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AS THE CREEK TRICKLES: LAND USE DEBATES IN THE ROCK CREEK DRAINAGE

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As the Creek Trickles: Land Use Debates in the Rock Creek Drainage

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Rural areas in Montana are increasing in population as more and more people move to or buy second homes in these areas in search of scenic amenities and a better quality of life. Academics, policy makers, and the general public are concerned that such development pressure may have negative consequences for important habitat, ecosystems, rural communities, people's livelihoods, and social networks. Rock Creek, Montana is a small, rural area that has seen a large increase in population in the last twenty years. Population increase and development pressure in the area has led to many debates about proper land use on both private and public land. This research offers a qualitative case study of Rock Creek that explores the relationships between class, livelihood, differing senses of place, and land use discourses.

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Table of Contents

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The Rock Creek drainage is a spectacularly beautiful place. During the summer and early fall, the small river valley bustles with tourists and recreation enthusiasts from all over the world eager to wet a line in the cold, rushing stream. In the winter, the valley rests; only those who can brave the icy roads and cold temperatures remain.

Like many small rural areas in the American West, the Rock Creek area is experiencing economic changes, increased development pressure, and controversy over land use. Since white settlers came to the area in the late 1800's, people have been concerned about protecting the quality of the stream and the surrounding habitat, yet many also hold strong private property rights and anti-government regulation sentiment (Olson 1990). Rock Creek is home to a diverse group of people. Many residents who live in the area have lived there for generations, while others have recently moved to the area and may only live there part-time. There are individuals who depend on the drainage to support their livelihood in either agriculture or the recreation and tourism industry. But others are retired, drive to town everyday for work, or telecommute from the comfort of their own homes.

Throughout my time conducting research on Rock Creek I heard the same thing over and over again from those who had lived in the area for generations as well as those who were arriving for the first time, "There is just something about this place." And like many rural areas left in the American West, there is just something about Rock Creek.

A landowner who has lived in the area for over thirty years and generates income through the recreation industry on Rock Creek, described the first time she arrived to the area,

> I started up the creek and you know that area that is down by kitchen creek? And the cottonwoods make this sort of tunnel there and the leaves are all yellow and just one by one coming down. I'm like, how did I never know this existed? And I felt, literally, I felt like god was putting his arms around me and hugging me; it felt like home…And it just makes you feel safe, it makes you feel good…It's beyond the beauty. There is something here.

A new landowner whose property on Rock Creek serves as his vacation home, shared what he loved about the area.

> The quality of the water, the lack of development, the proximity to Missoula and things that are important that I need. The fishery itself I love. I love the fact that because of its lack of development it is really a wildlife Mecca. I've never seen a drainage like this.

While diverse groups of people live in the area, everyone owns property on Rock Creek for a reason; everyone has some sense of connection to the place. Sense of place is an important factor for shaping how landowners view conservation efforts and land use in the places they choose to inhabit. Yet this idea of a sense of place is socially constructed and thus is a fluid concept. There is no one definition for "sense of place" among Rock Creek residents, but rather many definitions of place generated through people's life experiences, values, livelihoods, and social relationships. All residents are connected to the area, yet the definitions for this connection vary. These connections, socially constructed senses of place and land use discourses are the main focus of this thesis and are explored to address the following research questions: *How do social constructions of place differ amongst Rock Creek landowners, and is there a relationship between these created meanings and the debates about land use?*

Thesis Organization

The next chapter provides an overview of previous literature on land use issues in rural areas. In Chapter 3, I discuss my research methodology for the Rock Creek case

study. Chapter 4 provides an overview of land use policies in the United States and Montana in particular to give the reader a better understanding of terms like "zoning" and "conservation easement" as I use them throughout this thesis.

My analysis begins with Chapter 5 as I explore the 2006 Rock Creek subdivision controversy and explain different landowners' perspectives on how to address such development pressure in the area. Chapter 6 provides an analysis of ways in which landowners represent Rock Creek by attaching meaning to the "social and natural landscape" (Carter et al. 2007). Diverse perspectives of place contribute to multiple senses of what landowners' value about living on Rock Creek. I further explore this issue in Chapter 7 by introducing the different land use discourses amongst landowners and the relationship between these discourses and different senses of place.

Chapter 8 is my conclusion, which summarizes the various perspectives and opinions of landowners that live in the Rock Creek area. It concludes with recommendations for possible avenues that landowners could take to address land use issues and suggestions for future research on this topic.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

In 1982 Lamm and McCarthy nostalgically described the American West,

> There was something special about the West in the 1950's and 1960's. It was a unique and wondrous place for those who loved the outdoors, who cared about the land. The air had an unbelievable quality, it literally sparkled. In those days the mountains and desert and farmland stood out in crystalline clarity...The West had the most beautiful interurban roads in America--green fields, and horses and cattle grazing against backdrops of snow covered mountains. Soon they will be gone. Civilization always creeps up on human consciousness, and few westerners fully understand, even now, that land use decisions have already been made that will fill up the remaining open space between the Western cities. We will soon see backyards where green fields once lay. We have citified, already, much of our landed heritage (2).

Reading this quote twenty-eight years after it was written, one would assume that the Western part of the US must now be all but destroyed, completely paved-over to meet the needs of a growing human population. While the American West has seen dramatic changes in the last fifty years, it is still possible to view cattle grazing against the backdrop of snow covered mountains in some of the more rural areas. Still, for decades Lamm and MacCarthy's ideas about a changing American West, destruction of rural places, and loss of American land heritage have been the focus of many studies, and they remain important issues to explore.

Much of Lamm and MacCarthy's work looked at how the combination of extractive industries, such as coal mining and logging, and migration to the West to make "big dollars" on such industries contributed to the destruction of Western states (1982:121). However, in the last twenty years there has been a significant shift in people's perceptions of which factors are contributing to changes in and/or "destruction" of the West. Extractive industries are declining, and people are less likely to move to the West for economic gain. Since the 1980's, people now appear to be moving to the West, either

part-time or full-time, for a better quality of life that has little to do with economic gain (Beyers and Nelson 2000; Booth 2002; Walker and Fortmann 2003).

Despite emerging perspectives on apparent causes of changes to rural Western landscapes, the core issues remain the same. Academics, policy makers, and the general public are concerned about the loss of natural spaces and rural communities. There are good reasons to be concerned about new patterns of migration to rural areas with few, if any, land use regulations. Much research suggests that increased population can contribute to wildlife and habitat destruction, diminished water quality from the need for more septic tanks, and reduction of open spaces or "scenic amenities," potentially destroying the very aspects of rural life that initially attracted people to the area (Booth 2002; Inman et al. 2002; Johnson and Maxwell 2001; McCarthy 1982; Pincetl 2003; Wilshire et al. 2008; Yung and Belsky 2007). However, population increase in rural areas does not necessarily mean inevitable destruction of natural resources. By recognizing and documenting the sense of place, values, and opinions of residents in specific rural areas, successful or at least better growth management may be possible.

Social Constructions and Senses of Place

The rural American West continues to be a subject of research and land use debates because of people's connection to place and the importance of beautiful, rugged landscapes and open space to those who live there and those who visit. People continue to move to and live in rural areas for specific reasons, which, for the most part, are tied to the specific landscape they choose to inhabit. Everyone with property in a rural area undoubtedly forms some connection to that piece of property and the surrounding area. This connection has been referred to as a "sense of place" (Carter et al. 2007; Heise 2008; Kemmis 1990;

Larsen 2008; Stedman 2006; Stokowski 2002; Wulfhorst et al. 2006).

Portions of this thesis are guided by a social constructionist approach, which holds true that "the social world is not an entity in and of itself but is local, temporally and historically situated, fluid, and context-specific" (Bailey 2007: 53). Social constuctionism acknowledges that people attach meaning to the physical world and that these constructed meanings influence their decisions and behavior. The theory of social constructionsim is useful in evaluating and interpreting the concept of "sense of place," which will be drawn upon throughout this thesis to explore landowners' views towards issues in the Rock Creek area. According to Carter, Dyer, and Sharma (2007: 756):

> Sense of place is a multidimensional and multidisciplinary notion that encapsulates the meanings of the social and natural landscape to individuals and groups, and their role in performing daily activities. Because meanings invoke personal emotions and are formed from diverse experiences and values, a sense of place may be both shared and contested at a single locality producing 'territories of meaning.'

Wulfhorst et al. (2006: 167) more simply defined sense of place as:

> Individual or group identification with a place resulting from interaction with it [including] meanings, values, feelings, and hard-to-quantify emotions, often dynamic in context.

Sense of place may influence how landowners view conservation efforts and land use in the places they choose to inhabit. In every area there are competing definitions of "sense of place" that are generated through people's life experiences, values, livelihoods, and social relationships. People are connected to where they live, yet the reasons for these connections and the ways they connect to the social and physical landscape may vary. Patricia Stokowski (2002: 368) explained,

> Places are more than simply geographic sites--they are also fluid, changeable, dynamic contexts of social interaction and memory, and they 'contain' overt and

> covert social practices that embed in place-making behaviors notions of ideology, power, control, conflict, dominance, and distribution of social and physical resources.

Different people in different times and in different configurations with other people will develop different "senses" of the same place. Neumann (2005) argued that many studies about land use have failed to acknowledge the "symbolic meaning" that people attach to particular landscapes. How people attach symbolic meaning to particular landscapes may contain political implications and create power struggles over resources. As Neuman (2005:158) described, "subjective values and aesthetic judgments are key to understanding struggles to gain political control over the future course of land use and development in [a] region."

An example of differing senses of place and political influence is Larsen's (2008) case study of Anahim Lake, British Columbia. Larsen (2008) identified three different reference groups in this region, the Lhk'acho Indian tribe, the Anglo community, and the descendents of Lhk'acho women and non-native men known as the Metis. The different reference groups in Larsen's study were often at odds with each other. Conflict in the community tended to be a result of different senses of the same place. Individuals' life experiences helped shape the ways that they and the reference groups to which they belonged defined and valued natural resources in the area. Differing definitions of how to manage natural resources created tension between residents. These differences were put aside, however, when Carrier Lumber, Ltd. bid on a part of the area to carry out a large scale timber operation. The logging company was not planning to employ very many local residents, much of the profit would be transferred elsewhere, and the degradation of the land through logging would have an effect on the ecosystem as well as tourism and

recreation industries in the area. The company was, therefore, threatening every resident's sense of place. Leaders of the protest against the logging company were able to use the idea of sense of place to unite the disparate groups to help fight against a threat to their way of life. As Larsen (2008:174) noted,

> [The protest against the logging company] focused on defining and defending a 'rural' way of life. In doing so, they welded together what once were competing local interests under a singular but tenuous agenda that bridges different rural values and vision. The protest involved…a diverse constellation of interest groups whose only real point of connection lay in politicizing the ideals of rural life to challenge large scale, corporate harvesting and development schemes.

Residents of the Anahim Lake were able to overcome their differences to unite against an external threat to their rural life. Regardless of differing definitions of what constitutes "rural life," residents found common ground. It is important to note, however, that once residents won the protest, they appeared to lose the ability to find common ground. Tensions and long-standing conflicts between the groups soon resumed (Larsen 2008: 180).

This, and other similar research, suggests that there may not always be clear-cut solutions to land use disputes, and landowners may not always be able to overcome their differences (Goodale and Sky 2001; Larsen 2008; Stokowski 2002; Walker and Hurley 2004). The following section will provide a closer look into ways in which landowners' values influence debates surrounding private property rights, land use, and conservation. First I will focus particularly on the new landowner versus long-time landowner dichotomy that researchers have explored over the past twenty years. I will conclude with a discussion of the emerging importance of class in shaping land use debates.

Rural Identities: Working Landscapes vs. Scenic Amenities

Until recently, rural residents in the American West largely depended on the land for their economic livelihood--the land served as a place to extract or produce resources. Until the 1980's, most rural residents depended on farming, ranching, mining, and logging as their primary sources of income (Reed and Gill 1997). Recent technological advances such as the advent of the internet and with it, the ability to work from home via telecommuting, have made living in more scenic rural areas a possibility for those once tied to urban areas for employment (Booth 2002; Inmam, McCleod, and Menhaus 2002; Stedman 2006; Travis 2007). While people dependent on working the land for economic survival still live in rural areas, their numbers are decreasing (Reed and Gill 1997; Travis 2007). As these individuals age and their children look elsewhere for more profitable and secure employment, they may choose to sell their property. On large pieces of land, the most profitable choice is to sell the land for its development potential. In this case, developers will buy the land, subdivide it, and sell each divided parcel, often to "amenity buyers" who move to rural areas for reasons such as the scenic views, a closer connection to the natural world, and overall quality of life (Pollakowski and Wachter 1990). In this way, many rural areas once characterized by vast regions of open land have been divided into smaller lots, dotted with houses every few acres.

In the past thirty years, rural areas have experienced a large influx of people interested in moving to the country in search of amenities such as enjoyable views and recreation rather than working the land (Bank and Marsden 2000; Booth 2002, Elands and Praestholm 2008; Johnson and Maxwell 2001; Inam et al. 2002; Pincetl 2006; Reed and Gill 1997; Stedman 2006; Swaffield et al. 1996). These newcomers may tend to hold

idealized notions of rural life. As Swaffield et al. (1996:112) explained, "rurality has itself become a commodity which is actively sought by middle class migrants who are attracted by an idyllic rural vision of a healthy, peaceful, and natural way of life."

Frequently, idealized notions of rural life impact how these in-migrants view land use, development pressure, and conservation efforts. Extractive industries are not part of the idealized notion of life in the rural West; moreover, increased development pressure may turn rural areas into suburban areas from which many new landowners are trying to escape. New rural landowners may farm or ranch as a hobby or hire ranch managers to carry on the work, but do not tend to be dependent on that land as their primary source of income (Elands and Praestholm 2008). This influx of new landowners, many times with dissimilar values from those who have lived in these areas for generations, inevitably has an effect on the community and the landscape of a given rural area.

> These people [new landowners] are not as likely to be dependent on the traditional resource sector but rather seek out rural communities as a way to enhance their quality of life, placing pressure on rural places to provide lands, infrastructure, and services to meet desires for amenity, recreation, conservation, and housing (Reed and Gill 1997:2002).

New landowners tend to hold different priorities and viewpoints, and may inadvertently upset long-time landowners by failing to recognize these differences. In some cases, new landowners may even create problems for rural communities as these areas are pushed to accommodate the growing population through building more infrastructure and homes.

Length of residence appears to be an important factor in shaping views about rural land use. A body of rural development research found that new and long-time residents often had different views of what constituted "appropriate" uses of rural land (Bank and Marsden 2000; Inman et al. 2002). These studies, indicated that there were interesting

discrepancies between farmers and ranchers who had worked in rural areas for years and individuals who had recently moved to these areas to "escape urban life" (Inman et al. 2002: 72). Farmers and ranchers tended to want viable agricultural opportunities in rural regions while simultaneously conserving natural resources. Individuals who had recently moved, however, oftentimes saw certain types of agricultural land use (e.g. cattle grazing, pig farms) as "dirty" and/or "unsustainable," harmful to the environment, and not in line with their perceptions of the rural ideal.

In a study focusing on the Rocky Mountain front, Yung and Belsky (2006) demonstrated other differences in ideas of long-time and new residents regarding "appropriate" land use. The greatest contrast that they found between new residents and long-time residents was in their definitions of private property rights. Long-time landowners (mainly ranchers) supported flexible property boundaries to meet the needs of residents in the community, such as letting community members hunt on their property or allowing some cattle grazing on their land. According to Yung and Belsky (2006: 695) ranchers believed ". . .that it was their right to define the norms and customs around property boundaries." New landowners generally were not aware or did not approve of such "flexible boundaries" and were less willing to comply with the norms and customs of those who had lived in the community for generations. New landowners' divergent values produced tension between old and new residents and ultimately created changes in what one rancher referred to as the "culture of the land" based on "natural areas [whether in public or private property] as part of the social community" (Yung and Belsky 2006:696).

In this study, new and long-time residents were also distinct in their views about conservation. While both new landowners and long-time landowners viewed conservation

of natural resources as important, they had diverse reasons for doing so. New landowners were likely to view conservation of natural areas and wildlife as an obligation to a "distant and abstract public" (Yung and Belsky 2006: 700). Long-time landowners, on the other hand, viewed such preservation in terms of how it might be beneficial to the actual geographical community in which they lived.

In his book *Community and the Politics of Place*, former Missoula mayor Daniel Kemmis (1990) also explored changing patterns of landownership in rural Montana and conflicts between landowners. He argued that people who had recently moved to rural Montana from urban places moved to these regions in order to become part of an idealized "rural way of life," yet often came into conflict with the "rugged individuals" who had lived in these places for generations (Kemmis 1990:45). Describing the new landowners he explained,

> Many who came began to see unfettered individualism as the greatest threat to the land and the way of life which had attracted them in the first place. These people tended to turn to regulations (and bureaucracies) to preserve the possibility of a good life in hard country. Local zoning and subdivisions regulations...stream and lake shore protection regulations are a sample of the long list of such regulations. Because the land has bred these contrasting tendencies, the politics of the region has not generally presented itself as a choice between individualism and cooperation so much as a battle between individualism and regulatory bureaucracy. Cooperation is a third, largely ignored, alternative (Kemmis 1990: 45).

