is not to uncover universals or laws, but rather to explicate context and world" [Rabinow 1987:14]. Ruralness is based upon

"population size as well as distance from an urban center" [Flora 1992:6]. Community, as used here, symbolizes the bonds between people that make their social interaction significant. Therefore, ruralness and community exist on two different levels. "Rural" is a concept based upon geography and demography. "Community" is an abstraction of societal interplay. A community may, or may not, be in a rural locale. As one sociologist puts it, "Community, then, can be better defined as an experience than as a place" [Bender 1978:6].

In rural studies, "community" can be an especially ambiguous term because the word is often overused. "In one use of the term, community refers to a place, a location in which a group of people interact with one another. A second use of the term looks at the social system itself, the organization or set of organizations through which a group of people meet their needs. Finally, sociologists use community to describe a shared sense of identity held by a group of people" [Flora, et al., 14]. I take this idea one step further to using "community" not only as a staging area to gain data and understanding, but also a locally realized symbol of social structure.

The notion of "community" implies boundaries. These boundaries exist on many levels: political, geographic, demographic, etc. The way an individual articulates his or her "community" differs depending upon the situation. Boundaries, in turn, imply limits to a symbolic reality. The social world, in which any given symbol exists, is a demographically limited one because a symbol has meaning as part of a total cultural system, and as cultures differ so too do the symbols. Thus, even if two cultures, or sub-cultures, have some abstract ontological concept in common, it may be represented and concretized in two very different

symbols. Geertz writes: "It is thus not truth that varies with social, psychological, and cultural context but the symbols we construct in our unequally effective attempts to grasp it...what is socially determined is not the nature of conception but the vehicles of conception" [Geertz 1973:212]. At the basis of this theory is simply the premise that symbols require social action and use. This in turn implies a need for consistent human interaction which simultaneously maintains and redefines the symbol in question. At the level of "community" I studied in Oregon and Washington, face-to-face interaction is common, and personal knowledge of the other person, or group in question, is prevalent. This makes the reinforcement and constructing of symbolic interaction even more prominent. Social interaction itself achieves symbolic import in its understood capacity to disseminate knowledge and define relationships, or the lack thereof. That is, human social action may reinforce and construct symbols to mediate reality, but only if the relations between the people who are doing the interacting have some level of understood meaning (i.e. are themselves part of the society's symbol system). This meaning in the social relationship, which mediates the interaction, which mediates knowledge, is in itself symbolically represented.

This notion of bearing in mind the whole context while focusing on specific details or symbols is what is meant by the "hermeneutic circle." The "circle" is fundamental to the interpretive process employed by the anthropologist in his or her work. It is sort of an oscillation back and forth, a constant reaffirmation, between specific details and the total cultural system. In an article by Clifford Geertz, "On the Nature of Anthropological Understanding," he elucidates this methodological process by explaining how one comes to understand baseball. To simply

know what a mitt, ball, pitcher's mound, foul ball, grounder, double play, and sacrifice fly are is to scarcely begin to understand the game as a whole. You must continually move back and forth between the "whole" game, and the details that comprise it. It is the same process when an anthropologist studies a culture and the social interaction within it.

LINKING THEORIES

The theories used in this thesis originate at different levels of analysis. Central-place theory is grounded in the pragmatics of economics, politics, and geography. Hermeneutics, on the other hand, is the sphere of abstraction (though realized through action). The theories meet at the concept of "community."

All the symbols in a given culture may be interrelated and mutually defining, but not all have equal importance, either for the native or the anthropologist. "Community" is significant precisely because it is a symbol of the social relations that exist in order for other symbols to be meaningful. "Community" is the symbol of a social structure whose structure exists and is meaningful to its human participants because of emotional bonds. This is not simply a redefinition of structure. A structure is an abstraction, by a social scientist, of a social reality; "community" is the symbol used "on the ground" in actual social human action and understanding of the world, and therefore by each actor in his or her interaction with the social totality as he or she is aware of it, and his or her participation in it. "Community" is the local interpretation of the universal human phenomenon of social structures. This is not to say that all cultures and societies have an equivalent of our word community,

or even a parallel concept. All human cultures do, however, have some sense of cohesion and conceptual boundaries, incorporated in their structure, of inclusion to the exclusion of the "other." I am explicitly not arguing that cultural boundaries are closed. I am suggesting, however, that every human individual has a notion of herself or himself as a part of a social group, which in turn has defined itself as such. Self-defined social structures are symbolic in and of themselves, and as symbols are manipulated by an individual in her or his understanding of both a social totality and her or his participation in it. Because of the primacy of human interaction in any social world, "community," as a local representation of such interaction, is integral to the local system of symbols.

A symbol exists only in the context of other symbols and the systems of meaning that integrate them. "Significance," as Paul Rabinow puts it, "resides in the whole" [Rabinow 1975:98]. A symbol at any specific moment in time can be used in social action, by individual actors, as a consequence of its mutual relationship with that moment's total historical context, including: geography, demographics, and economics. That historical moment is not merely a distinctive time, it is a particular dynamic of social reality as perceived by the actors participating in it. The symbol of "community" is representative of the relationships that make that moment a meaningful social reality to the participants: the meaning of "community" is every bit as dynamic as the "reality" it signifies.

In the realm of forest and land management, there are many kinds of boundaries. There are cultural and sub-cultural boundaries; and to take it a step further, there are symbolic systems only meaningful to a given organization. Obviously, the extreme political positions of groups

such as Earth First! and the timber industry are on many levels part of the same culture. Their shared cultural symbols are in and of themselves are interesting, but do little to uncover the process of "meaning" propagation and use by a given group in contrast to another group. In other words, differences, at the symbolic level are boundary lines between groups and sub-cultures.

Now that the theories, or tools for interpretation and understanding, have been elaborated, the next step is application. In the following chapters I will first compare and contrast two separate rural "communities" where fieldwork was conducted. No two rural communities are alike, even those dependent upon the same resource. By contrasting two rural communities, we will gain a richer understanding of uniquenesses in each place, as well as a greater awareness of common threads. Furthermore, the way in which each community interacts with its nearest urban center colors its history, and its present. In the final chapter, I will explore the power relations and channels that dominate the processes of forest management and use in the Pacific Northwest. I will first analyze the broad rural-urban dynamic, then look at the historical idiosyncracies of the timber communities in the Northwest, and finally at the specific political processes that I observed in the two communities where I conducted fieldwork. When referring to the rural-urban "dynamic," I am simply attempting to invoke the ever-changing and on-going interaction along the continuum between rural and urban communities.

As a conclusion, I will briefly offer the possibility of solutions and new paths to explore in resource management. Solutions must come in

the form of long term, both for the natural resources and the rural communities that exist within them.

CHAPTER TWO

SENSE OF PLACE

"Sometime in the last ten years the best brains of the Occident discovered to their amazement that we live in an Environment...We know once more that we live in a system that has its own kind of limits, and that we are interdependent with it...knowing who and where are intimately linked."

-Gary Snyder, The Old Ways

As an academic discipline, anthropology has traditionally studied the numerous human cultures of this planet: their idiosyncrasies, their universalities, and the skills and knowledge they gathered in order to adapt to an amazing variety of natural environments. Over the past half-century, we have become increasingly aware of the natural environment upon which we depend. This awareness raises many questions about human nature, culture, and our link to physical environments. It is a responsibility of contemporary anthropologists to consider the human phenomenon of maladaptation, as well as adaptation. We must consider the things humans are doing wrong; especially given the ecosystemic impacts. In this study of two Western, rural communities, the ethnographic perspective focuses on cultural adaptability in the face of environmental degradation. Both of the communities in which fieldwork was conducted are facing the inevitability of an accelerated cultural change brought about by forces external to them. As we will see, they were both settled and developed as resource extraction communities; both began as mining camps but later included, and primarily became, forest and timber oriented.

Throughout the latter half of this century, it became very apparent that the methods of forest and land management, geared for resource extraction, which established and sustained many rural areas in the Pacific Northwest for over a hundred years, was reaching an end. Of course, the problems had been building for decades, but by the 1980s, many areas had reached a critical level that became impossible to ignore. With increases in a public demand for timber products and technological advances in the industry, the seemingly endless forests of the Northwest

were being cut faster than at any time in history. The physical environment found itself in a serious predicament and now the human cultures themselves have finally been threatened enough to start thinking about possible change. There is a lag time between an environmental crisis and a social crisis such that cultural change must often deal with frantic issues instead of having the flexibility to gradually phase in change. The timber industry, the federal and state land managers, and the rural communities were not quick enough to head off a crisis resulting in drastic political measures which forced everyone to sit up and pay attention. In 1991, a U.S. District Court Judge in Seattle, Judge Dwyer, halted logging in areas that were habitat for the northern spotted owl. He decreed that the federal government, environmental organizations, timber companies, private citizens, and other vested interest groups must come up with a management plan aimed toward long-term sustainability of the natural environment.

On April 2, 1993, a "Forest Conference" was held in Portland, Oregon. The conference was attended by a wide range of interest groups and power levels, from rural community members, to Native American leaders, to timber companies, and even President Bill Clinton and Vice President Al Gore. While attempting to find a forest and land management plan that would meet the needs of economy, society, and the environment, it became increasingly evident that the links between human society and the natural environment were as relevant as biology and forest science in understanding the complexity of an ecosystem. Of paramount importance was the status of rural communities immediately threatened by economic losses due to cutbacks in timber extraction and production. The phrase for this specific issue is "community stability,"

which has its roots in the Forest Management Act of 1976. The concept was further elaborated in the FEMAT (Forest Ecosystem Management Assessment Team) report which was the product of numerous research groups formed following the Forest Conference. And, as is evident from the current upheaval in the forest industries, and in the way of life centered around timber, stability does not necessarily mean stasis or maintenance of a status quo. Members of the research teams that contributed to the FEMAT report came up with a definition of community stability that incorporates the idea of adaptability and flexibility necessary in areas dependent upon a fluctuating economic base, such as the timber industry. The definition of community stability is as follows: "The capacity of a community (incorporated town or county) to absorb and cope with change without major hardship to institutions or groups within the community" [FEMAT, Chap. IX, pg. 6].

This analysis of two communities impacted by changes in the forest industry, will assess the "stability" of the community in terms of its ability to change and evolve. In so far as this is an ethnographic study, the focus will emphasize the tools available in the culture that are used to ensure sustainability through adaptation. Stability does not mean stasis, it means being able to gracefully acknowledge change. Two broad areas have been isolated for this analysis: (1) economic strength, resourcefulness, and success, and (2) socio-cultural adaptability in relation to a natural environment as evidenced in local knowledge, history, and emotion. Both of these aspects of society are dependent upon, and inextricably influenced by, the political processes internal and external to the community, and will not be extracted from that context. Therefore, economic and social adaptability must be observed and

understood as fundamentally part of power structures and political hierarchies.

THE LOCALITIES

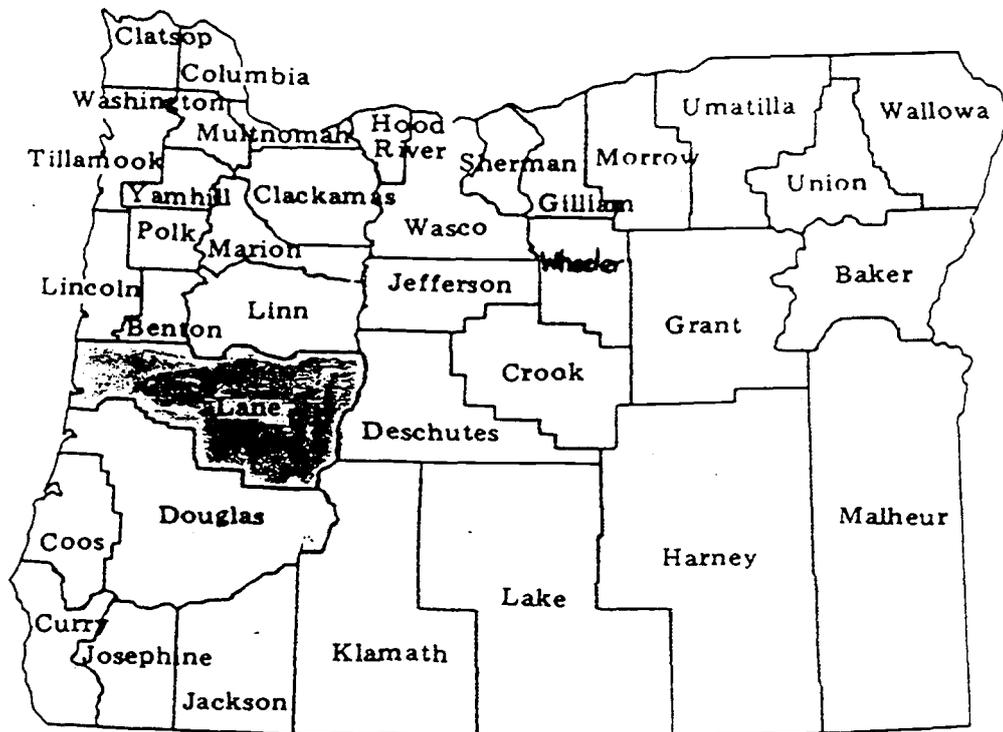
In order to separate the concepts of "community" and "locality," I will use one sociologist's definition as he attempts to side-step the swamp of complexity the two can be bound in: "What a community does provide is what some sociologists now call 'locality,' a geographically defined place where people interact. The way in which people interact shapes the structures and institutions of the locality. Those structures and institutions in turn shape the activities of the people who interact" [Flora, et al., 15]. Thus, "community" is the symbol of the bonds that occur between people in a social context, which is based in a "locality," or geographic place.

