

From Elsewhere: A Bioregional Exploration of Rural Gentrification in Kootenai County, Idaho

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Authorization to Submit Thesis

This thesis of Alexandria M. Marienau, submitted for the degree of Master of Science with a Major in Bioregional Planning & Community Design and titled "From Elsewhere: A Bioregional Exploration of Rural Gentrification in Kootenai County, Idaho," has been reviewed in final form. Permission, as indicated by the signatures and dates below, is now granted to submit final copies to the College of Graduate Studies for approval.

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Abstract

Rural gentrification is a phenomenon that has been documented in regions around the world, such as Great Britain, rural Russia, and resort communities of the American West. The research described here explores the occurrence of rural gentrification in Kootenai County in northern Idaho. It seeks to define 'rural gentrification' from the bioregional perspective and to better understand the conflicts and benefits that occur as part of the rural gentrification process. The research involved interviews with local professionals and residents to gain a deeper understanding of what is occurring in Kootenai County. It attempts to identify both positive and negative impacts to the region, in comparison to other locations, and how those continue to shape North Idaho. It also explores how this area can use alternative tools to address planning in the rural parts of the county.

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my absolute appreciation to my committee for all of their help and support during this process. Your encouragement through this project and over the years has shown me that you see more in me than I do. Your continued belief in me through undergrad and until today has helped me achieve the things I have and shown me a career I am passionate in. Thank you!

I also would like to thank each of the participants for volunteering their time to discuss their perspectives with me. Thank you for lending your voices. Not only did I learn more about this subject through your eyes, but I gained a deeper understanding of Kootenai County itself and the people that call this place home. I enjoyed our time together and hope that this research has helped bring to light the unique planning circumstances in Kootenai County. Maybe, together, our words can bring about an inclusive vision for the region that we love.

Dedication

I dedicate this research to my family past, present and future and to the people of North Idaho.

Thank you to my wonderful husband, my family and friends for your continued love, support and coffee. Thank you for continually trying to understand what it is exactly that I am studying and listening to my long monologues on rural areas and planning. I could not have done this without you!

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Introduction

Gentrification is most often thought of occurring in urban settings, and a large portion of gentrification research is focused on this phenomenon. However, it has also been documented in rural areas throughout the world. This paper explores the topic of rural gentrification and its occurrence in rural Kootenai County in north Idaho. Four questions directed the original research of this topic:

1. What is rural gentrification?
2. To what extent is rural gentrification occurring in Kootenai County?
3. What negative or positive impacts are resulting from rural gentrification in Kootenai County?
4. What role can bioregional planning play in mitigating the impacts of rural gentrification?

Similar to urban gentrification, rural gentrification is most often defined as a process that results in the displacement of established, working class residents due to the influx of wealthier residents into a particular rural area. This can cause general societal shifts and political, environmental, and economic conflict. Although the initial impacts may be seen in the housing market or changes in the local economy, ripple effects impact the broader region and place identity and culture. There is some variation in the definition of rural gentrification; therefore, it is important to fully understand the breadth of the topic and that both rural and urban gentrification may be occurring in Kootenai County. Additionally, a broader understanding of rural gentrification beyond its typical convention is needed in this area of study, as suggested by Golding (2016), as rural gentrification is often focused on the “extremely affluent enclaves”, such as Aspen, Colorado and Sun Valley, Idaho (pg. 131). Phillips et al. (2008) notes that “one can have quite different groups or agents being identified as ‘gentrifiers’ and gentrification can be seen as occurring in quite different ways and arguably for quite different reasons” (pg. 59). So, like bioregional planning, it may be that the definition may vary with the context of the place.

1. Literature Review

1.1. The Concept of Rural Gentrification

The amount of research dedicated to rural gentrification is only a fraction of what has been done on urban gentrification and is “much less understood than its urban counterpart” (Stockdale, 2010, p. 31). There has been a sizeable volume of rural gentrification research performed in the UK and other European nations beginning in the early 1990s, and the breadth of research in other regions has begun to expand in recent years. Particularly in North America, research on rural gentrification has only started to emerge as a topic of interest in the last decade or so.

Although the term ‘gentrification’ was not coined until the 1960s, and rural gentrification was not discussed much until the 1980s, urban-to-rural migration has been documented back to the turn of the 20th century. As the industrial revolution advanced, rural residents began to move into the cities looking for new, higher-paying work for the first time in human history, and it was this vast development that resulted in slums and a poor urban environment (Davoudi & Stead, 2002), which provoked the introduction of city planning, as well as creating, what Davoudi and Stead (2002) call the “anti-urban view.” This anti-urbanism shaped suburban growth after World War II and also perpetuated in the Rural Renaissance of the 1970s and the Rural Rebound of the 1990s (Nelson et al., 2010; Golding, 2016). “Rural space has come to embody tranquility, safety, family, nature, stability and a general nostalgia for some bygone era that migrants are searching for in their move to a rural destination (Nelson, Oberg & Nelson, 2010, pg. 344).

Rural migration, and subsequently rural gentrification, was not widely studied until British geographers established its importance in the 1980s (Zukin, 2011). Phillips’ study from 1993, *Rural Gentrification and the Processes of Class Colonization*, sought to differentiate between urban and rural gentrification and pinpoint the differences between the two phenomena, as well as how the two are interrelated. He notes that both urban and rural gentrification are concerned with the changes of social composition within a study area, where the middle class is moving in and replacing the working class. It is important to note that many people falsely attribute gentrification to the influx of very wealthy residents into an area. Phillips (1993) suggests that in rural areas it is more accurate to describe gentrification, in the case of rural, as “one middle class fraction replacing another” (pg. 124). In his research of the Gower peninsula in Wales, he found that middle-class immigrants did not just move to the area for financial reasons, but also to pursue the “rural lifestyle” which offered a sense of community. Another study done by Smith and Higley (2011) in Cranbrook, Kent, England, southeast of Greater London, identified the gentrification of the county occurring

due to middle-class urban professionals seeking a more family-oriented location to raise their families. These professionals were seeking a ‘rural idyll’ that embodied better education systems, a slower pace of life and open space for children to grow up in.

Rural gentrification can also be demarcated by seasonal or vacation home ownership. A study of rural gentrification in Russia by Mamonova and Sutherland (2015) looked at this piece of the puzzle, focusing on the increased prevalence of second homes (known in Russia as ‘dachas’) since the fall of the Soviet Union. Although second homes have been common in Russian culture for all different income levels, the second homes found today are rarely used for “semi-subsistence” food production purposes but are instead used as hobby farms, are more often occupied by the elite, involve a greater number of renovated older homes and villages for urban dwellers, and are seen as places of leisure (Mamonova & Sutherland, 2015).

Although Mamonova and Sutherland’s (2015) study did find that gentrifiers often adapted their lifestyles to fit with that of the locals, such as taking part in village rituals and maintaining the traditional façade of their dachas, it is a common factor in rural gentrification that gentrifiers begin to shape their new environment, both socially (Stockdale, 2010) and physically (Phillips et al., 2008). This creates conflicts between new and existing groups and can ultimately affect how native residents perceive newcomers and how it affects their lifestyle and their identity in the place (Mamonova & Sutherland, 2015). The “idyllic construction of rurality clearly continues to be an important factor underscoring the gentrification of rural places,” including the access to green spaces and recreation, increased health and well-being, lack of urban ills, and lower costs of living (Smith & Higley, 2012, p. 52). However, the increased migration in rural areas can be detrimental to locations themselves and to the benefits of rural living that residents desire. Phillips, Page, Saratsi, Tansey, and Moore (2008), ironically, note that rural gentrification may be responsible for destroying the natural spaces and habitats that gentrifiers seek. This is only one—but crucial—impact of rural gentrification in rural areas around the world. Golding’s (2016) definition of rural gentrification emphasizes these changes that go beyond just income disparities, which reads, “the process by which higher-income households displace lower-income residents of a community, *changing the essential character and flavor of that community*” (pg. 128, emphasis added).

Phillips (1993) notes that there is more than one way to understand gentrification, both in urban and rural settings, and goes on to explain three ways in which gentrification can be looked at: through increased capital investment; “buying into a socially desired lifestyle” (pg. 125); and “buying into a particular lifestyle” (pg. 126). There is continued debate on what defines rural

gentrification and what is it that differentiates it from other changes occurring throughout rural areas. Some argue that, really, the West is experiencing broader 'amenity migration', which Abrams et al. (2012) defines as "the movement of largely affluent urban or suburban populations to rural areas for specific lifestyle amenities, such as natural scenery proximity to outdoor recreation, cultural richness, or a sense of rurality" (pg. 270). Others question if the changes occurring fall into general rural restructuring. However, Ghose (2004) contradicts that, stating that the rural restructuring occurring in the West is attributed to these amenity-driven migration patterns, caused by "footloose employment opportunities, equity rich household, and changing values among retirees" (pg. 529). In general, Stockdale (2010) lists the defining consequences of rural gentrification to include "the social transformation of an area involving the middle-classes, an associated social displacement of former residents, and the refurbishment of properties" (pg. 32). While urban gentrification is often associated with the in-migration of young middle-class individuals or couples (often without children) into a previously run-down area and initiate the gentrification process, rural gentrification is more often attributed to the in-migration of older residents, particularly those in retirement or "empty nesters" (Nelson, Oberg & Nelson, 2010). It is important to keep in mind that the defining difference between gentrification and other rural processes is that gentrification always involves the issue of difference in class between local residents and in-migrants, as well, rural gentrification may now look differently than it did in 1964 (Phillips, 2010, pg. 541).

Rural gentrification research in North America has primarily focused on the West. Nelson et al.'s (2010) research on rural gentrification and linked migration identified counties throughout the United States that have experienced gentrification, primarily characterized by the growing populations of affluent baby boomers. Their study revealed that counties in the western United States were experiencing this type of gentrification more so than those in the east and pointed at obvious gentrified areas in the west, such as Jackson Hole, Wyoming and Sun Valley, Idaho. However, these locations are the epitome of rural gentrification and are in a group of gentrified locations of their own. This "ideal" of rural gentrification has made it difficult for rural gentrification to be identified in other locations where the causes and effects may not mirror those places (Golding, 2016). Other locations throughout the West are being studied due to the progressive gentrification that has occurred over the past few decades and to better understand what is causing it. Hines (2010) writes that the urban-to-rural migration patterns we are seeing currently can be explained by "a shift toward greater emphasis of postmaterialism/postproductivism,

lifestyle migration, amenity migration, voluntary simplicity, the experience economy, and/or a 'sustainable future' in the lives of contemporary Americans" (pg. 290).

William R. Travis' *New Geographies of the American West* discusses the vast growth that has occurred throughout the West. His chapter "The Gentrified Range: New Owners of the Purple Sage" specifically talks about increased exurban development in the West's range lands and the increased land transfers from western ranchers to the affluent non-ranchers. Travis cites the desire to be near natural amenities and recreation opportunities as the main drivers for gentrification of the West. He also goes on to explain the three factors attributed to ranches being sold: price (sold at prices much higher than agricultural values); family dynamics (it is common for parents to pass on property to multiple children resulting in subdivision into smaller parcels); and cultural changes. Rural locations used as the backdrop for movies and TV shows featuring the West and its scenery, wildlife, and recreation opportunities has also drove individuals to purchase properties in these areas. Travis, as well as Gosnell and Abrams (2011), refers to this as the "*River Runs Through It* phenomenon" (based off of the popular 1990s movie of the same name set in rural Montana) has played an important role in peoples' decisions to move into high-amenity rural.

Although Nelson et al.'s (2010) study only identified Adams, Valley, and Blaine counties as gentrifying counties in Idaho, northern Idaho has been experiencing a growing population and economy in the past several decades. It can be seen in many locations where specific development or properties have been built or refurbished to cater to middle and upper-class individuals for primary and secondary residences. Similar to the Sun Valley area, North Idaho is becoming a more popular location for celebrities and other high-income individuals. For an example, this past summer, TV actress and dancer Julianne Hough and National Hockey League player Brooks Laich tied the knot near her family's home on Lake Coeur d'Alene, putting the location on the map.

The goal of the research described here is to further understand the effects of these changes. Nelson et al. (2010) also claims that rural counties that are gentrifying tend to be "recreation and retirement destinations within high amenity locations" (p. 349), as gentrifiers are "relatively affluent, usually middle-aged and overwhelmingly white, fleeing urban and suburban areas in search of a perceived higher quality of life" (pg. 442). Northern Idaho has long been characterized as a destination with an abundance of scenic beauty and ideal for recreation purposes and retirement living, and it continues to draw people from throughout the US and Canada.

1.2 Bioregional Thought

“A bioregion is literally and etymologically a ‘life-place’—a unique region definable by natural (rather than political) boundaries with a geographic, climatic, hydrological, and ecological character of supporting unique human and nonhuman living communities...and by the unique human cultures that grow from natural limits and potentials of the region” (Thayer, 2003, pg. 3).

Bioregionalism continues to be a vague framework within the planning field. Bioregional theory has been well outlined in literature throughout the past 30 years, yet it has been much more difficult to implement in practice. The main questions that remain is how bioregional thought can be incorporated into the current planning atmosphere and where will it be most beneficial.

Bioregional theory was first introduced in the 1980s as a sustainable framework for human development. Bioregions were outlined as areas composed of similar ecosystems that could provide all needs for existence, for human and non-human alike. These regions often mimic the complex boundaries of watersheds (Hensley, 2011), rather than the simple political boundaries based off landmarks or townships and sections. Many early bioregionalists took inspiration from indigenous cultures that managed to thrive in naturally constrained regions. These aboriginal territories provided the needs for indigenous tribes, whether groups were nomadic or stationary. Sale (1983) writes:

“A bioregion is a part of the earth’s surface whose rough boundaries are determined by natural rather than human dictates and is distinguishable from other areas by attributes of flora, fauna, water, climate, soils, landforms, and the human settlements and cultures those attributes have given rise to. The borders between such areas are usually not rigid—nature works with more flexibility and fluidity than that—but the general contours of the regions themselves are not hard to identify and indeed will probably be felt, understood, sensed, or in some way known to many of the inhabitants, particularly those rooted in the land—farmers, ranchers, hunters and fishers, foresters and botanists, and most especially, across the face of America, tribal Indians, those still in touch with a culture that for centuries knew the earth as sacred and its well-being as imperative” (para. 15).

Most cultures, prior to the 20th century, understood the connection that pre-modern societies had with the natural world and the landscapes in which they lived, as “in many landscapes, the natural and cultural heritage are inextricably bound together” (Mitchell & Buggey, 2000, pg. 35). And

though bioregional thought did not gain traction until the latter part of the century, early theorists saw the need for communities to think outside of the confines of political boundaries and consider regions as a whole. The work of Lewis Mumford and the creation of the Regional Planning Association of America in 1923 reflects this idea. Additionally, even the US government saw the value of planning regionally in the 1930s when they formed the National Resource Committee, which claimed “regional differentiation may turn out to be the true expression of American life and culture [reflecting] American ideals, needs, and viewpoints far more adequately than does State consciousness and loyalty” (Sale, 1983, para. 51).

Although bioregions are defined by the ecological boundaries of regions, it is common for individuals’ “territories” to match up with those boundaries without prompting (Sale, 1983). As Brunkhorst (2000) states, “human inhabitants have generally modified their landscapes to meet a desired need and, as a result, identify very strongly (through perhaps unconsciously) with that landscape” (pg. 31). This can be seen strongly by those that work in natural resource industries or those who live in rural areas. These landscapes are “cultural landscapes” created by the interrelationships of nature and man (Mitchell & Buggey, 2010).

Bioregions surpass the boundaries of urban and rural and are subjectively constructed by the people in “how they see it, use it, and what it produces for them” (Brunkhorst, 2000, p. 33). Utilizing a bioregional approach to rural gentrification is important because of the cultural shift that occurs in the process. The gentrification of rural landscapes can be detrimental to the culture of a region, as those landscapes have great cultural power in which people develop strong identities with the place (Brunkhorst, 2000; Goldstein, 1999). Shuckmith and Chapman (1998) point out that the identity that is produced in place is different for each person and influences one person’s perceptions from another, and “these competing representations of rurality are likely to have important consequences for which forms of rural development are proposed or permitted” (p. 231). The perceptions and knowledge that these individuals develop are useful in planning for bioregions. Goldstein (1999) discusses the importance of this “place-based knowledge” and how it is needed alongside modern science in understanding places, their problems, and resilient solutions.