The new landowners Kemmis described are continuing to move to rural areas in the Rocky Mountain West, bringing with them new senses of place. Oftentimes these individuals have the resources necessary to lobby for "regulatory bureaucracy" to plan for what they view as proper land use, which can cause conflict with those who do not believe in a strong government presence. It is also important to note, however, that those who were viewed as "new landowners" when Kemmis conducted his study have now actually lived, either

full-time or part-time, in rural areas for quite some time. By definition, these people are no longer new landowners but long-time landowners. But still, longer-term landowners may continue to view them as "new" landowners because their values and senses of place contrast with the values and senses of place defined by those who had lived in the area for a longer period of time. Regardless, for those attempting to do research in rural areas, there may no longer be clear distinctions between new and long-time landowners (Robbins et al. 2009).

In addition to recognizing the inability to determine what constitutes new versus long-time residence, recent studies have suggested that length of residence may not have ever been as important as socioeconomic status in influencing land use debates (Nelson 2001; Robbins et al. 2009; Walker and Fortmann 2003). These studies argue that previous research focused too much on the differences between landowners based on length of residence and that this has led to overlooking other important differences such as class:

> It is [not] necessarily accurate to argue that 'new' people in the region consistently differ from 'old' ones especially in their relationship to the environment. Focusing on conflicts between these communities may deflect attention from deeper trends…(Robbins et al. 2009:365)

There are some studies that have incorporated the importance of class in land use debates (Nelson 2001; Robbins et al. 2009; Walker and Fortmann 2003), yet there still remains a dearth of research on this subject vis-a-vis rural areas. In the final section of this literature review, I will discuss how class and corresponding values influence land use debates and management of increased population.

Class, Power, and Management of Population Growth in the Rural West

Many studies have explored the concept of growth management by focusing on

community values and how they influence the debates about rural development issues. Such research investigates the relationship between changing values and land use and offers suggestions for future development and conservation efforts (Stedman 2006; Walker and Fortmann 2003; Yung and Belsky 2007). Central to much of this research is the awareness that rural inhabitants have different senses of place, values, definitions of what constitutes "appropriate" land use planning and conservation, and actual land use practices.

For instance, in their study of Nevada County, California, Walker and Fortmann (2003: 469) illustrated competing definitions of place that created "class conflict…and cultural friction…revolving around the question of who 'owns' the landscape or decides how it 'should' look." This study focused on a small, former ranching and mining community that had experienced rapid in-migration of wealthy landowners in search of scenic amenities. As new landowners continued to move to the region, the area gentrified and its economy shifted to be more tourism based. Tensions emerged between wealthy in-migrants and long-time landowners dependent on the area for their livelihood as wealthy landowners attempted to implement land use planning and zoning regulations to promote "sustainable growth" and "open space" (Walker and Fortmann 2003: 474). Competing livelihoods, economic interests, and senses of place contributed to contentious, at times even violent, disputes between landowners. This study highlighted the fact that while social constructions of landscape are important, livelihood, economic differences and power relations have material dimensions and are not just socially constructed. These material dimensions were ultimately more important in than socially constructed meanings in influencing and determining the outcomes of land use debates.

While social constructionism serves as a useful theoretical approach for portions of

my thesis, like Walker and Fortmann (2003), I also draw upon the theory of political ecology which argues:

> Human transformations of natural ecosystems cannot be understood without consideration of the political and economic structures and institutions within which transformation [such as land development or zoning ordinances] are embedded (Neumann 2005: 9).

In rural areas with landowners of diverse economic and political backgrounds, research suggests that despite the range of views, some groups are routinely excluded from debates about land and water use (Corkindale 1999: 2004). Government officials, environmental organizations, and developers may stress the importance of "community involvement" in land use policy planning, but often the reality is that some residents' voices either are not elicited, or, if elicited, remain unheard or receive little attention.

People living in rural regions may hold different levels of power within complex social relations. In many rural areas, one definition of sense of place takes precedence over other definitions. Class is an important indicator for influencing political and economic control.

> It is not possible to understand the construction of meaning without attention to the means by which local and non-local groups (colonizers, wealthy urban classes, and so forth) can exercise widespread political and economic control over the countryside by separating public and private resources, by managing the issue agendas discussed in public arenas, and by investing economically in certain interests (Stokowski 2002:375).

As populations in rural areas change, power relations may change as well. Those with more money and resources often have more power and ability to influence the way in which decisions are made (Carter et.al 2007; Travis 2007; Walker and Fortmann 2003). In areas comprised of landowners who are land rich but cash poor, landowners with a great deal of disposable income, and landowners with little land or money, frequently those with the

largest amounts of disposable income have the most say when it comes to policy decisions and the future of the area. Landowners with high disposable incomes are changing the politics of rural regions with their resources as they have the money, time, and connections to best influence the debates about land use.

This is not to say that landowners with other perspectives do not hold any power. In Montana, for instance, current state laws require that 60 percent of landowners must be in favor of zoning regulations, with no more than 50 percent of landowners against the regulations for zoning ordinances to pass (Granite County Planning Board 2010). All landowners hold some amount of power through their ability to vote and protest, thus those hoping to change land use policies must have the support of the majority of landowners living in an area. In this way, community involvement and support become necessary ingredients to attempting to manage growth through zoning regulations. Inman, McCleod, and Menhaus (2002) stress the importance of involving all residents in policy decision making, especially as the demographics in a region change. As rural areas continue to change, "rural policy makers must address diverse needs and values of county constituents if they are to successfully plan for the future" (Inman, McCleod, and Menhaus 2002:78).

Conclusion

Policy-makers, academics, and the general public have long been concerned about the destruction of the rural American West. In the 1960's and 70's, debates about destruction centered around the negative environmental impacts of extractive industries. Since the 1980's these debates have shifted to focus on the negative environmental impacts of overdevelopment of rural Western landscapes (Booth 2002; Inman et al. 2002; Johnson and Maxwell 2001; Pincetl 2003; Wilshire et al.2008). When exploring recent changes in

rural areas, some researchers have looked at the issues through a social constuctionist paradigm, which views sense of place and land use debates as socially constructed, and thus fluid concepts (Carter et al. 2007; Heise 2008; Kemmis 1990; Larsen 2008; Stedman 2006; Stokowski 2002; Wulfhorst et al. 2006). Researchers have sought to better understand relationships between length of residence and landowner values, and, more recently, have begun to integrate the issue of class in influencing land use debates (Nelson 2001; Robbins et al. 2009; Walker and Fortmann 2003).

My study takes this literature a step further by focusing on the Rock Creek area, a place where no-one had conducted in-depth interviews about land use. I provide a more detailed discussion of the idea of "sense of place" and the implications of different social constructions of the same place. I also explore the new versus long-time landowner dichotomy and integrate the importance of class and livelihood in shaping land use debates. While some of my findings are similar to findings in other rural areas, the Rock Creek area and those who reside there are unique.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

Research Approach and Site Selection

The analysis for this study is based on in-depth interviews with twenty-four people and informal participant observation conducted in the Rock Creek drainage throughout the summer of 2009. As stated previously, this research is guided by the theories of social constructionism and political ecology. Social constuctionism assumes that people attach meaning to the physical world; these constructed meanings shape individuals' decisions and behavior. Political ecology recognizes the importance of socially constructed meanings of "nature" and "environment" yet also acknowledges that there are material realities, "biotic, atmospheric, and hydrologic systems…and processes" that exist independent of people's constructions (Neumann 2005: 47). Neumann (2005:48) incorporates social constructionism with political ecology by explaining,

> …Our models of nature can neither be naively accepted as objective reality divorced from social and power relations, nor as merely an illusion produced through discourse.

Goodale and Sky stress that qualitative research is an important tool for understanding land use issues in rural communities. They explain,

> In order to properly investigate the importance of these social variables in land disputes, investigators must make use of ethnographic techniques as developed by social science disciplines…These qualitative techniques have proven particularly effective for approaching the many angles of complex land disputes (Goodale and Sky 2001:199).

I chose a qualitative approach to this study because it fits well with research involving specific communities. All rural areas and communities are unique, and there is no one-size-fits- all approach to land use policy planning or natural resource conservation. The only way to understand the needs and values of residents in a particular area is to understand a

variety of perspectives from many research subjects and to create findings with the subjects rather than solely relying on my own interpretation. A social constructionist paradigm recognizes that the categories and themes found in existing literature about rural areas may not apply to the Rock Creek drainage, reiterating the necessity of conducting site-specific research. Drawing on political ecology, my research also recognizes that when researching land use disputes in rural areas, it is necessary to take into account political, economic, cultural, and ecological processes that may influence such disputes.

Qualitative research was necessary to address and comprehend the wide array of ways that Rock Creek landowners represent, value, and construct the world around them. The most useful qualitative techniques for the purpose of my research were in-depth interviews and participant observation. Participant observation served as a secondary component of my research; I employed this technique to become better acquainted with the area and lived experiences of local residents. In-depth interviews were my primary focus; they helped me to address my research questions and gain insight into the ways people define the world around them and how different definitions and social factors may influence land use debates.

The Rock Creek drainage served as an excellent site to conduct research as it was close to where I live permanently and thus economical to organize visits throughout the writing of this thesis. Furthermore, I was offered a job working at a small fly-fishing lodge in the area. I lived at the lodge throughout the time I conducted my research, which helped me to gain better access to the community and improved my rapport with interviewees, strengthening data quality.

The Rock Creek area is a particularly interesting site in that it has a long history of

land use debates (see chapter 4) and current controversy over land use planning in the region. Rock Creek is home to people of all income levels and though it has been gentrified (i.e. property values have increased substantially in the last twenty years) it still looks similar to how it did in the past and many of those who have lived in the area for generations are still able to do so. Rock Creek is also interesting in that it has long been a recreational hotspot and is thus different from many other rural areas in Montana that do not benefit as greatly from profit generated through the tourism and recreation industry or have only recently begun to do so.

Description of Participant Observation

Informal participant observation began the first day I started working in the Rock Creek area as a server/housekeeper at a small fly-fishing lodge. Through my job, I was introduced to a few residents and conversed with them about my research and the topics I was interested in studying. Every day I walked my dog along Rock Creek road to familiarize myself with the area and meet local residents.

Towards the end of the summer I received permission to attend two kitchen table meetings that were organized by the Rock Creek Protective Association (RCPA) to address the development of a comprehensive growth policy for Lower Rock Creek. The RCPA divided the lower Rock Creek area into six sections and conducted meetings with residents living in each area "to assist in the self-educational component of (the growth policy process), to discuss issues of planning and answer questions" (Speckart letter 2009). While I would have liked to have attended all of the meetings, some were taking place at the same time and others conflicted with my work schedule. One resident, who came to be a good

friend during my research on the creek, agreed to record the meeting she attended that I was unable to attend. For the two meetings I was able to attend, I recorded and took detailed notes. Attending the two meetings allowed me to meet and hear opinions of more of the residents (about 20 people attended each meeting) and better understand the relationships between different landowners.

Participant Observation Analysis

I analyzed the notes and recordings from my participant observation in conjunction with the interviews. I used the data obtained through participant observation to shape interview questions and develop and contextualize important themes emerging from the interview data. This data helped me to gain a better overall perspective of issues faced on the creek.

Description of In-Depth Interviews

Previous literature on rural issues suggests that length of residence is an important indicator of people's viewpoints towards private property, land use, and nature preservation (Bank and Marsden 2000; Inman, MacCleod, and Menhaus 2002; Reed and Gill 1997; Yung and Belsky 2006). Initially, my sampling was based on length of residency, where I sought to include in my interview sample both new and long-time landowners, divided into part-time and full-time residents. I defined a long-time landowner as anyone who owned property in the Rock Creek drainage for over fifteen years. There is an over-representation of long-time landowners in my sample as I found there were many diverse views within this group, so I continued to interview until I reached saturation. I defined a full-time resident as anyone who lived in the Rock Creek drainage for all twelve months of the year. I considered people who went on vacation for less than a month each

year to be full-time residents. This sampling technique was challenging in that it was often difficult to find people that only lived in the area part-time. These landowners either were not in the area at all while I was conducting research or were difficult to contact during the short time that they were in the area. Because of this, full-time residents are also over-represented in the sample.

While I did notice differences among interviewees based on length of residence, other factors became more important the more people I interviewed. One such factor involved whether or not people were dependent on Rock Creek for their livelihood, meaning that the majority of their income came from working on the creek either in recreation, tourism, construction and/or agriculture rather than commuting elsewhere for work. I noticed that those who would be defined by my definition as a long-time landowner may take on characteristics of a new landowner if they were not dependent on the area for their livelihood or vice-versa. While previous research tends to use the term livelihood to refer to income generated through extractive industries such as ranching or logging, I use this term to encompass all income generating activities. While some landowners continue to generate income through ranching and logging in Lower Rock Creek, no landowner subsists entirely on income earned through these extractive industries. Because Rock Creek has so many recreational opportunities, many landowners have shifted their livelihood partially or entirely to tourism and recreation. An example of this is a rancher who continues to ranch part of his land but has also built some guest cabins where tourists can stay and experience the "Western ranch lifestyle." Other landowners own or manage small fly shops, restaurants, guest lodges, outfitting businesses, and/or rental cabins.

Many landowners have also taken advantage of people's desire to own a second

home on Rock Creek. These landowners are able to generate income through construction and maintenance of second homes. Because there are so many part-time residents on Rock Creek, some full-time residents also generate income through serving as caretakers (i.e. assuring that pipes don't freeze in people's homes over the winter, watering plants, shoveling snow) for people's second homes. I defined a landowner as being dependent on Rock Creek for their livelihood if all of their income was generated on Rock via any of the aforementioned occupations. I defined a landowner as being somewhat dependent on Rock Creek for their livelihood if they generated some of their income through activities on Rock Creek. An example of this would be a landowner who does some maintenance for people's homes on Rock Creek but also does some maintenance on people's homes in Missoula.

Furthermore, the issue of class became increasingly important as I continued interviews. I did not directly ask people how much money they made each year because I noticed that the question made people uncomfortable in the interview. Instead I made an informed guess about the approximate level of income people likely generated. I determined their approximate income by looking at their occupation or pervious occupation if retired, whether or not their home served as a second home, and the types of items that people owned[1]. In my assessment of their income level, I also included details about their lifestyle that they provided during the interviews. For instance some interviewees mentioned that they were really struggling to make ends meet or that they were not sure how much longer they could afford to pay the increased property taxes on Rock Creek. Other interviewees provided quite the opposite details such as the fact that

[1] I conducted the majority of my interviews in people's homes thus I could look at what type of furniture, decorations, cars etc. that people owned.

their property on Rock Creek was just one of many vacation homes. I only had difficulty determining the income level of one of my interviewees. In this case, I relied on information given to me by my key informants as to his lifestyle and suspected level of income. In this study, "high income" indicates the person likely has a household income of over $100,000, "high-middle income" indicates the person likely has a household income between $60,000 and $99,999, "middle income" indicates the person likely has a household income between $30,000-$59,999, and "low-middle" income indicates the person likely had a household income below $29,999. Property on Rock Creek is very valuable so no landowners were considered low income because they owned such valuable land and if they were to sell that land, their income would increase quite substantially. My sample does contain an adequate representation of people with different income levels.

I refrain from using terms such as "low class," "middle class," and "upper class" in reference to my interviewees because of the various stigmas associated with the terms "low" and "upper" class and the ambiguous nature of the term "middle" class[2]. I also do not use the term socioeconomic status in reference to my interviewees because that would require knowing their education level, which is something I did not ask my interviewees

To form my preliminary interview sample, I relied on receiving contact information for people living in the Rock Creek area from three "key informants" (Berg 2009). One of my key informants had previously conducted biological research on the creek and had the names and contact information of a few landowners. Another key informant worked in the area for many years and introduced me to a few landowners to interview. My final key informant gave me the Rock Creek contact list which residents use as a phone chain in case

[2] In the U.S. most people believe themselves to be "middle class," regardless of their actual socioeconomic position.

of an emergency. Each of these informants was very different and recommended a diverse group of people to contact which helped to improve data quality. Through these key informants I was able to arrange five interviews. At this point I relied on the technique of "snowball sampling" to find more residents to interview. This technique involved asking those I interviewed for the contact information of a few other landowners that would be interesting to interview creating a sample that "eventually 'snowballed' from a few subjects to many subjects" (Berg 2009:51). Snowball sampling was a useful approach to working within a small community and resulted in a very high response rate. Of those I contacted for an interview, only one person refused to be interviewed.

I interviewed fourteen long-time landowners (twelve full time residents, two part-time residents) and seven new landowners (three full time residents, four part-time residents). Of these individuals, six were dependent on Rock Creek for their livelihood, four were somewhat dependent, and eleven were not dependent on Rock Creek for their livelihood. I also interviewed three people who did not own property on Rock Creek but who had invested many years in conservation work in the area. These individuals offered a unique "outsider" perspective and served in answering questions of land use and conservation from a more scientifically oriented rather than value oriented perspective. Insights from these individuals helped me to better understand the land use and stream quality issues in the area. I did not analyze these interviews in conjunction with the landowner interviews but rather used them to help complete the background section. These interviewees are not included in the summary of respondent characteristics tables. See Appendix B for a complete table of participant characteristics.