The Pacific Northwest is as diverse in its cultures and sub-cultures as it is in its ecosystems. In the states of Washington and Oregon, the Cascade Mountain range forms a prominent division, between the western third and the eastern two-thirds of each state. The western third is predominantly a wet, lush, maritime climate with a long growing season, and mild year-round temperatures. Washington's Olympic peninsula is even classified as a rain forest and has the highest rainfall of anywhere in the contiguous 48 states. The trees that grow on the west sides are massive, dense, and are dominantly conifers such as douglas fir, cedar, and spruce. The eastern side of the states, however, are caught in a massive rain shadow, and make a stark contrast to the wet western edges. The inland areas tend to be high and dry, and given over to

agriculture. At the eastern edge of both states however, the rain shadow effect dissipates, and the western slopes of the Rockies rise up. The forests here again become lush with a mixture of cedar, firs, tamaracks, birches, cottonwoods, and pine. The two timber-dependent communities I have chosen to study occur in two very distinct biospheres. One is on the western slopes of the Cascades in central Oregon, and the other is on the western slopes of the Rockies in the extreme northeastern corner of Washington.

The first of these communities is in the Upper McKenzie Valley east of Eugene, Oregon.

(Map 1:a State of Oregon)

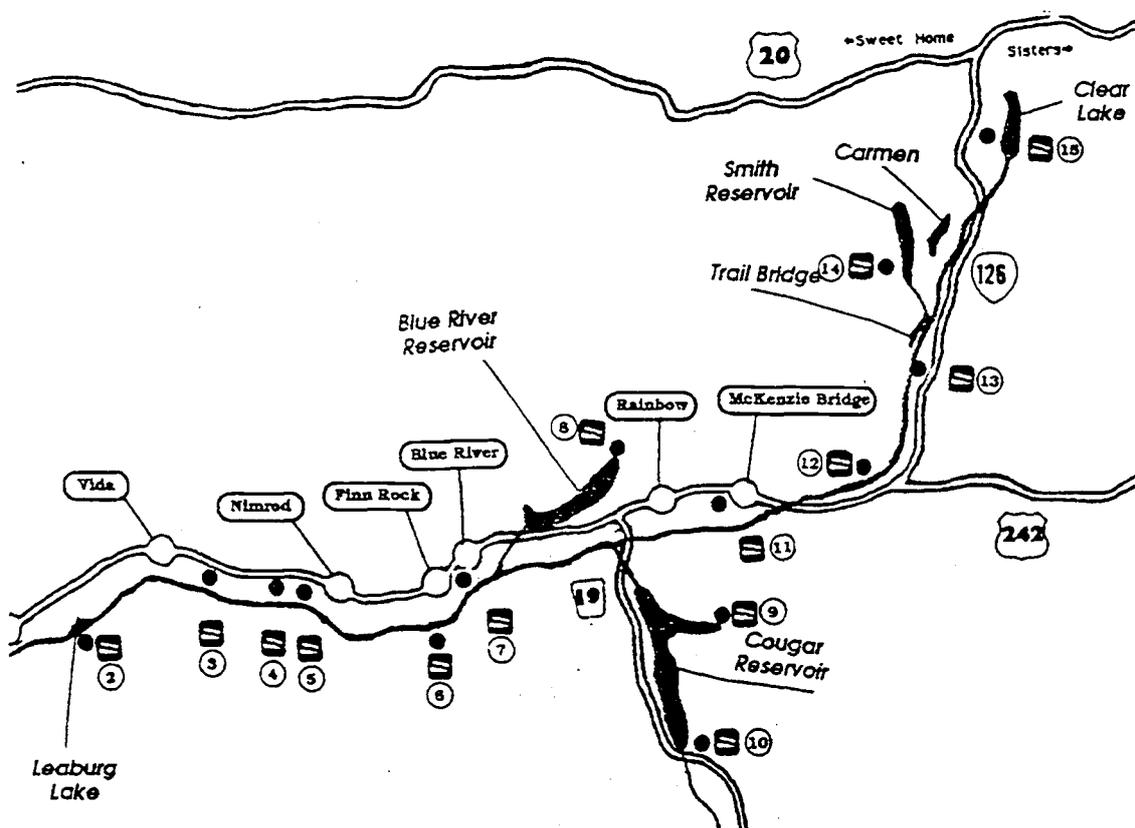


The McKenzie River flows west out of the central Cascades of Oregon, and joins the Willamette River near the city of Eugene as the river heads north. The McKenzie is a fast, shallow river, originating in three different wilderness areas. The valley it passes through is framed at the western end by the Three Sisters, which are three prominent peaks, of 10,085 to 10,358 feet and snow-covered year-round. The hills lining the narrow valley are steep and heavily wooded with firs, spruce, cedar, and there are several spots along the river where deciduous trees such as birch and cottonwood are common. Evidence of logging on the slopes is increasingly familiar, with some very prominent hillsides being entirely clear-cut. Despite the heavy harvesting in the valley, to the people in the nearest metropolitan area of Eugene-Springfield, the McKenzie valley is predominately thought of as a scenic, pristine recreation area. There are numerous river access points throughout the McKenzie Valley along the curvy Highway 126 out of Eugene. During the summer months it is common to see swimmers, fishers, white-water rafters, and picnickers throughout the valley. One 42-year-old woman from Eugene, interviewed while hiking in the McKenzie Valley, referred to the area as "God's country." She went on to say that "It's so easy for us to escape the city and come up here to spend the day. It's hard to go back to the city at night." This statement recognizes both the separateness of the locality from an urban area, as well as its proximity to that urban area.

Most of the data for this thesis were collected in the western end of the McKenzie Valley, that area closest to the Cascades and most removed from the metropolitan area. For the purpose of exactitude, I will use the local term of "Upper McKenzie" to refer to this part of the valley where my fieldwork was concentrated. This is not only a native, or local, label that is

occasionally used, but it is an attempt to further specify the locality in which the fieldwork was conducted. There are no incorporated towns in this area, but there are several unincorporated communities.

(Map 1:b Community of the Upper McKenzie. Numbers indicate boat ramps along the river.)



Taken together, the communities of the upper valley see themselves as being one large community, though with oscillating boundaries. While locals have no trouble articulating where they are from geographically along the river, expressing their understanding of the social ties and alliances among the people is harder. As one Upper McKenzie resident put it, "The community is hard to define here. There are no obvious breaking off points; places just tend to run into each other." In other words geographic and social boundaries are not consistently concentric. One reason for this is the linear nature of the community stretching approximately from milepost 25 to milepost 60. The valley is narrow, and a single road stretches up its length. Because of this, and since there are no incorporated towns with a lot of services, people tend to only go up the valley from Eugene as far as their home. Specific points along the community are usually referred to by their milepost numbers, as demarcated from the urban area. When people describe where they live, they usually cite the milepost nearest their driveway, instead of an adjacent community. For example, "I live just past milepost 32 with the old green mailbox." Nevertheless, as in many rural places, the area encompassed by the school district serve as a starting point toward defining the community boundaries. The McKenzie School District is roughly parallel to the community of the Upper McKenzie valley, though as many locals point out, even these boundaries are not definite. This is especially the case at the center of the valley where many students travel into the metropolitan area of Springfield to attend school.

The primary area of my study in the Upper McKenzie centered around the unincorporated communities of Vida, Nimrod, Finn Rock, Blue River, and McKenzie Bridge. Nimrod and Finn Rock appear as

roadside stops dominated by a combination grocery store-gas station. Vestiges of little towns are present in the shape of an occasional abandoned house covered in moss, vines and blackberries. Some homes are still occupied in these concentrations of population, but through increased ease of transportation up and down the valley, the insular nature of these little towns is only an historical curiosity. The other three communities of Vida (pop. 400²), Blue River (pop. 350) and McKenzie Bridge (pop. 300) are somewhat larger, boasting a smattering of stores, the school-complex (grades K-12) in Blue River, and ranger stations in the latter two places.

The area was first settled in the 1860s as mining prospectors filtered up the valley, establishing claims and mines at various sites. By the late 1870s several areas had enough population to form community names and post offices. As time went on, the economy gradually shifted from mining to timber. Originally, there were several sawmills along the McKenzie, as well as up the numerous little hollows formed by the creeks that feed the river. Today the remnants of several mills can still be seen at various places along the valley, and timber continues to be the major source of income, while the mines have all gone into disuse. In the lower and middle part of the McKenzie Valley, agriculture became a viable way to make a living. Filbert, blueberry, and Christmas tree farms continue to be a fundamental part of the local economy in the mid-valley area. The identity of the Upper Valley, however, is timber and forest oriented; loggers, sawmill workers who commute to Eugene-Springfield, and Forest Service employees comprise the bulk of the work force.

²These population figures are as of 1992.

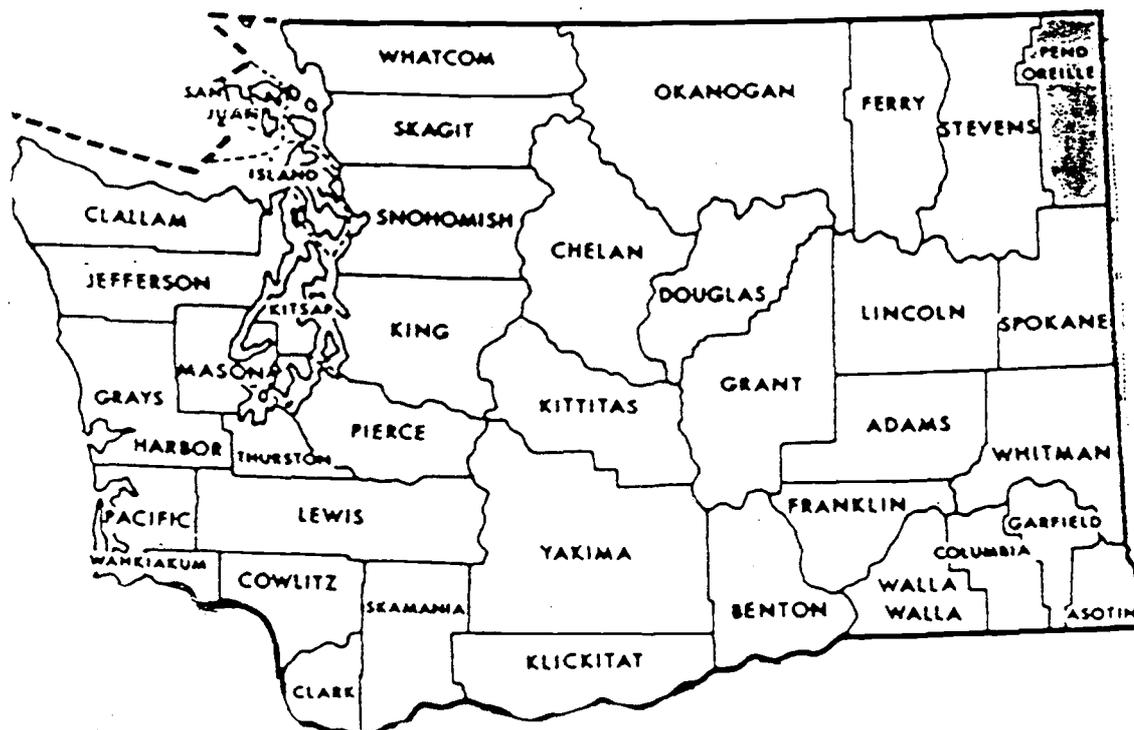
The Forest Service is a very high profile presence in the Upper McKenzie. Both McKenzie Bridge and Blue River, only five miles apart, have ranger stations. The pale green trucks and jeeps of the Forest Service are seen up and down the highway, and along many side roads. Locals, in fact, have come to utilize the rangers as a kind of road assistance crew, getting help with flat tires, dead batteries, stalled cars, or directions when lost in the maze of Forest Service and logging roads which lace the hills. Other than the school district, which hires a lot of part-time employees, the Forest Service is the major employer in the area. Interestingly, however, one-third of the people who work for the Forest Service actually live in the Eugene-Springfield area, and commute up the valley to work (this fact will be further elaborated in Chapter Three.) Nevertheless, the Forest Service is seen as integral to the area and serves somewhat in the capacity of a community center in the absence of any other. For example, community action groups often use the Blue River ranger station conference hall to hold meetings. Forest Service employees also tend to be young, educated, energetic people who are valuable members of a variety of community organizations. Since there is no sawmill, and many of the loggers now log beyond community boundaries, the logging industry is somewhat dispersed. The loggers do not form a community center to rally around, but because of the proximity of the two ranger stations, the Forest Service is more than usually visible in the area.