Bioregionalism utilizes a holistic approach to planning. Bioregional theory focuses on the triple-bottom line—people, planet, profit—associated with sustainable living. The planning field has the “planner’s triangle,” which also emphasizes the connections between society, the environment, and the economy. However, in modern-day planning, planning issues are often siloed into one of

these spheres, when, in reality, they usually have roots in more than one of these areas. Bioregional planning seeks to address issues from each area to create more sustainable solutions. Bioregional planning also calls for the collaboration of multiple disciplines to help solve complex issues, as “the landscape encompasses the uses of land—housing, transportation, agriculture, recreation, and natural areas—and is a composite of those uses. A sum of the parts that can be seen, the layers and intersections of time and culture that comprise a place—a natural and cultural palimpsest” (Steiner, 2000, pg. 4). Planners need to take into consideration that landscapes are made up of these many parts and require specialty knowledge. Planners, themselves, may be specialized in a planning discipline (i.e. transportation, economic development, housing, etc.) but may not have the tools or knowledge to address problems outside of that scope. This comprehensive approach to planning and coordination with multiple disciplines makes sense for addressing gentrification, both urban and rural, as it often impacts multiple parts of a region, as will be discussed later.

1.3 Defining Rural

The term ‘rural’ can often be ambiguous. There are many definitions of rural depending on where you look or to whom you speak. The federal government, alone, has 15 different definitions for ‘rural’ (Fahrenheit, 2013). In its most general form, ‘rural’ is defined as “not urban”. However, Merriam-Webster defines the term as “of or relating to the country, country people or life, or agriculture” (“Rural”, n.p.). The U.S. Census Bureau defines ‘rural’ as “all territory, population and housing units located outside of [urban areas] and [urban clusters]” (US Census Bureau, 2012). The United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) 2008 Farm Bill defines ‘rural’ as “...any area other than— (i) a city or town that has a population of greater than 50,000 inhabitants; And (ii) any urbanized area contiguous and adjacent to a city or town described in clause (i)” (USDA, 2013, pg. 4). Additionally, in the USDA’s *Report on the Definition of ‘Rural’*, the definition is adjusted for different USDA programming. Looking at just these definitions, it is easy to see that ‘rural’ can mean different things to different people. Small (2000) writes that ‘rural’ is a construct that is given meaning by the context in which it is described; those contexts include demography (defines rural by the number of people), the local economy (i.e. farming), social structure (which include types of values, beliefs, behaviors, etc.), psychological (reflected in individuals’ state of mind), and cultural (e.g. reluctant to give up traditions/traditional way of life).

As part of this study, participants were asked the question: “Do you think Kootenai County is defined by its urban or rural characteristics?” The responses were divided, which was expected. Several respondents said that it really depended on where you lived in the county. Those who lived in or near the urban area mostly responded that the county was defined by its urban characteristics, while several others believed that, despite the metropolitan designation of the county, much of it was still rural and was overall a rural county.

This inconsistency was an important element of the research, as entities or other academics may consider Kootenai County ‘urban’ or ‘metropolitan’ and not applicable to the ‘rural’ gentrification debate. It is true that urban gentrification is happening in some cities in Kootenai County, where a majority of the population lives. This inconsistency demonstrates the difficulty and necessity to tease apart the dual phenomenon of urban/rural gentrification in Kootenai County (and other areas). However, it was revealed that many people consider Kootenai County to be rural and that rural parts of the county are experiencing gentrification.

2. The Study Area: Kootenai County

Kootenai County is located in the panhandle of Idaho. Before settlers (old and new) arrived in Kootenai County, it was the home to the Schitsu'umsh, or Coeur d'Alene Tribe, since time immemorial. Their aboriginal territory spanned from eastern Washington to western Montana and from areas of Latah County to the north shores of Lake Pend Orielle (in Bonner County). In 1842, Jesuit priests entered the region upon invitation from tribal elders and built a close relationship with the Tribe. They built the first Jesuit mission in St. Maries, but it was later moved to its current location in Cataldo; the Cataldo Mission is the oldest standing structure in Idaho (Kootenai County, para. 2). As the Jesuits "christianized" the Tribe, they helped encourage a culture of farming within the territory, particularly on the southern end near modern-day DeSmet.

The Mullan Military Road was built between Fort Benton, Montana and Fort Walla Walla, Washington in the 1860s, and Fort Sherman was established at the mouth of the Spokane River with the task of keeping travel open along the road. This was the site of some of the first white settlement in Kootenai. However, it was gold that brought many of the first settlers to the Kootenai County area in 1883 when it was discovered up the Coeur d'Alene River (Kootenai County, para. 3). Mining has since shaped much of the past and present of the region.

It was also around this time that a reservation was negotiated for the Coeur d'Alene Tribe, which makes up about a third of the southern portion of Kootenai County and a large portion of Benewah County (approximately 345,000 acres) (Coeur d'Alene Tribe, n.d). Within their treaty, the Tribe was promised that "...no part of [their] reservation shall ever be sold, occupied, open to white settlement or otherwise disposed of without the consent of the Indians residing on said reservation" (Corteneo & Dozier, 1974, pg. 406), and farming continued to be a successful and lucrative endeavor for Coeur d'Alene tribal members. However, between 1906 and 1910, the reservation was opened to white settlement under the Dawes Act; this act allotted 40 to 160 acres to each tribal member and allowed the remaining acreage to be claimed by white settlers (Cotroneo & Dozzier, 1974). This greatly damaged tribal members' ability to farm, as these small tracts were not large enough to produce the crops they previously did. Over the first several decades, many tribal members lost title to their lands due selling off their allotments or to death or financial hardship (Cotroneo & Dozzier, 1974). The dividing up of the reservation also severed the cultural ties the Coeur d'Alene Tribe had with much of their territory and diminished the social and organization structure of the Tribe itself. This loss of deep connection and identity with the land and cultural traditions has caused turmoil for the Tribe for decades. Many economic, social, and

environmental problems that face the Tribe on the reservation today stem from the fragmented landscape in which they now live. Today, the Tribe only owns about one quarter of the reservation lands.

Throughout much of the twentieth century, Kootenai County was rural and relied primarily on natural resource industries. Several major rail lines were built through the county and delivered timber, mining and agricultural products to the West Coast and as far east as Chicago. Coeur d'Alene and Post Falls had several mills along the north shore of the lake and the Spokane River. Logging occurred up the Coeur d'Alene and St. Joe Rivers and logs were floated across the lake for processing and shipping. Mining was a major industry in the Silver Valley and up the Coeur d'Alene River for many years. This, unfortunately, resulted in severe environmental impacts and the designation of the Coeur d'Alene River Basin as an EPA Superfund site.

The 1980s brought a sharp decline in the timber and mining industries (Kootenai County, 2017), and at this time, the county turned to tourism. Since then, several luxury establishments were created, starting with the Coeur d'Alene Resort and golf course on the north shore of Lake Coeur d'Alene. Other lavish developments, such as Black Rock and Gozzer Ranch, have been built in Kootenai County over the years, focusing on high-end homes with premier golfing and views of the lake. These developments' focus is on seasonal residents. In 1991, the Tribe established the Coeur d'Alene Casino, which has provided approximately 1,500 local jobs (IDL, 2017) and economic benefits to the Tribe. In addition to the casino, the Coeur d'Alene Casino Resort has two hotels, multiple restaurants, a spa, an event center, and is also home to the Circling Raven golf course, which is ranked as one of the top 50 golf courses in the nation (Visit North Idaho, 2017). Kootenai County is also well-known for Coeur d'Alene Lake.

Today, the county has the third largest population in the state of Idaho at 154,311 (US Census Bureau, 2016b) with most of the population centered in Coeur d'Alene, Post Falls, Hayden and Rathdrum. In 2003, the Coeur d'Alene urbanized area received metropolitan designation when its population exceeded 50,000 (KMPO, n.d.). The median income in Kootenai County is \$49,403, which is less than the US median income of \$53,889 and slightly higher than Idaho at \$47,583 (US Census Bureau, 2015a). The local economy had continued to diversify and includes more jobs in manufacturing, technology, warehousing and other services. The largest local industries are trade, utilities and transportation (19%), Government (18%), and leisure and hospitality (14%) (Idaho Department of Labor [IDL], 2017). Average annual wages in these industries are \$35,434, \$43,239, and \$17,102 respectively.

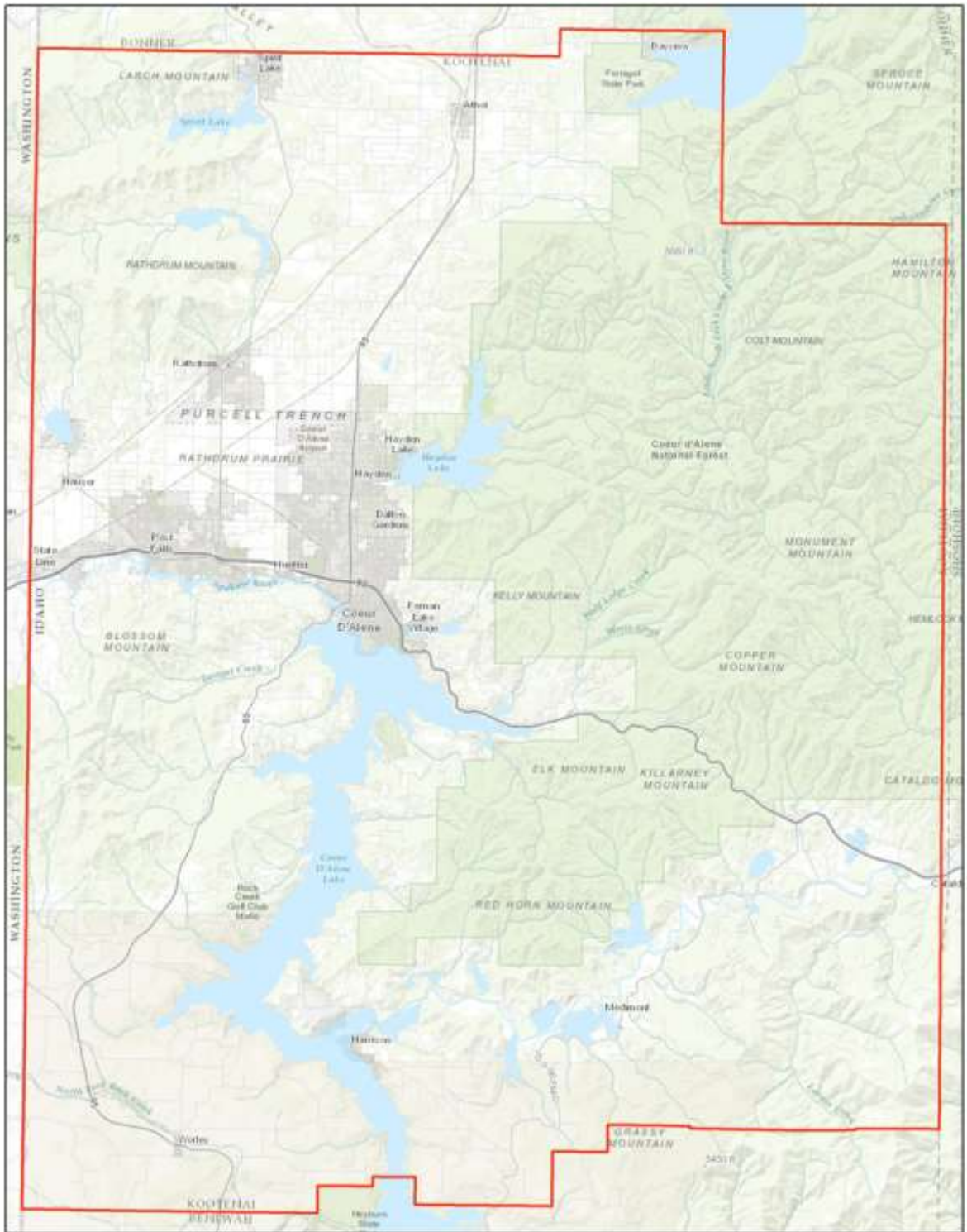


Figure 2.1: Map of Study Area - Kootenai County

3. Methods

3.1 Interviews

Qualitative data were collected through a series of in-person interviews with Kootenai County residents and professionals. A total of 15 semi-structured interviews were conducted. Semi-structured interviews were selected as the choice of qualitative data collection because they allowed for the data collection to be controlled but also allow for the freedom of the participant to provide a variety of in-depth responses.

Interviews consisted of a series of open-ended questions with prepared probes to ensure that responses could be analyzed in a similar manner. Not all questions were asked throughout the interview but were selected based upon the individual's experience or their responses throughout the discussion. A copy of the script can be found in Appendix A. Interviews lasted anywhere from 30 minutes to two hours. Participants were asked to sign a consent form detailing the process, outlining any perceived risks (none), and explained the confidentiality of their responses. It also included a request to record the interview; all participants agreed to be recorded, and the recordings were used to compare with the notes that were taken.

3.2 Sample Selection

Participants were selected using chain referral ("snowball") sampling. Initially, five individuals were contacted for interviews based on their experience with development in the county. Of the five, four agreed to participate. At the end of each interview, participants were asked to refer additional individuals who they felt could contribute to the data, either in a professional or personal capacity. Through the snowball sampling method, 12 individuals were recommended; seven of those individuals agreed to participate. Four additional individuals were selected based on their experience with a particular area of the county or a topic that stemmed from previous interviews.

Participants represented a broad range of perspectives and came from the following backgrounds: water resources, planning, land appraisal, planning and zoning committee, low income housing, young family, realty, farming, ranching, small business ownership, environmental advocacy, economic development, soil conservation, city leadership, federal government programming, and a retired landowner. Of the 15 participants, 10 were born and raised in Kootenai County, of which four had moved away for some time and returned. Five of the

participants were “newcomers” to Kootenai County and had lived in the area from a range of five to 30 years. The age range of the participants varied from approximately 25 to 80 years old.

3.3 Analysis

Interview notes were reviewed as soon as possible after each interview. Notes were cleaned up and annotations were added to clarify meaning. In the first phase of coding, a line-by-line analysis was done of the interview notes and a descriptive coding system was developed based on summarizing the topics in the responses for each participant, such as ‘increased cost of living’, ‘generational ties’, ‘diversified economy’, etcetera. These were input into a spreadsheet, and responses were compared to determine a level of saturation.

During the second phase, an analytic coding scheme was developed. Reading through the descriptive codes, new codes based on themes that arose from the data were developed into a system that was used to break down the data and group responses. The grouped responses were further broken down into subthemes. The interview recordings were then reviewed, partially transcribed, and themes were noted. These themes were compared to the previous results to determine the accuracy of the initial analysis. These results of both phases overlapped well.

Secondary quantitative data was collected and analyzed from a variety of sources, such as the US Census, the Kootenai County Assessor’s office, and current events from local newspapers. These sources helped in understanding current land use and income changes, changes in development patterns, and general trends in migration.