Tables- Summary of Interview Respondents' Characteristics

Duration of Residency	Number of Landowners	Percent of Total
Long-time landowner	14	66%
New landowner	7	33%
Full-time	15	71%
Part-time	6	29%
Part-time/Long-time	2	10%
Part-time/New	4	19%
Full-time/Long-time	12	57%
Full-time/New	3	14%

Livelihood	Number of Landowners	Percent of Total
Dependent on Rock Creek	6	29%
Somewhat Dependent on Rock Creek	4	19%
Not Dependent on Rock Creek	11	52%

Income Assessment	Number of Landowners	Percent of Total
High	5	23%
Middle-High	4	19%
Middle	6	29%
Low-Middle	6	29%

In-Depth Interview Questions

I used the same interview guide for each interview with landowners, but inevitably, each interview flowed differently. My interview questions were aimed at helping me understand what interviewees valued about living in the Rock Creek area, why they chose to live there, and how the area had changed in the time that they had lived there. I also focused on how interviewees felt about the subdivision controversy and whether or not they took specific action to protest it. This led to the discussion of land use and opinions towards government regulation and private conservation efforts. See Appendix A for a copy of the Interview Guide.

I used a modified informal interview guide for the three interviews conducted with the individuals who had done conservation work in the area but did not own land there. These interviews focused more on what the key environmental concerns were in the area and how interviewees and the organizations they worked for sought to address these concerns. I also asked these interviewees about their impressions of those living in the Rock Creek area and whether or not they thought landowners were adequately protecting important habitat and the stream. I asked for their opinions on the subdivision controversy and what they felt were the necessary steps to avoiding large scale development in the area.

I used probes whenever needed to help clarify any ambiguous statements made by interviewees or to help carry the conversation. With permission from each interviewee, I tape recorded the interview to ensure that I did not miss any important points. Of those interviewed, only one person did not agree to be recorded; in this case I relied on taking detailed notes throughout the interview. Recording the interviews helped to increase data quality because I could listen and read each interview multiple times to assure I understood

each respondent as best I could.

I continued interviews in the community until I reached saturation in the perspectives of landowners (Berg 2009) . The term saturation implies that the researcher has reached the point where no new information is being presented and helps ensure data quality in in-depth interviews.

In-Depth Interview Analysis

I transcribed the interviews and then analyzed them using the NVIVO software package to create descriptive and analytical codes (known as "free" and "tree" nodes in the NVIVO program). I began coding during the transcription process. Throughout the transcription process, I began to see certain patterns arise within each respondents' remarks. I took note of these patterns in an attempt to represent the categories that seem most important to the respondents. With these patterns in mind, I combed through each transcribed interview to highlight the categories I found during the transcription process but also to search for new categories that I may have missed. NVIVO also allowed me to assign attributes to each respondent, such as long-time landowner, new landowner, part-time resident, and full-time resident.

After assigning attributes to each transcribed interview, I was able to see which codes, themes, and patterns coincided with each attribute. This helped me investigate whether or not linkages existed between people from various subgroups and their views towards rural subdivision, private land conservation, and growth policies. This type of analysis enabled me to develop and interpret major themes that existed throughout the interviews and ultimately come to a more complete understanding of residents' perspectives in the Rock Creek drainage.

Data Quality

Throughout my research, while conducting in-depth interviews or observations, I attempted to follow the "conditions that foster the construction of quality research" discussed by Corbin and Strauss (2008:304). Such conditions include: "methodological consistency" and proper training in qualitative research; "clarity of purpose, "self awareness," that is the ability to recognize my own personal bias and assumptions, "sensitivity for the topic" as well as sensitivity towards the subjects, and an ability to "relax and get in touch with (my) creative self" (Corbin and Strauss 2008:304). Through employing these strategies, I obtained high quality data.

Both Corbin and Strauss (2008) and Patton (2002) discussed the difficulty of defining "quality research." For qualitative research, it is often much more difficult to define data quality as there are no clear-cut rules to carrying out this type of research. While many interpretations of quality qualitative research exist (appropriate given the post-structuralist paradigm it came from), Corbin and Strauss (2002:302) provide a useful summary of data quality.

> Quality qualitative research resonates with readers' and participants' life experiences. It is research that is interesting, clear, logical, and makes the reader think and want to read more. It is research that has substance, gives insight, shows sensitivity, and is not just a repeat of the "same old stuff" or something that might be read in a newspaper. It is research that blends conceptualization with sufficient descriptive detail to allow the reader to reach his or her own conclusions about the data and to judge the credibility of the researcher's data and analysis. It is research that is creative in its conceptualizations but grounded in data.

Keeping this quote in mind throughout my research, I attempted to be empathetic and open-mined to every respondent's views, insights, and values. I rigorously analyzed each in-depth interview and identified themes that emerged from the respondents' words.

Data quality was further enhanced by comparing my findings to a qualitative survey that was conducted in 2008 of residents' opinions towards issues faced in the Rock Creek drainage. Of the 230 surveys sent to residents, 90 people completed the survey. Looking over these surveys, my findings appeared to match most of what respondents wrote in the surveys about land use and zoning in particular.

Researcher Credibility

Prior to beginning my research, I completed a full year of graduate school including two courses on research methods, a data analysis course, a contemporary social theory course, and a political ecology course. Before conducting interviews for my thesis, I practiced interviewing people and received feedback from friends and colleagues about the quality of my interview questions. During this time, I also learned to work the NVIVO program and read a great deal of literature on the area and the topics I wanted to explore.

In order to gain access to the Rock Creek community, I began working as a server/housekeeper at a lodge in the area. I continued to work in the Rock Creek area in other capacities for the duration of this thesis project. This approach allowed me to be better understand the unique perspectives of individuals who live in the area and likely increased their willingness to participate in the study and candidness of their responses as I was at least somewhat involved in the community and not just an outside researcher.

Virtually every interview I conducted went well. Interviewees appeared to be quite candid in their responses. Landowners on Rock Creek were extremely welcoming. I enjoyed many cups of coffee at people's kitchen tables and heard many incredible stories of people's life experiences. Though interviewees were graciously giving their time and invaluable knowledge to me, often after interviewing them they would feel compelled to

give *me* something. I was given a range of gifts: produce from people's gardens, game meat, books on Rock Creek, jam, delicious home baked goods. I had initially expected to feel like a complete outsider in the small community but I experienced quite the opposite. Feeling welcome in the area helped me to be more comfortable while interviewing people which, in turn, helped interviewees to be more comfortable and candid in their responses likely improving data quality.

Ethical Issues

Prior to beginning the research for this project, I obtained clearance from the Institutional Review Board on June 1st, 2009. In order to obtain clearance I laid out procedures for obtaining informed consent from each interview participant, as well as permission to tape record them. In the event that an interviewee did not wish to be recorded, I respected their wishes and relied on taking notes instead. All of the transcribed interviews were kept on my personal computer that only I had access to, and I identified each interviewee identified by a single letter instead of their real name. I kept the signed consent forms locked in a drawer and separate from the tape recordings and transcripts. In this thesis I use pseudonyms for each interviewee and try not to disclose any identifying characteristics.

CHAPTER 4: BACKGROUND SECTION
Land Use Policies

The purpose of this chapter is to provide an introduction to land use policies in the United States and Montana in particular. Because Rock Creek is in the state of Montana, the majority of this chapter will focus on land use policies in this state and will conclude with a discussion of how these policies pertain to the Rock Creek area.

Introduction to Land Use Policies in the United States

Most land use planning in the United States is done at the local level. While the federal government is involved in issues such as endangered species protection, pollution control, and transportation, it has "sworn off any explicit role in land use planning" (Travis 2004:184). The Northwest Ordinance of 1787 may help to explain the lack of federal government involvement in land use planning. In this ordinance the federal government declared that all land north of the Ohio River and east of the Mississippi would be settled and would become part of the United States. This ordinance also established procedure of how to create governmental powers within states giving states the right to determine internal structure (Shively 2009). While the ordinance established parameters for the surveying of land, it did not contain any discussion of the division of land nor how land should be regulated; this power was given over to the states. To this day, managing growth and development is thus a responsibility of state and the local governing bodies.

Though the federal government has not taken a primary role in land use planning, it is important to note that it did lay "the basic foundation for zoning and planning in the United States" through the Standard Zoning Enabling Act (SZEA) of 1926 (American Planning Association 2009: 1). The grant of power gave the legislative body of cities and

"incorporated villages" the right to regulate things like building heights, size of open spaces, and population density (Mandelker and Cunnigham 1979: Section 1). The act gave the local legislative body the authority to divide the municipality into districts that would facilitate land use planning. It mandated that regulation needed to be made following a comprehensive plan to, among other purposes, "prevent overcrowding of land and avoid undue concentration of population" (Mandelker and Cunnigham 1979: Section 3). The act also stated that regulations could only become effective with attempting to include citizens through public hearings. This act paved the way for zoning and planning to be carried out within each state, giving local legislative bodies the power to regulate land uses and essentially plan for growth management and development.

While land use regulation aids in addressing key growth management and development issues, it varies greatly by state and by municipalities within states. In the state of Montana, the state has "no enabling legislative authority relative to decisions over land use…land use planning authority resides as the local level" (MT Department of Transportation 2010). Title 76 of the Montana Code Annotated, entitled "Land Resources and Use," delegates power to local governing bodies to regulate zoning and subdivisions. In Montana, local governing bodies can address land use planning through a growth policy, subdivision laws, and/or zoning and permitting regulations.

Growth Policy Plans

The state of Montana uses the term "growth policy" for a document that sets land use and development goals for sections of a county or an entire county; in other states this document may be referred to as a comprehensive, general, or master plan. Randolph (2004: 144) explains that the comprehensive plan, or growth policy plan in Montana's case, is

> A set of policies, goals, objectives, and strategies dealing with various aspects of a community [or county]--land use, housing, transportation, natural environment, economic development--that can guide the community's physical development.

It is important to note, that a growth policy plan is a non-regulatory document that serves in simply laying out a vision for a particular area or county. A developer must address a community's growth policy when proposing a subdivision, but he or she is under no legal obligation to adhere to recommendations in the policy. A county's planning board may use a developer's unwillingness to at least address aspects of a growth policy, however, as a basis for making a decision to deny a subdivision proposal (Granite County 2004).

In the state of Montana, counties are not required to have a growth policy. However, counties must have a growth policy in place before they are able to institute any type of zoning ordinance (Montana Code Annotated 2009: 76-1-601).

Subdivision Regulations

Subdivision regulations set specific requirements for how and where development can take place on subdivided pieces of land (Randolph 2004). Montana state law has basic subdivision requirements that every landowner must follow. In every county in Montana, landowners are not permitted to build structures in the 100 year floodplain, landowners may have no more than one personal septic system per one acre, and landowners must receive sanitation permits for all wells and septic systems (Montana Code Annotated 2009). Such regulations can be challenged by a landowner and/or developer in the form of requesting a variance to the regulation. Variances may allow for bending of laws if a landowner has due reason to need the variance.

Any time a landowner wishes to divide a piece of land to sell or to build additional living units, he or she must go through a subdivision review process. In the state of

Montana there are exceptions to this law such as the ability for every landowner to a "one time gift" of creating a lot for a family member without being subject to subdivision review (Montana Code Annotated 2009: 76-3-207). Rules regarding subdivision proposals differ for major and minor subdivisions. In Montana, a major subdivision is one that creates six or more lots, while a minor subdivision is one that creates five or fewer lots. Both types of subdivisions must submit a subdivision application and plat (a map showing how the land will be divided) to the subdivision administrator and then must be approved by the local governing body (Granite County 2004). A major subdivision also must go through a public hearing and comment period and conduct an environmental assessment.

All counties in Montana must follow the state mandated subdivision laws. Counties may choose to make additional subdivision requirements, or they may simply comply with state laws and put no further regulations in place.

Zoning

According to the Montana Department of Transportation (2010), zoning

> ...is a legal tool local governments use to protect public health, safety, and welfare by dividing jurisdictions into use districts (zones), restrict various uses to certain zones, and impose requirements that permitted uses must meet.

In some rural areas, zoning is proposed or imposed to maintain open space, preserve habitat, and protect natural resources. While many people view zoning as the key to smart growth and/or natural resource conservation, others see it as an infringement on private property rights that could decrease land value. The Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments to the US Constitution make it illegal for the government to "take" private property for public use without just compensation (Randolph 2004:149). This can make implementing zoning particularly difficult in areas where there is a lot of privately owned land. In many areas

zoning is notoriously referred to as the "z word," and many residents will fight tooth and nail to protect their private property rights and land values. Because of the controversy surrounding zoning, most counties in Montana have refrained from instating any zoning ordinances, and no county is completely zoned. In Missoula County, for example, zoning ordinances exist primarily in the urban fringe. In Lewis and Clark, Gallatin, Lake, and Flathead Counties there are some zoning ordinances in place in specific areas. For the most part, there are no density restrictions or zoning laws in rural areas in Montana.

How to Initiate Zoning in Montana

There are three ways to initiate zoning in the state of Montana; Part I (citizen initiated), Part II (county initiated), and Part III (city initiated zoning). Part III zoning does not occur in rural areas like Rock Creek, therefore I will only cover Part I and Part II zoning in this chapter.

Part I zoning or citizen initiated zoning is when a group of citizens choose to zone themselves. With Part I zoning, at least 60 percent of landowners living in the proposed zoning district must agree to the zoning ordinance and sign a petition. The governing body must then approve the citizen initiated zoning district. The zoning will not be approved if more than 50 percent of property title owners protests the ordinance within 30 days through written complaints to the governing body (Montana Code Annotated 2009: 76-2-101-107). In this manner, one person or company that owns more than 50 percent of the land in a rural area would be able to defeat a citizen initiated zoning district if they didn't approve of it.

Part II (county initiated) zoning gives the county the authority to "adopt zoning regulations for all or parts of the jurisdictional area…for the purpose of promoting the public health, safety, morals, and general welfare [of constituents]" (Montana Code

Annotated 2009: 76-2-201). Regulations will not be adopted, however, if more than 40 percent of landowners or more that 50 percent of titled property holders if taxed as agricultural or forest land, protest the ordinance within 30 days (Montana Code Annotated 2009: 76).

Specific Types of Zoning

It is important to take into account the various kinds of zoning, the most common of which are conventional zoning, agricultural zoning, overlay zoning, conservation/open space/cluster zoning, conditional zoning, and streamside setback zoning (Randolph 2004).

Conventional zoning is the most commonly used type of zoning; it involves breaking up an area into specific land use zones. For instance, one area might be designated as residential, another as farmland, another as recreation, another as commercial, and another as conservation. Local government and private parties then designate what can take place on each specific area and implement density restrictions. Conventional zoning can also involve limited lot sizes for a community. Randolph (2004) argues, that constituents sometimes view limiting lot sizes as an exclusionary practice in that only the wealthy may be able to buy homes of that lot size. Landowners may also view limiting lot size as a government "takings" case, where people stand to lose some of their property value if the area is zoned to bar any development potential. A further problem is that large lot zoning could actually increase sprawl in an area (Randolph 2004).

Local governments may implement agricultural zoning as an attempt to preserve farmland. Members of rural communities often argue that they would like to maintain the "rural lifestyle" or "rural character" where they live, and many see maintaining an emphasis on agriculture as a means to do so. With exclusive agricultural zoning, only

"farm-related buildings" can be constructed on designated areas (Randolph 2004:153) . Non-exclusive agricultural zoning allows landowners to have a small amount of non-farm related development. When local governments implement agricultural zoning, they may also run into a "takings" case where, again, landowners stand to lose much of their property value when the right to develop is taken away. This type of zoning may be especially difficult to implement in areas where agricultural is no longer a viable industry.

Overlay zoning is another type of zoning used by local governments; it aims to further protect already zoned areas by putting additional regulations or standards on a part of the zoned district. Overlay zoning is often used to implement more strict regulations in flood plain zones, important habitat zones, riparian areas, fire hazard zones, and other environmentally hazardous zones. Development might be restricted entirely in this area, or developers may need to meet higher standards and have extra documentation for projects (Randolph 2004).

Local government also may implement conservation zoning, otherwise known as open space or cluster zoning, which requires developers to build homes close together so as to maintain as much open space as possible. Rather than requiring a lot size minimum, this type of zoning increases density in small sections of land, with the hope of leaving more undeveloped land that could be turned into a conservation easement or protected area (Randolph 2004).

Local governments may implement conditional zoning to offset the costs of certain development projects by requiring the developer to pay fees to support public services or other projects that would benefit the community. In conditional zoning, developers must obtain a special use permit before building. Conditional zoning is most commonly used for

large scale development projects such as major subdivisions and factories (Randolph 2004).

Finally, local governments may utilize streamside setback zoning to set additional boundaries around rivers or streams past the 100 year floodplain, where landowners are not permitted to build structures or put septic systems (Randall 2008). With streamside setbacks, counties may also require that landowners do not remove any streamside vegetation unless it is for agricultural purposes or weed control. Conservation organizations in Montana have become strong advocates of streamside setbacks in recent years to help further protect rivers and important habitats.

Summary: Commonly Used Types of Zoning

Type of Zoning	Explanation
Conventional	Breaks up an area into specific land use zones
Agricultural	Designates a specific areas for agricultural use only. "Exclusive"= only farm related building may be built in specified areas. "Non exclusive"= a small amount of non-farm development may take place if approved
Overlay	Puts additional regulations or standards are part of an already zoned district
Conservation	Increases the density of development by clustering homes together; maintains open space elsewhere
Conditional	Requires the developer of large scale projects to pay fees to support public services and/or other projects that would benefit community
Streamside setbacks	Sets additional boundaries past the 100 year floodplain, around rivers or streams where landowners are not permitted to build structures or put septic systems

Regulatory tools are an important aspect of land use planning, but as discussed previously, the use of many of these tools can be quite controversial. While regulatory tools may be essential in aiding conservation efforts and contributing to "smart growth,"

local governments and private parties may employ non-regulatory tools as well in order to conserve land and valuable habitats.