In addition to the Upper McKenzie Valley, fieldwork was also done in the Pend Oreille Valley of northeastern Washington State. By utilizing fieldwork and analyses from two different sites, the divergences, similarities, and idiosyncracies of the two areas may be highlighted. The

comparisons will be between the rural communities themselves, as well as, the different ways they relate to their proximate urban dominions.

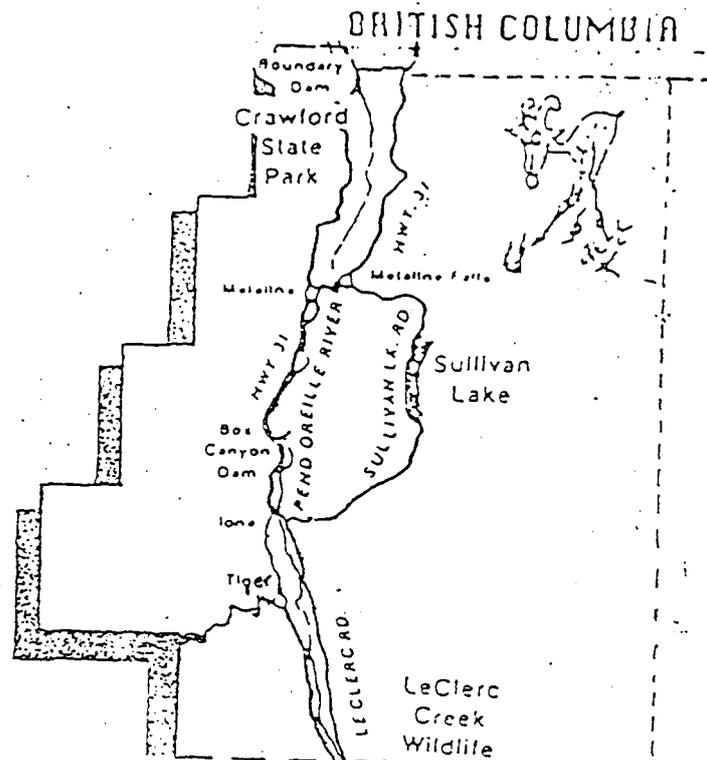
The Pend Oreille River flows north out of the United States from the extreme northeastern corner of Washington State and into southeastern British Columbia, Canada. The valley that the Pend Oreille River flows through is narrow and heavily wooded like the McKenzie, but its mountains are higher, the slopes steeper and more rugged, and the river is wider and much deeper. The valley floor is high, at just over 2,500 feet, and the year-round temperatures are cool, and the air clear.

(Map 1:c Map of Washington State)



The Selkirk Mountains, which the Pend Oreille flows through, are a sub-range of the Rockies as they cross down from Canada and were violently carved by numerous glaciers. (A glacier actually caused the entire river to switch direction as the ice receded in last Ice Age.) The Pend Oreille River is unusual in that it is the largest of only two rivers on the North American continent that flow north, and it is the third largest of only seven such rivers in the world. The significance of the north-flowing river in this study is that it flows into a foreign country (Canada) and away from the trade routes to the south. Therefore, trade along the valley has never completely developed.

(1:d Map of the Community of Selkirk)



The population of the largest town, Ione, has only gone down nine in the last 46 years; there is very little fluctuation. The river was also remarkably hazardous for travel because of numerous canyons and rapids; especially before the installation of Box Canyon Dam in 1954, and Boundary Dam in 1963. Local folk history tells of one early traveler on the river who commented upon observing Z-Canyon north of Metaline Falls, that the "river had to turn on its side to pass through." The community I studied in the Pend Oreille Valley is composed of three distinguishable towns and a few other small groupings of people. The three main towns are Ione (pop. 507), Metaline (pop. 190), and Metaline Falls (pop. 210). All together, these communities constitute the forty miles of the valley from the Canadian border south. Immediately to the east of the community is the Idaho state line, but it is at crest of a mountain range, and there are no roads over them into Idaho (one must drive a hour to the south before crossing into Idaho.) This northern end of the Pend Oreille Valley is dramatically described in a tourist pamphlet as:

"mountainous terrain with hidden valleys to surprise the traveler...deer, elk, bear, mountain goat, caribou, big horn sheep, and even an occasional grizzly bear, all make the mountains and valleys their home...the mighty eagle rules the skies and communities..."

I have chosen to call this community Selkirk. This is the name of the school district, which is concentric with the community boundaries, and it is also a name locals give to the area. Selkirk is not a place-name found on any map; it is a local conceptual category of northern Pend Oreille County and the social relationships in it. The existence of a community name, which is consistently used by the locals of Selkirk, helps to further identify boundaries and to develop the inclusive nature of

the community. This is in contrast to the Upper McKenzie, where there is no consistently used name to identify a particular area and the residents and social relationships within it. Albert Hunter, in Symbolic Communities, articulates the aspect of place names which helps to define the concept of "community" in an area: "A name distinguishes an area as unique...In the interaction and communication of individuals both within and without the local community, community names convey properties of both physical and social space" [Hunter 1974:68]. In northern Pend Oreille County, the name "Selkirk" has become symbolic of the physical and social space defining the community, while in the Upper McKenzie, no such name exists and the community boundaries are vague.

Here is how a resident of Selkirk described his sense of "community" in the place he lives: "There's a very strong sense of community here. It goes from Blueslide up to the Canadian border. You know everyone here and everyone knows you. I always feel like I've come home when I start up the hill at Blueslide." For this person, and many others in Selkirk, the physical place is symbolic of the social relationships that make the community so important. The social and geographic boundaries correspond to each other. Unlike the McKenzie Valley, the boundaries of the community of Selkirk do not oscillate. In Selkirk, the idioms of place are used to define social and cultural bonds. This is significant because it recognizes the nexus of the natural environment and communities: the "sense of place."

Both of these communities are, without a doubt, rural; both in geographic and in cultural orientation. Yet because of differences in location, history, and social composition, they differ in their degrees of

ruralness. "Ruralness" is a rather vague adjective and needs to be elaborated further. The two most important criteria for being rural are demography and geography. Each of these criteria can be further broken down into three components. Demography in this study incorporates three parts: population, population distribution, and generational continuity. Population obviously means the number of people in the community, while distribution refers to how spread out, or concentrated, the population is. Generational continuity refers to the existence, or lack thereof, of several generations of a family within the same community. The three aspects comprising geography are: distance of a community from an urban center, topographic isolation, and historical land use. Distance from an urban area, in sheer miles, influences a community's ruralness because urban values and ideas increase the closer a rural community is to the city. Topographic isolation refers to accessibility to an urban area, regardless of miles. A community which must travel over a mountain pass to get to a city 60 miles away, is more rural than one which is 60 miles from a city across a flat plain; the community over the mountains is more isolated. Historical land use indicates settlement, time, and development in an area. The more there is of any of those three components, the less rural the community is. As development increases, so do urban values, ideas, and orientations. This definition of "ruralness," by taking into account several factors, allows for a rather broad spectrum between the ideal extremes of rural and urban.

On this scale of ruralness, the community of Selkirk in the northern end of the Pend Oreille Valley is more rural than the community in the Upper McKenzie Valley. Selkirk, like the Upper McKenzie, is centered around several small towns, though unlike the Upper McKenzie,

three of those towns are incorporated. Despite the incorporation, however, the overall population density of northern Pend Oreille is slightly less than the Upper McKenzie Valley. The population of Selkirk was approximately 2,000 in 1990, and the population of the Upper McKenzie was just over 2,500 in the same year. The exact area of each community in square miles is impossible to define because both communities are strung rather intermittently along river valleys. Nevertheless, Selkirk claims about 40 miles of the northern end of the Pend Oreille river from the Canadian border south. The Upper McKenzie involves approximately 35 miles of the river valley. Furthermore, the Upper McKenzie is a fairly easy 45-minute drive to the Eugene-Springfield metropolitan area. The community of northern Pend Oreille County, however, is a good two hour drive, on rather curvy, mountain roads, to Spokane (population 185,300), an urban center of comparable size to Eugene-Springfield (populations 116,400 and 46,100 respectively). Furthermore, because of the relative proximity to an urban center, the McKenzie Valley has increasingly become a "bedroom community" for urban workers who commute daily to work. Retirees from all over the West also find the valley both rural enough to make a nice retirement, and close enough to the city to be near services. Both of these groups, the retirees and the commuters, have increased the urban-oriented values and ideas along the McKenzie. Neither group has any allegiance to the rural community around them.

The structure of the county that a rural community finds itself in is also a determining factor in the ruralness of the community. There are essentially two types of counties: urban and rural. A rural county is defined as having "no places of 2,500 or more population" [Flora 1992:9]. The community of the Upper McKenzie is in an urban community

because of the presence of the Eugene-Springfield metropolitan area centered in the county. Selkirk, in contrast, is in a very rural county, the largest town being the county seat of only 1,900, and at the extreme end of the county from Selkirk. There are two points to be made from the county context of a community. First, the presence of an urban area increases the overall tax base of the county, it tends to have more employment opportunities, and thus a more stable and prosperous economy, more political leverage, and subsequently, more cultural legitimacy. Secondly, the proximity of an urban area culturally effects the surrounding rural areas because people are able to commute, and or, spend a great deal of time and money in the urban area. The sum of these effects is that rural communities in urban counties have a good dose of urban ideology and culture such that they are less rural than communities in rural counties.

Thus, the McKenzie community is less rural than the Pend Oreille community on the rural-urban spectrum. This distinction is pointed out here in order to set the stage for many of the comparisons made throughout this thesis. While both communities are rural, even very rural, they are not equal in their ruralness.

Neither of these localities is presently assured of an ability to sustain either their communities or the natural environment upon which they depend. An exploration of the communities' ability to be "stable", i.e. adapt, however, will put us one more step toward exploring a practice of power and action which may take them further into their attempt to sustain their communities and their environments.

ECONOMICS

In most cases, the timber industry does not provide a very stable economic base for a rural community. Today the industry, at all levels, from management, to harvesting, to production, is wrought with unemployment. This is in part because of the rise and fall of product demand, determined to a large degree by the cost of living and house building. Most obviously however, the jobs are disappearing because the resource is diminishing and stricter timber cutting restrictions are being imposed on federal land. Unemployment is also, in many cases, generated by seasonal and meteorological factors; i.e. snow in the winters, forest fire restrictions in the summer (which restrict the use of a chainsaw to pre-dawn hours), wind at high elevations, mud in the spring, or lightening storms.

"My husband doesn't get a lot of work in the winter time, but we always come through. People just learn to do without a lot of things, and we know that we have to save enough money in the summertime to last us through the winter" [32-year-old wife of a logger in the Upper McKenzie].

Furthermore, logging is the most deadly occupation in the United States in terms of on-the-job deaths. It is also very physically demanding, necessitating early retirements, and fostering many injuries and chronic ailments such as bad backs, knees, missing limbs, or a loss of hearing from habitual use of heavy machinery and saws. The hours are also rarely ideal. For most loggers a common work day of daylight hours means leaving the house well before dawn to be at the cutting site by daylight. When there is work, the work week can be six to seven days long. Family life and responsibilities are difficult to maintain. One woman, who is a wife, daughter, grand-daughter, and sister of loggers describes her vantage point on the job:

"Bill (her husband) works in the woods, which is long hours ya' know, he probably works twelve to fourteen hours a day, and five days a week and a lotta times six. And if he's not in the woods, he's at the shop, but he makes lots of time for us (the four children and herself) too...sometimes he works too much, but that's his job and that's what ya' gotta do; ya' gotta work when it's there" [34 year-old wife of a logger in Selkirk].