Table 3.1 Themes and Subthemes

THEMES	SUBTHEMES	DESCRIPTION
KOOTENAI COUNTY PLANNING	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The County is/has been growing rapidly 	<p>Growth is exceeding what is desired</p>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Concerned with the types of growth that is occurring 	<p>Increased suburban sprawl and urbanization</p>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> County needs to utilize planning tools to mitigate impacts 	<p>The County could use impact fees, clustering, or other tools to help with type and cost of development</p>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Providing protection of aquifer 	<p>The Rathdrum Prairie Aquifer is the sole-source aquifer and is threatened</p>
PERSONAL CONNECTIONS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Sense of place 	<p>People feel a personal connection with Kootenai County</p>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Connection with landscape/natural amenities 	<p>People have a connection with the natural resources and landscape</p>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Participate in farming/ranching/logging or respect industries 	<p>People are produces or they respect that type of lifestyle and the history in the area</p>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Participate in outdoor recreation 	<p>People appreciate the variety of opportunities for outdoor recreation</p>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Feel like part of community/sense of community 	<p>People feel a sense of community in their towns or with neighbors and other residents; people are kind and take care of each other</p>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Overall culture (laid back, rural, freedom, etc.) 	<p>There is a distinct culture in Kootenai County that stems from rural values</p>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Family/family roots 	<p>Family members or ties to the area connect people with the place</p>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> County's past/good ol' days 	<p>Long-time residents enjoyed growing up in Kootenai County; the county has a distinct and interesting history</p>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Community and leadership mindset (against change, diverse visions, etc.) 	<p>Residents are "living in the past" or do not want changes to the area; leadership has own agenda or lacks a vision for the future</p>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> General politics 	<p>Kootenai County has become very conservative</p>
BARRIERS TO CHANGE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Availability of resources (funding for projects, etc.) 	<p>Lack of funding for major infrastructure projects, like roads</p>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Cultural clashes (old vs. new, urban vs. rural, etc.) 	<p>Increased conflict due to difference in old vs new culture</p>
CAUSES OF CONFLICT	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Differences in values 	<p>There are significant value differences between different groups</p>

<p>CAUSES OF CONFLICT (CONT.)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Different approaches to stewardship • People living in the past • Division on regulations • Citizens feeling left out or not in control of their future • Rural reality vs. rural idyll 	<p>Conflict arises between land owners on how to take care of their property and the landscape</p> <p>People want to move forward while others want to retain the “good ol’ days”</p> <p>There is debate over what should be regulated and by how much</p> <p>Residents feel that the area is pro-growth when many feel important places or characteristics are being lost</p> <p>The rural lifestyle may that newcomers expect may not be reality</p>
<p>OPPORTUNITIES TO BUILD ON</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Diversification of the local economy • Natural/financial limits to growth (i.e. it will slow down) • Changes to planning and leadership • Adopting different values regarding land/the landscape • Increased public buy-in • Participate in more “open space” preservation 	<p>There are several different sectors, such as health technology, that are opportunities for Kootenai County</p> <p>The landscape does limit growth in some areas; they availability of financial resources may also limit growth potential</p> <p>Electing officials that have a vision for the area; using a diverse planning tool set</p> <p>Viewing/values open land for more than its potential for development</p> <p>More community members could be involved and have a voice for their future</p> <p>Open space to be considered more than parks; work to preserve the working landscape and other green spaces</p>
<p>DRIVERS OF CHANGE</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Perpetual pro-growth mindset • Changes to the predominant industries (loss of natural resource industry, growth of service sector) • Advances in technology • Baby-boomer retirement • Growth of urban area and amenities • Abundance of natural resource amenities/recreation • Traditionally a rural area 	<p>The County has seen large amounts of growth over decades with no hope of slowing down</p> <p>The focus of the local economy has shifted from extractive industries to service and manufacturing</p> <p>New and expanded technology allows for people to build community differently, work outside the office, and have more conveniences at their fingertips</p> <p>Kootenai County is seeing an influx of retirees</p> <p>The urban area is continuing to grow and are expanding infrastructure and services</p> <p>Kootenai County is adored for its natural amenities and recreation opportunities</p> <p>In-migrants are seeking an areas with rural values and lifestyle</p>

<p>DRIVERS OF CHANGE (CONT.)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gentrification in other areas • Strong social capital • Outside forces (policies from other states, etc.) • Search for authenticity • Politics (local and national) 	<p>Other areas are gentrifying and causing people to move to Kootenai County</p> <p>People are seeking areas with higher social capital</p> <p>Policies, regulations, etc. are pushing individuals to seek locations with those they agree with</p> <p>Individuals are seeking a more authentic existence, which they identify with rural places</p> <p>People are seeking areas with political agendas similar to their own</p>
<p>PARTS OF KOOTENAI COUNTY'S IDENTITY</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Natural resource industries • High social capital • Natural environment (scenery, wildlife, etc.) • Access to outdoor recreation • Rural/small town lifestyle 	<p>Kootenai County relied primarily on the natural resource economy through much of the 20th century</p> <p>There is a high sense of social capital in Kootenai County,</p> <p>Kootenai County is beautiful place with an abundance of wildlife and scenic landscapes</p> <p>There is a diverse number of recreation activities that can be pursued in Kootenai County, as the landscape is diverse and includes four seasons</p> <p>Kootenai County has retained a rural lifestyle despite growth occurring in the area</p>
<p>SIGNIFICANT CHANGES</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conversion of working lands • The social shifts have taken place (change in class, change in social ideology...) • Conversion of open space • Movement from a natural resource based economy • Urbanization of the County 	<p>Productive agriculture and forest lands are being converted to suburban and exurban development</p> <p>The social structure and values have changed in the region with the in-migration of new residents</p> <p>Development is consuming open space</p> <p>The local economy has become more diversified</p> <p>The urban area of the county is continuing to grow</p>

4. Discussion

4.1 Results: Rural gentrification of Kootenai County

If you compare the literature with what is occurring in Kootenai County, it is fairly easy to see that Kootenai County is experiencing gentrification, not only in its urban areas but also in rural parts of the county. Rural gentrification in Kootenai County is comparable to the conditions of rural gentrification occurring in other areas, such as Missoula, Montana and Okanogan County, Washington. Although Kootenai County is considered a metropolitan county (as is Missoula County, Montana), per our discussion earlier of the term 'rural', the areas outside of the designated urban areas of the county are experiencing gentrification. Rural gentrification in Kootenai County may then look more like that occurring in the European studies discussed earlier rather than mimicking "typical" rural gentrification occurring in the American West. However, Kootenai County shares characteristics with both areas of study. The following details the data gathered that corroborates this conclusion.

A unique perspective of bioregionalism is that human narrative plays an important role in defining territory, issues, culture, and the vision for an area. It is in bioregionalism that the human voice speaks louder than the scientific word, for math and science cannot always paint the true picture of our human existence. Through the interview process, it was the citizens of Kootenai County that shared the story of gentrification in this place. Though the county may be designated as "metropolitan," due to specific criteria determined by the US Census Bureau, many individuals see this as a rural place. Respondents still identified the culture of Kootenai County as "rural" or "small town", which emphasizes knowing your neighbors, helping each other out, being close to nature, and being independent.

All participants were asked: "Do you feel that gentrification is occurring in Kootenai County? Does it also apply to the rural areas?" All participants responded that they felt that gentrification was occurring in Kootenai County. Several noted the gentrification of the urban area, particularly in downtown Coeur d'Alene and along the Spokane River. For decades, these locations along the water were homes to mills and lumber yards and workers' housing, and now, they feature entities such as Coeur d'Alene Resort, the Riverstone development, and high-end residential properties. Bryson (2013), in "The Nature of Gentrification," notes that this is a common effect of brownfield redevelopment, as the new development recovers the lost value of the site and also increases the value of neighboring properties, especially green space conversions. Additionally, several interviewees noted the large number of summer and secondary homes for

higher income newcomers, the Black Rock and Gozzer Ranch developments, and large acreage “retreats” throughout the rural part of the county. Participants’ comments were accompanied by concerns of loss of access, lack of affordability, and a conversion of “place.”

It is important to note here that urbanization and suburbanization is a part of the overall gentrification in Kootenai County and does contribute to the manifestations discussed later; however, this analysis specifically seeks to focus on the development, social, and environmental changes occurring in the rural parts of the county regarding exurbanization and other rural development patterns. As stated previously, ‘rural’ has many connotations, and this discussion does not abide by a specific characterization of ‘rural’, but utilizes the fluidity of the term as described by Small (2000). In some cases, such as development occurring on the Rathdrum Prairie, it may be difficult to separate the different development patterns contributing to the causes and manifestations and what is deemed ‘rural’ is dependent on the context or respondent’s own identification.

Although these themes help us to better understand the current situation of Kootenai County, not all of them will be explored in detail in this paper. Table 3.1 details the themes and subthemes that were extracted from the qualitative data collected. The following sections explore the causes and manifestations of rural gentrification in Kootenai County revealed through participants’ responses.

4.1.1 Causes

Generally, the cause of the gentrification of localities is outlined in its definition: the in-migration of higher class individuals. However, rural gentrification literature has been thorough in describing what the additional drivers that are causing such in-migration. Kootenai County reflects some of these trends. As well, its unique character and location and the increased impacts of general globalization has attributed to the gentrification in the county. Those specifically explored were general county growth, recreation and outdoor amenities, the social and political atmosphere, infrastructure and technologic improvements, and the transition from a productive to post-productivist landscape.

4.1.1.1 General Growth

Kootenai County has been steadily growing since the 1970s and has grown three times faster than the state of Idaho as a whole (Idaho Regional Economic Analysis Project [REAP], 2016).



Photo 4.1: Agriculture and Suburban Housing on the Rathdrum Prairie, Coeur d'Alene

The high growth decades in Kootenai County directly correlate to the urban-to-rural migration movements of the 1970's "Rural Renaissance" and 1990's "Rural Rebound," where Nelson & Nelson (2010), in their article "The Global Rural," note other high-amenity rural areas saw significant growth during these periods, as well. Idaho continues to outpace the rest of the United States in growth, and North Idaho is the third fastest growing region in the state (Russell, 2017). In 2016, Kootenai County was ranked second out of Idaho counties for overall GDP (gross domestic product) growth over the past three years (Cousins, 2017); GDP reflects the total value of products produced in the area. Recently, population growth has been spurred in Kootenai County by the large influx of retired persons moving into the area, a trend Idaho has been experiencing as a whole. Kootenai County already has a large population of citizens of retirement age, with 18% of the population being over the age of 65; that is up from 13.5% in 2006 (U.S. Census, 2016). The Idaho Department of Labor (IDL) (2017) has forecasted that that the age groups of 65 to 69 years, 70 to 74 years, and 75 to 79 years in the state will continue to grow at annual rates of 3.2%, 3.5%, and 3.0% respectively, compared to the overall growth rate of 1.4% and will account for a third of the overall growth by 2025 (Russell, 2017). Nelson and Nelson (2010) emphasize that "never before in the history of the USA has such a large share of the population sat on the cusp of retirement, and with retirement comes an increased propensity to make an urban to rural move" (pg. 445).

A larger retired population has increased the need for specific services, housing and transportation options. The growth of the health care industry in Kootenai County is expected to continue due to the growth of this faction of the county's population. Kootenai County, and other

areas in Idaho, are seen as very attractive locations for retirement due the lower cost of living (compared to large metropolitan areas) and natural amenities (Cousins, 2017). A subset of this population that was brought up by several respondents includes retired police officers and fire fighters. Respondents noted that this group has moved into the area due to conservative values, and their public-service pensions allow them to reside at a higher standard of living.

The lower cost of living has been a draw to Kootenai County for retirees, as it allows them to stretch their retirement income further. Additionally, most respondents described situations where individuals who had relocated to the area had moved from locations such as Seattle or southern California, where they sold modest homes for relatively large sums of money and were then able to upgrade to a larger home or sizeable acreage that was above what average residents of Kootenai County could afford, a trend acknowledged by Jackson and Kuhlken (2006), as well as Smith and Higley (2012). Nelson and Nelson (2010) assert that “the arrival of middle- and upper-class rural gentrifiers dramatically transforms local housing markets through both renovation and new construction” (pg. 445). Participants illustrated this occurrence:

[Interviewer] Is rural gentrification occurring?

“Absolutely because of the money that comes here. If you sell a house down in California, you can come up here and build a mansion and have your five acres and your motor home and your huge shop and all of that. The normal people who have lived here all their lives, they can’t afford to do that. The values of properties here are low, and that’s why people can come here and do that. My brother-in-law’s brother sold a little tiny house down in Orange [County], a little tiny old house for \$700,000, and it had a little teeny garage and I went “oh my God...,” but it was in Orange. It’s amazing—just totally amazing. You’d call that a shack here...and I can see a little bit of that happening in [Athol]. We’ve had people who have taken some of the little old trailers and built really nice homes on the same lot.”

“People that move here are not necessarily moving here for employment. They’re moving here from other places that they can’t afford to live anymore, and they’re getting a tremendous price for the sale of their property and they see how cheap it is here. But, the acreage might be cheap, but when you add the infrastructure, in terms of well, septic system, all those kind of things, it’s not that cheap but it’s probably cheaper than lots of other places.”

It is not only about the lower cost of living either. As one participant illustrated, Kootenai County offers a diverse range of activities and lifestyles for just about any group:

“Our topography is very unique—we’re not like the rest of the state. So, if someone wants to be in Washington state for various reasons, I mean I’ve had people move here from Washington because they’re tired of the taxation, and they want to be on self-sufficient five acres with their sheep and spinning their yarn and chickens, ya know. From there to the person with 20 to 40 acres and they grow hay or wheat or oats too, I don’t get a lot of that per say, but there’s definitely a slant towards kind of ‘let me live.’ But I think it’s not like Montana either. The areas of Montana that I’ve been to, you know, you have, like in Bozeman you’ve got sort of the valley with the mountains around, and there’s different activities there...and it’s more spread out. So, here we have just so much to do in such small area that I think that’s the real benefit. I mean what, in an hour and 15 minutes you’re at Schweitzer, ya know, and there’s tons of hiking at the same time and then you’ve got all the different lakes. I mean, I just feel like it’s a very compact area with a lot of options for what kind of environment do you want to live in. Do you want to live right down town? Do you want to live in a subdivision? Do you want your kid to be able to play at the park while you look out the window? Or do you want to be on the 40 acres? Or do you want to be on 5 acres and not see your neighbor’s house? There, literally, you can have any setting you want here.”

The past two years have seen a record number of building permits throughout the region. The number of new permits have soared in the urban area, and as of August 31, Kootenai County had issued 271 permits for 2017, as well 325 were issued in 2016. The small city of Spirit Lake, at the north end of the county (population 2,193) (Census ACS 2015), has issued a record number of building permits two years in a row with 79 in 2017 and 62 in 2016; a building moratorium has recently been implemented because the city’s sewer system is at capacity (Walker, 2017a). In essence, Kootenai County and its urban communities are “growth machines”, a term urban sociologist Harvey Molotch created to describe local land use institutions and to describe “how city

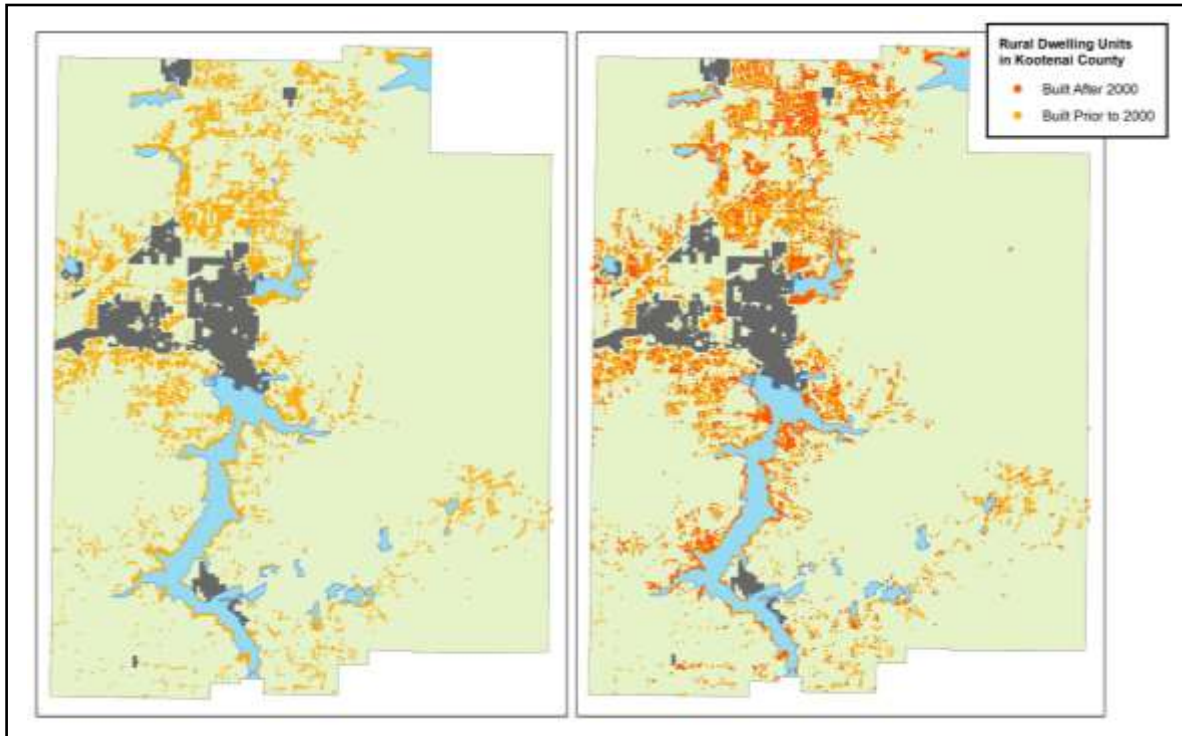


Figure 4.1: Growth of Rural Housing from 2000 to 2016

councils, county boards, and planning commissions design their land use policies to attract growth—for tax revenue and local development goals” (Press & Nakagawa, 2009, pg. 145).