Private Land Use Planning and Conservation Efforts: Conservation Easements and Purchase of Development Rights

With so much controversy surrounding zoning ordinances and other regulatory land use tools, non-regulatory tools can be useful in aiding conservation efforts and growth management. Non-regulatory tools move beyond the legal and political boundaries and do not require that individual landowners involuntarily give up their private property rights. In the state of Montana, conservation easements and purchase of development rights are the two most commonly used forms of private land conservation.

Land and development rights can be acquired by non-profit organizations (primarily land trusts) or local or state governments through the use of conservation easements or the purchase of development rights (PDR). Some communities have passed legislation to implement a tax on residents, using the money raised for land acquisition. Boulder, Colorado passed such legislation in 1967, and Missoula, Montana passed similar legislation in 1995, implementing an "Open Space Bond" (Randolph 2004:166). With the money generated through the tax, local and state governments can purchase land outright and put a conservation easement on it or purchase the development rights on a piece of land. In this manner, landowners are compensated for giving up the development potential on their land or are able to sell their land for a decent price, knowing that it will not be developed in the future.

It is becoming more common in rural areas in the West for landowners to voluntarily put conservation easements on their land, but in order to do so, they must own

at least five acres. Oftentimes landowners will work together with a certified land trust organization to decide what types of activities will be allowed on the land and what types will not. Some conservation easements will fully give up all development rights on a piece of land, while others might allow for one or two more homes to be built. If the land is in agricultural use, a conservation easement might state that the land can only be used for agricultural purposes so as maintain the "rural character" of the landscape and ensure that the land could never be turned into a subdivision.

Some tax benefits are associated with conservation easements. Taking away the development potential of a piece of land may lower the market value of the land (Five Valleys Land Trust 2010). If landowners voluntarily lower the market value of their land, it could make passing the land from generation to generation more feasible as the estate tax will be lowered and will not be subject to dramatic increases if property values in an area skyrocket. Furthermore, landowners who put a conservation easement on their land are able to deduct the difference between the land's value without the easement from the land's value with the easement from up to 30 percent of their federal income tax for up to five years (Five Valleys Land Trust 2010). Conservation easements are thus a realistic tool for land conservation for families that have very large parcels of land or that have at least five acres of land and high income. But, conservation easements seem much less practical for those with lower incomes and smaller pieces of land. The process of drafting the easement is very expensive (up to $10,000), and without a high income, the landowner will not receive any real tax benefits.

Land trusts or local governments might use a purchase of development rights to buy development potential from landowners who cannot afford the costs associated with

conservation easements. While this has happened in some cases, it is quite rare. Local governments and land trusts tend to be largely under-funded and thus cannot usually afford to purchase development rights. If they do have the funds available, the money will likely go to large parcels of "high environmental value," rather than to smaller lots.

History of Land Use Issues in the Rock Creek Area

The Rock Creek area has experienced many debates about land use and conservation (Goldman 1997). Between 1950 and 1970, the harvesting of timber served as the Rock Creek drainage's main economic base. During this time the United States Forest Service (USFS) managed the area. In the 1970's environmental concerns regarding logging practices became more prevalent, and many local organizations began speaking out against USFS mismanagement. Many statewide environmental groups began giving resources to and facilitating conservation efforts in Rock Creek because of its close proximity to Missoula. A strong political base led by members of the Montana Sierra Club, Trout Unlimited's West Slope, and the Western Montana Fish and Game Association filed an appeal against logging practices on lands that are now part of the Lolo and Deerlodge National Forests. The appeal sparked a debate between conservationists and the Forest Service and led to the creation of the Rock Creek Advisory Council (RCAC) in 1971, which was comprised of local citizens and representatives from eighteen organizations. This committee focused primarily on water quality and fish and wildlife habitat preservation. In 1976, with constant pressure from the RCAC, the USFS ceased logging the Rock Creek drainage (Goldman 1997).

Notably, debates about development and conservation of the area continued, despite the end to logging in the drainage. In 1983, the Bureau of Land Management, the

Forest Service, and the Bonneville Power Administration approved a plan to run power lines across the Rock Creek canyon. The RCAC and other citizens immediately objected to the plan. In order to appease the opposition, the power companies agreed to donate $1.65 million towards forming a trust that would aid in conservation efforts in Rock Creek (Knox, Higgins, and Opper 1991). The Bonneville Power Administration constructed the power lines, and residents, with help from environmental organizations, formed the Rock Creek Trust. This trust was rare in the fact that it had available resources to actually buy land in the form of bargain sale conservation easements rather than solely relying on residents to donate the land (Goldman 1997).

The Rock Creek Trust still exists but is now managed by the Five Valleys Land Trust (FVLT) in Missoula. The RCAC is now comprised of one person from Montana Wildlife Federation, one person from the National Wildlife Federation, one person from Fish Wildlife and Parks, and two Rock Creek landowners (personal interview 2009). Five Valleys Land Trust obtains approval from the RCAC whenever it plans to use the Rock Creek Trust funds. Since its inception in 1983, the Rock Creek Trusts has helped to establish 24 conservation easements, protecting almost 12,000 acres and 20 miles of stream frontage on Rock Creek (FVLT 2009).

Another important group working on land and water use issues in Rock Creek is the Rock Creek Protective Association (RCPA), which residents formed in 1974 (RCPA 2010). This organization is comprised of people who own property or live full-time on Rock Creek. According to the RCPA's mission statement, the RCPA is

> ...the collective voice of the citizens of Rock Creek working cooperatively and with their consent to help maintain and develop necessary civic and neighborhood functions and to protect the full biological integrity, inherent beauty and rural

nature of the drainage (RCPA 2009).

The RCPA played a pivotal role in protesting the subdivision proposed in 2006 (RCPA 2009). The RCPA has eight volunteer board members who all own land in the area. About 100 landowners on the creek belong to the RCPA (interview transcripts, 2009).

Present Day Rock Creek

The Rock Creek area is located in both Granite County and Missoula County, Montana. The creek itself is a blue ribbon trout stream that begins in the Anaconda-Pintlar Wilderness and flows 50 miles through Lolo National Forest to the Clark Fork River (See Appendix C and E). The upper portion of Rock Creek is comprised mostly of large ranches, while the lower portion contains smaller lots sizes, some small business, and a few ranchettes. My study focuses only on the Lower Rock Creek area. Most residents agree that the section referred to as "Lower Rock Creek" ends around mile marker 24, at the confluence of Alder Creek. There are approximately 265 landowners in this section, and about a third of these landowners are full-time residents (interview transcripts 2009). The first four miles of Lower Rock Creek are in Missoula County, while the remaining twenty miles are in Granite County. At present, there are no zoning regulations in either portion. There are twelve conservation easement in Lower Rock Creek, totaling 3,600 acres of protected land (see Appendix D).

Granite County is currently in the process of updating its growth policy. In 2009, the County received funding from the Department of Natural Resources and Conservation to hire a growth planner from a professional planning company to develop specific plans for Georgetown Lake and Lower Rock Creek as these areas have had the most development pressure of all the areas in Granite County. The Rock Creek Protective

Association and some landowners are currently pushing for stricter private land use regulations and hope that the growth policy update will help the area to move in that direction (interview transcripts 2009). The growth planning process is expected to begin in Lower Rock Creek in June, 2010 with a meeting for all residents on the creek. Though what will actually take place throughout this planning process is beyond the scope of this study, it has sparked further debates among landowners on Rock Creek.

CHAPTER 5: DEVELOPMENT PRESSURE IN THE ROCK CREEK DRAINAGE

The Subdivision Controversy

Introduction

Until the 1950's, the Rock Creek area had no electricity and consisted entirely of large ranches and open space. The first subdivision of land on a family ranch on Rock Creek took place in 1960 (Knox et al. 1991). In 1971, the state built an interstate highway bridge off of I-90 across the Clark Fork, making it easier to access Rock Creek road. In 1991, Rock Creek road was paved to mile marker twelve which made access even easier (interview transcript 2009). As ranching became less and less of a viable industry in Montana and better access to Rock Creek made it more of a desirable place for people to move, ranchers in Rock Creek began to subdivide their land. The analysis section of this thesis will explore these debates through introducing residents' attitudes towards the subdivision controversy, how different landowners construct different senses of the same place, and different land use discourses amongst residents.

The Rock Creek area experienced a large influx of residents in the late 1980's which sparked debates that continue today about "appropriate" uses of the land (Knox et al. 1991; interview transcripts 2010). In 2006, an out-of-state developer, Michael Barnes proposed a 36 home subdivision with a five acre pond at the mouth of Rock Creek on what used to be known as the "Corra Ranch." This was the largest subdivision ever to be proposed in this small river valley.

Reactions to the Rock Creek Subdivision Proposal

The 2006 subdivision proposal created quite a controversy. The majority of those I

interviewed expressed that they were initially against the proposal. For instance, Mr. Gem, a new landowner and part-time resident, commented, "there wasn't anyone in favor of Barnes' thing except for the real estate agent who represented him." Mr. Oliver, a long-time landowner and full-time resident, expressed a similar viewpoint.

> Almost without exception everybody was against the subdivision. It was basically not in the character of the valley. We're not a high price, gated community concept, and we just felt that this person was taking advantage of a situation potentially to make a ton of money based on destroying the entrance to the valley. So that really brought a lot of people together.

Early on, there was a large outcry from residents. On a warm spring evening in May of 2006, over 50 Rock Creek residents marched from the local Mercantile to the Rock Creek lodge wearing matching t-shirts that said "No Rock Creek Subdivision" (Backus 2006). One resident recalled, "I hooked up my mules with a little sandwich [protest] sign on them and rode them down to the meeting." An unlikely group came together to stop the proposal, including, as Mr. Gem put it, " a lot of people of very divergent philosophies…left right, evangelicals, and radicals from San Francisco." Within a few weeks opponents put up a large billboard at the entrance to the valley with an arrow pointing to the land that was proposed for subdivision and the message, "No Rock Creek Subdivision." The protest continued to build strength. Ms. Slate, a new landowner and part-time resident, explained the strength of the protest.

> We garnered over 2500 signatures worldwide. We had 1000 bumper stickers, we had postcards, we had t-shirts made, we had placards…you still see them driving up and down Rock Creek.

Landowners' Attitudes towards Subdivision Proposal

My research suggests that while many landowners initially may have been against the idea of the subdivision, it was not a cohesive community effort to fight against it. Of the

landowners I interviewed, fewer than half continued to actively fight against the subdivision after the initial protest. For instance, when asked if he took any action to protest the subdivision, Mr. Daniels, a new landowner and part-time resident, went so far as to exclaim, "the only specific action I took was against the signs everybody put up, which I thought were as obnoxious as the subdivision!"

Participation in Subdivision Protest

Those who did continue to actively participate in protesting the subdivision, however, put up a big fight. On May 11th, 2006 the Rock Creek Protective Association (RCPA) took the matter to the Missoula County government and filed a lawsuit.

> We filed the first law suit in the history of this state called the private attorney general's law suit. What that means is when…the county of Missoula would not enforce its regulation, our home owner's association stepped in for the first time in this state and filed suit as if we were the county against the developer because he was violating the flood plain laws, he was violating the mining laws of this state, and he was abusively violating the water rights that he had misrepresented, [he said they] were going to be used for agricultural purposes when in fact they're being used for residential purposes…We were successful in getting an injunction stopping the development. We [also] filed a protest with the department of environmental quality in Helena [stating that] the digging of the pond was an un-permitted act (Interview, Ms. Slate 2009).

With lawsuits pending, the RCPA decided to push for a citizen's initiated zoning district on 505 acres in the Rock Creek drainage, 200 of which belonged to the developer Michael Barnes (Andrews 2006). Originally, the RCPA wanted to instate a one home per every 40 acre density in the targeted area, which would have blocked Barnes' subdivision proposal (Moore 2007). Citizen initiated zoning requires 60 percent of landowners to agree to zone themselves. The RCPA was able to garner support from over 60 percent of the landowners in the small section of the creek, yet it ran into problems when local business owners realized that the zoning could negatively affect the small local businesses in the area.

Because the property would be zoned residential, if the businesses were to be destroyed by a natural disaster such as fire, the owners would no longer be able to rebuild (Moore 2007). The zoning issue was further confounded by the fact that only four miles of Rock Creek is in Missoula County; the majority of landowners fighting for zoning owned land in Granite County and would not be affected by the ordinance. The developer's lawyer made the point that the RCPA was attempting to implement targeted zoning or zoning aimed only at stopping the subdivision proposal, which was and still is illegal in the state of Montana (Moi 2007). Despite the lawyer's claims, the Missoula County Planning and Zoning board approved the citizen zoning ordinance as a one home per fifteen acre density on January 24th, 2007. The following day, however, the Missoula County commissioners turned the zoning ordinance down because they believed that it was targeted zoning (Moi 2007). Those who had fought for the zoning district realized that they would need to propose an ordinance for all of lower Rock Creek so as to not be accused of targeted zoning and to protect the whole area from large subdivision development. Mr. Oliver explained,

> The [whole] valley cannot support [large scale] development…we recognize that at the beginning of the valley the reasons that that person could take advantage of what he was doing [trying to build a subdivision and pond] is that there was no zoning. Zoning is really the only way to preserve a place long term.

Throughout most of the three year long subdivision controversy, newspaper articles from the Missoula area tended to portray the situation as local residents banding together to fight a greedy developer from ruining Rock Creek (Andrews 2006; Baukus 2006; Moi 2007; Moore 2008). Many of the residents who played an integral part in fighting the development believed this was the case as well. As Ms. Slate put it,

> [He was] an out-of-state developer that brought in out of state equipment, out of state employees; no one in the local economy benefited. And then there were a

> number of other events that occurred that just told us that, that what was going on was bad to the heart. It wasn't good people doing poorly, it was bad people doing badly…We came together as a community for the very first time. We did it as home owners. We had no money; we had no funding. So we all put our own money in.

What the newspaper articles omitted and what I did not hear from those I interviewed who consistently fought the subdivision proposal, was the growing resentment of many of the local landowners towards those pushing for zoning ordinances, and in particular, the RCPA. Some of those whom I interviewed were initially against the subdivision and part of the original protest, but as time went, on they began to change their views. While many landowners' first instinct was to protest the subdivision for fear that it would ruin what they value about living on Rock Creek, over time, some landowners came to the conclusion that regulating what an individual (even if the individual was a developer) did on his or her property would also ruin what they value about living on Rock Creek: freedom from government intervention and upholding their rights to do what they liked with their private property. Ms. Long, a new landowner and full-time resident, is an example of a landowner who had such a change of heart.

> I've had an interesting evolution about [the subdivision]. I was against it at first. But you've got people with money who really can do whatever they want. So you kind of want regulations and stuff like that. I didn't want them to do it because it was the old Souza Ranch, I didn't want to see it cut up. [But then] I was like you often can't write regulations that will prevent that from happening that also won't affect you and what you want to build and do on your own land. I kind of don't really care about it [the subdivision] anymore because you're really hurting 90 percent of the people on Rock Creek by putting up some regulations that would prevent a builder from coming in and doing that.

While many landowners spoke about not wanting to see a big subdivision built, they did not believe it was their right to do anything about it since instating regulations to avoid large scale development might also affect their ability to generate income on Rock Creek.

For instance, Mr. Scotts, a long-time landowner and full-time resident, began to view the subdivision as something that could actually contribute to his livelihood.

> I'm an independent contractor and I wouldn't mind working [a few] miles from my house on Rock Creek to build a houses. From that part of it, I have no problem with them developing it as long as they did it with a good plan. I thought too, that 32 or 36 lots were way too much. If [the developer] would have just downsized into five or six acre lots, 16 units, it probably would have went over a whole lot better.

Mr. Scotts expressed that his idea of a "good plan" involved the developer proposing a subdivision that had fewer homes on bigger pieces of land. He was worried about overdevelopment on Rock Creek and the environmental impacts of such development, yet he was also dependent on building houses for his income. This put him, and many others I interviewed, in a bit of a catch-22 situation.

Some landowners came to the conclusion that their actions to protest the subdivision were somewhat hypocritical given their line of work or their opposition to government regulation. Mr. Van, a long-time landowner, full-time resident, and local business owner in the tourism and recreation industry expressed it this way:

> I did walk in the protest. There was a protest, the only one I've ever done in my life. But we didn't put a sign in our yard...because it did feel a little contradictory. Because maybe of what we do, because we do invite people [into Rock Creek]. There's obviously growth with that, but it's not 40 or 50 homes. So I don't know. I'm glad it's over for now anyway.

At the time of my interviews, other landowners were still against the subdivision and large developments in general, but they thought some landowners, and in particular the RCPA, were trying to go too far with land use planning. For instance, Ms. Johnson, a long-time landowner and full-time resident explained,

> [I] didn't want a subdivision at the head of the creek. So once we won the fight, they [the RCPA] decided well let's just have a growth policy so that nobody can...put up a condo...which we don't want, but they're taking it beyond that.

[Saying things] like well you've got two cars in your yard and they look yucky. Ms. Johnson, like many other interviewees, was very concerned about the types of zoning that they believed some landowners were pushing for, such as regulating how people's property looks. This idea will be further explored in chapter 7, which focuses on land use discourses.

There were also landowners who may not have liked the idea of a sizeable subdivision development but did not believe it was their right to stop development on private property as long as the developer was following land use laws. Ms. Malloy, a long-time landowner and full-time resident pointed out,

> I didn't agree with [protesting the subdivision] because [the developer] bought that property. There were no zoning laws in place so how can you go in after the fact and tell somebody they can't do that. That to me is wrong.