And when a logger is not working the pressures of finding alternative work or the embarrassment and unease of unemployment make life stressful. In sum, the socio-economic realities of logging are not conducive to secure and productive community economics. In spite of, or perhaps because of, the hardships involved in logging, the people who do log are usually very devoted to their work and way of life. Almost unanimously, the loggers I spoke to spoke very passionately about their love of working in the woods: the smell of the cut trees, the panoramic views from the mountain tops, the clean air, and the freedom from a factory or office.

Throughout the logging communities of the Pacific Northwest, one constantly sees bumper stickers and T-shirts with slogans such as: "Loggers are an endangered species too!", or "Save a tree, wipe your butt with a spotted owl!" Many communities have passed out signs that read "This house [or business] is supported by the timber industry." The defensive tone of these signs and slogans not only reflects a stance against a threat to their way of life, but it also highlights the ardor with which most loggers and their communities cherish their lifestyle. Interestingly, the community of Selkirk, while not in an area where spotted owls live, or anywhere near lands that have been closed to logging because of the owl, has utilized the owl symbolically as a counterpoint. Several cafes in Selkirk boast "spotted owl burgers." The dedication to the lifestyle, the love of working in the woods, and living in a rural community is more than

evident in both of the communities. One unemployed sawyer from Selkirk described his love of working on a logging crew; the sense of personal satisfaction, self-worth, and emotional attachment to his work are very apparent in his statement, as is his longing to be back at work:

"I loved workin' in the woods...because ya' have a sense of freedom. You don't have a boss breathin' down your neck; you know what your work is, and in the woods if you can't do your job, you're not there... You know you worked hard that day, ya' get to your pick-up, ya' laugh, joke, talk, even though you're tired. Ya' get home and ya' might grab a beer or cigar, or whatever, and sit down. Ya' eat supper and you're tired and you get kinda like a pig, you go off in the shade and wanna lay down. I loved it, and I miss it. I miss it bad" [39-year old native of Selkirk].

The main economic difference between the Upper McKenzie and Selkirk, in relation to the timber industry, is that Selkirk has a mill that is currently in use. Loggers and mill workers are able to live and work within their community. The Vaagen Brothers lumber mill in Selkirk is, despite lay-offs several times a year, the major employer in the area. In February of 1992, for example, the mill completely closed and all 115 employees were laid off because the heavy logging trucks caused damage to the roads during the spring as the fluctuating cycle of freeze and thaw cracked the asphalt. During peak times, however, the mill runs 24 hours a day, with three shifts. The shifts are rotating which means that at some point everyone, except the upper management, must work the swing and graveyard hours. Also, the Vaagens' mill, like a lot of small mills in the Pacific Northwest, is continually under more and more pressure in order to compete with the large timber companies, such as Weyerhaeuser, which sells unprocessed lumber to the profitable market of the Japanese mills instead of using domestic mills. The week after Christmas in 1990, Vaagens laid off 35 workers because of "a lack of timber in the area at prices that make it economical to process" [Newport Miner, January 2,

1991]. Yet, despite the difficulties and instabilities inherent to the timber industry, the presence of the mill in Selkirk serves to stabilize the socio-economic base of the community in the absence of any other.

In the Upper McKenzie, however, with no local mill, many people have been chosen to commute the forty-five minute drive to Eugene-Springfield to go to work, rather than move. Ironically, a full one-third of the highest paid workers who work within the community (for both the school district and the Forest Service), commute the opposite direction from their homes in the urban area to the Upper McKenzie. The nearness of the Upper McKenzie to the Eugene-Springfield area has enabled many people to commute daily to jobs that they would otherwise have had to leave the community to find.

The livings made within the rural timber-dependent communities do present large incomes. The logging crews, and even the mill workers in Selkirk are not unionized, and wages are kept low, with very few and limited side benefits. As the timber industry nationwide becomes more and more unstable due largely to over-harvesting in the past, and in part because of the exportation of raw logs, the rural timber-dependent areas are struggling to hold their way of life and their communities together.

Perhaps the most immediate concern facing a timber-dependent community whose economic base has been threatened is an alternative source of income. The large amounts of capital present in land ownership that are able to augment many farming communities, are not present in timber-dependent areas. For the most part, land adjacent to rural timber communities in the Pacific Northwest is owned by the federal and state governments. To a lesser degree, major sections of land are also owned by large timber corporations. The upshot is that the land around most rural,

Pacific Northwest timber communities is not available for community development or use, either to bring in a new industry, or to liquidate for capital. This fact severely limits the possibilities for a community to branch out economically.

Rural communities everywhere are increasingly being challenged to find alternative sources of income than those which traditionally sustained them. There are two main channels of action: to introduce a new industry, or tourism. They both have their pros and cons. A factory may alter the quality of life that many rural people enjoy, tourism is often only a seasonal source of income. Industry may introduce a need for higher education, tourism related jobs are often part-time and minimum wage.

Neither Selkirk, nor the Upper McKenzie has ever made a serious bid to bring an alternative industry into their respective communities. Both, however have made some attempt to increase tourism in their areas. In the Upper McKenzie, white-water rafting and river fishing guides have become cottage industries in a few cases. Both communities have a huge wealth of natural beauty and many possibilities for outdoor recreation, including: hunting, hiking, camping, fishing, berry-picking, and swimming. But, as was stated before, tourism is not a very lucrative alternative source of income. The jobs tend to be service based, minimum wage, and seasonal in duration. While tourism does take up some slack, especially in Selkirk where Canadians routinely cross the border to buy products at lower prices than in their own country, it does not replace as prevalent an employer as the timber industry. The population on both sides of the border is very small, and widely dispersed. The largest Canadian town within an hour's drive has a population of only 8,000.

In many parts of the Pacific Northwest, loggers, and sawmill workers are being retrained for other jobs related to the industry. Some timber workers from the Olympic Peninsula in Washington have been retrained to build pianos, a few previous loggers in Oregon have been hired to replant trees on private timber-company land. These kinds of jobs seem to be few and far between, however, and have not solved the unemployment problems in most areas.

SOCIO-CULTURAL ADAPTABILITY

The ability of a community to adapt and sustain itself depends upon three key factors: history within a locality, knowledge of a locality, and emotion for a locality. These three pieces of a locality are threaded together into cultural use (i.e. action) and understanding via the symbol of community. In other words, the recognizable bonds between people (the symbol of community), catalyze the significance attached to a geographic place via a culture's history, knowledge, and emotion. Without active use of any one of the three components, a sense of place does not exist. Without local history or roots, local knowledge of an environment, or local emotion for a place, a sufficient amount of cultural meaning is not cultivated to manifest a sense of place. The significance behind a community being able to adapt is that it facilitates stability and sustainability; both of human communities and the natural environment.

A comparative analysis of the following rural, resource-dependent communities will juxtapose two different expressions of change. And while any rural, resource-dependent community's internal economic strength and cultural self-definition is linked to its ability to manage for

long-term sustainability,³ that community is ultimately linked to its relationship with an urban core. "Lacking an authentic local culture, a place is open to exploitation and ultimately destruction, from the center" [Berry 1990:166].

History within a locality

Wallace Stegner reflects that "...at least to human perception, a place is not a place until people have been born in it- have both experienced and shaped it, as individuals, families, neighborhoods, and communities, over more than one generation" [Stegner 1992:201]. It is fairly obvious that with his criteria of only "more than one generation," Stegner must be a Western American. European history on this continent, and west of the Rocky Mountains in particular, has been very brief. Perhaps this most recent cultural history of conquer, settle, exploit, and move on, is reason enough to explain why our sense of place is a bit askew, in relation to long-term ecosystem sustainability. But, anthropologically speaking, it is an isolated incident. As part of a cultural web, a missing sense of place would leave more clues than simply a change of scenery. Nomadic cultures, such as the Native Americans of the Great Plains, who despite annual migrations and the use of a large land base, were able to maintain cultural strength in conjunction with environmental sustainability. Therefore, in using the term "history" in this analysis, and in relation to a particular locality, I am referring to a cohesion of space and time, wherein the factor of space varies according to cultural definition and use.

³Sustainability throughout this thesis refers to both the community and the natural resources that the community is dependent upon.

In other words, depending upon a community's use of land, the concept of place and the time spent on it varies.

The McKenzie Valley has been settled by Europeans for approximately 135 years compared to just under 90 years in the northern Pend Oreille Valley. The first Anglo-American baby born in Selkirk was not born until this century, arriving in July of 1901. This equals out to a head start in the Upper McKenzie of approximately one-and-a-half generations. It has more history.⁴ The most transparent aspects of this longer history, since both areas are dependent upon forest products, are that more trees on the adjoining lands around the Upper McKenzie have been cut, and that there are more second and third growth forests currently growing. For both of these communities, the space factored into the concept of history is both stationary and inclusive. It is, roughly speaking, the area adjacent to the communities. Nevertheless, this land is not predominately owned or managed by people within the community.

History also refers to a multi-generational existence of the same family. A history of a family within a place, a continuity of knowledge and attachment, goes a long way toward establishing a sense of place conducive to stability:

"My kids'll be the fourth generation in my dad's family to log in this area. Those environmentalists try to blame us for the way the woods are today, but we been takin' care of [the forests] for goin' on eighty years now. And we've been doin' a good job the whole time" [A wife of a logger in the community of Selkirk.]

⁴Because the communities I am studying are of European decent, I will not explore pre-European contact Native American land use patterns. For the record, however, there is no evidence that Native Americans ever did live in what is now the community of Selkirk, because of the inhospitable terrain. There were, however, Native American peoples along the McKenzie River for unknown generations.

A place may have been used by humans for several generations, but if those generations are transient and fluid (as is the case in many Western communities), then a sense of place does not develop. The retirees and urban commuters who live in the Upper McKenzie have undermined the multi-generational continuity which builds history within a community. The place they live is simply that, a house on a chunk of land with a nice view. For people with a personal and community history of local land use, the resources on that land develop a much more emphatic meaning. Not too surprisingly, these ideas come into conflict when the retirees push for preservation, and local families who work in the community, strive for development and use of the resources for economic betterment.

The symbol of community, the groundwork upon which human interaction is based, is influenced by being within places that have historical continuity of human settlement. Since "community" reflects social interaction and makes it meaningful to humans, the longer it has been going on, the stronger it will be. Therefore, if "community" is used and articulated in a specific physical space, the place itself will be incorporated into the significance of "community." Social interaction and meaning is in part defined by place via the historical time required to substantiate the relationship.

The time spent by most Pacific Northwest, timber-dependent communities in their respective places is rather short in the relation to cultural change. Nevertheless, in both the Upper McKenzie and Selkirk families have lived and used the resources for several consecutive generations. Though in general, the population in Selkirk, while it has less historical depth, has much more intergenerational stability and a

comparatively low rate of transitory residents. When the community is using the natural resources around it in order to survive and improve their standard of living, the land becomes part of their personal history. But history is not the only ingredient and is unable on its own to establish a socio-cultural investment capable of long term sustainability.

Knowledge of a locality

"Neither the country nor the society we built out of it can be healthy until we stop raiding and running, and learn to be quiet part of the time, and acquire the sense not of ownership but of belonging...Only in the act of submission is the sense of place realized and a sustainable relationship between people and earth established."

-Wallace Stegner, Where the Bluebird Sings to the Lemonade Springs

People's knowledge of an area means familiarity with natural systems like seasons, weather, and growing seasons. It means knowing what the resources are that humans extract from the place, what the supplies are, and where those resources are going. It means being aware of totalities and connections, like watersheds, bird and fish migrations, or the resources available for use. And it means more mundane things like place names the locals have assigned to mountains, streams, rivers, or lakes, and the best places to hunt, fish, find a Christmas tree, or to hike for a good view. Knowledge means intimacy and it depends especially upon the criteria of history; time spent in the place.

For people in the Upper McKenzie Valley, a knowledge of local land is diminishing with each successive generation. For starters, with the closure of the mill two decades ago, many multi-generational families moved away. Because of a depletion in resources, and increased restrictions, more and more local loggers are having to log outside the "locality" in places over seventy miles away, such as the Coast Range. For

most that means being away from their families, and the community for weeks at a time. Furthermore, in the past ten years there has been a great influx of newcomers to the area. As was previously mentioned, with the accessibility to the urban Eugene-Springfield area, the Upper McKenzie is becoming a "bedroom community" lived in by people who work elsewhere. The increased number of retirees, especially at the mid-valley area, has added another non-local contingent with agendas, knowledge, experiences, and values all formulated externally to the local community. All of these factors work toward limiting and diluting the knowledge of the area defined by locals as the "community."