“So, we’re heading towards urbanization, and I don’t feel that’s a wise area for our infrastructure, for our aquifer, for our quality of life. We’re selling ourselves out.”

4.1.1.2 Recreation and Outdoor Amenities

“Planning and zoning has had a major impact on Kootenai County. But growing up here as a kid, I could remember being able to count the houses from Spokane Point to Browns Bay. The only farm that really came to the lake was—well still is—Bloomsburg’s. Recreationally, [the west side] of the lake became much more valued for people to build summer homes than this side because this side has a road around it. Well, now I would have to assume that the biggest industry of Kootenai County, per say, is tourism.”

Kootenai County has been marketed as a recreation destination for decades. One respondent noted that, even back in the early decades of the 20th century, Coeur d’Alene was an attractive vacation destination for Canadians, and it continues to be. There were mixed feelings

about Kootenai County as a vacation or resort destination. The resort industry picked up in the county during the late 1970s and 80s when natural resource industries started to decline. It spurred economic diversity and revitalization of the small communities of Kootenai County, primarily in Coeur d'Alene. However, it seems as though some residents have grown tired of the seasonal populations and visitors. Duane Hagadon, a local entrepreneur who established the Coeur d'Alene Resort, Coeur d'Alene golf course, Hagadon Marine Center and multiple other businesses in the area, has been a primary supporter, if not the father, of the tourist industry in Kootenai County. As one respondent noted, Mr. Hagadon has marketed the county as a recreation wonderland; the effects show.

"As he [Duane Hagadon] promotes the lake and promotes the four seasons, people see this area, they come to it, and they realize how beautiful it is, and they move here. People from California, people from all over, that I've talked to say it's such a beautiful place, and part of it is the promotion of the area. Ironman and some of these events bring people in that historically are not here, and they realize, 'Oh man, this is gorgeous,' and they move here, so recreation has become more important as part of our economy."

This is similar in other high-amenity areas, where it has been documented that migration occurs over time as amenity seekers begin with tourism to the area and then eventually permanently relocate (Gosnell & Abrams, 2011).

Lake homes have been a mainstay in Kootenai County around the shores of the area's lakes. In the past, these consisted of small lake cabins, often owned by those locally or just across the border in Spokane. However, over the last couple of decades, areas lakes have seen increased lakeshore development. These new developments are more than cabins but many are large, lavish homes, though most are still seasonal residences. Seasonal and secondary home ownership is not seen solely around area lakes but throughout the rural areas of the county. According to the Kootenai County Assessor's Office, in 2017, there were 31,241 rural properties that were "non-owner occupied" (though not all of these properties included residences) (Kootenai County Assessor, 2017).

The location, additionally, offers many recreation amenities that retirees are looking for. It has been documented that gentrifiers are often looking to escape the noise, traffic, and hectic lifestyle of the city for an idealized rural lifestyle (Nelson & Nelson, 2010; Kondo et al., 2012).



Photo 4.2: Lake homes on Coeur d'Alene Lake

Environmental quality has also been shown to be a magnet for older, affluent Americans at or near retirement age (Gosnell & Abrams, 2011; Kondo et al., 2012). “Natural amenities such as water bodies, temperate summers, warm winters, topographic variation, wilderness and outdoor recreation all increase the attractiveness of rural areas for business and residential development” (Kondo, Rivera & Rullman, 2012, pg. 175). These were qualities that respondents all attributed to their love for the area and were also perceived as drivers for newcomers.

“This. Just the view, and the fact that you can sit here and you can see elk, you can see deer, you can see wild turkeys, you can see geese. And have cattle, we just took our cattle to the mountain, so they’re here all winter and spring, just up behind here. Just the opportunity to have all that.”

4.1.1.3 Social and Political Atmosphere

“I’ve really been able to create this life here, I think, I’m not sure that’s available in the big city. I think the quality of relationships is better here because you’re getting some like-

minded people here. In the city, it's so easy to be around so many different people, with so many different views and interests. And here... I don't think you can hide as much here. It's not as big of a realm..."

Another prominent response from participants was that the social and political structure of the County was bringing in new residents. Respondents spoke about Idaho being a 'blue' state in the past, but had made a shift to be overwhelmingly conservative. The conservative atmosphere of Kootenai County has made it attractive to residents who wish to escape more liberal regions. Residents are seeking a sense of freedom, which is represented by fewer regulations, a more conservative fiscal policy, stronger Christian traditions, and support for gun rights. It is believed that Kootenai County is a place where you can know your neighbor, people help each other out, and your children are safe. This level of social and cultural capital is part of the 'rural idyll' and draw that new comers desire (Kondo et al., 2012). Unfortunately, as noted by several respondents, particularly those that are long-time residents, the level of social capital that is anticipated in Kootenai County has been eroded over the years as more "outsiders" bring in opposing values and the fractured social sphere has opened up the opportunity for more crime. One respondent replied:

"I'm a strong believer in community, and if you wish to be a member of a community, it's not a free ride...Western Kootenai County, Post Falls, is very fragmented from what it was. There's nowhere near the cohesiveness—, well there's very little cohesiveness. What little bit is left is probably generated by the schools. That's sad."

Residents are also concerned about the political atmosphere of the county and the increased conservatism of citizens. The rural US is notoriously 'red,' but even rural landowners, farmers, and old timers, who probably fall on the more conservative end of the political spectrum, noted that newer conservative values threatened the environmental quality of the area and the willingness for residents to vote for referendums that included public services, such as schools or the public transportation system. This migration pattern can also be attributed to the politics in the national arena. Issues of minority immigration and high taxes are also issues driving individuals into this northern Idaho county. The 'white flight' migration has pushed people out of the inner cities and out of the suburbs. White residents are seeking rural properties in conservative voting districts. One interviewee responded:



Figure 4.2: Map of the "American Redoubt" (Survivalblog.com)

"Politically I think, is the biggest change I've seen. We've seen a huge influx from California mostly, extremely conservative types. There isn't an elected democrat in Kootenai County. None. So, the political atmosphere is extremely conservative."

In addition, Kootenai County, as well as other areas in the Inland Northwest, is experiencing a third era of urban-to-rural migration referred as the "Redoubt movement." The American Redoubt (Figure 4.2) was coined in 2011 by blogger and author James Wesley, Rawles and consists of the sparsely populated areas of Idaho, Montana, Wyoming, and Eastern Washington and Oregon (Sullivan, 2016). Wesley, Rawles focuses on survivalist content in his writing and has encouraged people to move into the Redoubt to create a demographic solidification in the area (Russell, 2016). These "Redoubt-ers" are also described as "preppers," as they stockpile food, weapons, and other necessities in preparation for the "end of the world," war, or societal collapse. Although it is not known how many of these migrants have moved into the region, there are multiple realty agencies that cater specifically to those looking for "defensible properties" and off-grid living (Marshall, 2017; Russell, 2016). The influx of retired public servants and military personnel can also be attributed to this community (Sullivan, 2016). Although Kootenai County has been dominated by Republican voters for many years now, there has been growing concern that this group has contributed to shifting local politics to the far-right, as many individuals move to escape "leftists and non-Constitutionalists and anti-freedom people" (Sullivan, 2016, para. 2). Kootenai County was known for many years as the headquarters of the Aryan Nations (in Hayden) and other white

supremacy groups, and as new far-right individuals move into the area, there are some concerns that it will revive some of the old factions and values that the County has worked hard to shake from their identity over the past several decades.

4.1.1.4 Infrastructure and Technology Improvements

Infrastructure improvements have also been a driver for increased growth in Kootenai County, particularly for the rural areas. US Highway 95 runs north to south through the county and was once one of the most dangerous stretches throughout the state. In 2008, an expansion and rerouting of the highway was completed from the south end of the county to Coeur d'Alene, eliminating hairpin turns and widening the highway to a four-lane divided section. A 30-mile trek that could take up to an hour in winter conditions and where logging trucks, wildlife, and black ice were around every corner was transformed. The improved access from Worley to Coeur d'Alene has opened up the southern half of the county to rural living with urban convenience. Gosnell and Adams (2011) state that the increased ease in transportation to and through rural areas, with the addition of well-maintained highways and rural runways, contributes largely to the increased development in these areas. Several participants commented the increased accessibility due to expanded transportation infrastructure:

"If you know the road from Coeur d'Alene down to Moscow, there's Mica Hill; it's the first place you come to as [US Highway 95] comes out of Cougar Gulch. When they straightened that, it was a huge project. It had all kinds of wiggles, and it was a slow thing and dangerous in the winter. They totally straightened that out for the most part, and I predicted back then—that was in the '90s I guess—that all the property at the top of the hill and clear down to Plummer would be more useable and more desirable and more accessible because of the ease. It took 15 minutes less to go there, and it wasn't nearly as dangerous."

"You came over Burma Rd. That was a nice, wide road we traveled in the summer time. In the winter, we wouldn't travel it because it'd be icy and slick...now that roads paved. People want ambulance service like you get in a city. Those kinds of things I think irritate people—old timers."

“I can remember, I’ve only been here a little over 20 years, and, ya know, it used to be just wonderful, country rides, going down Prairie Ave, and that was out in the country. Yet, now they have widened it to four lanes, for much of it, and I know one farmer who lives out there, right on Prairie Ave, and the traffic past his house is just horrible. So, they aren’t the scenic country drives through farm land anymore.”

Several rural developments and unincorporated communities around Lake Coeur d’Alene offer residents sewer service. Garbage service is now provided by a few companies outside of the urban area, and a number of companies have expanded internet service into rural parts of the county (including fiber optic networks). The drastic changes occurring in technology over the past couple decades has further opened up rural areas. The expansion of telecommunications into rural areas, the decreased need for employees to physically be in the office, and improvement of transportation networks have been key factors in the desire and ability for more people to move into rural areas (Gosnell & Abrams, 2011; Stockdale, 2010). This allows foot-loose professionals to relocate into the area, as well as allowing more people to “discover” Kootenai County and its assets, as described by interview participants:

“It’s amazing how many home-based, electronic and interesting businesses that exist in Kootenai County that you don’t even really know about. We used to have a neighbor who lived around the corner here. He was a financial trader, a stockbroker. He packaged things for companies who just wanted to get on the stock market, so he was talking million-dollar packages or whatever. His light would be on at three o’clock in the morning because he was talking back east, you know, and that kind of stuff, and watching the market. And there’s all kinds of interesting little businesses like that that take place in Kootenai County that certainly didn’t used to happen. Little businesses back then was somebody that was a welder or something.”

“It seems that social media or whatever has made it easier for people to get information around than normal, email ya know, news at the touch of your fingertips, research...has made it easier to know about the world, so I think more of the people living in places not so desirable or are getting more crowded look for places to move to that are beautiful. So, I think people are finding out that North Idaho is a beautiful place to live compared to many

states and it's less expensive living...even though rent in Coeur d'Alene is outrageous and the surrounding towns...I think that is a reflection of the people coming in."

4.1.1.5 Productive to Post-Productivist Landscapes

With the decline of natural resource jobs, local economic development agencies, like Jobs Plus (the Coeur d'Alene Area Economic Development Corporation), have worked to diversify the economy over the last several decades, in order to revitalize the county. This has been seen in other western regions where natural resources once drove local economies (Gosnell & Abrams, 2011). They often tout the recreation opportunities, small-town feel, and relaxed way of life to attract new businesses to the area, and as Nelson et al. (2010) explains these amenities can be main factors in a company deciding to move their business. However, it is not only the in-migrants and demand that has shaped the changes occurring in the county. When looking at the increased suburban and exurban development that has occurred, it, in part, is due to the changes of the agriculture industry in the area. In general, the increase in consolidation of farms, mechanization of the industries, and out-migration in rural areas has opened up properties for amenity migrants to purchase and transform them (Stockdale, pg. 33). For example, in Wallowa County, Oregon, the decline of these industries and the subsequent transfer of large agriculture or forest tracts from production-oriented families has allowed for amenity migrants to purchase "retreats" in rural areas (Abrams & Bliss, 2013); there is potential for this type of land use transition to also occur in Kootenai County, if it not yet has. Additionally, farmers, in general, are getting older and nearing retirement—an issue nationally—which, as one participant noted, has resulted in the sale of rural agriculture properties and conversion to development:

"I'll tell you, one driving force that I've seen, people who have been here for generations and owned land, banked on that land as retirement and that a time would come, when they didn't want to farm anymore, and they could sell it off to developers. If farm land is worth \$4,000 an acre, and development land is worth five times that much, what are you going to do?"

Lawson, Jarosz and Bonds (2008) also describe the negative effects of national trade policies, such as NAFTA (North American Free Trade Agreement), and the role that they have played in the disappearance of small, local farms in the West: "Farmers feel left behind, as crops are sold

globally, homogenized, and grown as cheaply as possible (through mechanization, migrant workers, etc.)” (pg. 741).

However, demands for the rural way of life has also increased in middle-class culture, changing the way in-migrants view rural places and drives their decisions to move to these locations. In the 1990s, scholars sought to describe the transition being seen from using landscapes to produce goods to those in which people desire a landscape’s natural amenities and where they look to produce experiences; this concept was coined post-productivism (Almstedt, 2013). “The emerging post-productivist or multifunctional countryside is defined in part by non-agricultural representations of rurality, the rise of the consumption of rural landscapes, and the movement of urban ideals and expectations to rural places” (Wilson, 2001; Gosnell & Abrams, 2011, pg. 306). ‘Experience’ is highly prioritized by the postindustrial middle-class; rather than consuming goods to “keep up with the Joneses,” the middle-class has increasingly sought to produce and consume “experience, that is knowledge, services, entertainment, etc. as markers of its distinction from other subset of US society (particularly within the middle class)” (Hines, 2010, pg. 293). This has caused a major transformation in the American West (Gosnell & Abrams, 2011). These post-industrial members of the middle-class seek to create narratives of their authentic existence through their experiences, and they feel greater authenticity of experience can be achieved in rural landscapes than in the urban landscapes they left behind (Hines, 2010). Non-retired newcomers are desiring a slower lifestyle and locations to raise their families away from the chaotic urban lifestyle and near nature (Ghose, 2004). The quality of the physical and social environments also are drivers for self-employed or telecommuting individuals who often bring with them other forms of capital (Gosnell & Abrams, 2011).