Mr. Hirk, a long-time landowner and full-time resident, mirrored Ms. Malloy's opinions. "Barnes wasn't doing anything that wasn't okay with the county, so that's where this kind of thing should ride. I don't think I have the right to say that what he was doing wasn't right because it was legal."

Finally, there were some landowners, like Mr. Daniels, who expressed frustration both with the subdivision protest, and the attempt to implement further private land use regulations.

> I didn't want to see [the development] happen, but I knew the property was for sale, and I'd have bought it but I couldn't afford it. And a lot of people that were bitching could have afforded it. Well, that guy [the developer] bought it, and as long as he is not endangering the environment, he has the right to do anything he wants down there. You can't have your cake and eat it too. I want to have my rights, and my neighbors to have their rights, so that guy has a right to do what he wants with his land, too.

Landowners like Mr. Daniels, did not want to see a large subdivision on Rock Creek yet

acknowledged that protesting the subdivision would be hypocritical because of their strong support of private property rights.

Conclusion: End to the Subdivision Controversy?

In spring of 2009, lawsuits to stop the subdivision were still pending and the county of Missoula was still reviewing the subdivision application when the developer decided to withdraw his proposal and put the piece of land up for sale (Frank 2009). Some believe that Barnes could no longer handle the protest and lawsuits. Others believe he withdrew because of the state of the national economy at that time. The majority of landowners interviewed were very happy when they heard that the subdivision would not be built. Strong opponents saw the subdivision controversy as a way to garner further support for land use planning, which would help make any future large scale development in Rock Creek impossible. They argued that land use planning and zoning were essential elements to managing growth and maintaining the "character of the Rock Creek valley." With the conclusion of the subdivision controversy, Rock Creek landowners have shifted their debates about land use to focus on lower Rock Creek in its entirety.

Illustrated by this chapter, opinions towards the subdivision were only partially influenced by length or type of residency, though most part-time landowners actively protested the subdivision while most of the full-time, long term landowners never participated in the protest. Throughout my research, I found that length (new landowner or long-time landowner) and type (part-time or full-time) of residency are somewhat important in influencing landowner's views of development pressure, land use planning efforts, and conservation; however, these were not as important as found in previous literature (Inman et al. 2002; Swaffield and Fairweather 1997; Travis 2007; Winkler et al.

2007) or as I had initially thought. Nonetheless, as my research progressed, I found that landowners' economic livelihood and specifically whether or not it is dependent on the Rock Creek area, is more important than length or type of residency in influencing how landowners attach meaning to Rock Creek and how they view development pressure, land use planning efforts, and conservation. The following chapter analyzes the relationship between livelihood, income level, and how different landowners define attach meaning to Rock Creek.

CHAPTER 6: SENSE OF PLACE

Introduction

Many studies of rural areas have found that "sense of place" is an important factor to consider as it may influence people's attitudes towards land use issues and debates (Carter et al. 2007; Heise 2008; Kemmis 1990; Stokowski 2002). Similar to other studies, my interviews with landowners on Rock Creek, demonstrate that people have different ways of attaching meaning to the "social and natural landscape" (Carter et al. 2007). People expressed diverse reasons for choosing to live or stay in the area and had various ideas about what or who represented Rock Creek. My research suggests that people who are not dependent on the land as their primary source of income seem to develop a different sense of place than those who are. Furthermore, people's socioeconomic status may influence how they view the social and natural landscape of Rock Creek. In order to better explore these relationships, I have divided the main senses of place into four different categories: "place as scenic, open space, and wildlife;" "place as solitude, peacefulness, and escape from urban life;" "place as community;" and "place as recreation."

Place as Scenic, Open Space, and Wildlife

Almost all interviewees talked about enjoying the natural beauty of the Rock Creek area. Landowners love being able to see wildlife from their front porches, look at open space as they drive down the road, and listen to the creek trickle. Ms. Priess, a long-time land and business owner on Rock Creek, articulated this sense of place.

> This is the most beautiful stream in the world. The further upstream you go, the prettier it gets…it will take your breath away. Half the time I'm fishing I don't even fish, I just kind of stand in the middle of the stream and look around. I've been in love with this place for 45 years…It's just wild and beautiful.

Ms. Slate, a new landowner who is not dependent on Rock Creek for her livelihood expressed similar sentiments.

> It's god's backyard. It really is. It's a very special place. You drive up Rock Creek road at 30 miles an hour leaving the 70 mile an hour lifestyle behind. It's like Alice in Wonderland falling into the rabbit hole, and you're in a different environment. The birds are kings, the moose are queens [etc.]...and we have the privilege of sharing it with them.

It does not matter whether or not landowners are dependent on the area for their livelihood, how long they have lived in the area, or their level of income; most the interviewees continue to live on Rock Creek, in part, because of the beauty of the area.

Previous literature argues that scenic amenities such as those described above are the primary motivation for development, re-location of newcomers, or purchase of second homes in rural areas (Bank and Marsden 2000; Inman, McCleod, and Menhaus 2002). This holds true in Rock Creek, yet I also found that most people who live there, including long-time residents, value these amenities as well. While some of the social constructions of sense of place are in stark contrast with others, the idea of place as a beautiful, scenic area seems to be one that most landowners on Rock Creek can agree on. Perhaps valuing the beauty and open space of the area could serve as an avenue where residents could find common ground. The importance of the scenic amenities that Rock Creek has to offer was the only area where the majority of landowners expressed very similar meanings and attachments.

Place as Solitude, Peacefulness, and Escape from Urban Life

Of the landowners I interviewed on Rock Creek, there are some who view the area as an escape from income generating activities and industrialized society rather than part of their livelihood and tend to value the peaceful solitude that rural life can offer. Mr.

Vaccaro, a long-time landowner who travels to Missoula and nationally for work but considers Rock Creek his permanent residence, described this idea of escape:

> I don't have a lot of interaction [with the neighbors on Rock Creek] because I come to town every day. Plus I travel a lot. I'm just not there for local events very often; I came here to *escape* all that. I like coming home at night [and] being quiet.

Mr. Oliver, a long-time landowner who retired to Rock Creek after working elsewhere, described what he valued most about living on the creek.

> I have moved a lot in my lifetime, and I just feel that there's a certain piece of serenity in Rock Creek. You're able to experience that [serenity] but still be connected to Missoula and not feel like you're so far away from everybody. The main thing is to just to be able to have the peace and quiet.

Those who described Rock Creek in this manner also tended to view the area as separate from their social or community life. When I asked Mr. Oliver about his social life on Rock Creek, he laughed and remarked,

> I don't want to have all sorts of social friends [on Rock Creek]. I go out there for peace and relaxation. I'm not going to cocktail parties at people's houses every night. As a retiree my life is slowing down; I enjoy having my own piece of quiet and relaxation.

Many of those I interviewed echoed these same sentiments. Ms. Hill, a new landowner whose property on Rock Creek serves as a second home, explained,

> I'm here to quietly enjoy what is here. It is nice to meet people that you're compatible with, but the social, there's no real social context in our being here. It's more a quiet thing…

New landowners and long-time landowners alike who live or vacation in the Rock Creek area while generating income elsewhere tend to value the slow-paced nature of life on the creek.

Mr. Gem, a new landowner who lives out of state but comes to Rock Creek in his

spare time, spoke of his fast-paced lifestyle in the big city. For him, Rock Creek is important because it is the one place he can remove himself from that lifestyle. I interviewed Mr. Gem at his place on Rock Creek, and he described to me what he valued about being able to spend time in such a rural area,

> I love the serenity if offers…I've been here almost two weeks, and I actually feel lazy. I have all these grand plans for the day, and the days go by and I don't do shit. [When you're surrounded by] this clean air and clean water [and] when all you're hearing is the birds and your dogs' panting or the wind whistling or the buzz of the horse flies…life slows down. I don't want that to stop in the next 25 years. I want there to [still] be places like this.

Places like Rock Creek are becoming less common as the United States, a post-modern, post-industrialized society, continues to move further and further away from the small rural communities that used to make up this country. According to the 2000 US Census, almost 80 percent of people in the United States, now live in urban areas (United States Department of Transportation 2004). Rock Creek, a quintessential rural area, offers those who have spent a large portion of their lives in urban, industrialized society a chance to experience a different kind of lifestyle.

My findings resonate with those of Swaffield and Fairweather (1997), who found that some people move to rural areas in search of an "idyllic rural vision of a healthy, peaceful, and natural way of life" (112). In this study, however, those who sought this "rural ideal" were primarily new landowners or part-time residents. In contrast, landowners on Rock Creek who expressed these views are diverse in length and type of residence.[3]

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[3] It is important to note, however, that those considered long-time landowners by my definition may still be considered new or "outsiders" according to landowners who had lived on the creek for a longer period of time. Through participant observation, I began to notice that when people referred to someone as an "outsider" or new it did not necessarily coincide with the actual amount of time a person spent on Rock

The landowners who expressed valuing Rock Creek as a peaceful escape are similar in their lack of dependence on Rock Creek for their livelihood and their income level. Of the people I interviewed, those who are not dependent on the area for their livelihood were much more likely to describe a sense of place in this manner than those who are dependent on the area for their livelihood. Furthermore, those with higher incomes were much more likely to describe this sense of place than those with lower incomes. It is important to note that livelihood and income level are interconnected. Those who work outside of a rural area often have the ability to generate more income, thus these are not necessarily two, separate findings.

Place as Community

Many landowners spoke of community as an important aspect of life on Rock Creek but they did so in different ways. From my interviews and participant observation it is clear that community on Rock Creek has a variety of meanings to the extent that it is impossible to claim that there is just one "community" in the area. Rather, there are multiple, socially constructed meanings, all of which contribute to landowners' sense of place. This section is divided into two sub-categories; those who view community on Rock Creek as important for addressing larger environmental issues and those who value the social networks provided by the strong community in Rock Creek.

Environmental Utilitarian View of Community

Landowners who value the solitude and the natural scenic amenities on Rock Creek

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Creek. Those landowners labeled as "outsiders" tended to be wealthier people, not dependent on the area for their livelihood with different perceptions of appropriate land use. The same landowners who viewed some long-time residents as outsiders viewed some new landowners as part of their Rock Creek community if those new landowners had similar perceptions of land use and made an effort to become part of that community. I will discuss this further in the following section as well as in the following chapter about land use discourses.

tend to view community as a necessary component to addressing environmental issues such as the subdivision controversy and protection of the creek. In this sense, they hold an "environmental utilitarian" view of community as accomplishing political goals to "better" or "conserve" an area for future generations.

Landowners who expressed a need for more community engagement in environmental protection tend to view the subdivision controversy as an event that finally did bring the community together to fight for a "greater good." Ms. Slate explained,

> Our neighborhood became a community for the first time over the subdivision controversy. I'm fairly new in the area, but this shows that new people aren't necessarily bad, that they can make a good impression and a good impact in this community.

Mr. Gem expressed a similar attitude towards the subdivision controversy,

> I think a community existed [before the subdivision proposal], but there were a lot of people who never acknowledged each other because you didn't go to their church or you were a democrat not a republican, you didn't hunt and they did. I think a lot of those barriers eroded after [we fought the subdivision proposal] because everyone realized that we were all here for the same reasons.

Landowners like Mr. Gem and Ms. Slate tend to see overdevelopment as a major environmental threat that the creek is facing at present and will face in the future. Such overdevelopment threatens what they value about living on Rock Creek; the peaceful solitude of a rural lifestyle. For them, the only way to maintain that sense of place is to engage landowners on Rock Creek to come together as a community and lobby for stricter private land use regulations. This "environmental utilitarian" view of community suggests that people should be willing to give up some individual rights for the "greater good" of protecting the environment for future generations. This issue will be further discussed in the following chapter.

Many of these landowners who hold an "environmental utilitarian" view of community explained that they had difficulty trying to bring the community together to address environmental issues. Ms. Hill expressed frustration with her efforts to try to work together in conservation efforts with landowners on Rock Creek. She exclaimed,

> I'm not impressed with their sense of community…they don't come out here to protect the beauty of where they live. They commonly say they're stewards of the land, but I don't think they even understand the concept very well…If I were in charge of [land use] planning, I would want the community to come together…to set up a [land use] plan that is compatible with most people. I really believe in community.

The issue of land use planning is very important to Ms. Hill, and while she believes in collaboration with landowners, she is frustrated with people who do not hold the same values regarding the environment as she does. For landowners like Ms. Hill, "community" does not necessarily mean bringing food to people or plowing snow out of someone's driveway, but rather working together to maintain viable ecosystems and protecting the health of the creek.

Those with high income and large properties who are retired or are making a living in more urban, industrial areas are not necessarily dependent on their neighbors as social networks or for help with everyday tasks and are most likely to hold this "environmental utilitarian" view of community.

All of the landowners in my sample who expressed an "environmental utilitarian" view of community, were active members of the Rock Creek Protective Association (RCPA). As discussed previously, the RCPA began as a community group in the 1970's and has played an integral part in many community issues on the creek, such as getting a portion of the Rock Creek road paved to reduce dust and improve safety and starting the

emergency phone chain. Many landowners who choose to be part of the RCPA, do so to help create a community on Rock Creek that will support environmental protection policies and programs. Nearly every landowner I interviewed expressed that the RCPA had done a lot of positive things for the community in the past. Distrust of the RCPA has grown, however, as the organization changes, and membership has dropped over the last decade. Mr. Van remarked, "It started out as a good thing, but now it's out of hand…most of the members are people who do not live here all the time and think it's a good thing because they don't know any better."

Ms. Long explained that the RCPA has shifted its goals to only focus on environmental protection and land use regulation and has forgotten other important aspects of community. As she put it,

> Historically, [the RCPA] was a voice for everybody on Rock Creek. Now, they're trying to turn it into an environmental movement, and they're not really sticking up for what the Rock Creek community wants as a whole. They have their own interests in mind, and they're putting off that they're doing this for Rock Creek.

Many interviewees expressed distrust and suspicion towards landowners who were active members of the RCPA as they believed the organization did not represent the "true" community's voice.

Social Network View of Community

In contrast to landowners who hold environmental utilitarian views of community, others view community more in terms of a social network and cited the importance of community and social connections as the reason they continue to live there. Mr. Van, a long-time landowner who owns a small business on Rock Creek, described what he believes is a very strong, albeit isolated, Rock Creek community:

> The cool thing about [Rock Creek] is that…everybody is there for everyone else. If that neighbor over there were to call me right now and say 'I need you,' I would go right over there. Or if I was to call them, they would come over here right now. You don't necessarily get that [kind of community] in town.

Ms. Keane, a long-time landowner who has managed to make a living on the creek, has had similar experiences. She spoke about how people had to be dependent on one another because there are no grocery stores or services on Rock Creek. People who live full-time on Rock Creek have to plan ahead to buy groceries and other items in Missoula. The drive to Missoula is over an hour roundtrip, so people try to limit their trips to town. Ms. Keane explained that it is common for people to borrow items from each other with the understanding that they will replace them sometime in the future. She and her husband leave their shed open so that anyone can borrow anything as long as they return it or buy a replacement. Ms. Keane declared, "we borrow everything up here, even vodka!"

Many landowners discussed the importance of depending on community members in case of emergencies. While some landowners have been working for a long time to build a fire station on Rock Creek, the closest fire station is still in the town of Clinton, about five miles from the entrance to Rock Creek. Depending on where a landowner lives, it can take more than half an hour for firefighters to arrive. Time and time again, I heard from landowners that houses would have been completely destroyed by fire had it not been for local residents coming together to put out the flames. Rock Creek residents have an emergency telephone chain set up, with group leaders to call everyone on the creek in case of an emergency. Ms. Long, a new landowner who makes her living doing odd jobs on the creek, spoke of the effectiveness of the telephone chain.

> When that phone chain goes, everybody is called…there was a house burning [a few years ago] from a chimney fire, and at least half the creek showed up right in

the middle of the winter [to help put it out].

This interdependency between neighbors in rural areas is a major theme in *Community and the Politics of Place* (Kemmis 1990). Kemmis (1990) wrote about the difficulty of living in rural areas, particularly in the state of Montana where the terrain and weather are extreme. People have to be willing to work hard and depend on the people who live near them to survive in such a climate. "Life is just harsh enough that you have no choice [but to]...accept one another...count on one another regardless of political opinion" (Kemmis 1990:71). In Rock Creek, those people who are willing to help out their neighbors, be it through coming to put out a fire, bringing medicine or food to someone who is ill, haying fields, or lending items, are considered to be part of the community, regardless of how long they have lived in the area.

Despite what some research in rural areas suggests, there are many new landowners and even part-time residents on Rock Creek who consider themselves part of the Rock Creek community (Bank and Marsden 2000; Inman, McCleod, and Menhaus 2002; Reed and Gill 1997). To many landowners on Rock Creek, community-oriented action makes you part of the community.

Those who view the community as strong and interdependent tend to be those with lower to middle income levels who are somewhat dependent to entirely dependent on the area for their livelihood. They also tend to be suspicious of landowners who hold environmental utilitarian views of community. This point highlights the class and livelihood differences on Rock Creek that have emerged over the last thirty years as those with more money move into the area and livelihoods shift. I will discuss this further in the following chapter.

These competing definitions of sense of place in relation to the concept of community echoes Larsen's (2008) case study of Anahim Lake where there were three distinct sub-communities. Larsen's sub-communities were based on ethnic differences and only partially related to level of income. On Rock Creek these differences appear to be related to both level of income and source of livelihood.