Selkirk, by contrast, has none of these knowledge-limiting factors. Newcomers to the area are not common, it is too far and too isolated from an urban area to become a residential area for urban commuters, and the forest resources are still accessible and abundant enough for locals to log lands adjacent to their communities. The area is also not especially hospitable to retirees because of the lack of medical care (the nearest doctor and hospital are over an hour away), the absence of public transportation, or other services needed by elderly people.

Emotion for a locality

"Coming into the town we see the blue smoke
of the trees streaming like a mystery
the houses hold in common.
'Doesn't seem possible-,' the logger says, "a tree
nothing but a haze you could
put your hand through."
'What'll you do next, after the trees are gone?'
'Pack dudes in for elk.'
'Then what?'
'Die, I guess. Hell, I don't know, ask
a shoemaker, ask a salmon..."
-Tess Gallagher, "Woodcutting on Lost Mountain"

Entering any number of sawmill towns in the Pacific Northwest, the obvious, dominant presence is the mill itself with its long piles of raw logs, stacks of cut lumber, smoke and steam from the burners, and the mountain of sawdust. The smell of wood smoke and newly cut trees permeates the air. The whistles and bangs of the mill's daily operations and shift changes sound through the town. At the end of each day-shift at the mill, men in sawdust covered work boots, black canvas pants, and usually red suspenders, appear in the grocery store, the post office, hardware, bank, and other places on errands before heading home. The men going on swing-shift meet their children just coming home from school. At night the amber glow of the night-shift lights can be seen from miles up and down the otherwise dark valley. In many Pacific Northwest towns, the mill has been the source of income for multiple generations of the same family. In a few cases, within the next several years, a fourth generation of mill workers will begin work in Selkirk. Many boys begin work at the mill even before they are finished with high-school, working a half-shift for several hours after the school day. In short, the mill in a "mill town" is much more than an economic force, it is a very profound part of everyday life.

Even in areas without mills that are economically dependent upon the forest industry, the tangible artifacts of the occupations involved are readily apparent. Logging trucks, full and empty, are always coming and going down the highway and along outlying roads. The sounds of hydraulic brakes, and the logging trucks gearing up or down as they creep up the mountain roads, echo for miles. Skidders, tractors, and trucks in various stages of fettle fill front yards. Local people recognize specific logging trucks by the colors and names printed on the cab doors.

It becomes evident who is working, and where the logs on their trucks are going. For many locals in the Upper McKenzie, the sight of a full logging truck is becoming more and more poignant as they become less and less common. A grocery store clerk in Blue River remarked, "I used to see log trucks go by here all the time. You just don't see many any more. It's kinda sad." Many of the logging trucks from the Upper McKenzie are seen only in the pre-dawn dark as they drive, empty, sometimes for three hours, to the coast range. Their logs are then left in the mills of Eugene-Springfield. But for an increasingly smaller segment in the community, logging is still the occupation with which the community identifies. There is a very real awareness of the physical environment around them being used for economic betterment. They are able to see what they view as a direct link between themselves and the ecosystem upon which they depend. A local woman from the Upper McKenzie Valley made the following comment while hiking in the Willamette National Forest:

"I love these trees as much as the next person. Ain't nobody want to seem them all go... The environmentalists think we up here don't know nothing about how to manage our forests. We'll I'll tell you, I been living here quite awhile and I seen trucks and trucks of logs pass in front of my house. Those are dollars to me and my family, and lots of other folks up here...But I also think there have to be guidelines...I want my kids to be able to take this hike I'm taking today." [forty-five year old wife of a logger, Upper McKenzie Valley].

The emotional ties to such a way of life must not be discounted in any analysis of resource management. It is almost a rite of passage for a teenage boy to "get a job at the mill" or to able to "work in the woods" (i.e. logging).

"I was workin' before I got outta high school. I was workin' nights at the sawmill and goin' to school during the day because I'd flunked the fourth grade, so I was older than the other kids anyway, so I

went to work at the sawmill and then I'd go to school" [35-year-old mill worker in Selkirk].

One high school senior in Selkirk, a third-generation logger, was devastated when he lost his peripheral vision after crashing his motorbike into a moose. The source of his disappointment, however, was not from the permanent physical disability, but from not being able to get licensed to drive the skidder for his dad's logging crew.

As Michelle Rosaldo observed in her study of the Ilongots, Knowledge and Passion, emotions, and the meanings these feelings have for the natives that experience them, exist within a "sphere of meaning" beyond their function as indices of social import [Rosaldo 1980:35]. In her words, "personal life is shaped by terms with social implications, and correspondingly... 'persons' are themselves 'constructed' in terms of shared understandings that inform the ways they act and feel" [Rosaldo 1980:35]. For the people in Selkirk and the Upper McKenzie, this simply means that the emotions they feel for the physical surroundings and the other people in their lives exist at all, and are socially meaningful, because these emotions are an integral part of the socialization of a person in each particular community. The feelings and emotions of love, fear, disappointment, surprise, sorrow, frustrations, etc., elicited by specific humans involved in the community are very real manifestations of their understanding of their daily existence.

"I don't think there's any place that's any prettier... We've got a beautiful river and mountains and lakes and creeks. The envy of most of the States is right here in Pend Oreille County. I'm pretty happy with everything that's around me and I try not to take it for granted..." [Resident of Selkirk]

Emotions are the glue which bind the understanding and knowledge gleaned in an area, with the historical time a culture has identified with a place. Emotions are an important fraction of what politicians and sociologists call a "vested interest." For people to care about stability and sustainability enough to make dramatic changes in their lives, there has to be a certain degree of emotional commitment. While on a hike, a long-time resident of the Upper McKenzie had this to say about the place she lives:

"This is such a wonderful place; so pretty and peaceful. This is where we chose to raise our family...because of all the mountains, the trees, the river...the freedom that the kids had while they were growing up was one of the best things that happened to them. One of my sons and his brothers-in-law are loggers now. And I tell him, like I say to everyone, we can't just keep on cutting all the trees...If someone wanted to cut this place (an old-growth area) I'd be one vote against it" [64-year-old woman from the Upper McKenzie].

Humans give meaning to a place, and "place" gives meaning back to people and culture. As a poet puts it, "If we were not here, material events like the passage of seasons would lack even the meager meanings we are able to muster for them. The show would play to an empty house, as do all those falling stars which fall in the daytime" [Dillard 1982:90-91].

SUSTAINABILITY AND STABILITY

Ultimately, a community's ability to be stable depends upon internal action, making the change, instead of letting external forces guide them. Utilizing the results of the FEMAT report, put together by various research groups following the Forest Conference, the inter-agency team has decided that a new and approved option for resource management is a thing called "adaptive management." The FEMAT report defined adaptive management as: "The process of implementing policy decisions

as scientifically driven management experiments that test predictions and assumptions in management plans, and using the resulting information to improve the plans" [FEMAT Chap. IX, pg. 1]. The fundamental principal in this type of management is that nothing is a given or static. Natural environments change, each climate, watershed, or stand of trees has unique differentials. Therefore, what works in one spot may or may not work in another. Adaptive management depends upon a feedback loop between the forest scientists, managers, and the on-the-ground implementors, including loggers. Thus, the importance of community stability is built right into the proposed resource management plan: it requires people.

All forest lands today, regardless of ownership, from federal lands to private property, are required to adhere to federal regulations. The National Forest Management Act (NFMA) of 1976 as an amendment to the Forest and Rangeland Renewable Resources Planning Act, requires the preparation of forest plans and the preparation of regulations to guide development. The first step is what is called a "risk analysis." A risk analysis is "a qualitative assessment of the probability of persistence of wildlife species and ecological systems under various alternatives and management options; generally also accounts for scientific uncertainties" [FEMAT Chap. IX, pg. 30]. This is an ideal initial step in which rural community members can become active and their local knowledge utilized.

Of adaptive management, Kai Lee writes that the "time scale...is the biological generation rather than the business cycle, the electoral term of office, or the budget process" [Lee 1993:62]. Therefore, adaptive management is dependent upon the stability of the human communities

adjacent to land-management areas. If there is a discontinuation in the continuity of the people involved in the informational feedback loop which sustains adaptive management, then the entire management plan is jeopardized.

Human communities are important to viable resource management for several reasons. One of the most salient issues in resource management today deals with the notion of long-term sustainability. "Long-term" as been variously defined, but in general implies multiple generations of both the resource and the humans managing it. While the human dimension of long-term is impossible to define (there is no end assumed in our culture), the notion of long-term for timber harvests has been fairly specifically outlined. "Long-term sustained yield (LTSY) is defined as: "Estimated timber harvest that can be maintained indefinitely, once all stands have been converted to a managed stand stated under a specific management intensity" [FEMAT Chap. IX, pg. 19]. The idea of long-term is basic to the notion of community stability; stability implies multiple generations and historical continuity.

The logical next step in this study of community stability, is how rural communities make the changes necessary to sustain themselves. In Chapter Three I will look at issues of power and action. Cultural change is a given in Selkirk and the Upper McKenzie. "Any study of the contemporary rural community, no matter how it is defined, must inevitably be concerned with social change" [Lewis 1979:17]. Change, however, has many connotations and results. The next chapter will examine the obstacles encountered by rural areas, as well as, progress

being made in both communities. A native and second generation logger in Selkirk, describes his personal philosophy of change and action:

"I suppose it's like pullin' a tree in the woods [while logging]. If ya' pull fast, the tree'll break and come down. But, you'd still have to dig out the stump and the roots and that's a lot of work and back ache. But if ya' pull slowly on the tree, nice and steady, the whole tree comes out, roots and all. The tree doesn't care how it gets down, but if yer the one pullin', or doin' the changin', you'll save yourself a heap of trouble if ya' take it slow" [unemployed logger in Selkirk].

CHAPTER THREE

RESOURCES FOR KNOWLEDGE AND POWER

"But, poor old man, thou prunest a rotten tree,
That cannot so much as a blossom yield
In lieu of all thy pains and husbandry."
-Shakespeare, As You Like It

"Things have just got to change. But, the folks
who are in charge don't really understand
what's going on. We're here every day, we
know...they say our way of life is dying. I don't
believe that. How could I?"

-logger's wife, Upper McKenzie Valley

In the past two chapters we have explored the concept of community, which reflects the social bonds among a group of people, as well as the manifestation of community in two specific rural locales that are facing socio-cultural flux. In this final chapter, I will elaborate three levels of the expression that rural areas are imbedded in during the context of social change: the broad rural-urban dynamic, the historical context of timber-dependent areas in particular, and the nuances of each of my two case studies in particular.

The phenomenon of social change in rural areas is different than in urban areas primarily because of the source of the change and political action precipitating it. Change in rural communities is usually instigated by forces external to the community. And perhaps more importantly, the rural people consider the change, and the power behind it, as having distant origins:

"... you know that conference they had in Portland last Spring [1993]? Well, I know that they had lots of folks, from all over, even from places like here [Blue River, Oregon] go up and talk, but I'll bet the final decisions are made by a bunch of guys in Washington DC who've never even been in a woods... ." [store clerk, Upper McKenzie].

Urban areas and their seats of government are most often the sources of policy changes, law enforcement, and resource management decisions. Furthermore, the processes of change confront unique challenges in rural areas. For example, the obstacles in communities like the Upper McKenzie and Selkirk stem from the often negative perception by rural people of the centralized power sources, as well as the geographic isolation which gets transferred into social separation, the unique history of the timber industry in the Pacific Northwest, and the specific local methods of political process. At the center of all the

arguments about resource management, community stability, cultural integrity, and ecosystem viability is politics. Therefore, politics will be a fundamental aspect of my approach to understanding change in rural, resource-dependent areas.