The post-productive ideals about rural places and lifestyles have indeed changed these place from “landscapes of production” to “consumption-oriented rural landscapes” (Nelson & Nelson, 2010, pg. 443; Abrams & Bliss, 2013, pg. 846). As economic development agencies seek to diversify the economy away from traditional natural resource industries, attracting amenity migrants is considered a post-industrial economic development strategy (Golding, 2016). However, it should be noted that from an economic standpoint these in-migrants are not necessarily workers nor do telecommuters necessarily add to local economic growth” (Golding, 2016). They are consumers. The drastic shift of the rural landscape from productivist (agriculture and forest product production) to post-productivist (production of experience) frames rural landscapes as a “positional good”— a good in limited supply that is only available to the “elite” (Gosnell & Abrams, 2011;

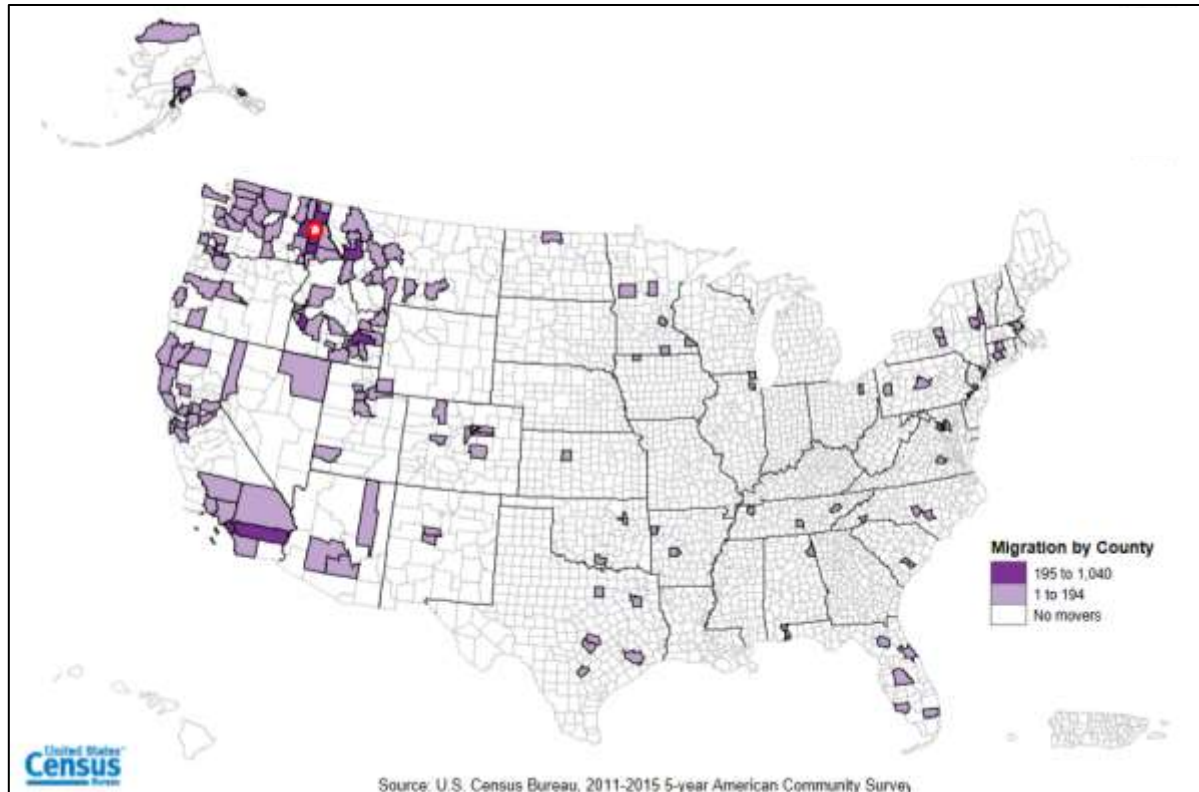


Figure 4.3: 2011-2015 Inbound Migration into Kootenai County (US Census Bureau, 2015b)

Ghose, 2004; Phillips, 1993). This is a main driver in increased exurban development as newcomers seek new experiences (Kondo et al., 2012).

4.1.2 Manifestations

As each region is different, rural gentrification is also revealed in different ways. The literature's description of rural gentrification details the unique manifestations depending on the study area, and that was also obvious for Kootenai County. The process in Kootenai County was not identical to other locations, yet it did have many similarities. One of the study questions for the research that was undertaken was to identify how rural gentrification manifested itself in the area and what the negative and positive impacts of rural gentrification are in Kootenai County. Interview participants, as well as secondary data sources, were able to illuminate what some of those impacts are. Table 4.1 lists the positive and negative impacts that were revealed through the research.

Table 4.1 Positive and Negative Impacts of Rural Gentrification in Kootenai County

POSITIVE IMPACTS	NEGATIVE IMPACTS
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Revitalization • Resource protection • Increased social networks • Diversification • Seeking traditional rural values • More opportunity/progress • New demographic in-migration • Outdoor amenities • Community leaders have pulled together • Increase in health services and manufactures; education corridor 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Changes in values • Changes to the physical (built and natural) environment • Changes to the social environment • Increased planning, politics, and regulations • Increased cost of living • Loss of places and access to places • Growth and types of growth (suburban/urban/exurban sprawl) • Bleak future/lack of vision • Globalization, loss of identity/different place • Shift from natural resource economy

4.1.2.1 Income Disparity and Cost of Living Increases

“I think the demographic has changed quite a bit because I think a lot more wealthy people are coming in, selling their places in Oregon, California, Nevada, Arizona, ya know, all those different states where their cost of living in the area is exponentially higher. They’re selling their places down there and moving up here or visiting from there...So, I see a lot of wealthy people coming in...”

Housing prices have continued to increase throughout Kootenai County in the last decade. The demand for housing is in part responsible for the increased price of housing in the county. An article in the Coeur d’Alene Press in January 2017 stated that home sales had reached a 10-year high. The article noted that home values were 7.8% higher just in comparison to 2016. 2016 saw a 5% increase in sales prices from the year before. A realtor that was interviewed stated that he worried prices would potentially eliminate many first-time home buys from the market. Additionally, vacant land sales increased by more than a third between 2014 to 2016 (Walker, 2017b). Some of the price increase is due to a tight housing market where Kootenai County is

Table 4.2 Highest Median Listing Prices in Rural Locations in Kootenai County Compared to Income

AREA	MEDIAN LISTING PRICE	MEDIAN INCOME
GARWOOD	\$320,000	No Data
WORLEY	\$295,000	\$33,929
STATE LINE	\$273,000	\$15,038
HAUSER	\$273,000	\$42,750
RATHDRUM	\$273,000	\$39,820
IDAHO	\$265,000	\$47,583
UNITED STATES	\$300,200	\$53,889

Source: Top Cities & Neighborhoods, Kootenai County Housing Market. Realtor.com

facing a limited housing stock in both the urban and rural parts of the county for both single-family and multi-family residences, although the number of building permits continues to increase. However, the development of large homes and “manageable” rural tracts, access of properties to natural amenities (such as Coeur d’Alene Lake or public lands), and resale of land for development rather than agricultural uses has also played a part in pushing up housing costs. Coupled with service-oriented jobs, it has made it difficult for many Kootenai County residents to find affordable housing options, both in and out of “town”. Table 4.2 compares the top five most expensive median home listings compared to the locality’s median income for rural locations in Kootenai County.

Often the rural changes associated with amenity-driven migration is characterized by “the displacement of lower-income groups by those with the financial freedom to afford rural living without relying on productivity activities” (Gosnell & Abrams, 2011, pg. 311). These changes were emphasized by interviews and can be seen in the current unaffordability of housing and the increase of lower wage jobs. “Native” residents had survived for years working at the grocery store or heading a household on one income, but participants stated that, in many cases they knew of, it was becoming more difficult or unfeasible altogether. An interviewee described a situation that reflects these changes:

“As land becomes more valuable, there used to be a lot of trailer houses and trailer courts, and that provides housing for a segment of our society, like it or not, and those people are now fixed income and stuff, and they’ve got an older [trailer] home in Kootenai County, and

you can't move a home that's older than, I think, a 1995; you cannot physically move it in this county, and they're not building anymore trailer courts to move them to anyway, so those people have to buy a parcel of land, and a five-acre parcel is worth— any type of lot in town or any type of any acreage, is at least a hundred grand. So, increased growth and increased urbanization is putting pressure on fixed income people and a segment of our society, which would include the older and the elderly, who retired from a company at a retirement or a social security package that they thought would carry them through, and now they can't afford their prescriptions. They can't afford their trailer court rent. There are no trailer courts to put your trailer house in. That's why you see a lot of mother-in-law trailers behind somebody's house. More pressure. It's another segment that gets more pressure. And, we're not helping those people."

Many stated that it was a “two-income world” now in Kootenai County. The United Way’s ALICE (Asset Limited, Income-Constrained, Employed) Report for the Pacific Northwest, detailed that a family of four required an annual income of \$48,000 to cover basic transportation, food, housing, health care, and child care, taxes and miscellaneous costs (United Way, 2015). The median household income in Kootenai County is just barely above this “bare-minimum budget” at \$49,403. The United Way (2015) also reported that in addition to the 11% of residents in poverty in the county, 33% of individuals also fell under this ALICE threshold. This is a reflection of what Lawson, Jarosz and Bonds (2008) discuss in “Building Economies from the Bottom Up”; in general, “rural gentrification, wage polarization and the rise of service and retail activities all contribute to poverty and inequality in the Northwest” (pg. 743). The growth of service jobs, in particular, is a concern. As “higher primary and secondary sector jobs” decline and service-sector jobs increase, it continues to lead to income disparities (Gosnell & Abrams, 2011, pg. 313). As Nelson et al. (2010) note, the combination of increased in-migration of older, wealthier residents and service and retail jobs may result in also attracting minority groups, which may increase competition for residents to acquire local jobs.

The region has dedicated a large amount of investment into the Coeur d’Alene Education Corridor—which includes North Idaho College and satellite campuses for University of Idaho, Boise State University, and Lewis-Clark State College—in order to educate local youth and keep young people in the area. However, as Golding (2016) notes, “high housing costs, limited and poor-quality

Table 4.3: Characteristics of Kootenai County Residents and In-migrants

COUNTY	MEDIAN AGE	PERCENT COLLEGE EDUCATED	MEDIAN INDIVIDUAL INCOME	PERCENT WITH INCOME > \$50,000
Kootenai Co.	40	65.3%	\$24,873	22.4%
Moved; from different county, same state	25.8	83.8%	\$26,370	7.7%
Moved; from different state	41.2	89.7%	\$34,567	44.2%

Note: No data for 'moved; from abroad' for these categories

Source: US Census Bureau, 2016 American Community Survey 1-year Estimates

rental housing, and low wages compel out-migration among upwardly mobile young people” (pg. 129), all of which are factors in Kootenai County currently. The apartment rental vacancy rate in 2016 was a record low of 0.5% and average rent prices increased (Swenson, Sample, Towner & Lightner, 2017). Participants were vocal about their concerns:

“It has changed so much from when I was a kid. Not only because of the growth and population, but it was a blue-collar community with the mills and so forth. Now it is a resort community, so your wages of the working people here of course have gone way down. No jobs pay very well. Resort industry jobs not so much, they’re pretty low, minimum wage.”

“In Bonner [county], there were people who were really paying attention to the fact that cost of living was exceeding what tourist town wages could deal with. While the cost of housing has gone way up, there’s been a definite effort by the city to try to do infill development to make sure people have access to homes, and in Kootenai County, I think they’re really behind the eight ball on that one. I think they’re just starting to have the conversation, but I would still go to so many meetings where I think people are so oblivious to the economic situation of most people, and the unemployment is really low right now, but how many of those jobs are seasonal jobs or minimum wage-type jobs?”

“We are seeing people with influence and money move in and drive up land prices. By and large those are retirees...on the plus side they’re pumping money into the economy, but if you look at the incomes my kids are earning, I don’t see that trickling down to them very fast.”

Participants, particularly those living in the rural parts of the county, also commented on the increased tax burden for property owners. Kootenai County adopted an additional 1.5% property tax increase for 2018 (Walker, 2017c); there were several letters-to-the-editor in the Coeur d'Alene Press, as well as responses from participants, about the increased cost of living for rural property owners that felt they are subsidizing growth in the county. It is known that new services that are often desired often surpass the income that is received by new property taxes (Gosnell & Abrams, 2011). As new rural residents demand increased services in the rural areas, it increases the burden on the counties' already-tight budgets (Lawson, Jarosz & Bonds, 2008). Although property owners that have summer homes often pay higher taxes than residents because they do not receive a homeowner's exemption, the burden increases for long-time residents who have lived for years without the need for additional services. Additionally, property taxes climb as high-end housing is built and adjacent properties are valued higher. Lawson, Jarosz and Bonds state that rural developments like these "inflate housing markets and property taxes making it difficult for those working in grocery stores, fast food and hotels to live near their jobs" (Lawson, Jarosz & Bonds, 2008, pg. 742). Participants were vocal about these increased costs for residents and some of the issues it causes:

"If someone has bought farm land and farmed it with thinking, 'well, when I retire this is where all my equity is, this will be my retirement, and I want to sell it for as much as I can get.' Well, that immediately prices it out of an agricultural resale. So, there has to be an economic incentivized method that makes it possible for that person to say, okay I'll sell it as ag ground. But then it whacks all the tax payers living in that area. And they'll say, 'well I didn't get that benefit for buying my property.' It's definitely a double-edged sword there."

"Now people can't afford lake property, now they're looking for "view property", so that escalates the price of land that used to, might or should be just left alone."

"Ya know, I think everyone has this dream of having a spot with some water—it's not very attainable here...but you would be surprised if you found out how many people that live primary residence in Spokane own lake houses here or lake lots....Lots of people come over here for their second homes, and they live right over there...I would say the super-rich go to the clubs. The super-rich, they're at Black Rock. They're at Gozzer Ranch. Those are sorta

like the CEOs and the big business, big money, family money. I think the lake is either people, families who have been here a long time, close by, Spokane, because this was their playground, right? And so maybe they got them through family that way...I know there's a realm, but a lot of the houses are not grand...they're not fancy inside but when someone is finished with them, they're pretty nice. And we still have boat access only lots on this lake...that takes a certain income level."

4.1.2.2 Fragmentation and Increased Rural Development

"Wow, the single biggest thing, it's just painfully obvious, is developing farm land and forest land into residential."

Fragmentation of the landscape has also been escalating, leading to increased development on smaller tracts throughout the rural areas. There are few individuals looking to manage several hundred acres or are able to purchase tracts of that size, but the minor subdivision of large tracts into five, 10 or 20 acre lots is more desirable for buyers. Gosnell and Abrams (2011) point to the fact that fragmentation and increased price of land for development can "lead to a positive feedback in which real estate prices continue to escalate as amenity migrants continue to arrive, making the persistence of traditional productive practices less feasible, leading to the continued selling-off of land for inflated prices, at which point the only possible buyers are more (and increasingly wealthy) amenity migrants" (pg. 313). Kootenai County allows for minimum lot sizes of five acres in both its agricultural and rural zones. Development in rural areas takes the form of exurbanization or "rural sprawl", a development pattern less dense than suburban and affecting a greater expanse of the landscape per person (Abrams et al., 2012).

When Kootenai County tried to increase minimum lot sizes in rural areas in the past, it was met with push back from citizens; even participants that are rural landowners in favor of preserving open space noted that larger minimum lot sizes prevent landowners from doing what they wanted with their property. This is a reflection of the strong notion of property rights in Kootenai County. However, small tract sizes also decreases the opportunity of retaining traditional agriculture or forestry uses, which was specifically noted by one participant:

"The chopping up or subdividing of parcels into 10-acre tracts and putting a house on them have changed the way or what is being done with those parcels of land because of the new

size of the [farming] equipment. Very few operators, when you get in that Rockford Bay area, you find very little production ag anymore just because it's not that productive of land, but it used to be farmed but now with the prices and it being chopped up in to smaller ownerships, producers are not willing to mess around with those little tracts of land."

Fragmentation also has a negative impact on resident wildlife populations—another concern participants noted—as it interrupts traditional migration routes as well as residents creating “pets” and increasing conflict between humans and animals. Exurban development brings with it more fences and roads and can also contribute to the spread of invasive species (Abrams et al., 2012).

"There's a little piece of property over on the edge of Post Falls, the old furniture factory...it's since sold to somebody else. Well, right in back of that, it's Schneidmiller's, so that was a place I could always take my dog. That's where I trained my dog on birds because there was always a population of pheasants, quail and huns [Hungarian partridge] out there, so I could train her on wild birds since she was a pup. So then, they kept building and building all the way around it, and I haven't seen a pheasant there in several years now. The quail are gone. And where I could find maybe six coveys of the huns, there's maybe two left, and it's a matter of time before they're gone."

In addition to the loss of wildlife, loss of access to hunting spots or was also a concern. Hunting and fishing is a common past time for many Kootenai County residents, new and old. It has also been documented in literature that it is common for in-migrants that purchase rural properties to create their own version of “nature” to meet their individuals desires recreational pursuits, such as putting in stocked trout ponds (Abrams et al., 2012). Interviewees shared some of their experiences and feelings on this matter:

[Interviewer]: So, you definitely spoke about the roads but are there any other negative impacts you can speak to?

"Yes, the places where I used to go hunt. Like I said, there's gates across the roads. You can't go into the places you used to go. People purchased the property and split the lots up

and turned them into five acres and put homes on them. That's one of the big ones—you have to go further and further to do any hunting."

"For me, it's been horrible. Because I love nature. I love animals. I love the plants—all the things. And, as I watch all those creatures disappear, I'm harmed horribly by it. It's not like I'm suffering from it, but ya know, if I have no grouse to hunt; I'm harmed."