Place as Recreation

Rock Creek is internationally known for its blue ribbon trout stream and incredible fishing. People also frequently hunt in the area because of its extensive wildlife population. Many landowners expressed the great recreation opportunities on Rock Creek as one of the reasons they chose to live or buy a second home in the area. While recreation is an important aspect of many people's sense of place on Rock Creek, it may be important for different reasons. I divide the results in this section is into two sub-categories; "recreation for leisure" and "recreation as part of livelihood."

Recreation for Leisure

Many landowners enjoy the recreational opportunities on Rock Creek. Mr. Gussis, a new landowner who retired to Rock Creek commented,

> I'm a fly fisherman and this is one of the best fisheries in the world. Some of the most diverse waters with the best access. I also love to hike, walk, and take pictures. This is an ideal place for someone like me.

While Ms. Hill, a new landowner who vacations to Rock Creek, does not fish very often, she enjoys other recreational opportunities:

> I go play in all of this (points to the mountains). I'd rather hike than go fishing because there's nobody there. I feel like I'm living in this sort of virtual wilderness outside of the bottom of the canyon and I like that.

Mr. Scotts, a long-time landowner who depends on Rock Creek for his livelihood,

described Rock Creek in this way:

> It's a blue ribbon trout stream, a great recreation spot, both for hunting and fishing and camping and bicycling, cross country skiing, running on the road, horseback riding, pretty much everything!

Initially I had expected to find that those who valued the recreational activities on Rock Creek would not be dependent on the area for their livelihood and would have higher incomes, but this was not necessarily the case. While those with higher incomes and lower dependency on the area for their livelihood are more apt to take part in the recreational activities described by Mr. Scotts, many people with lower income levels and dependency on the creek for their livelihood also expressed interest in such activities. The clear difference between these landowners, however, was in the fact that those who were dependent on the area for their livelihood may enjoy the recreational opportunities living on Rock Creek but also view recreation as part of their livelihood.

Recreation as Part of Livelihood

In 1991, the total recreational value of Rock Creek was 3.7 million dollars per year (Know et al 1991: 41). The total recreational value of Rock Creek has only increased in the last 20 years. While not all of the income generated through recreation goes to local landowners, many landowners make the majority of their income on Rock Creek through recreational activities like fishing, hunting, and horseback riding. Furthermore, some landowners are able to earn money as contractors or repairmen from "recreationists" who build second homes on Rock Creek.

Although most of the residents who earn their living on Rock Creek today are involved in tourism and recreation, this has not always been the case. Some landowners were able to keep living in the Rock Creek area by shifting their livelihood away from

extractive industries to providing recreational activities to people who vacation in the area. Mr. Hirk is one such resident. As he put it,

> Our place is too big to play with and too small to make a living on [through ranching]. One of the reasons I went into outfitting and stuff years ago was that it was a means to hang on to [our land]. We've done a lot of things to stay here; it has been a challenge.

For landowners like Mr. Hirk, whose family had hunted and fished in the region for generations to provide food for their families, it was possible to transfer this knowledge of the area into an outfitting business.

Mr. Van likewise discussed using recreation as a means of working closer to home and staying on Rock Creek. Mr. Van had commuted to Missoula to work in the service sector for many years and finally could not take the commute anymore. He decided to start offering recreational services on Rock Creek and has been able to make a living for himself doing so. Many other landowners have adapted their livelihoods to providing services for the tourist economy and as such, valued recreation in terms of a source of revenue.

Another distinction I found between those who only saw recreation in terms of leisure and those who saw recreation as both leisure and livelihood had to do with literally putting food on the table. Those who are dependent on the area for their livelihood and/or who have low to middle income are much more apt to go fishing and hunting as a means to providing additional food for their families.

Conclusion

On Rock Creek, landowners with middle to high income who are not dependent on the area for their livelihood tend to hold a sense of place that values solitude, scenic amenities, "environmental utilitarian" views of community, and recreation for leisure. In

contrast, landowners with low to middle income who are somewhat to entirely dependent on Rock Creek for their livelihood tend to hold a sense of place that values scenic amenities, community as a social network, and recreation both for leisure and as an important part of their livelihood.

As land use debates continue on Rock Creek, it is important to take into account people's varying senses of place and how these are related to class and livelihood. Kemmis (1990) argues that despite different perspectives and values pertaining to a certain place, people must learn to overcome disparities if they want to protect what it is they love about living there.

> Places have a way of claiming people. When they claim very diverse kinds of people, then those people must eventually learn to live with each other, they must learn to inhabit their place together (Kemmis 1990:119)

Mr. Gem, made a similar argument. For much of the conversation we had, Mr. Gem discussed the differences between residents and expressed frustration over some land use practices and lack of land use regulation that he believed could lead to overdevelopment of Rock Creek, which would destroy a place he had come to truly value. As I made my way to my car to leave he stopped me and said, "as you write your thesis, remember it is not about us versus them, it's about the place." But, when there are differing social constructions of the same place, is it possible to find common ground when it comes to land use policies, especially when those polices could affect people's private property, economic security, and livelihood? In the next chapter, I will explore the relationship between people's sense of place and their discourse on land use in the context of livelihood and class differences.

CHAPTER 7: LAND USE DISCOURSES

Introduction

People's decisions and behavior are influenced by how they attach particular meanings to particular places. On Rock Creek, people's sense of place and land use discourse are influenced by landowners' livelihoods, economic interests, and class differences. Landowners who value the peace and solitude offered by life on Rock Creek and hold an "environmental utilitarian" view of community, may see further development pressure as the greatest threat to that lifestyle. Landowners who value the interdependency of the Rock Creek community, in contrast, may see further private land use regulations as the greatest threat to maintaining strong social networks as neighbors could be negatively affected by such regulation.

There is undoubtedly a relationship between landowners' sense of place and their discourses about land use; however, this relationship is not necessarily causal. Robbins and his co-authors (2009:367) points out that,

> While it is commonly assumed that group identities are formed through social interactions that lead to economic conflicts and outcomes, it is increasingly argued that conflicts and economics conversely invest people with culture.

People's land use discourses may impact how they attach meaning to a place like Rock Creek, while simultaneously people's sense of place may influence how they create specific land use discourses. This chapter will discuss the two major land use discourses found in my interviews: the "need for more private land use regulation," and "no need for more private land use regulation." I will present sub-categories of each of these categories; the perceived risks of *not* implementing further private land use regulations, and the perceived risks of implementing further private land use regulation.

The Need For More Private Land Use Regulation

Many of those I interviewed expressed a need for more private land use regulation to protect the rural nature and "pristine qualities" of the Rock Creek area. Of those who expressed a strong need for more regulation, all are middle to high income and not dependent on the Rock Creek area for their livelihood. They also tend to value Rock Creek as a peaceful escape from urban life, a recreational Mecca, and a beautiful, scenic area. Those who expressed some need for more regulation are diverse in levels of income and senses of place but are all dependent, at least partially, on the area for their livelihood.

Landowners see the need for more private land use regulation as a means to protect the environment, the rural character of the area, and improve or maintain the area as aesthetically pleasing. Below I discuss sub-themes associated with the need for private land use regulation.

Environmental Protection

As people continue to develop land on Rock Creek, many landowners and non-profit organizations such as the Five Valleys Land Trust and Trout Unlimited, have become concerned about the loss of viable habitat and the health of the creek. The Five Valleys Land Trust (FVLT) works through the Rock Creek Trust to,

> Protect and enhance Rock Creek's famous 'Blue Ribbon' trout waters, the health of its nationally acclaimed wildlife habitat, it unusual biodiversity, and the open space beauty of the drainage…the council seeks to accomplish conservation goals before growing pressures cause irreversible damage to this treasured drainage (Rock Creek Special Protection Project notes 2009).

Many landowners expressed similar goals to that of FVLT. For instance, though Ms. Hill is relatively new to the Rock Creek area, she has been working hard to encourage land use planning in the drainage in an effort to protect what she values. She explained, "I think the

canyon is too small for big development... [we need] to come together as a community to set up a [land use] plan that maintains the biological integrity of the canyon." Ms. Hill explained why she began working towards land use planning in the drainage.

> It's an ethical commitment on my part. I'm looking for things [to take part in] that fit my sense of what is highly valued in this world. We should embrace the world that we see. We should love it, take care of it, and nurture it. We should incorporate ourselves in a healthy way that's not destructive. That's my most important ethic.

Many landowners who are concerned about environmental protection of the area have put conservation easements on their property or purchased property with an easement already on it. Mr. Gem is one such landowner. He not only bought property with a conservation easement already in place but also put money towards research and implementation of a project that would recover the health of a stream that ran through his property. He discussed his choice to purchase this land and help with stream restoration:

> We were able to be in the right place at the right time [when the property was for sale]. And I realized that I was a conservation-minded buyer and [protecting the environment] was true to my belief system... I applauded [the efforts to restore good fish habitat in the stream]. I thought, god, this would be great...and put money towards it.

Ms. Slate also talked about the importance of protecting the environment.

> [Rock Creek] is a very pristine place...just because you own property [here] doesn't give you the privilege to do whatever you want to it. You have to be responsible to your fellow man and be responsible to nature.

Many landowners are working together with the RCPA to provide further protection to the area through land use planning. Those working towards planning believe that it is the only way to preserve what they value about living in the Rock Creek area. A representative from Trout Unlimited validated this need for planning. As he put it:

> It would be nice to have some thoughtful land use up there where we were

> protecting the flood prone part of Rock Creek and the riparian community. And also ultimately water quality. We've got these clusters of septic systems up there and subdivision. I don't know if they're a problem yet, but they could be. So from a private land management perspective it'd be nice to have some land use planning there. With some appropriate zoning that recognized the reason that everybody wants to live up Rock Creek. It's really nice stream and…surrounding area and environment.

Protect the Rural Character

Many Rock Creek landowners in my study also expressed the need to plan in order to protect the "rural character" of the area, including working lands and open space. This need to protect the rural character was most commonly expressed during discussions about the subdivision proposal. These landowners believe that this proposal was similar to a subdivision that one would see in more of a suburban area, and it would replace a ranch that has a great deal of sentimental value to residents on the creek. Mr. Oliver talked about the proposed subdivision potentially ruining what he values on Rock Creek.

> [The subdivision] was not in the character of the valley. We're not a high-priced gated community concept, and we just felt like [Barnes] was taking advantage of a situation…to make a ton of money based on destroying the entrance to the valley.

Landowners who approve of zoning on Rock Creek tend to want to implement density restriction zoning of one house per every five, fifteen, or 40 acres. They believe that density restrictions would limit the number of septic systems on the creek as well as maintain open space. Some policy analysts argue that limiting density could actually increase sprawl and further destroy wildlife habitat, yet this type of zoning helps to maintain "rural character" of large lots (Randolph 2004; Travis 2009). Mr. Ruse explained why he wanted density restrictions in this way: "I think most of the people I know would agree that we don't want [Rock Creek] chopped up into little lots all over the place. Five acres seems like a reasonable acreage, a reasonable amount."

Some land use planners have argued that rural areas should really implement conservation zoning, where certain areas are designated for high density development and the remainder is left as open space (Randolph 2004). This type of zoning, however, is not necessarily in line with "rural character" desired by many landowners on the creek because it cedes some space to cluster development.

Improve or Maintain Area as Aesthetically Pleasing

Some landowners pushing for zoning are quick to claim they do not want to implement stringent covenants on people's private property or implement types of zoning that would require things like certain paint colors on houses. Mr. Oliver explained that, "Rock Creek is not a gated community, it's a mixed neighborhood of many different types and sorts of people ...and I like that way." Despite such claims, I did hear some advocates of zoning referring to a need for zoning to clean up "unsightly" areas or encourage people to keep up their property. For instance, Ms. Folin, a long-time landowner who traveled to Missoula for work until her retirement, expressed that, "those trailer houses back there [are] an eyesore, I don't know how else to describe it. I also think there should be some rulings on how many abandoned vehicles there can be [on a person's property]." Mr. Ruse, a long-time landowner who has never been dependent on the Rock Creek area for his livelihood, made similar comments: "[We need to] have some zoning regulation in place that would make people clean up their place."

Some of those who want zoning regulations to improve or maintain the aesthetic quality of land on the creek may believe that these type of regulations would increase their property values. Ms. Slate, a new landowner, who spends her vacations on Rock Creek, appeared to be of this opinion.

> You can drive up Rock Creek road, and you've got people with varathane fences next to million dollar homes. It's not that that's bad, but it shows you can go alpha and omega in terms of your development. And, it's just that it becomes irresponsible at some point in time. Where people have made a huge investment to better the community and you go and put a dump next to it. That's an insult and it really is a discouragement to people doing the right thing to their property.

Landowners like Ms. Slate, believe that they are improving the quality of the area by having what they view as aesthetically pleasing pieces of property. For landowners like Ms. Slate, doing the "right" thing to your property such as building elaborate homes with extensive landscaping, requires a high level of income. Zoning in this manner could lead to further gentrification of Rock Creek where property values and taxes increase even more and people with lower to middle income level have to leave the area because they can no longer afford to live there (Walker and Fortmann 2003).

Perceived Risks of *Not* Implementing Further Private Land Use Regulations

Mr. Gussis and other landowners, most of whom are not dependent on the Rock Creek area for their livelihood, spoke a great deal about conservation and the need to more strictly regulate private land use in order to save what's left of the area.

> Biologically speaking, by the time symptoms emerge, the problems are out of hand. If you don't start [protecting] very early, biological problems are almost impossible to fix; they are much easier to prevent…They say nostalgia ain't what it used to be, but it's not too difficult to become quite nostalgic about this place and long for the good old days [when there was little development]. I hope we're doing a good job of trying to preserve what's left (Mr. Gussis 2009).

Many landowners are aware of the controversial nature of zoning yet believe that without it, the area will be destroyed. Mr. Gem explained:

> Zoning is a dirty word on this creek, and it's a dirty word with most locals. It's a political hot button. Yet on the other hand, having some sensible rules to follow, I believe, is the only way that you're going to stop people like Barnes doing what he tried to do…I'm not telling anybody how or what [Rock Creek] should be like, I just know what will destroy it. It's pretty simple, it's logical, it's been proven.

There're no shortage of cases of overdevelopment that have created issues.

Some landowners told stories about other areas that had been "overdeveloped" and thus lost their "rural character." Many people mentioned the Bitterroot Valley in Montana, claiming that a lack of land use regulations caused a lot of the "rural" towns in that area to turn into suburban sprawl. Ms. Hill told a story about the small rural area where she grew up. She described how lots of people began moving to the area and that there was no land use planning in place. She lamented that now,

> ...the canyon I grew up in is totally trashed. You can't even get a nice sleep anymore because of all the traffic that goes through. And you can't even hear the creek anymore. People had to build up rock walls to keep the noise out of what used to be a serene canyon environment.

Even some landowners who are suspicious of zoning articulated that without some land use planning, what they value might be destroyed. Ms. Priess is an example of one such landowner. She commented, "There needs to be some regulation. There are a couple of places up here that need to be protected against subdivision. We have to find some way to prevent what happened with Barnes from every happening again."

No Need for More Private Land Use Regulation

Contrary to landowners who believe that more private land use regulation is necessary to "save" Rock Creek, there are many landowners in my sample who argue that further regulation on private property would actually destroy the area, particularly the community and people's livelihoods. Most of the people who are concerned about further regulation are somewhat or entirely dependent on the Rock Creek area for their livelihood and have middle to lo-middle income. They also tend to value their sense of place because of the social networks provided by the Rock Creek community and their livelihood.

Landowners view further private land regulations as unnecessary, arguing that there are already enough government regulations in place, that people should take personal responsibility for the land and use common sense, and/or that the market will take care of development pressure.

Already Enough Government Regulations in Place

Though Mr. Goodwin helped to protest the subdivision proposal, he does not believe that implementing further land use regulations will help to stop subdivisions in the future or do much to protect the Rock Creek area. He explained,

> I don't want government involved in too much; they've got enough to do. They have a tough job doing what they're doing; I don't really think we need more government. [I don't want to] pay another person to tell me what to do.

Other landowners, like Mr. Harver, have similar attitudes towards the government. "There are way too many regulations as far as the private use of people's private land, but there's not enough proper management of the wildlife and the creek." Mr. Lope, a landowner who has lived on Rock Creek mostly full-time for decades, also echoed these sentiments as he exclaimed, "there's already existing laws covering all this crap."

Landowners who expressed that there were already enough regulations in place tend to believe that they are taking good care of their land and the environment on their own and that they do not need the government to tell them how to do that. They also tend to value everyone's private property rights and acknowledge that what is seen as poor land management by one may be fine to another. These landowners do not think it is right to completely stop development on Rock Creek through stricter land use regulations so that no one else can choose to move there. Mr. Van, a landowner who initially protested the subdivision but then decided that he should not attempt to tell someone what to do on their

own private property, explained:

> There are already regulations on how much land can be divided, where you can put septic systems…So why do you need more laws? You just need to enforce the ones you've got. I'd hate to see somebody put a hundred houses over here in that open field…but I don't like the thought of somebody telling somebody else what they can and can't do on their land. I think there is too much government involvement, but the only reason there is, is that people quit using common sense.

Personal Responsibility and Common Sense

Like Mr. Van, many landowners conveyed that people needed to take personal responsibility for their land and use common sense to address land use issues. Mr. Hirk expressed,

> [People need to use] common sense. Granite County has a lot of regulations in place as far as sewer systems and as far as number of acres per subdivision. The subdivision review comes in and your state comes in and all that. I think that's good enough. The way things are right now are pretty workable. I don't go for this zoning where you take somebody's land values away and land rights.