Politics, in its broadest definition as relations among people, may be viewed as the structure of society. Political philosopher Antonio Gramsci defines politics "as the central human activity, the means by which the single conscious is brought into conflict with the social and natural world in all its forms" [Gramsci 1979:246]. Political relations are the game plan by which individuals realize their role (or roles) in the social world. From this perspective, politics means organization at all levels of human interaction from immediate family to national governments and global interaction. This social organization is a product of society, not an a priori construct, and is mutually defining: society gets its structure from politics, and politics get realized through societal action. Sociologist Emile Durkheim explains this universal phenomenon of ranking the values of the things and ideas in the world around us: "Every classification implies a hierarchical order for which neither the tangible world nor our mind gives us the model" [Durkheim 1963:8]. In other words, the political world we humans have developed as a way to order and regulate our lives is a social construct. Social relations are what make our lives possible, and without an ordering system (i.e. politics) these relations would be effectively useless. By defining politics in this broad way, we are acknowledging that power and power relations are an inherently pervasive phenomenon of society. For example, when a man from Selkirk says that he lives where he does because he does not have to "be around government and their ways," he is not escaping the system, but on the

contrary, is a fundamental part of a institutional system that allows for non-participation. As long as that man is part of human society, however removed, he is subject to political nuances and power relations of societal interaction. One example of a rural person's connection with, and dependence upon, the federal and state governments is the use of federal and state tax monies to improve and provide services to remote areas: "The increasing cost of public services, combined with a decreasing population and tax base, has made rural communities more dependent on state and federal sources of funds" [Flora et al. 1992:114].

SPACE: GEOGRAPHIC AND SOCIAL

Social classifications and ratings are not simply one dimensional and linear. Social class cannot be simply defined by economics, occupation, education, and lifestyle. Geographic space is itself socially ranked. This concept is directly tied to central-place theory; they are complementary ideas. Central-place theory dictates that there is a metropolitan center of powers: economic, political, and cultural. As one radiates outward from the "centers," the people have less power of legitimation in all of the aforementioned categories. According to the theory, "any particular hierarchy of places reflects a division of labor such that the larger places possess greater economic diversity of products and services for consumption than do smaller places" [Flora, et al. 1992:166]. Urban areas are the political, economic, and cultural centers, which endows the people who live there with a great deal of cultural legitimacy. Thus, geographic space itself becomes socially ranked and value laden because of physical differences in a person's access to the legitimate

culture and the people who define it as such. As one moves away from the centers of legitimation, the communities become socially less "legitimate" and powerful.

In other words, the actual distance from an urban core becomes symbolically meaningful because of the distinctions of economics, politics, and culture. By utilizing hermeneutic theory to explore this symbolic ramification of the physical aspect of the urban-rural dichotomy, we are able to gain a much richer understanding of the relationship. There is nothing inherent about rural space to make it less "legitimate" (in a political, economic, and cultural sense) than an urban space. The point is that the space has become classified (by the urban center) such that rural areas, together with the people in them, are relegated to a sub-status of urban space. Our culture is full of rural nicknames and idioms that are used in a derogatory way: "hick from the sticks," "hill-billies," "born in a barn," or, in describing the distance of a rural area from an urban area, "the back of beyond." These stereotypes imply a lower status in the general society based upon such criteria as income, education level, occupation, and style of home. The common denominator in all of these stereotypes is that they are applied to people who live in rural areas. Actual income, education level, occupation, and home style of any given rural person is irrelevant to the use of the stereotype in the society at large.

Stereotypes are one way that cultural hegemony gets realized in our culture. Bourdieu points out that because there is an implicit reference to the marginality of a particular group manifest in a stereotype. "Being 'adapted' to a particular class of conditions of existence characterized by a particular degree of distance from necessity, class

'moralities' and 'aesthetics' are also necessarily situated with respect to one another by the criterion of degree of banality or distinction, and that all the 'choices' they produce are automatically associated with a distinct position and therefore endowed with a distinctive value" [Bourdieu 1984:246]. The high school students in both the Upper McKenzie and Selkirk seem to be among those who are most keenly aware of the negative rural stereotypes that are held by many urban people. They in turn have their own share of strong opinions and stereotypes. Perhaps they are especially sensitive to this because they are somewhat in limbo; caught between staying in the community and choosing to leave it. Urban areas are commonly viewed as hot beds of immorality, crime, dirtiness, and materialistic people. An eighteen-year-old high school senior wrote on her survey: "I may not be a logger but I know and believe they have a right. Tree Huggers don't really do any good for our country." The values this girl holds are shared by the majority of her classmates and community members, and while it may not be exactly the voice of compromise, it is a step toward the formation of an ideology. The possibility of an exertion of power is the underlying sentiment.

When ideas become systemic, either via an already established political scheme, or through a self-generative strategy toward praxis, the ideas become ideology. Ideology is the politicization of thought. Implied in this definition is a hierarchical structure of the various ideologies. Some ideologies have more power and legitimation than others. Criteria for allocating ideologies to different levels of power are numerous and complex. They include such aspects of social interaction as economics, demography, and history. For the people in Selkirk and the Upper

McKenzie, getting their ideas politicized into an ideology that may instigate social action is very difficult.

If politics are the structure, then values are the structuring force that defines, sustains, motivates, and redefines social existence. Values are the way people feel, think, and believe about the world around them; social and natural. Values order the world, giving us priorities and preferences. They come from social action, and thus differences in values, and the value placed on these values in distinction to other values, are resultant of social interaction, articulation, definition, and reinforcement of cultural values by actors. People have values as a result of socialization (politically structured) in a particular culture.

In order to participate effectively in a democratic system an individual must first have knowledge about an issue. The values prioritize the knowledge, enable an individual to relate to society at large, and make decisions. Furthermore, value choices are based at the most basic (though not simplistic) level upon "truth."

The very concept of "truth," as Foucault articulates for us, is "a question of what governs statements, and the way in which they govern each other so as to constitute a set of propositions which are scientifically acceptable, and hence capable of being verified or falsified by scientific procedures...the politics of the scientific statement" [Rabinow 1984:54]. ("Scientific" in this sense has a broad meaning of "inquiry, testing, and theorizing." It is not confined to the world of the "natural" sciences. Foucault sees this type of inquiry as resonating with the very core of human nature.) The point is simply that "truth" itself is not a given or an absolute. What some people see as true or right in one culture, or sub-culture, may be very different in another place.

The structure of society, the framework, constitutes its political relations: ordered and patterned social interaction. The integrating force of this framework is values. Values create and justify the hierarchies and systems that the political system substantiates. Neither aspect is separate, nor prior to, the other. They co-exist and synergistically motivate culture and ideas about the world around us.

Ideology then is the manifestation of valued ideas in a political structure. As values change, so do the ideologies, as well as the hierarchical structure of those ideologies in relation to each other. Anthropologist Clifford Geertz attempts to explain the transformation of a thought, via an ideology, into praxis: "Ideology bridges the...gap between things as they are and as one would have them be, thus inspiring the performance of roles that might otherwise be abandoned in despair or apathy" [Geertz 1973:205].

The type of local government in each rural area will be a major factor in the way any given community relates to adaptive management areas, urban centers, and state and federal governments. All of these groups make decisions that effect rural communities.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

As elaborated above, urban areas have a hegemonic power over rural peripheries. However, the specific type of economic base of a rural area can greatly effect the degree and type of urban domination, the social structure, and the continuity of a community. For example, "Agricultural and forestry-dependent counties face continued population decline. Energy and mining communities will continue to move through

boom-and-bust cycles in response to international markets" [Flora et al. 1992:49]. The historical background and development of timber-dependent communities in the Pacific Northwest helps to further understand the unique power relations inherent to rural communities in this region. Forestry communities are especially important to the study of change in resource-dependent areas because the forest "industry employs almost twice as many workers as mining, fishing, and energy-related activities combined" [Flora et al. 1992:47].

The Western lumber industry began to get notice in the 1880s when it became evident that the Great Lakes area, the center of the industry up until then, would be depleted in the next few years. But, because of the distance of the Pacific Northwest and the lack of a transcontinental railroad that could ensure a national market, and because water shipments were relatively smaller, there was no way, initially, to "warrant large-scale production" on the West Coast [Jensen 1971:100]. Eventually, however, the railroad ensured that the "western lumber industry [would become] an important factor in the national lumber market" [Jensen 1971:100]. With reliable transcontinental transportation, an extension of the market and national competition became possible. Furthermore, federal inducements in the form of land grants encouraged settlement of the lands: "...subsidies to the timber industry offered further inducement to settle new lands" [Flora et al. 1992:195].

Communities such as Selkirk, however, because of geographical and political boundaries, were bypassed by the large lumber companies and timber buyers, e.g. the railroads. The big companies and large timber land owners, such as "the Southern Pacific and Northern Pacific railroads and the Weyerhaeuser Timber Company [who collectively]

controlled 191 billion board feet" in Washington and Oregon in 1910, were, for the most part, concentrated along the coasts of both states and up the mouth of the Columbia to Portland" [Jensen 1971:102]. This area is known as the Douglas fir country, and continues today to be a productive source of income for residents. The Upper McKenzie falls somewhat into that territory, especially today as more and more loggers are having to travel to the coast range for the timber supply. But, the Upper McKenzie is also isolated and inland enough to be out of the more coastal Douglas fir country and its economic domination in the timber market. "The forest products industries are the largest employers in the region. Twenty-five percent of the nation's annual softwood harvest originates here" [Hyde 1980:86]. It is in the Pacific Northwest coastal region that "mechanization and logging engineering have had maximum development" [Jensen 1971:102].

Development has been especially prolific in this region, as opposed to the industries in other parts of the United States, because of aspects unique to this area that have necessarily influenced each other. The Douglas fir country is very rugged and the trees were larger than in other parts of the country, thus demanding new mechanization. In conjunction with the fact that the industry was, as a consequence of the magnitude of trees, rapidly growing to a large scale operation, these companies were able to afford the research and building of the new machines. Not surprisingly, with the increased size and power of the machines came more speedy operations and consequently more output, which, in turn, increased the size of the companies. With all the harvested lumber, new divisions of the manufacturing process developed. At the 64th Western Forestry Conference, it was reported that by 1973, there were "some sixty-

seven or so different kinds and types of work being performed from the logger harvesting the logs to the casket maker on the other end of the usage of wood for the benefit of mankind" [64th annual proceedings].

However, in communities like Selkirk, or the Upper McKenzie without a railroad, far from the large-scale operations, logging practices remained, up until the middle of this century, pretty much as they had been since the turn of the century. New mechanization, such as the flexible crawler tractor and motor truck, entered the smaller market only after they became common and affordable for the independent logger. Today, all logging operations in Selkirk and the Upper McKenzie have trucks, skidders, tractors and all other developments that were largely made as a result of the confrontation of large lumber companies with the Douglas Fir region.

Control of the logging operation itself is another source of contrast between the large company operations in the Douglas Fir region and communities like Selkirk and the Upper McKenzie. Companies such as Weyerhaeuser and Crown Zellerbach, log with several sides (a 'side' is a complete yarding and loading crew) using several hundred people. This many people necessarily dictates a division of labor. There would be general managers, woods foremen, saw bosses, road and loading foremen, and then the regular sawyers and laborers. Many of the upper level administrators and managers would also be either living in, or be from, urban areas. This hierarchy, predictably, continues to cause frustration and friction because of chronic unemployment in the lumber industry. And since jobs are scarce, non-union, and there are plenty of workers, sometimes transient ones, employers find it relatively easy to exploit them.

Thus, from its inception, the timber industry in most parts of the Pacific Northwest has not been conducive to localized power centers, in the same way that many farming communities are, for example, relatively autonomous. This is not meant to imply that rural farming areas are not powerless in the face of urban domination, but simply that the communities were settled with a much stronger notion and tradition of stability. Logging communities were originally not much more than seasonal camps full of transient men. Families and community permanence came much later with increased infrastructure in the area. This cultural, political, and historical legacy will be a hard pattern to break. The industry is admittedly going through changes, as are forest and land management techniques. Perhaps as a result of the community stability goals, political expression and representation will increase in the timber-dependent areas of the Pacific Northwest. This is probably a necessity if the feedback loop of adaptive management is going to be a successful project. The hegemonic practices of urban centers are not conducive to a process of productive knowledge sharing.

But social history alone cannot explain the predominance of powerlessness in rural timber areas. In tandem with core-periphery theory, is a cultural hierarchy of geographical space wherein rural areas have less power than urban ones.

POLITICS IN THE LOCALITIES

Political organization in rural areas is different than in urban ones. The most obvious difference is the lack of formal organization and political positions. Most rural communities do not have the funds to pay full-time

wages for a staff. The mayors of the incorporated towns in Selkirk, for example, have alternative sources of income.

Selkirk and the Upper McKenzie are two different types of political units. While neither locale has a pan-community government, both have their forums for political process. The community of Selkirk includes three incorporated towns, with three separate governments. There is an elected mayor and city council for each township. The position of mayor, however, is not a full-time position and all three mayors have alternative sources of income. The city governments work individually on matters that are very specific to their towns, such as the building of a new park along the river in Metaline, or the contamination of the water system in Ione after a dead deer ended up in the supply. The Upper McKenzie, in contrast, with no incorporated towns, or elected officials, relies upon the formation of grassroots groups and ad hoc committees in order to address and solve community issues. Both communities rely on their counties, Lane County, Oregon, and Pend Oreille County, Washington, to perform many functions: snowplowing, road maintenance, road-kill clean up, law-enforcement, and development or zoning issues. Both areas also utilize civic organizations such as the Lions Club, the Rebekah's, and even the school board, as forums for community-wide politics.