Public access to the water has become a concern throughout the region. Area cities are concerned, as there is little public access to the waterfront on the north end of Lake Coeur d'Alene and along the Spokane River. This can be attributed to the increased redevelopment of downtown Coeur d'Alene that has "commodified" the lake front and views from this end of the city (Bryson, 2013). Post Falls has several river-side parks, and Coeur d'Alene is currently in the process of purchasing an old mill site to add another public access point for the city. The county has several public boat launches on area lakes, but few locations where the public can enjoy the water from the shore. The south end of Coeur d'Alene Lake (technically Lake Chatcolet), which mostly falls in Benewah County, is part of Heyburn State Park, which has several public beaches and docks. The state and BLM also have a few public campgrounds throughout the region, but on the lake, most are boat access only. These public access points are limited due to the large number of private lakeshore properties as described earlier. An interviewee explained:

"So, the gentrification of Coeur d'Alene Lake—which people call the Tahoe of the Northwest—has certainly changed the environment. There's almost no, very little, places along the lake where you can go and enjoy the lake. It's almost all privately owned...they don't build cabins on the lake anymore, you're aware of that, so people now have homes. \$400,000 to \$500,000 homes are real common."

The increased development of the rural areas of the county has also put a strain on infrastructure and services. Individuals that purchase small ranchettes in the county expect the same level of services that they may find in or closer to town. Ghose (2004) writes that former urbanites confessed that they "would feel lost in a *truly* rural setting remote from urban amenities" (pg. 533, emphasis added). One participant noted that people who move into the area and buy their little "slice of heaven" do not realize that their property requires a well and septic system of

its own. County roads can also be an issue for new residents. Many rural roads in the County are gravel that can develop wash-boarding in the summer due to farm truck traffic, wash out in the spring, or banks can cause the snow to drift over the road during the winter months. New residents may not realize that they are responsible for plowing their driveway or private road. For example:

“From a rural fire district volunteer, some of these houses are built in the trees in these developments that are built a long ways off the road and not very well developed. We had to go to a fire out off Weller Road and the guy really hadn’t plowed his driveway very well, and we got two firetrucks stuck...those are just some of the hazards people don’t think about when they’re building houses and where they’re building and how they plow roads in the winter and how well they maintain them. And those are just concerns we have as volunteers, is whether or not we can get there to save your house.”

4.1.2.3 Environmental Degradation

“The very things that draws people here—the open space and the water—those two things are completely threatened, and people have their heads in the sand.”

Environmental degradation was a concern to many of the participants, which included responses pertaining to loss of scenery, water quality, decreases in wildlife, and other natural amenities. This is not necessarily a new phenomenon, as these issues have occurred over the course of the past 100 years as white settlers first moved into Kootenai County around the turn of the 20th century. However, the increased exurban development in the county is a concern, as this type of settlement pattern has significant ecological affects (Abram et al., 2012). Rural residents who admired the views from their property acknowledged that new residences were now becoming part of that landscape or even obscuring the views. Locations, such as Syringa Heights on the east side of Coeur d’Alene, as one participant noted, is no longer a place to stop and enjoy the view of lake but is a gated community with homes in the million-dollar-plus range.

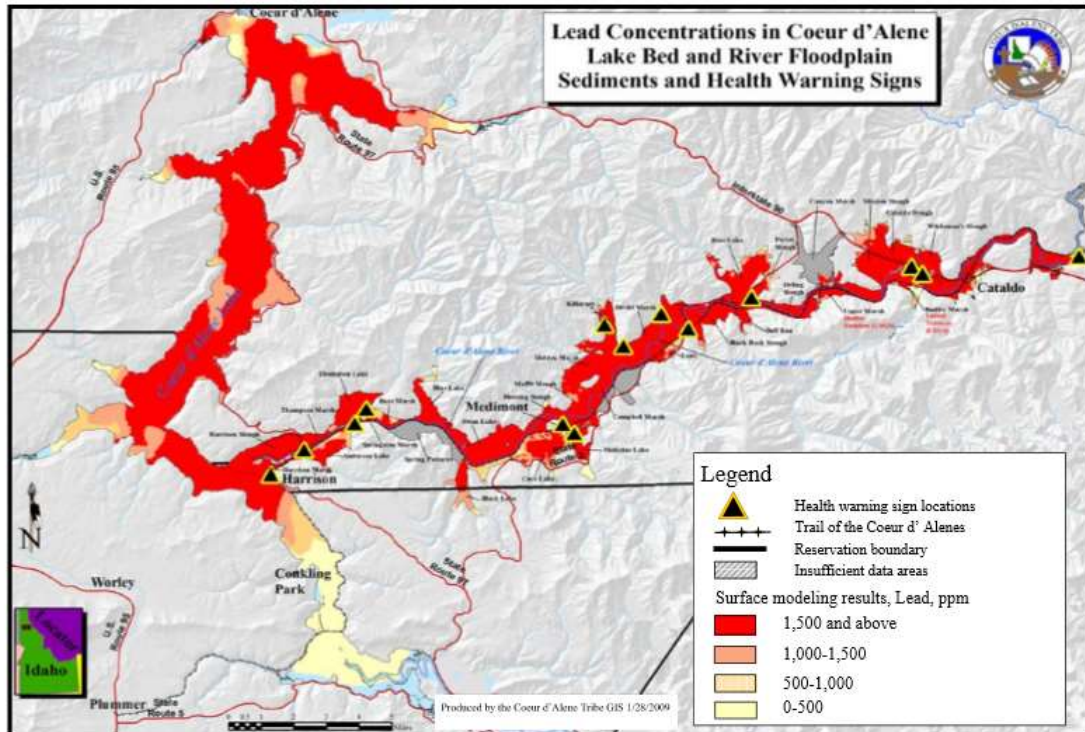


Figure 4.4: Lead concentrations in the Coeur d'Alene Lake bed and river floodplain sediments (Idaho Department of Environmental Quality (IDEQ), 2009)

There is also concern about the quality of the environment and protection of area water bodies and the Rathdrum Prairie Aquifer, the sole-source aquifer for Kootenai County and the Spokane metropolitan area. Coeur d'Alene Lake, as well as Hayden and Fernan Lakes, all face serious water quality issues due to development around their shores. Coeur d'Alene Lake has the unfortunate connection to the Silver Valley Superfund site. During the height of mining up the Coeur d'Alene River in Shoshone County, heavy metals washed down river into the bottom of Lake Coeur d'Alene. At this time, the metals are heavy enough that they have settled and are not released into the water. The Silver Valley was designated an EPA Superfund site in the 1980s, and there has been extensive work to clean up the river and creek beds and soils in that area. However, there is no feasible way to clean up the lake (at this time). As more development has occurred along the shores, and beyond, more nutrient runoff has occurred due to soil erosion, lawn and crop fertilizers and septic tanks, which has increased aquatic vegetation and, subsequently, depleted the oxygen levels in the water. At the recent "Our Gem Symposium," an annual conference on the condition of Coeur d'Alene Lake, scientists reported that phosphorous levels in the lake had doubled since the 1990s (Kramer, 2017). This has allowed for the metals to be suspended off of the lake floor to some extent. Although no negative impacts have yet occurred, it could potentially be a

very dangerous situation, yet Kootenai County has been very hesitant to restrict any development along the lake shore or near streams. The lake is in dire need of better development practices. Kondo et al. (2012) confirm that “exurban development in the US is occurring at higher than average rates near ecologically sensitive areas” (pg. 175).

Many respondents were also concerned about the development on the Rathdrum Prairie, both due the loss of open space and the risk of contamination of the Rathdrum Prairie Aquifer. As many participants confirmed, when the bluegrass industry disappeared on the Prairie during the 1990s, due to the restrictions on burning (a process that helps regenerate bluegrass crops for the next year), it allowed for the drastic increase in housing developments between the cities, both suburban and exurban.

“Once the crop that was most profitable in the area was, I’m not going to say it was taken away from the Kootenai County Idaho producers, the lawsuits that followed later to farmers changed people’s minds about, ‘okay, how much of this do we want to do, and how much do we want to spend trying to save this industry or stay out of litigation?’ That, in my opinion, is when all the development started to occur on the Rathdrum Prairie.”

Several participants considered the Prairie as the main agricultural ground in the county. Although blue grass was “king,” farmers also grow irrigated crops such as potatoes, mint, and alfalfa, though those continue to decline, as well, as development encroaches. In addition to the decline of the blue grass industry, many farmers are also reaching retirement age (a national issue, overall) and have no one to transition their farm or ranch to, as younger generations leave the area for higher education and more stable careers, as described by interviewees. One rancher described the bleak future for agriculture in the county:

“The farmers on the prairie and ranchers are down to a few dozen. There’s no dairy. There’s no grass seed. There’s not hogs, and very little cattle. So, it’s going more towards the building industry and the commercial industry, which in turn drives up taxes and land prices, which in turn makes it harder for families to stay.”

The county currently has an ordinance that requires five-acre minimum lot sizes for individual septic systems above the Rathdrum Prairie Aquifer. Smaller lots much be connected to a

community sewer system. This has helped eliminate the risk of contamination of the aquifer that provides potable water for approximately a half million people in the region, which some participants commended the county on.

“I think they’re doing a good job with the planning that they’re doing. Some people probably really disagree with that, but I think it is good planning on what the county is doing around us. It’s protecting everyone. We have to protect this aquifer. It’s the only one we have. The city pumps water straight out of the aquifer and right into the pipes. We don’t have to do anything with it at all. We don’t have to chlorinate or filter or anything. It’s just beautiful water right here, which we’re on the very front of. We’re on the head of the aquifer right here. Everybody from here to Spokane—they have to be more and more careful. It gets shallower and shallower. It’s 450 feet here. In Spokane, it’s only 50 feet deep, so when you think of groundwater and how things trickle down to it. From here it takes a long time for it to get down to the aquifer.”

Along with potential contamination, many are concerned about the draw from the aquifer and a receding water table as more and more development occurs. The Rathdrum Prairie is made up of coarse gravely soils that work as a filter for water trickling down into the aquifer, and as development increases, there is less opportunity for the aquifer to recharge. Several participants raised concerns of water availability and quality as the farms of the Rathdrum Prairie are converted into suburban neighborhoods.

“It’s pretty fragile, from a point of trying to keep pollution from getting down to the aquifer, our sole-source aquifer, is a big deal. So, protecting that is one of the more important things, and we’re going to suffer as things grow. Look at our prairie. It looks like a park. It’s all grass land and just beautiful, but it’s filling up. They’re growing houses there.”

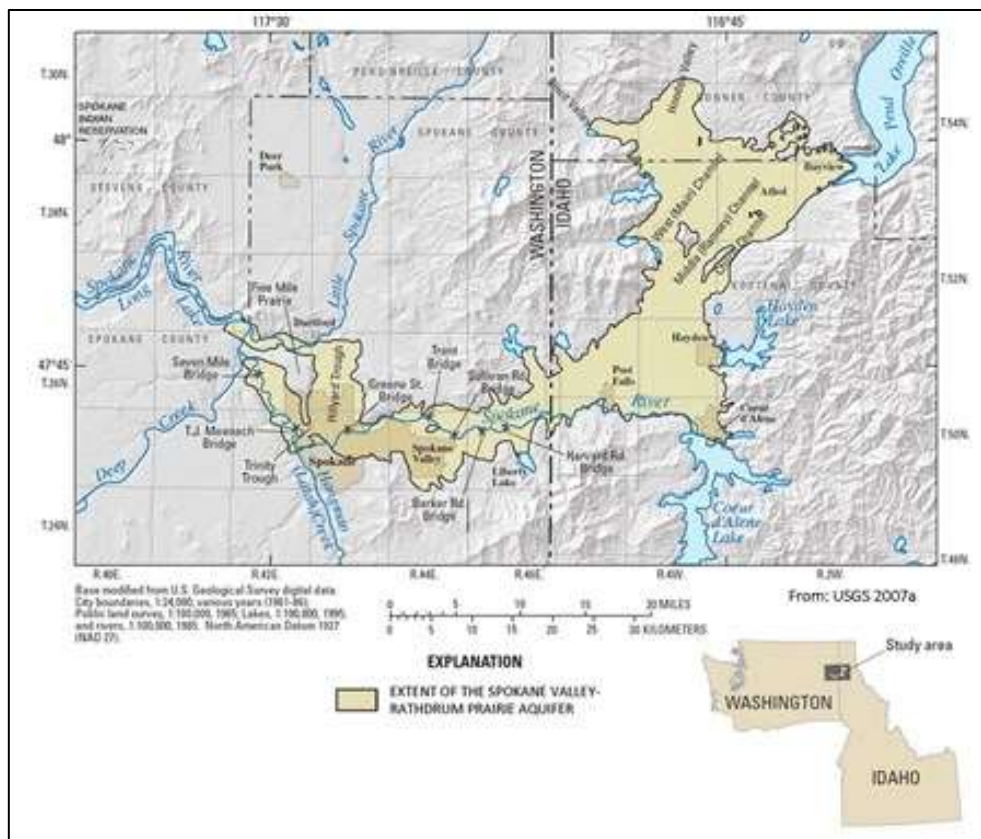


Figure 4.5: Rathdrum Prairie Aquifer (IDEQ, n.d.)

Access to water is not only a concern on the Prairie, but in other rural areas in the County, as well. There are several rural locations where it is difficult to access water for wells and can be an expensive endeavor to do so. Increased development in these areas can have an effect on neighbors and future access. One participant detailed his own experience:

“They’re really into protecting the environment, right? So now [my neighbor’s] got the idea that he’s going to divide it into what, it used to be 20 acres, now it’s less, five. So now he’s planning on putting in some duplexes...and of course they’re not into meat anymore, him and his wife, and he’s always telling me how much methane gas one cow produces, also how much water is used for dairy or raising cattle, and I said yeah, so how are you going to provide water for these places. Water is not easy to get on the [Harrison] Flats. Well, he said, ‘I’ve got two good wells’ and I said ‘yes,’ and the neighbor put a big well over here, and my hand-dug well—the static level dropped 20 feet and it’s never come back because they used to let the water run day and night, and the water table’s never come back. So,

now you're going to put in a well for each one? You're going to put in a duplex and not even have a well for each one? And you're telling me how much cattle. He sees that as [an opportunity for] gentrification. I see that as a poor use of resources."

General loss of open space was also a concern of participants. Press & Nakagawa (2009) write "one important dimension of any community's sustainability is its ability to preserve land in agriculture, open space, and wildlife habitat, which in effect, helps preserve long-run options and uses. Also, green spaces, parks, forests, and farms provide an immediate connection to the places where people live. Open space has an aesthetic appeal. Thus, land preservation is one of the more enduring and rewarding commitments a community can make to future generations" (pg. 141). As one participant noted:

"To me, a good open space is a working ground. You know, when it's producing something; it's a habitat; it's pleasant to look at, but not necessarily a park."

The working landscape is more than just productive ground, it is "agriculture lands [or forest lands] characterized by a long-standing balance between human and natural forces...a working landscape is exemplified by a historic countryside that displays an intricate combination of cultivation and natural habitat," and they offer a middle ground in the "'preservation versus production' debate" that often occurs (Abrams & Bliss, 2013, pg. 847). Other respondents also mentioned the value of working lands as open space and the desire to preserve them in that state. This landscape is an integral part of the identity of Kootenai County, and its value increases as it continues to disappear. One participant concluded:

"Boy I'll tell you, when I'm long gone, people are going to say 'I wish they would kept a little more open space.'"

However, on the other side, as open space does become scarce, the conservation of the remaining areas (if successful) would potentially cause in the increase in the value of properties near to those spaces. Press and Nakagawa (2009) state that conservation of open space gives an enhancement value to adjacent properties and creates an even larger issue with affordability, particularly in

urban areas. This may be the case of the Rathdrum Prairie, as Hayden, Rathdrum, and Post Falls continue to become more urbanized.