Some landowners who argued for personal responsibility and common sense when it comes to land use are frustrated and insulted that other landowners in the area do not believe they are adequately protecting the environment. Mr. Van remarked,

> It's not like we're not thinking about future generations or anything like that. I mean God look at our place. We take good care of our place… [in a rural area] you have to take personal responsibility for things like it used to be in the old days before the government tried to save us.

It is interesting to note that some landowners expressed a need for personal responsibility and common sense as necessary for maintaining good community relations. To landowners with this view, people naturally took good care of their land and the surrounding area out of courtesy for their neighbors and appreciation for where they lived. Ms. Long described this responsibility for respecting the community:

> I'm a big believer in social pressure. [In rural areas] you do something wrong,

> you're accountable to people around you. And so there's a whole different way that people take care of themselves and the land. That's what community and strengthening community is about.

The Market and Financial Incentive

Some landowners who do not think there is need for any further government regulation on private property expressed that the free market and financial incentive to landowners not to subdivide, would keep Rock Creek from being overdeveloped. The following is an excerpt of a conversation that Mr. Lope had with his wife while I was interviewing him:

> *Mr. Lope*: What right do you have to tell somebody who bought the property what they can do with their land?
> *Ms. Lope*: Oh yeah, so you go get 5 million dollars to buy [the land where the subdivision was proposed].
> *Mr. Lope*: If you want to bitch and go through all this stuff, buy them out, simple solution.
> *Ms. Lope*: No, it's not a simple solution because not everybody can buy them out.
> *Mr. Lope*: Well then shut up!

Many interviewees expressed similar beliefs in the power of the free market. For example, Mr. Daniels, a fairly wealthy business owner on the creek explained:

> If property taxes get high enough, ultimately the area develops really well and the squalor disappears because the property taxes get high enough that they can't afford it and they can make a bunch of money by selling it to a guy that wants to build a million dollar house. Supply and demand works just fine.

Mr. Daniels did admit, however, that he "would actually kind of hate to see that happen. I'm kind of glad that the property taxes are as low as they are because I think we'll lose an awful lot when we lose those people."

Landowners who expressed that the market could prevent overdevelopment on Rock Creek also tended to propose that conservation organizations and concerned

landowners should buy people's private property rights rather than attempt to implement zoning to protect the area. They were quick to mention that some people who owned large pieces of land on Rock Creek were "paid" to put a conservation easement on their land or receive huge tax benefits from voluntarily putting one on their land. Mr. Harver argued that those with conservation easements:

> ...got paid for their private property rights...because they are forgiven on their taxes. If [landowners or the government] want to take our private property rights away from us [through zoning] we wouldn't be able to sell them like [those with conservation easements did]. And you have to have a high income and high tax burden to benefit from [conservation easements]. So to us, normal people, [conservation easements] are not even an option.

As discussed in the background chapter, it is much easier and more economical for those with high income levels to donate conservation easements. When a person chooses to donate a conservation easement, he or she voluntarily gives up many private property rights such as the right to develop, as part of the easement restrictions. For people with easements already in place on their land, zoning restrictions would have no real impact, yet for those without easements, zoning could decrease their property values without compensation.

Perceived Risk to Implementing Further Private Land Use Regulations

Landowners who did not see the need for further government regulation on private property, seemed to strongly believe that further regulation would threaten their Rock Creek community and/or livelihood.

Threat to the Rock Creek Community

In the previous chapter I discussed landowners who described the strong aspects of the Rock Creek community. These landowners and others with whom I spoke informally

throughout my participant observation believe that their community is being threatened by "outsiders" trying to change everything. Many landowners expressed concern that those pushing for zoning regulations, are attempting to turn Rock Creek into a gated, exclusive community that would serve only as a playground for the rich. Mr. Van articulated this concern:

> [Zoning] will turn this into a gated community…like Aspen or whatever. Pretty soon you have people telling you that you can only have this kind of fence, and you can't have a camper in your driveway, and your house has to be this color…Then pretty soon you lose Montana. And that's the part that breaks my heart because being from here, living here all my life, we have somehow learned how to live with one another and one another's stuff.

Ms. Johnson expressed similar concerns:

> They come in…I keep saying 'they' like I don't like rich people. I do; they're fine! But you know they have landscaped yards and stuff, so they look at our yard and say 'your yard is too busy, you need to clear it out.' But I don't live here to maintain eight acres that looks like a golf course. I can't do it. So what am I supposed to do? Now that I'm old and can't make it look like a golf course am I supposed to sell out and leave? I do keep my yard up, it's fine the way it is. But I've seen other yards--mine doesn't look like that. That's the whole thing about community, though, nobody used to care.

Their concerns are not necessarily unwarranted as some landowners who are pushing for stricter private land regulation did express the need for landowners to "clean up" their property. It is important to note, however, that not all landowners or environmental organizations advocating zoning on Rock Creek, believe that zoning should encompass land use aesthetics. Regardless, the perception of many landowners who fear and are hostile towards zoning, is that those trying to implement further regulation are, in fact, trying to change how people's land looks on Rock Creek. Mr. Harver remarked:

> This has happened in [other rural areas] where some out-of-towners or a couple of rich residents get together and try to impose gated standards of visual appearance on to neighbors who do farming and other stuff that doesn't look the way a rich

> person from the city thinks things look pretty. There's no beauty in [our lifestyle] to them, whereas to the farmer that is beautiful.

Threat to Livelihood

Many landowners also noted that further regulation could negatively affect their or their neighbors' livelihood. While Ms. Priess was not entirely against further land use regulations, she was concerned about too strict of regulations having a negative effect on her tourism business. She noted:

> I have a personal interest [in whether or not zoning is implemented] because I'm in commercial operations. If they put excessively tight zoning and something happens to [my business], I'm shit up the creek without a paddle. I still have to make a living. [My business] is not a toy; I have a family to support

Some landowners explained that all of their savings is in the land that they own. If they lose the ability to subdivide some of that land, they lose their safety net. Mr. Hirk was one such landowner, with all of his savings invested in his land. He explained, "our land is our life's savings. I don't want anybody telling me I can't sell [some of it] if I want or need to."

Other landowners worried that further regulations would negatively impact everyone who made their living in the area. Ms. Long explained why she worried that zoning could negatively impact her neighbors.

> You can't tell the guy with the 50 acres over there, if he needs a heart operation or his kid needs a heart operation, that he can't slice off ten acres and sell it to finance the situation.

Ms. Long had also expressed that she worried about too much land development, so I asked her how she thought people should address the issue of overdevelopment. She responded,

> I've settled on the point that you have to make decisions that will help 90 percent of the people living here. [Without zoning] every once in awhile a piece of land is going to go down to a subdivision, but you're also protecting the rights and the lives and the livelihoods of 90 percent of the regular guys that live out here. Nothings perfect, but I think that's the best we're going to get.

Discussion

Land use discourses are undoubtedly related to landowners' sense of place, livelihood, economic interest, and class. As Kemmis (1990) described, there is often a great dichotomy between those fighting for government bureaucracy to address land use issues and those fighting for individual private property rights. Kemmis (1900) viewed this debate as "regulatory bureaucracy" versus "individualism," but on Rock Creek, this is not necessarily the case. Those concerned about the effects of implementing zoning on Rock Creek may be strong private property rights advocates, but they also tend to value and want to protect their sense of community. To me, this suggests that rather than these landowners holding solely individualistic tendencies, they actually view land use debates in terms of protecting their neighbors' rights and livelihoods and maintaining strong social networks.

As previously discussed, those pushing for further land use regulation tend to view such regulation in terms of how it can best serve a larger environmental good. This resonates with Yung and Belsky's (2007) findings on land use issues in the Rocky Mountain front where some landowners viewed conservation of natural resources and land use in terms of how it could best benefit "a distant and abstract public" as opposed to the actual community in which they lived. My findings are somewhat different, however, in that people who hold this view of land use and conservation are not necessarily new landowners but rather have higher income levels and are not dependent on the area for their livelihood.

Common Ground?

There are many discrepancies between how landowners view land use on Rock Creek yet close to every person I interviewed (17 of the 21 landowners) was initially

against Barnes's subdivision proposal which suggests that most people on Rock Creek do not want to see large scale development. People may value Rock Creek for various reasons, but they all appreciate aspects of the area that would disappear should large scale development take place. As Mr. Scotts remarked, "seems like everybody wants the same thing, it's just how to get there that they disagree." Mr. Gem expanded upon Mr. Scotts' comment:

> I don't think there's a big difference between why I'm here and why anybody else is here. People may articulate it differently, they may process their information differently and get a different experience through that, but I think the bottom line is that Rock Creek is special. [I hope] we can all put our personal prejudice toward each other away when it makes common sense…to protect what is special.

For those pushing for stricter private land use regulation, it will be necessary to listen to and address the concerns of those against implementation of such regulation if they hope to have support of any private land use regulation. Furthermore, it will be necessary for those against stricter private land use regulation *and* large scale development, to listen to those who see more regulation as the only way to maintain the quality of life on Rock Creek. To settle land use debates, landowners will need to address and attempt to accommodate various viewpoints. Whether or not such "cooperation" (Kemmis 1990) will take place, remains to be seen.

Conclusion

As people continue to debate about the proper use of land on Rock Creek, it will be important for them to take into account various land use discourses as well as the perceived threats to implementing further regulations or not. This summer (2010), a professional planner will visit Rock Creek to help revise the Granite County growth policy. I hope this chapter serves in giving a voice to all of the perspectives on the creek.

CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSION

Summary of Findings

Rock Creek is home to a diverse group of people with different income levels, political beliefs, livelihoods, and social norms. For a short period of time, the 2006 subdivision controversy brought a lot of diverse landowners together, to fight against a development that was perceived as a threat to what people value about living in the area. When issues of restricting private property rights to halt future development emerged, however, debates and long held tensions resumed. It is important to note that the majority of landowners I interviewed, were initially against the subdivision proposal and still do not want to see large scale development take place in the drainage. The interviewees value the rural, natural aspects of Rock Creek but differ on their ideas about how to maintain these aspects of the area.

While most interviewees describe the natural beauty and rural aspects of Rock Creek as reasons that they chose to move there or continue to live there, this is the only "sense of place" where people attach similar meanings and representations. The other ways that people attach meaning to the social and natural landscape on Rock Creek are influenced by their livelihood and level of income. Those with middle to high income levels who are not dependent on the area for their livelihood tend to value Rock Creek as a place for solitude, a place where one can enjoy the multitude of scenic amenities, a place that needs protection through "environmental utilitarian" views of community, and a place where one can spend leisure time in the pursuit of recreational opportunities. In contrast, those with low to middle income levels who are somewhat to entirely dependent on Rock Creek for their livelihood tend to value Rock Creek as a place where they enjoy living

because of the scenic amenities, a place where they have formed strong social networks and community, and a place where they can recreate in their free time but also contribute to their livelihood through the recreation and tourism industry.

These different senses of place may influence how landowners view land use on Rock Creek. Livelihood and class may also influence land use debates. Those with middle to high income levels who are not dependent on the area for their livelihood tend to argue that there is a need for more private land use regulations as a means to protect the environment, maintain the rural charter of the area, and/or improve the aesthetics of people's property. These landowners worry that further development would destroy what they value about the place--solitude, scenic amenities, and recreational opportunities. Furthermore, though they may not be engaged in community social events, they tend to believe that landowners in the area must come together as a community to protect Rock Creek.

Those with low to middle income levels who are somewhat to entirely dependent on Rock Creek for their livelihood, tend to argue that there is no need for more private land use regulations. They argue that there are already enough government regulations in place, that people need to take personal responsibility for their land and use common sense, and that the market or financial incentives will prevent overdevelopment of Rock Creek. These landowners worry that strict land use regulations are a threat to the community and to people's livelihoods because certain types of zoning could lead to gentrification and the inability of many community members to stay in the area and/or continue to generate income there.

A Comparative Review

The Rock Creek case study is similar to both Larsen's (2008) study of Anahim Lake and Walker and Fortmann's (2003) study of a small town in Nevada County. Much like Larsen's (2008) study, landowners on Rock Creek have different reference groups and different senses of the same place, but differing groups and interests were able to come together for a short period of time to fight against an external threat (Anahim Lake logging company proposal; Rock Creek large subdivision proposal) to what they value about living in a rural area. In both case studies, local residents were able to stop outside interest groups from causing environmental damage to the area, yet in Rock Creek the union of landowners did not last as long as the union of residents in Anahim Lake. In both areas, tensions and internal conflict resumed after residents defeated the external threat.

The Rock Creek case study is also similar to Walker and Fortmann's (2003) study in that class conflicts have emerged through land use debates and differing perceptions of who owns the landscape and how it should look. In the small town in Nevada County, however, these debates appeared to be much more extreme and went so far as to turn violent! Furthermore, differences between landowners were not only about class and livelihood but also about length of residency. In this Rock Creek study, there were no clear differences between new and long-time landowners, but rather only class and livelihood differences.

Some literature on rural areas argues that sense of place and place attachment are important aspects to consider when exploring the politics of land use (Carter et al. 2007; Heise 2008; Kemmis 1990; Larsen 2008; Stedman 2006; Stokowski 2002; Wulfhorst et al. 2006). This was most certainly the case in the Rock Creek study as well, though it was not

something I was particularly looking for when I first began my interviews. As people continued to express diverse reasons for living or owning property on Rock Creek, however, I began to better understand the importance of sense of place. Like Carter and her co-authors argue, landowners on Rock Creek attach different meanings to the "social and natural landscapes" creating "contested…territories of meaning" (Carter et al. 2007: 756). Furthermore, as Stokwoski suggests (2002:368) different senses of place produce different levels of "power, control, conflict, dominance, and distribution of social and physical resources." This holds true in the Rock Creek case as well.

As Robbins and his co-authors contend, my research further exemplifies the need to look beyond the new versus long-time landowner dichotomy that a large body of previous research in rural areas in the American West has focused on towards issues such as class and livelihood (Bank and Marsden 2000; Inman et al. 2002; Reed and Gill 1997; Robins et al. 2009; Swaffield et al. 1996; Yung and Belsky 2006).

Finding Common Ground on Rock Creek

In areas where there is large debate over proper land use, Kemmis (1990:117) argues that,

> No matter how diverse and complex the patterns of livelihood may be that arise within [an area], no matter how many perspectives from which people view the [landscape], no matter how diversely they value it, it is, finally, one and the same river [or rural area] for everyone.

Kemmis goes on to argue that areas must incorporate a "participatory approach" to land use planning and management where all landowners have the opportunity to have their voices heard and are engaged in conserving the valued aspects of an area for future generations. Such policy recommendations may be overly optimistic but not entirely impossible in Rock Creek. As previously discussed, Granite County has hired a planner to

work in Lower Rock Creek this summer to update the growth policy and make suggestions for future land use planning in the area. The RCPA is trying to work together with landowners and Granite County officials to create a plan that the majority of people can agree on. They attempted somewhat of a participatory approach through organizing kitchen table meetings last summer to "hear" landowners' perspectives. The kitchen table meetings I attended, however, focused more on providing landowners with information about land use planning and growth policies rather than listening to landowners' perspectives. It is my understanding, that there will be more meetings this summer, 2010 where landowners will have the opportunity to voice their opinions. Furthermore, I was told that the planner that Granite County hired will be contacting landowners for their opinions and suggestions as to what should be included in the updated growth policy.

Implementing a truly participatory approach to land use planning on Rock Creek may prove difficult due to the fact that many residents are suspicious and weary of the RCPA, the organization most heavily supporting such planning. The RCPA will need to do something to help positively influence people's perceptions of the organization if they are to garner support for any form of land use planning. Moreover, landowners pushing for stricter private land use regulation will have to actually *listen* and address the concerns of those who worry that such regulation could negatively impact their community and livelihood.

Landowners on Rock Creek, the general public that enjoys recreating there, and the local government must attempt to determine whether or not it is possible to both maintain strong social networks, a diverse community, and livelihoods while simultaneously protecting important habitat and ecosystems in the area from overdevelopment.

Recommendations for Future Research

The fact that I only was able to interview a small portion of the Rock Creek population undoubtedly limits this study. While I believe that those I interviewed are representative of landowners on Rock Creek, obviously conducting more interviews in the area would strengthen the arguments made in this study. I also think it would be useful for subsequent research to include adequate questions in the interview guide to be able to ascertain the socioeconomic status of interviewees. This study is limited in that it only looks at approximate income level. Class arguments would be more convincing if aspects such as interviewee's wealth and level of education were included.

Because the "planning process" has just begun on Rock Creek, it would be very interesting for future research to follow this process and the "participatory approach" that some landowners, Granite County local government, and the professional planner claim to be attempting. Furthermore, a longitudinal study of the Rock Creek area would be useful in assessing the rural and environmental changes taking place specifically on Rock Creek as well as in the larger, rural American West.

APPENDIX A: Interview Guide

Description:

I am interested in better understanding the residents of Rock Creek. The purpose of this interview is to gain insight into your experiences living in the area as well as your views towards land use in the area.

Interview guide

1. How long have you lived in the Rock Creek area?

2. Do you live here full-time?
   - If not, how much time do you spend here per year? Where do you live when you're not in Rock Creek?
   - If so, did your parents also live or still live in Rock Creek?

3. Why did you move to or stay in Rock Creek? (OR Why did you choose to buy a second home on Rock Creek?)

4. How would you describe the Rock Creek area to someone who has never been here?
   - What do you like best about the area?
   - What do you like least about the area?

5. What do you do or did you do for work while living on Rock Creek?
   - Do you or did have to leave Rock Creek for work?
     * If so, how far do you have to drive? If not, why not?
   - (New landowner) What did you do for work before you moved to Rock Creek?
   - Where did you live during this time?