The informality, in comparison to urban areas, of most rural governments, is one of the roadblocks to increased communication and cooperation with power centers external to the community. When the town of Blue River, which is slightly off the main road, wanted to build a sign on the highway to entice more tourists to detour through the town and spend money, it was necessary to appeal to the state because it was a

state highway and state land. The local newspaper editor describes the problem during a discussion I had with him:

"The biggest hurdle, after getting everybody to a meeting and then agreeing on a sign, was that in the state's eyes, we don't exist because we're unincorporated. That kind of bureaucratic red-tape discourages people. It keeps them from attending meetings in the future" [20 year resident of the Upper McKenzie].

The same urban-based bureaucracies, which discourage many rural people from getting involved politically, also inhibit input from the other direction. Many formal political units, such as the state or federal governments, find it problematic to approach a rural community in order to get feedback and participation. The leaders and forums, which in a city may be readily available for political interaction, simply do not exist in many rural areas. But despite the roadblocks going both ways in the rural-urban interaction, the urban has less to lose because it retains the political leverage and the socio-economic power to dominate the rural areas.

When the hierarchy of the power relations is such that some groups have more power than another, the result is hegemony. Hegemony is the domination of one group over another; politically, economically, and ultimately culturally. The urban cores, for example, exert hegemonic powers over the resources extracted in rural areas. The urban centers have their own type of resources, mainly capital and centers of government, which make them able to garner the resources of the rural area. The resources extracted from rural areas come in primarily two categories: natural/physical (such as lumber, wheat, silver) and humans (i.e. education, talents, knowledge, experience, etc.) Two women, one from each community, articulated their perspective:

"The kids just don't stay here anymore. They can't find jobs here because of what's going on with the timber companies. They won't let us log in places where those owls live, so our kids have to leave here and work in Eugene or Portland...Everybody still wants paper, but no one wants us to cut the trees" [a thirty-two year old widow of a logger in the Upper McKenzie].

It's always the best kids who leave...Those who go off and get a college education never come back. Why would they?...And the jobs here are getting hard to come by, I don't know if my kids will be able to work in the woods even if they want to" [thirty-two year-old wife of a logger in Selkirk].

From both of these women, and from many other people in both communities, there is a sense that there is somebody, or something, somewhere that makes decisions about their lives. As the woman from the Upper McKenzie said, "They won't let us log..." "They" makes an easy, if vague target, and for most people in the two communities, the "they" live in urban areas. And yet "they" are granted a certain amount of power because they have the knowledge; "they" are experts.

One of the most tangible and effective isolators of knowledge is vocabulary. Vocabulary used by those in power often forms an unintentional boundary. Words and their meanings can isolate those who understand from those who do not. Access to the levers of power and change is limited for rural people; geographic distance is one reason, but familiarity with issues and comprehension of policies, processes, laws, not to mention vocabulary make constructive input a rarity.

In the survey I gave during the summer of 1993 to the public utilizing the Willamette National Forest, several words used in USFS hand-outs and articles were listed and their recognition was asked. Here are the results:

TERM	% of public who are familiar with term
clear cutting	99%
ecosystem	82%
adptv. mgt. area	29%
biodiverstiy	23%
visual corridor	11%
silviculture	9%
riparian zone	8%
indicator species	3%

These results clearly show that, except for the first two terms, words and ideas used frequently by the Forest Service in materials meant for the "general public" are often not understood by those who read them. This enables the Forest Service to maintain a powerful advantage in any discussion with the public regarding forest or land management. While this type of hegemonic control may not be intentional, it does serve to create a hierarchy of knowledge and power wherein those who make the definitions, hold the power.

Another hurdle in the road to increased rural input and political participation, are the cultural patterns of "live and let live," individualism, and independence which have formed in the rural United States in response to the political and cultural domination historical centered in cities. Communities such as Selkirk and the Upper McKenzie, not to mention a lot of small, rural towns in the western United States, also have an anti-establishment tradition:

"[The American West] is a land of huge proportions, its vast emptiness alluring to the frontier spirit. In the West, the right to carry a gun not only is unquestioned, it's universally revered in the rear windows of pick-up trucks lumbering down its dusty highways. It is that frontier spirit that...produced individuals steeped in mountain man mystique or individualism and survivalism...It is impossible to calculate how much Old West mythology truly survives in the late twentieth century. But the West's frontier roots still make it hostile to anything smelling of central authority, and the federal government reeks of it" [Flynn and Gerhardt 1989:24-25].

As the newspaper editor from the Upper McKenzie mentioned, it is hard to get people to come to meetings. One reason, again, is geographic distance. Both of the communities in this study, like a lot of rural areas, are dispersed over a large distance. Meetings are usually held at night after a long work day, and the last thing many people want to do is to go to a meeting several miles away on a dark road. But, a deeper reason for non-participation is a cultural philosophy. A common sentiment in both Selkirk and McKenzie Bridge is a dislike for government and bureaucracy:

"Anytime you're dealing with government flaws you have a problem. See, they [the government] think we're sheep, and they don't want us to know anything that might cause us to get upset, or anything ...so my belief is...that we're kept in the dark because [they think] we're stupid people who couldn't take care of the answers. It don't take a politician to run a country, and the ones that are runnin' it now aren't doing' a very good job..." [39-year-old logger in Selkirk].

When I interviewed a group of locals from the Upper McKenzie, who voiced their opinions about forest management, I asked if any of them had ever communicated those ideas to the Forest Service. Of the six people, only one had and that was to phone in against a planned timber cut. When I asked if they thought interaction between the public and the Forest Service could be improved, one man replied:

"...there are things that can be done, like writing letters, attending meetings, stuff like that. But, you've got to understand that most people up here are outside 'the system,' and mostly by design. Writing letters and stuff is 'inside' the system" [man from the Upper McKenzie].

Another man added: "I don't think you have to be college educated to have ideas and make input. No offense." This man's statement echoes a common rationale for maintaining the power differential inherent in the hegemonic relationship of the rural-urban dichotomy: urban areas, with all their resources for knowledge, such as universities, have more expertise, and should therefore influence those who do not know the facts as they have been defined. Our society puts a lot of faith in experts. Experts are people who are viewed as factually and epistemologically knowledgeable, while being occupationally specialized. In the realm of forest and land management, the experts who guide plans and proposals are silviculturalists, hydrologists, wildlife biologists, and anthropologists, who work primarily for either federal and state governments, or colleges and universities. The knowledge contributed by such people forms the foundation of a scheme further legitimized by the "experts" of power: politicians and leaders. But what happens when the experts are "wrong," or at least change their mind about something? Truths are usually presented as eternal in their existence, but there are plenty of examples where truths have changed. For example, it was once thought that the removal of logs from streams was beneficial to riparian management, while today it is accepted that logs and debris are part of the natural structure of streams. Michel Foucault offers some insight into the creation and duration of social "truths":

"...it is not a change of content (refutation of old errors, recovery of old truths) nor is it a change of theoretical form (renewal of paradigm, modification of systematic ensembles.) It is a question of what governs statements, and the way in which they govern each other so as to constitute a set of propositions which are scientifically acceptable, and hence capable of being verified or falsified by scientific procedures" [Foucault 1984:54].

Succinctly, this sagacious statement refers to the politics of science. In contemporary Western society, science carries a profoundly heavy burden of legitimacy. When Jack Ward Thomas was named Chief of the US Forest Service in November of 1993, one of the first statements from many Forest Service employees was: "At least he's a scientist." Though some people were skeptical of his ability to be an administrator, his qualifications as a scientist seemed to out-shine everything. Facts which are backed up by science are viewed as truths. Facts which are presented in a quantifiable form are seen as being more "truthful" than facts which are qualitative in nature. Facts and ideas based on local knowledge and experience are given less clout in formal discussions than those with scientific support.

As was mentioned in Chapter Two, the forest ecosystem management plan devised by scientists, with the oversight of politicians, helped to delineate and elaborate the concept of "adaptive management." Interestingly enough, however, adaptive management is based upon a premise that "truths" are not necessarily a given. Philosophically, this is a major departure from the type of expert-dependent Western science that has traditionally defined "truths" in exclusion to alternative forms of knowledge, not to mention fluctuating ecosystems and social values which continue to question the facts.

ADAPTIVE MANAGEMENT AREAS

In the Option 9 plan for "Forest Land Allocations," several Adaptive Management Areas (AMAs) were specified in the Pacific Northwest. AMAs are defined as: "...landscape units for development and testing of

new approaches for integration and achievement of ecological, economic and other social objectives" [FEMAT 1993:Opt. 9]. As a step toward developing these newly emphasized "social objectives," unprecedented cooperation and communication is beginning to occur between organizations and interest groups that have historically prided themselves on separateness. For example, on July 13, 1993, I attended a meeting at the Lowell Ranger District in west-central Oregon which was a goal-defining seminar for a multitude of interest groups including: the Forest Service, Bureau of Land Management, timber companies, rural community members, research scientists, a sociologist, and a few people who aligned themselves with environmental groups. Several sessions were held in which groups brainstormed long-term and short-term goals for land and forest management in conjunction with community sustainability. The overarching sentiment at the meetings was that of compromise. While the different groups obviously had a wide variety of agendas and goals, the communication among people was consistently productive. Acknowledgment of the issues as being beyond the resolution of any one group, served as a basis for discussion. This type of meeting, while not an isolated incident, is still not a common practice, but it does set the stage for increased interaction between groups that will eventually serve to diffuse the urban power structures which are hegemonically aligned against rural communities.

The social objectives referred to in the FEMAT definition of adaptive management areas, are an attempt to involve the rural communities in the planning and implementing processes of land management policies. A key to the idea of adaptive management is the notion that ecosystems are not static or complete. Managers must constantly be aware that the

physical environment, societal values and needs, scientific knowledge bases, and political agendas are in a continual state of flux. Adaptive management takes all of these dynamic systems into account. Because of the constant feedback loop between information and practice, a crucial part of adaptive management is the on-the-ground workers. In rural areas, those workers are the people who have traditionally been alienated from decision making processes: mill workers, loggers, community members, or even low-level Forest Service employees. The integration of these people will be difficult; not because they are incapable, but because the system has denied their admission for so long.

"My kids'll be the fourth generation in my dad's family to log in this area. Those environmentalists try to blame us for the way the woods are today, but we been takin' care of [the forests] for goin' on eighty years now. And we've been doin' a good job the whole time" [A wife of a logger in the community of Selkirk.]

Furthermore, the sustainability of a community and its human culture is fundamental to the knowledge loop used in adaptive management. As was elaborated in the previous chapter, history, knowledge, and emotion built within a place are fundamental to a sense of place, which in turn fosters sustainability of a culture in a locale. Communities like Selkirk and the Upper McKenzie have the potential to add an enormous amount of depth of understanding to the management of their adjacent ecosystems. Long-time residents can add detailed information about specific hillsides, trees, watersheds, bird and animal species, forest fires, tree parasites, and climates, and knowledge of historical land use patterns, community-wide use of the land for recreation, extraction, and simple adoration. Furthermore, the emotions for the land that are integral to rural community life are important in building a philosophy of sustainability and continuity in resource

management. This latter aspect is often by-passed as a possible contribution to resource management, but the emotional investment that people have for the land around them is a very powerful influence in how that land is used, and how it is cared for.

An interesting aspect of the Adaptive Management Areas are the new boundaries drawn on the lands to be managed under this system. Forest scientists have, rightfully, concurred that in designing the boundaries of an area to be managed for ecological viability over time, it is better to draw lines around "natural" systems, such as a watershed, rather than along "artificial" political lines. A manager for a timber company expressed his frustration with the artificiality of the boundaries around much of the land his crews log:

"We get all kinds of pressure from environmentalists, and the government to be more aware of "total systems." We have to think about riparian degradation, adjacent stands, road erosion-all sorts of stuff. The hard part is, that most of land we log is on a checker-board. Historically, the railroad would buy up sections of land which amounted to a square here, and a square there. If you look on a map, the ownership of the land is stilled based on those old surveys, so when we get the logging rites to an area, it's all in little squares...It's hard to be thinking about watersheds, when you only have the rights to a couple of sections spaced miles apart" [timber manager, at the Lowell conference].