4.1.2.4 Loss of Place Identity

Loss of the county's unique identity was a concern to participants. This a common point of contention for residents in areas that are gentrifying (Ghose, 2004). They felt that new-comers were, in many cases, inadvertently turning Kootenai County into the places they came from. Zukin (2011) comments on this phenomenon stating in-migrants often "create, nurture, and capitalize on" a new place identity, that presents itself as an authentic extension to the place, but in the end, creates an entirely new sense of place (pg. 164). Although people may have moved to the area for the slow pace of life, community cohesiveness, increased safety, personal freedoms, and peace and quiet, respondents felt that the lifestyles and values outsiders brought with them were not in line with those qualities. The county's rich history involving natural resource industries was being slowly eroded by economic changes. Although new residents want to be able to greet their neighbors on the street, they continually involve police or lawyers in neighborly disputes rather than working it out. "With the focus on technology, efficiency, and speed that characterize today's pace of globalization, our life-place is easily taken for granted and overlooked" (Hensley, 2011, pg. 138).

This is not unique to Kootenai County, but is a general concern in many rural communities around the world, especially those experiencing gentrification. These changes not only have profound impacts on the identity of the place but also on the identity's formed by the people who have developed a sense of place in Kootenai County, as Stockdale (2010) notes "where you live has become an increasingly important source of identity construction for individuals" (pg. 32). Many residents do not only consider Kootenai County their home, but they also consider it a part of themselves.

One respondent commented on the fact that only through placemaking and increased development could community be fostered, yet numerous respondents from the rural parts of the county told of instances where their whole valley came together for "community" potlucks or farmers lent each other tractors or neighbors kept an eye on each other's homes. They felt that once the area became more urbanized, the social capital that existed would begin to disappear. They felt that 'placemaking' had already occurred in their localities and that was where they found a sense of place.

Although migrants are often attracted to Kootenai County and other rural areas, due to its idyllic rurality, newcomers come to learn that living in the “country” is not what they may have anticipated. New groups then tend to influence changes in the area that reconstruct the rural spaces to better reflect the urban, middle-class life they are used to (Gosnell & Abrams, 2011).

“There’s pressure on all sides to lose our rural feel, and people move to Kootenai County for the rural aspect, for the open air, for not much congestion, for slower pace of life. And little by little by little we’re losing that. And I have seen that in my 50 some years. It’s not the place I grew up and graduated high school from, and I don’t feel that it’s a better place.”

Places and their landscapes are socially constructed (Abrams & Bliss, 2013). As new social groups come in, spaces are defined differently than before (Gosnell & Abrams, 2011), it is not solely an in-migration of new residents but a “re-creation of the rural via material transformations and the ideals and imperatives that drive them” (Abrams et al., 2012, pg. 271). Respondents voiced that Kootenai County had changed significantly over their life time or even the time they had resided there. In some instances, it was “unrecognizable” and wished that younger generations could experience the place the same way they did.

“We have seen [gentrification]. Very much so we have seen that. You could call it reinventing yourself, and that’s okay, but nobody can afford, the average Joe can’t afford anything at Lake Tahoe or Lake Mead or Lake Havasu. And if I was a greedy person...we own right at 700 acres. We lease another full section of timber and pasture land. There’s quite a bit of hay we put up. The whole thing encompasses about 1500 acres. And if I was about development and greed and all this other stuff, I could sell this for a criminal amount of money. But, I don’t want to. I’m a third generation. I’ve got six grandsons and one granddaughter. We’ve been here since 1910. I’d like to be here for another hundred years.”

4.1.2.5 Increased Conflict

Different backgrounds, different values, and different views of the world create conflict. This is a common result of increased exurban development in Kootenai County. It is common, as Gosnell and Abrams (2011) note, for in-migrants to be “portrayed as lacking in understanding of local traditions and culture, local institutions, and local sources of information” (pg. 310), and in

cases where it is true, conflict is sure to ensue between newcomers and residents. In agricultural areas, new neighbors complain about the dust or the chemicals used on crops. Nelson and Nelson (2010) state: “Newcomers often have very different attitudes toward environmental preservation, understanding of ‘community’, and strategies for economic development” (pg. 445). Long-time landowners feel their new neighbors are not being good stewards of the land, allowing noxious weeds to grow out of control. Strong private property rights are a pillar of Kootenai County and is a reason many seek to live in the area. However, long time owners reported that their new neighbors would not ask permission to ride their ATVs or hunt on their property, yet when a cow munched on their grass, it was an uproar. A different interviewee described his experience:

“The people that drew allotments used those boundaries reasonably. I’m sure there were a few feuds, but people seemed to be willing, without having to have lawyers and sheriffs come in and take care of things. They seemed to be willing to work out agreements and adjust. I don’t see that at all now. A guy that just bought some property down here, his dad had more money than he knew what do with, how’s he treat me? He tears down my fences when he wants to build a new house. He puts rocks on my property, and I suggested he maybe remove it. He’s a true Californian asshole, and I’ve just tried to ignore it.”

Gosnell and Abrams (2011) note that contention between residents and newcomers over private property access and management across boundaries is common in areas with similar development patterns. Additionally, there are often clashes between groups when newcomers become “disenchanted” by the “less idyllic aspects of rural living” (Gosnell & Abrams, 2011, pg. 310), such as farmers stirring up dust or the sound or smell of animals.

“From an agriculture standpoint, the people that move in don’t always understand that when you farm you more than likely create dust, or you don’t farm from seven o’clock in the morning to five o’clock in the afternoon, like peoples’ work hours. Farming can be a 24-hour operation...we do hear complaints about, ‘oh, they put the spray on, and I’m organic,’ or ‘I don’t want any spray near my house,’ so there’s always those concerns.”

In-migrants can also deter further revitalization and growth in the area after they move in. They are often quick to protect their “slice of heaven” and support restrictions for further in-migration and development (Gosnell & Abrams, 2011).

There were also conflicting views on how land should be managed and differences in opinion in land stewardship that were noted by participants. While newcomers often look to science-backed practices, these are often met with suspicion from long-term residents (Gosnell & Abrams, 2011). New residents often seek conservation practices to protect their ‘ideal’ rural landscape (Abrams et al., 2012). Several participants stated that newcomers near their property were not good stewards of the land, allowing for weeds to flourish and not considering the impacts of their “passive” management. Passive management can often be the result of absentee ownership, working “off the farm” with little time to devote to their property (Abrams et al., 2012), and even properties too large for adequate management. This conflict may also arise, as it did in Wallowa County, Oregon, where gentrifiers limited their use of chemical herbicides and preferred to use mechanical or organic methods for weed control (Abrams, Bliss & Gosnell, 2013). The slow eradication of species that may occur with these practices may also be a concern to long-time owners. A prevalence of organic gardens and farms were also prevalent in Abrams, Bliss and Gosnell’s (2013) study. This additionally can cause conflict between groups, as new comers may disapprove of herbicides, pesticides, and fertilizers that other land owners use.

Conflict can arise over who has ownership and control of the landscape between newcomers, who are interested in preserving their ideal rural aesthetic, and long-time residents, who have a resource-extraction interest in the landscape (Kondo et al., 2012; Abrams et al., 2012). These new in-migrants also use “their collective power to enforce their cultural preferences and protect their investments by influencing local policy decisions” (Kondo, Rivera & Rullman, 2012, pg. 175.)

4.2 Using a Bioregional Approach to Mitigate Impacts

In 2014, almost 75% of Kootenai County’s population resided within city boundaries (KMPO, n.d.), meaning the other quarter of the population resides in unincorporated parts of the county. This has translated into using “urban” planning techniques, by and large, for the greater region. It is interesting that as more newcomers seek an “authentic” experience they do not seek a more authentic planning framework for the future. Like Hensley’s (2011) writing on the authenticity of bioregional planning curriculum coming from local experience, the plans themselves should stem

from the local landscape and culture. Participants openly discussed that Kootenai County, itself, was made up of several different parts that residents identified with differently. Certain interviewees were pursued solely to represent a perspective from a particular part of the county. Kootenai County does lie on the border of Idaho and Washington, and one resident stated:

“This area...Southern Kootenai County is very similar. If you don’t know where the state line is you wouldn’t know it was a different state, different county.”

Similarly, participants from this area also spoke about Benewah County or Spokane County (in Washington) as part of their familiar “place,” as the political boundaries did not mean much other than a difference in taxes or land use regulations. These boundaries did not necessarily play a role in their “life place.”

Additionally, as discussed previously, bioregionalism is a holistic approach that seeks to use the triple bottom line to create sustainable solutions and resilient places. Getting to deeply know places allows us to better plan for them using this framework. Hensley (2011) writes “when we embrace reverence for life, we are likely to fight for the vitality of the biosphere, social solidarity, and economic responsibility” (pg. 168). In this instance, although it may seem easier to tackle the manifestations of rural planning within its own sphere, it is easy to see that these impacts are difficult to reduce to its respective silo. Table 4.4 further illustrates this point by breaking down how each manifestation discussed previously consists of social, environmental, and economic forces. For instance, the issues that Kootenai County has seen with increase cost of living and income disparity cannot solely be deemed an economic issue, as it also incorporates the increased division of social classes in the area, as well as the impacts of the post-productivist landscape and the displacement of individuals to new locations or particular neighborhoods. Planning needs to consider all three realms in order to address these circumstances.

Table 4.4: Social, Economic and Environmental Forces of Rural Gentrification Manifestations in Kootenai County

MANIFESTATIONS	SOCIAL FORCES	ECONOMIC FORCES	ENVIRONMENTAL FORCES
INCOME DISPARITY & COST OF LIVING INCREASES	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Marginalized groups • Increased services needed for low-income • Conflicts over location of housing, public transportation, etc. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Need for living wages • Seasonal vs full-time employment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Potential for environmental justice issues • Nature as a commodity for those who can afford
FRAGMENTATION & INCREASED RURAL DEVELOPMENT	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Loss of access 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increased costs for services • Increased land prices 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Impacts on wildlife • Increased potential for pollution
ENVIRONMENTAL DEGRADATION	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Potential hazard to society • Loss of open space • Disagreement between groups on management • Reduced quality of life 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Potential impacts on future tourism and development • Potential legal action • Increased costs for resources • Increased regulation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Degraded resources • Loss of species
LOSS OF PLACE IDENTITY	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Change in local culture • Psychological impacts • Potential loss of community 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reduced tourism and development 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Changes to how landscape is used • Potential for increased degradation
INCREASED CONFLICT	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Decline of social capital • Changes in local culture 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increased legal action • Increased costs to individuals • Increased regulation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Impacts to land stewardship • Changes in the landscape

4.2.1 Bioregional Opportunities for Planning

“We must create in every region people who will be accustomed, from school onward, to humanist attitudes, cooperative methods, rational controls. These people will know in detail where they live: they will be united by a common feeling for their landscape, their literature and language, their local ways, and out of their own self-respect they will have a sympathetic understanding with other regions and efferent local peculiarities. They will be actively interested in the form and culture of their locality, which means their community and their own personalities. Such people will contribute to our land planning, our industry planning, and our community planning the authority of their own understanding and the

pressure of their own desires. Without them, planning is a barren externalism. —Lewis Mumford (Friedman, 1987, pg. 200)

Interviews revealed that some participants were happy with the way Kootenai County was moving, and others were not. Many expressed that, in terms of development, particularly over the Rathdrum Prairie, there was not much that could be done to protect it. Several participants wished that their leadership had a different vision for the region. In some cases, it was felt that leadership was only listening to their constituents but did not know of the alternatives that existed. Some suggested additional leadership training, particularly in planning matters, may be beneficial for the future of the county. Participants, in general, were concerned about the amount of suburban and exurban development occurring in the region and the rate in which it was occurring. Other responses indicated concern that leadership in Kootenai County was trying to turn the county into something it was not:

“It’s like steak. If people come to your restaurant because they like steak, you better keep serving steak. Don’t go to sushi. We’re gonna convert it to a sushi bar because we got all these people coming at us. No, they’re here to eat steak! So, you better make the best steak you can...we need to preserve the rural flavor of our area because that’s what people live and move here for.”

As discussed previously, residents spoke at length describing their sense of place in this region and how they felt that Kootenai County was rapidly changing into a place they did not recognize. Hensley (2011) shares a definition from Sanger (1997): “A sense of place refers to an experientially based intimacy with the natural processes, community, and history of one’s place”; this consciousness, he writes, is in need of fostering as the world becomes more globalized and the ecological and cultural nuances of place are lost (pg. 136).

Bioregionalism focuses on planning for a region based on the human connection with that place. Every place is unique, and those places are defined by human and natural constructions. Bioregionalism seeks to tell the story of a place—past, present and future—through the voices of those who live there; it tells a place’s story. Giving the citizenry a voice enables that story to be told. It was obvious through participants responses that many did not feel their voices were heard or even sought. Expanding public outreach in Kootenai County would give a voice to more citizens

and help them to be an integral guide of their future. Unfortunately, though public outreach is mandated for planning processes from land use to transportation, budgets are tight, and time is sparse. Residents' time, as well, is limited, and often, their input is only given when they may see a public notice for a meeting or a project is occurring in their backyard. It is difficult to find the resources to reach out to groups, that are not well represented. But shall it not still be important to do so? Many complaints about public outreach focused on the perception that leadership does not listen to the input received. Many have lost hope in the process. Additionally, in Kootenai County, there are many groups who simply are not able to participate. Farmers, ranchers, and loggers work long hours and, often, seven days a week. Other families have both parents working full-time or families work around the clock to support their children in sports or other extracurricular activities. It is not that these groups do not have a voice, but they may not have the time to give it. They may not have a notion that they can be involved. We must seek out our community. Planners must know how they can best serve the people that live in place. A community can lead this:

"I really think that not just the people in charge, the planning commission the county commissioners, those kinds of people, but the community at large has really tried to participate and help guide good decisions."

Bioregionalism focuses on this bottom-up approach to planning. In using this approach, particularly in rural communities, planners may not necessarily lead a planning effort but, instead, use facilitation for the individuals of the place to determine the plan themselves. Place-based knowledge, particularly in informal decision-making schemas of rural communities, can be much more useful than data. Story-telling, mapping, and one-on-one conversations can be better tools for data collection, as they extract human meaning from the natural, social, and economic spheres for that specific place.

For example, a thoughtful outreach and data collection method for Kootenai County may be to assemble an advisory or working group to help bring a diverse set of voices to the table and guide regional planning objectives. This group could be made up of a varied group of individuals from different parts of the county as well as different disciplines and areas of expertise, such as the group of individuals who participated in this research. Interdisciplinary learning and decision making can help create more sustainable results in planning. One participant specifically suggested a similar strategy:

“I was at a meeting not too long ago hearing from the ag community that so many things line up together, that if people could be brought together to go ‘we have a lot of the same concerns,’ but you could have a powerful movement towards having common sense discussions about what is happening on the ground and what we plan for 10 years from now, 20 years from now, 50 years from now.”

A desired change from several of the participants was that of a shift in values. This is definitely a difficult task to accomplish, but it is one that has been touted for years in the movement towards sustainability. Some respondents discussed the impacts of newcomer and visitor mentalities of Kootenai County as their “playground”.

“There’s a difference between people who have lived here a long time and have that real deep connection and people who see this place as playground. That bothers me.”

Respondents felt that the area was being “loved” to death and that it was having negative impacts on the region, leading to increased environmental degradation. In their opinion, residents had greater respect for the environment and appreciation for the landscape and natural amenities; they were unhappy for loss they were experiencing, while new individuals did not realize the consequences. Many respondents believed that to protect the landscapes and bring about a desirable future that included authentic pieces of Kootenai County, we have to stop looking at everything from a monetary standpoint and to learn to value land, places, culture from its intrinsic value. This primarily came up with farm land. As discussed in the previous section, participants felt that we needed to protect our open space—not just those locked up in parks or nature reserves but working lands as well. However, it is very difficult to maintain those lands in agriculture or forestry, as they are rarely valued for their production value but rather for development value. This makes it very difficult for farmers to purchase additional land or prevent retired land owners from “selling out” to developers. Although the product generated on that land may be valued much different monetarily (i.e. wheat versus houses), participants acknowledged that an intrinsic value existed—wildlife habitat, green space, culture, recreation—that could not be replaced in monetary standards once lost. Several participants acknowledged the need for using planning tools to protect open space, such as conservation easements, but also explained, that from a landowner’s perspectives (particularly those who own parts of the “working landscape”) the lack of compensation or locking

up their land for “perpetuity” could have severe economic consequences for their livelihoods, even though they greatly desired to see those areas protected. This hesitation was also discussed in by Press and Nakagawa (2009) in other situations where localities were trying to conserve open space.