6. How has Rock Creek changed in the time that you've lived here?
   - Has it changed a lot?
   - Did you expect it to change?
   - Do you think it has changed for the better or for the worse? Why?

7. How would you like Rock Creek to be 25 years from now?
   - What changes might you like to see? What changes would you not like to see?
   - What policies, program etc. could be used to help create your vision of Rock Creek in the future?
   - Do you think you can contribute to your vision? If so, how? If not, why not?

8. What do you think about the possibility of subdivision in the area?

9. What do you think about conservation easements?

10. What do you think about density restrictions? (explain what this is)

11. What do you think about community growth plans? (explain what this is)

12. Do you think we, as a society, have the right to regulate what private landowners do on their property?

- Can you explain why you feel this way?
- Does it make a difference if the regulation comes local residents as opposed to the federal or state government?
- Are there any activities that take place on private land that you think should be regulated?

11. How did you feel about the 2006 proposed subdivision at the east entrance of Rock Creek?

- Do you remember how you first heard about it? Where were you, who told you?
- Why were you for or against it?
- Do you think the majority of people in the area were for or against it?

12. Did you take any specific action to protest the subdivision or help it along?

- Can you please describe those actions in detail?
- How did residents in the area respond to your actions?
- What did you accomplish, if anything? Can you please explain?

13. If you do not think we, as a society, have the right to tell people what they can or cannot do on their property but you are against the proposed subdivision, what do you think are the solutions to stopping subdivisions in the region?

- Can you please describe those solutions in detail?

14. Is there anything else you'd like to add?

- Do you have any questions for me?

15. Is there anyone else in the area that you think would be open to being interviewed?

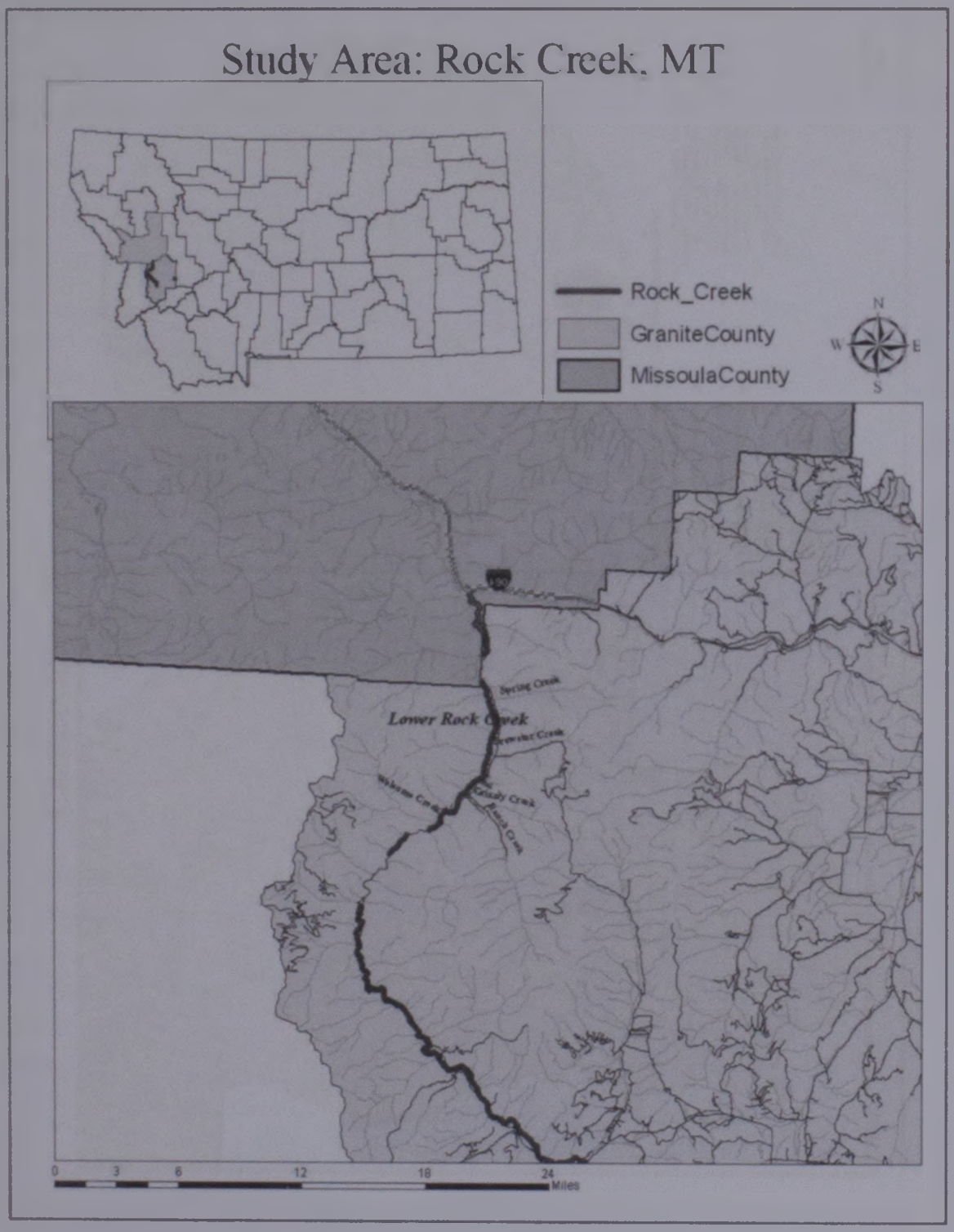
APPENDIX B: **Table of Participant Characteristics** (*Names have been changed to protect landowners' identities)*

Participant	Income	Length of Residency	Type of Residency	Livelihood
Mr. Scotts	Low-middle	Long-time landowner	Full-time	Somewhat dependent on RC
Ms. Folin	Middle-high	Long-time landowner	Part-time	Not dependent on RC
Mr. Ruse	Middle-high	Long-time landowner	Part-time	Not dependent on RC
Ms. Long	Low-middle	New landowner	Full-time	Dependent on RC
Mr. Van	Middle	Long-time landowner	Full-time	Dependent on RC
Mr. Hirk	Middle	Long-time landowner	Full-time	Dependent on RC
Ms. Keane	Middle	Long-time landowner	Full-time	Dependent on RC
Ms. Preiss	Middle-high	Long-time landowner	Full-time	Dependent on RC
Mr. Lope	Low-middle	Long-time landowner	Full-time	Somewhat dependent on RC
Ms. Johnson	Low-middle	Long-time landowner	Full-time	Not dependent on RC
Mr. Vacarro	High	Long-time landowner	Full-time	Not dependent on RC
Mr. Harver	Low-middle	New landowner	Full-time	Somewhat dependent on RC
Mr. Goodwin	Low-middle	Long-time landowner	Full-time	Dependent on RC
Mr. Oliver	High	Long-time landowner	Full-time	Not dependent on RC

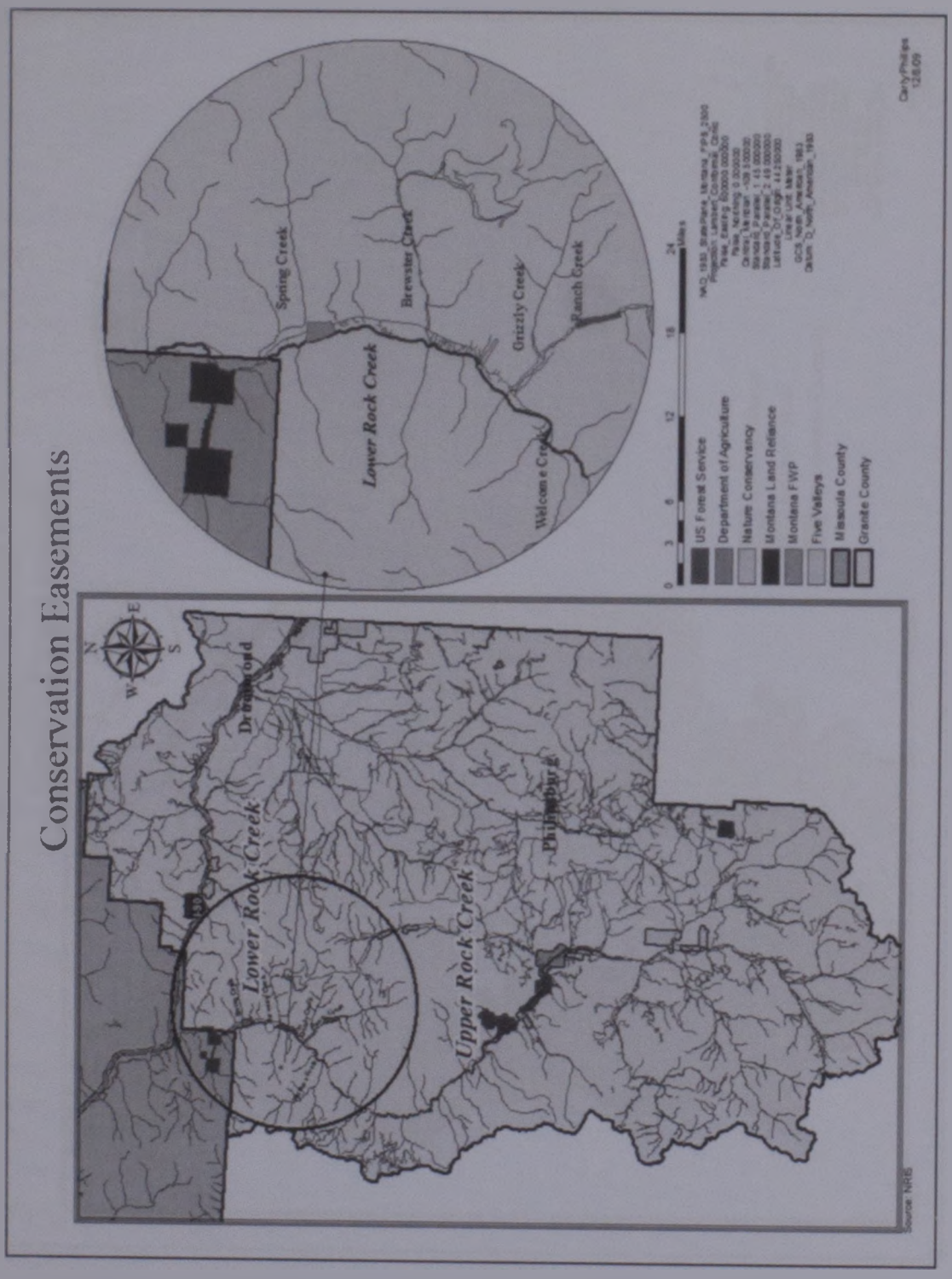
APPENDIX B: **Table of Participant Characteristics** (*Names have been changed to protect landowners' identities)*

Mr. Sharman	Middle	Long-time landowner	Full-time	Not dependent on RC
Ms. Malloy	Middle	Long-time landowner	Full-time	Not dependent on RC
Mr. Daniels	Middle-high	New landowner	Part-time	Somewhat dependent on RC
Ms. Slate	High	New landowner	Part-time	Not dependent on RC
Mr. Gussis	Middle	New landowner	Full-time	Not dependent on RC
Ms. Hill	High	New landowner	Part-time	Not dependent on RC
Mr. Gem	High	New landowner	Part-time	Not dependent on RC

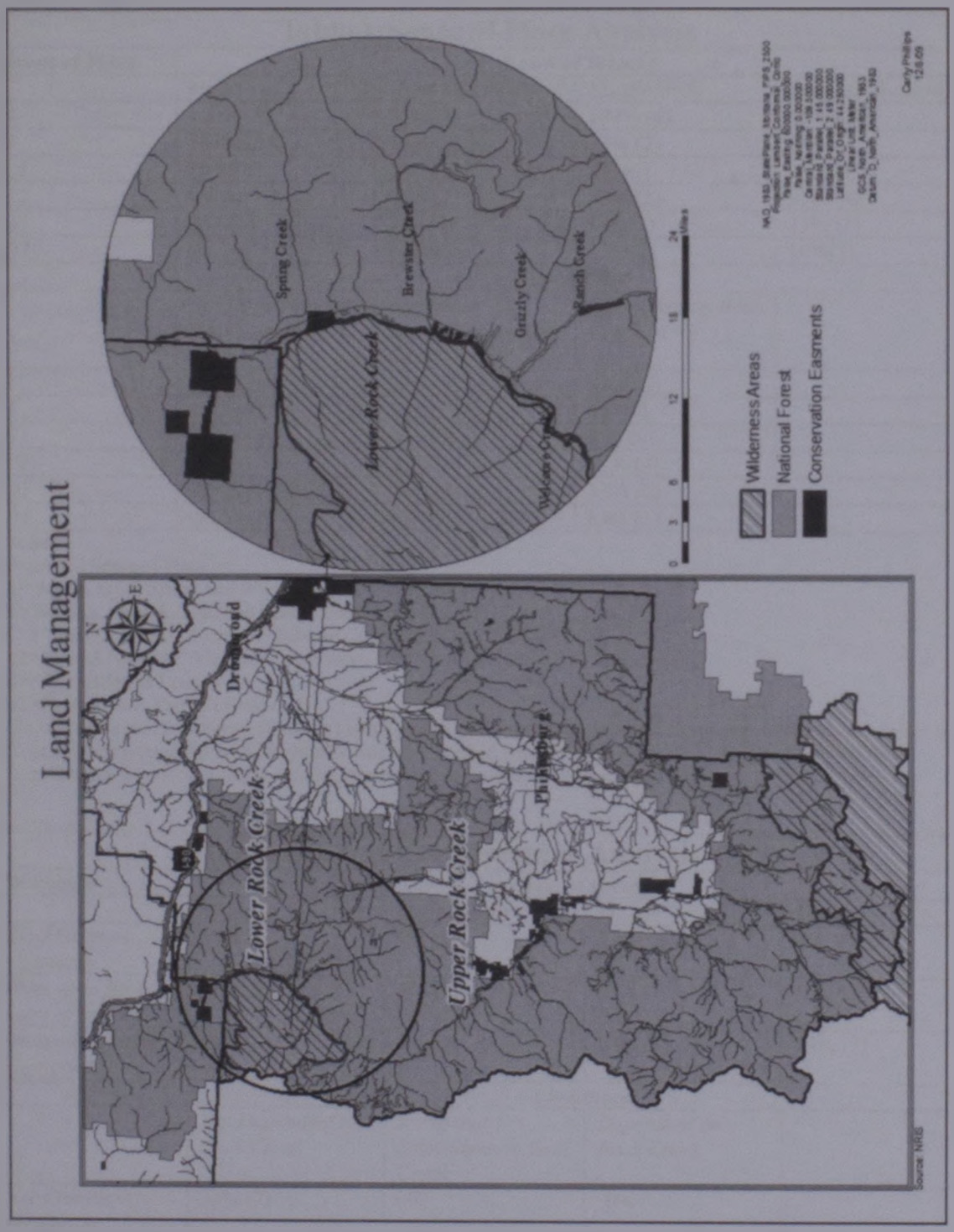
Appendix C: Map of Study Area



Appendix D: Conservation Easements on Rock Creek



Appendix E: Land Management on Rock Creek



Appendix F: Analysis Tables

Table 1:Sense of Place Analysis				
Sense of Place	**Level of Income**			
	High (n=5)	*High-Middle (n=4)*	*Middle(n=6)*	*Low-Middle(n=6)*
A	100% (5)	75% (3)	100% (6)	50% (3)
B	100% (5)	75% (3)	33% (2)	0 % (6)
C1	80% (4)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)
C2	0% (0)	0% (0)	33% (2)	67% (4)
D1	80%(4)	75%(3)	50%(3)	33% (2)
D2	0% (0)	50%(2)	33%(2)	50%(3)
	Livelihood			
	Not Dependent on Rock Creek(n=11)	*Somewhat Dependent on Rock Creek (n=4)*	*Dependent on Rock Creek (n=6)*	
A	100% (11)	25% (1)	83% (5)	
B	82% (9)	25 % (1)	0% (0)	
C1	57% (4)	0 % (0)	0 % (0)	
C2	0% (0)	25% (1)	67% (4)	
D1	64% (7)	75% (3)	33% (2)	
D2	0%(0)	50% (2)	83% (5)	

Notes:
Described Sense of Place as....
A= Scenic, Open Space, and Wildlife
B= Solitude, Peacefulness, and Escape from Urban Life
C1= "Environmental Utilitarian" View of Community
C2= "Social Network" View of Community
D1= Recreation as Leisure
D2=Recreation as Part of Livelihood
*Percentages equal the amount of people in each particular category that described the corresponding sense of place (e.g. 50 percent of respondents with low-middle income described sense of place as scenic, open space, and wildlife).
*Landowners described multiple senses of the place so percentages will not equal 100.

Table 2: Land Use Discourse Analysis n=21				
Discourse	**Level of Income**			
	High	*High-Middle*	*Middle*	*Low-Middle*
Need for more regulation	19% (4)	9% (2)	5 % (1)	0%
Some need for more regulation	5% (1)	5% (1)	9% (2)	5% (1)
No need for more regulation	0%	5% (1)	14% (3)	24% (5)
	Livelihood			
	Not Dependent on Rock Creek	*Somewhat Dependent on Rock Creek*	*Dependent on Rock Creek*	
Need for more regulation	33% (7)	0%	0%	
Some need for more regulation	14% (3)	5% (1)	5% (1)	
No need for more regulation	5% (1)	14% (3)	24% (5)	

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