By defining the AMAs along natural boundaries, the forest scientists are acknowledging an awareness of the limitations of imposing artificial guides, as well as, an awareness to use the wealth of human knowledge living and working daily in the forest in conjunction with scientific research. Wendell Berry writes that "the particular knowledge of particular places is beyond the competence of any centralized power or authority" [Berry 1990:210]. The adaptive management areas, while not concentric with a community's locale, or even the lands necessarily adjacent to a given community, are land management schemes that facilitate rural communities near the AMAs to contribute input into

resource management plans. The AMAs combine both a philosophy and a blueprint of land management that serves to broaden the sources of knowledge used to make management decisions. As central-place theory explicates, the urban centers have traditionally harbored the sources of power, and as hermeneutic theory elaborated, urban power has come to symbolize the legitimate and correct. Rural sources of knowledge are not simply less powerful, they are less legitimate. Thus, the political process of adaptive management, which acknowledges the various sources of knowledge, has the potential to break down the hegemonic controls that have unsuccessfully directed land management for several decades, and in the process erected many walls between interest groups competing for the same resources.

When it is socially determined that rural areas have valuable knowledge, those communities have a great potential to gain power:

"...power produces knowledge...power and knowledge directly imply one another;...there is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time power relations" [Foucault 1984:175].

In other words, the urban powers relinquish some of their power to the rural communities simply by recognizing that the knowledge and emotions rural communities have for the land around them is a valuable contribution to ecosystem management. Nevertheless, getting that power translated into the logistics of current political processes is an entirely separate matter. The urban power-centers have long established various strategies to maintain the status of hegemonic control inherent in their current relationship with rural areas. One of the most powerful controls is the use of knowledge. Given that different types of knowledge have

different values in our society, and that power is produced by knowledge, empowerment comes from social legitimation of a body of knowledge and the people who hold that knowledge. Therefore, knowing that what you know is valued by society influences the way you would approach a problem of societal import, such as ecosystem management.

For example, although I gave the same survey to everyone, under equal premises, the access to solving problems in the arena of land management differs widely, thus making the questions on the survey, and the problems themselves seem different to different individuals. Each person's knowledge of the issues, awareness of their access to political action, not to mention personal history, would color the responses. For example, here are two answers to the same question I asked at separate, open-ended interviews. Both of these respondents live in the Upper McKenzie, the first is a retired accountant from Portland, and the second is a logger's wife:

Q. How do you think the people in the timber industry feel about the Forest Service?

A1: "Pretty damn good. They're making money. How did you feel about the toothfairy? The Forest Service just keeps handing over the logs."

A2: "Every year the Forest Service protects more and more land. The environmentalists have too much influence, I think...Us in the timber industry are getting worried that the woods are all going to be off limits soon."

The extreme vantage point of these opinions is a reflection of the societal and cultural influences in each person's life. And while these views are a mirror to other aspects of the person (such as environmental philosophy, and connection to the land around the Upper McKenzie), the larger issue is the way, or lack thereof, in which these opinions get acted out and become part of a larger political voice.

Bourdieu writes that "...political opinion is defined, not only by its informative content but also by the social force whereby it exists as a political force..." [Bourdieu 1984:413]. In other words, an opinion becomes a political opinion when there is a significant amount of social action to potentially realize the idea. All of the people I gave the survey to in the Three Sisters Wilderness, for example, not only answered it, but wrote in the space "additional comments," and were, as a group, the most enthusiastic participants. The people I encountered in the wilderness area tended to be white, upper-middle class (83% of the survey respondents in that area made \$30,000 or more annually), urban residents (91% were from communities of 50,000 or more), of whom a large percentage aligned themselves with environmental organizations (Sierra Club, Nature Conservancy, and Greenpeace, to name a few). These people clearly represented many of the interests and philosophies of the urban core. Their willingness and thoroughness in answering my survey is a reflection of their perceived right to the power to make decisions, as well as, the ability for their ideas to get activated. "The propensity to speak politically...[for example] by putting a cross beside a prefabricated answer, is strictly proportionate to the sense of having the right to speak" [Bourdieu 1984:409].

There is a difference between answering politically and answering *ad hoc* on the basis of ethical principles. Politics implies an existence of power, and particularly a "sense of being entitled to be concerned about politics..."[Bourdieu 1984:409]. Many of the local people in both the Upper McKenzie and Selkirk had very strong opinions about specific problems they had identified, as well as, solutions they had proposed in the realm of forest management. For example, here are several comments that were

written on the survey I gave in the Upper McKenzie in the "additional comments" section:

"The Forest Conference was a joke!! The Forest Service are lying scum who have mismanaged our forests!"

"The Forest Service tries to do better logging, but they can't control everyone. A lot of the bad logging, like logging down to the road, clear-cutting, is out of the control of the Forest Service."

"It's public land, we ought to be able to be on it when we want. Punish the ones who are bad, but not everyone who uses it."

"We don't need the Forest Service to have public lands. I'd like to see smaller community-based managing systems."

"The Forest Service should let more of its land be logged. They live here to, do they want to see the whole community go under?"

And while the opinions may be articulated with a certain degree of ardency and assuredness, there was often a qualification that the ideas would be ignored by "the powers that be." Their statements would be stated in conjunction with asides such as: "It's only right that they should help us...", "...we're the ones who do all the work, they [politicians] don't do nothing, and they don't know nothing..", or "...the people who make decisions are the most corrupted..." All of these statements have strong moralistic underpinnings about work ethics, responsibility, and the "correct" way to live. The difference between these thoughts and those that are politically motivated, is the sense of direct power to get an idea heard and enacted. As central-place theory explains, the urban areas have the majority vote, the proximity to government, and often the resources needed to have political leverage. Thus political voice reflects more than political alignment, it implies a sense of power. The urban center, undoubtedly has the most political power, relative to the rural periphery. And when one group has power, the other group is, to varying degrees, powerless.

Often, as one sociologist points out, "the assumption is made in the pluralists' methodology that non-conflict represents social cohesion or integration, not, as others have argued, social control or hegemony" [Gaventa 1980:30]. Obviously, non-conflict, or non-actions, are the hardest to observe and to methodologically account for. It is not a matter of predicting what would occur if a conflict were to arise; rather the point is to explain and understand non-conflict in its own right.

Powerlessness can be manifest in many different ways. One such way is indifference. As Bourdieu writes: "indifference is only a manifestation of impotence." When a person, group, sub-culture, etc., has a feeling (either consciously or not) of being powerless and ineffectual, it is apathy, rather than resistance, that is the most common reaction. There is perhaps a rather romantic notion in the tradition of America that oppression "from above" will have to answer to the rebellion of the masses. But history has shown that this is rarely the case. "In situations of inequality, the political response of the deprived group or class may be seen as a function of power relationships, such that power serves for the development and maintenance of the quiescence of the non-elite" [Gaventa 1980:4]. A resident of the Upper McKenzie for twenty-five years articulated a similar sentiment: "We maybe know what some of the problems are [in forest and land management] but what we say doesn't have much effect on the Forest Service, the people in Salem, whoever..." A university professor of biology from Portland, while hiking in the Three Sisters Wilderness area presented his own twist on the same idea:

"There are so many problems in our forests today...I feel sorry for these little towns, but they seem to only hurt themselves by not taking a strong stance...They wish they could go back to the way it was, but that's just not going to happen. They need to learn that changes have to be made, and if they don't change themselves, somebody will make the changes for them."

It is clear from this man's opinion that the sources of power external to the rural areas (i.e. urban cores) will have an effect whether or not the rural area takes action. Non-action is not an alternative for rural communities. Rural areas, on the other hand, rarely have an unsolicited impact on urban areas. Grazing laws and the cattle lobbyists are perhaps an example of an exception, as are most mining laws and regulations, and these are throwbacks to the efforts of some very powerful, rural, 19th century legislators. In addition, the above quote is an example of an urban person assuming that the members of the rural communities have over-simplified the problems facing them simply because they do not have access to many of the channels of power that make their voices heard.

So what are rural communities to do in order to improve their power in the decision making processes that effect the resources upon which they depend? There are, of course, no simple answers. If anything has been learned in the past few years it is that the ideas and values we have for the land and its use are deeply imbedded in our culture, and therefore change will usually be a slow, and fitful process. As a conclusion, I will postulate a few solutions, and assess the ability of the two communities in this thesis to sustain themselves through change.

CONCLUSIONS

Cultures, societies, and sub-cultures across time have always been changing, either from dynamic internal forces, or from influential external forces, some of which are brought in with resistance. The point of this thesis was not to decry change in the rural Pacific Northwest. Culture is never static: philosophies, technologies, and physical environments are continually transforming the cultures around them, and vice versa. My study has been an exploration of change in rural communities that have been historically dependent upon the forest in light of the resource management changes around them. Anthropologically based studies are an excellent starting point for the integration of the social aspect of resource management into a comprehensive plan of sustainability. The ability to do long-term forest management depends upon a cultural understanding of both the values behind the people making the decisions (for example, the Forest Service, forest scientists, or timber companies), as well as the rural communities adjacent to, and economically dependent upon the land being managed.

From a social perspective, sustainable forestry depends upon two main areas of improvement: education and communication. Education can be broken down into two areas. First, all people with a viable interest in the forest from upper management, to scientists, to sawmill workers, to environmentalists, need to be taught to participate in a feedback loop of information regarding their knowledge of the forest and its uses. Secondly, all groups need to learn that ideas and "truths" about the forest and its resources are culturally based, and therefore are not absolutes.

Furthermore because of the naturally dynamic character of both the physical environment and cultural systems, truths about the way we manage resources must be flexible enough to expect, and use, change as a positive aspect in maintaining long-term sustainability. The conjoined use of central-place and hermeneutic theory has been very useful for me in my exploration of rural-urban interaction. A comprehension of rural, resource-dependent areas must incorporate urban influences, and comprehensive studies must include the meanings people experience in their everyday lives.

In the arena of communication, there needs to be an acknowledgment that all types of information are valid and relevant at the level of initial input. Emotions, feelings and personal attachments that rural community members have for the land being managed must be not only acknowledged by the forest managers, but incorporated into a more holistic plan for understanding our relationship to the ecosystem. The hierarchical channels of political process, information sharing, and management decisions need to be broadened in order to admit "unorthodox" participants, such as rural community members, loggers, or low-level Forest Service employees. These changes in communication style can only come about through the instigation of a forum whereby a wide variety of interest groups, governmental institutions, scientists, forest workers, and rural and urban community members, can all come together to share knowledge, understand various view points, and work toward compatible solutions.

When I initiated this thesis I was prepared to spend a great deal of time studying conflict, social crises, and the "death" of a way of life. I have been heartened to find that in the past few years, despite high rates of

unemployment, most rural communities are doing fairly well at keeping their heads above water. The community of Selkirk is still on its rather turbulent ride of sporadic lay-offs and few jobs. The people there, however, are used to planning ahead and preparing for the lean times. Furthermore, because of its isolation and its small, locally-managed mill, Selkirk is as yet removed from the full brunt of the decline of the timber industry. The community is, however, becoming more and more aware of the external world that is making changes in resource management, cutting methods, and demand in the market. Many people in Selkirk are feeling a sense that they would like to brace themselves for the ripples of change in the timber industry that are bound to hit them soon. For now, though, Selkirk remains culturally and economically the way it has been for decades. There is very little influx of urban ideals or people, and geographic isolation and rugged terrain preclude diversification of the basic economy.

The Upper McKenzie, in contrast, is slowly losing its character of an isolated, rural, "tight-knit," community. The increased transportation up and down the valley to the adjacent metropolitan area has diluted both the geographic aspect of a separate community, as well as the demographic composition of the residents. There are more and more urban retirees and commuters living in the Upper McKenzie. Cultural and economic change is coming rather quickly to this community. It is blessed with the ability to economically diversify toward recreation which significantly bolsters both the local economy (especially during the summer months), as well as, the sense of community dependent upon the natural resources around it.

I believe that knowledge is the key to successful long-term resource management. We must come to think of the knowledge we gain regarding natural and social systems as a product of a viable management scheme. Right now legitimate knowledge of resource management is limited to institutional science and powers of government; knowledge is viewed as a necessary ingredient, not as a valuable product in and of itself. The success of resource management is dependent upon the expansion of our definitions of legitimate knowledge, as well as the incorporation of our emotions and feelings for the land around us. There are two types of knowledge that would benefit the adaptive management process: the knowledge of the rural people in resource dependent areas, and the knowledge and methods of the social scientists who access this knowledge.

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