In a side conversation with a local planner about development in nearby Spokane, he was shocked that I suggested that development seemed likely to move north towards Green Bluff—an area north of the metropolitan area known for its collective of small boutique farms that feature wedding venues, fall festivals, orchards and other agriculture pursuits. He replied that it was preposterous to think of infringing on the unique sense of place and novelty of that area. However, he acknowledged that the Rathdrum Prairie (along with Otis Orchards just across the state line) was once similarly filled with small homesteads, ranches, and orchards, yet development (that he oversaw) was eating away at it day by day.

Alternatively, to meet the unique cultural and environmental characteristics of the Rathdrum Prairie, similar ventures could be pursued to provide local farm-to-market products, preserving open space, creating a buffer between growing cities, providing recreation and educational opportunities, and preserving a piece of Kootenai County’s identity, while adding additional protection to the Rathdrum Prairie Aquifer. Zukin (2011) describes similar movements that are recreating local agriculture industries in other regions. Though it may not be as profitable as suburban development, the intrinsic value it would add to the area would be priceless. One participant who is very active in the agriculture community sees this as the potential for the future of agriculture, as traditional agriculture becomes more mechanized:

“I think one thing we’ll see is a change of agriculture and more “farmers market-y” type farmers, and it will be interesting to see. Do you know about Coeur Green? Do you know what they are? They’re a new business in Coeur d’Alene that does hydroponic and they put them in a cargo trailer, so they’re in a controlled climate and everything, and now they’re building a great big warehouse, and they’re growing lettuce and microvegetables that they’re selling. And I think we’ll see more of that kind of stuff. We’ll have some different kind of farms...It used to be out between Post Falls and you went in to the Spokane Valley there was a lot of you-pick gardens...There used to be a lot of those, and maybe some of that will come back where you don’t have to have as much acreage. You can do a lot on 10 acres or 20 acres or something. And there won’t be anything wrong with that. But I think there’s a mindset of people—like CSAs, community supported agriculture. We see

community gardens that people are growing now. I think that's a good thing. It's just a transition that we'll have."

While residents felt unheard in the planning process, they also felt that planners in the area brought with them a personal bias and agenda that was not complementary to the region.

"A planning department has a responsibility to make sure that they address all of the issues pertinent to their plan, to the zone, to the project. They are to do it dispassionately, not allowing their personal prejudices and desires to enter into it or their personal land use policy. To say that residential or commercial is the highest and best use, causes me to look at them and laugh. You can only say that because you're not hungry. If you were hungry, you would say, production of food is the highest and best use."

"Planning, like any place else, is mostly the game of people with money—big money...The other things with development, when I was building the house here, things were just in the midst of changing in terms of having more regulations, and the people in the planning department were transplants. 85% of the planning department were transplants from Ashland, Oregon and northern California. That's true. And that's what they brought here with them. So, who controls Kootenai County? The people that come up here and get into certain kinds of jobs. I think some of that's necessary, because of insurance, but the people that don't like helter-skelter are people who have money and don't have to have a helter-skelter life. What do I mean by helter-skelter? You know, you go and you look at some farms where people are doing well and they're farms are good and the land's been in their family—they're not hardscrabble—you don't see a lot of old stuff lying around, etcetera. Well, that's kind of the American farm way of life."

"We've had a lot of struggles with it [planning] actually. This is kind of funny—our planners from the county, anyway, lead planners at the county, often came from Eastern Washington University. They've got a planning curriculum there, and they pump those folks out, and they have kind of an interesting philosophy that they were teaching, in my opinion, where they would suggest planning was the be all and end all. That's what they were teaching these kids and sending these kids out, these new graduates, to kind of take charge, and it

was more of a control, wanting to have more control—a little more active. While folks around here are fiercely independent and they're 'leave me alone and I'll leave you alone' kind of thing and 'it's my property. I'll do what I want with it. You don't tell me what I can do'...Now, it's been getting more and more, and as more people show up, you know, there's more conflict or potential conflict. So, our county, eight years ago, decided it wanted to get some people elected that thought, Dan Green being one of the county commissioners, who wanted to enact more regulations. The comprehensive plan and zoning ordinance should be exactly what you can do with your property, so when you purchase your property you know exactly what you can do with it. He came from California, and around here, a lot of folks aren't interested in having someone tell them that."

Planners with experience with urban planning curriculum, as well as a lack of diverse planning frameworks, has caused planning in Kootenai County to remain narrowly focused and may not necessarily meet the unique needs of the region and its rural spaces. The Bioregional Planning and Community Design program has existed at the University of Idaho for more than 10 years. Although the program has graduated several students every year, these students have not necessarily stayed in the planning field or reside in the area. By adding bioregionalism to the region's planning conversation, it opens the discussion of what are the unique needs of Kootenai County and how can we plan for *this* place. Gosnell and Abrams (2011) discuss the need for continued research on rural changes that encapsulates multiple disciplines and localities and blends together economic and cultural perspectives. This study will help to better identify the Kootenai County bioregion(s) and a more holistic approach to local planning.

In the end, participants felt that the county was lacking a vision of what the region wanted to be. Yes, many look to the past and the way things have existed in Kootenai County for years; they look negatively at the changes from natural resources to tourism and hope that the next generation may experience Kootenai County as they have. But, there are also progressives in the county that see many opportunities for the area. These visionaries see growth for Kootenai County, but not too much. *"We still want to be smaller than Spokane. We want to be under 250,000 [for the urban area]"*. These viewpoints can seem very divergent, but there may be threads that each can build off. An inclusive vision is desired, so what is holding the region back? Utilizing planners in facilitator capacities and this bottom-up type of planning is particularly important in rural areas where social capital often dictates decision making and implementation. The planning process

cannot only react to those who speak loudest, but must pull out the quiet voices. Every voice has a different perspective. One respondent stressed the importance of educating leadership and the general public on the role of planning and how it does not only involve regulation:

“I think community education is such a huge part of it because when they think planning, they think zoning, and they have a reaction to that because people see any type of zoning as taking away their property rights. But I think there’s opportunity to talk to communities about how there’s other land use tools out there, such as the density bonuses or incentives and stuff like that. I remember Utah State put out this planning box thing, it was like a tool kit for rural communities, it was amazing...and there’s a need for that. For example, in Kootenai County, we have three commissioners that are really new, they’re all conservative, and they all have concerns about regulation, but they also do want to do well by their constituents. And I think that – how do they get their training? They rely on Association of Counties.... but I think there’s opportunity to do like neighborhood level meetings or county level. One of the things, to my knowledge, that the bioregional planning program did not follow through with on its initial set up was the Center for Effective Local Governments...It’s so needed. There’s so much innovation, but then some organizations come in and have training available, and they’re suspect because they’re seen as liberal or whatever. But I think the University of Idaho could have trainings for elected officials to think beyond zoning and how they can help maintain the values of the area while still considering their concerns for private property rights.”

“Several years back, 15-16 years back, there was a big effort to have a comprehensive land use plan for Kootenai County, and there were meetings at schools. We tried to draw boundaries and say ‘Post Falls would be here. Coeur d’Alene’s here. Dalton’s here. Hayden’s here. Rathdrum’s here,’ and have open space in between, ya know, for quality of life. Some of the farmers were willing to commit to not have development but none of the community fathers would make the tough decisions.”

Lastly, an overall regional approach to planning in Kootenai County could be greatly beneficial and help with mitigating many of the issues residents brought up about gentrification, as well as general growth and development and environmental protection. As a representative of the

county noted, the county encourages growth to be concentrated near the cities, yet, due to Idaho's Areas of City Impact regulations, the county is not able to provide much direction in developing those areas, as they are seen to be future city properties. More cooperative agreements between jurisdictions would provide for better planning of the region and is closer to looking at the area from a bioregional perspective, considering the impacts on people, the economy, and the environment. These three pillars all play a role in making Kootenai County a desirable place for existing residents and newcomers alike.

5. Conclusion

Through this research, rural gentrification has been looked at through a bioregional lens. Kootenai County is experiencing many of the same effects of gentrification documented in other locations around the world. A bioregional perspective broadens the topic of gentrification, and, as is documented here, illuminates that there are many impacts of this phenomenon beyond what a may be typically associated with the term.

Gentrification is often associated solely with the state of the housing stock and housing affordability. This is not necessarily the case, as has been documented in several other studies, as well as in Kootenai County. In rural areas in the American West, gentrification can manifest not only in increased housing prices and rehabilitated housing stock, but also in income disparities, displacement of the working class, environmental degradation, decline in social capital and increased conflict, and an overall, loss of place identity. Rural gentrification is similar to urban gentrification in that it causes class conflict; Kootenai County reflects the common themes of urban and rural gentrification caused by an influx of people (retirees, families and foot-loose professionals) looking for increased quality of life and access to natural amenities and recreation. Additionally, a change in middle-class desires has resulted in the consumption of rural experience and a redefinition of rural authenticity. Whereas, Kootenai County does not reflect the conditions of places such as Aspen, Colorado or around Lake Tahoe; it is experiencing gentrification on a different scale, which deserves no less attention.

The research that has been documented here has provided another example of how rural gentrification is occurring. However, it only breaks the surface of looking at the process using bioregional theory. Further study is needed to identify the Kootenai County bioregion and to explore impacts that may exist beyond the political boundaries of the county. Identifying the bioregion of this area would be a considerable starting point to assist with a broader regional approach. It would also be interesting to explore the perspectives of additional newcomers to better understand what is bringing new people to the area. It may also be useful to look at why certain western locations are not gentrifying, such as areas in the Silver Valley east of Kootenai County, and better determine what drives in-migration of gentrifiers. Using current and further research, it would also be beneficial for rural communities to put together a toolbox to help them better understand the need for planning, analyze current conditions and identify the occurrence of gentrification and broader globalization impacts.

Unfortunately, the implications of gentrification have truly become not only a national issue (Golding, 2016) but a global issue, as well (Phillips et al., 2008). We cannot only concern ourselves with “severe cases,” but must consider the impacts that result in all situations. Although there are many positive impacts of the gentrification process, it needs to be asked if the benefits outweigh the consequences. The planning field needs to take a closer look at how impacts can be mitigated. Traditional planning methods have not necessarily been helpful, as we have seen in the process of super-gentrification, where gentrification is occurring in areas that have already gentrified. A bioregional approach can be more thoughtful and produce locally derived solutions that communities need.

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Appendix A: Interview Script

Introduction

Hello, my name is Ali Marienau, and am a graduate student in the Bioregional Planning and Community Design program at the University of Idaho. I am conducting research for my thesis on rural gentrification in Northern Idaho, and I am interested in your input. I am conducting approximately 20 interviews, and you are one of the stakeholders referred to me. I have about 20 questions and expect the interview to take between 30 and 45 minutes. I will be recording the interview and taking notes throughout our conversation.

A. Get to know

1. How long have you lived/worked in Kootenai County or North Idaho?

Prompt: Where did you move from?

Prompt: What made you choose to move to North Idaho?

Prompt: What was it like growing up here?

2. A. Can you tell me about your experiences while living here? [for participants not “born and raised”]

Prompt: What do you enjoy most about living/working in North Idaho?

- B. How would you describe Kootenai County?

Prompt: How would you describe rural areas?

Prompt: What about North Idaho as a whole?

Prompt: What do you think defines KC—it’s urban areas or rural amenities?

3. Can you tell me more about how you work with rural communities or areas?

Prompt: What is your role in that work?

Prompt: During your work, how have you seen the North Idaho region change, particularly in terms of the rural areas here?

4. How have you seen the landscape change?

Prompt: Can you describe what those changes are that you have experienced?

Prompt: Has those changes impacted how you work with or your perception of the region?

5. Do you think Kootenai County is defined by its urban or rural characteristics?

B. Discussing Change

5. From your experiences, what do you think are the forces behind the change in this region?

6. How have you seen the landscape change?
7. What do you think is most beneficial about this change?
8. Do you think there are/have been any negative impacts to the region from these changes?
9. Have these changes impacted how you feel or identify with this region?
10. Do you think development in Kootenai County/North Idaho's rural areas will impact peoples' perceptions of the region?

Prompt: What do you think some of those perceptions are?

Prompt: To what extent have you seen natural areas or agricultural lands been converted for development?

11. What demographic changes have you seen?

Prompt: Is the age of new buyers/residents changing?

Prompt: Where are people coming from?

Prompt: How would you characterize new home buyers? As families or retirees, etc.?

Prompt: Do you think there is a change in new home buyer income levels?

Prompt: What would you say makes long-time residents different from new residents?

12. How do you think planning is/has played a role in today's development of rural areas in Kootenai County?
13. How would you feel if this current pattern of development or growth continued?
14. How do you think change in Kootenai County has or is impacting long-time residents?
15. Do you think the culture of Kootenai County has changed? How so?

Prompt: What about the culture of North Idaho?

C. Rural Gentrification

16. A. Are you familiar with the term 'gentrification'?
- B. When I say, 'gentrification', what do you associate with that phrase?

Prompt: Do you think it applies to Kootenai County?

Prompt: What about in rural areas?

D. Optional Questions

1. What is being done to mitigate or prevent negative impacts to natural resources?
2. What changes have you had to make to address regional changes on natural or rural areas?
3. How has growth impacted programs and your ability to provide/maintain services?

4. Have there been any policy or funding changes that you have experienced?
5. What is the driver of the regional economy?
Prompt: How has it changed?
Prompt: How has it impacted local jobs, housing, education, etc.?
Prompt: What do you predict will be the driver in the next 10 to 20 years?
6. What are the desires of today's home buyers in North Idaho, particularly in areas outside of the cities?
7. Have you seen changes in buyers' desires in relation to location or access to certain amenities?
Prompt: Where are most people currently buying homes/land?
8. What trends do you foresee for the future?
9. Do you work with other agencies in the region on planning efforts?
Prompt: What agencies do you work with?
Prompt: In what instances?
10. Do you feel any changes should be made to planning in rural areas?
Prompt: Do you feel like you have all the tools/support you need for effective planning?
11. What do you foresee is the future of rural areas in North Idaho, specifically Kootenai County?
12. What would you say is the current political stance of elected officials regarding development in rural areas?

Conclusion

That is the all the questions that I have. My sampling method is a chain referral method. Could you recommend one or two people who you feel might be knowledgeable on this topic or have a similar or differing opinion than you?

Thank you for your time and participation in my research. If you have any additional questions for me, please don't hesitate to contact me. Thank you.

Appendix B: IRB Exemption Letter

University of Idaho

Office of Research Assurances
Institutional Review Board
875 Perimeter Drive, M5 3010
Moscow ID 83844-3010
Phone: 208-885-6162
Fax: 208-885-5752
irb@uidaho.edu

To: Jim Ekins
Cc: Alexandria Middleton, Iris Mayes
From: Jennifer Walker, IRB Coordinator

Approval Date: May 15, 2017

Title: From Elsewhere: A Bioregional Approach to Rural Gentrification in Kootenai County, Idaho

Project: 17-117
Certified: Certified as exempt under category 2,4 at 45 CFR 46.101(b)(2,4).

On behalf of the Institutional Review Board at the University of Idaho, I am pleased to inform you that the protocol for the research project From Elsewhere: A Bioregional Approach to Rural Gentrification in Kootenai County, Idaho has been certified as exempt under the category and reference number listed above.

This certification is valid only for the study protocol as it was submitted. Studies certified as Exempt are not subject to continuing review and this certification does not expire. However, if changes are made to the study protocol, you must submit the changes through [VERAS](#) for review before implementing the changes. Amendments may include but are not limited to, changes in study population, study personnel, study instruments, consent documents, recruitment materials, sites of research, etc. If you have any additional questions, please contact me through the VERAS messaging system by clicking the 'Reply' button.

As Principal Investigator, you are responsible for ensuring compliance with all applicable FERPA regulations, University of Idaho policies, state and federal regulations. Every effort should be made to ensure that the project is conducted in a manner consistent with the three fundamental principles identified in the Belmont Report: respect for persons; beneficence; and justice. The Principal Investigator is responsible for ensuring that all study personnel have completed the online human subjects training requirement.

You are required to timely notify the IRB if any unanticipated or adverse events occur during the study, if you experience and increased risk to the participants, or if you have participants withdraw or register complaints about the study.