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Perceptions of Restructuring in the Rural West: Insights from the "Cultural Turn"

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Migration, human–environment relationships, changing social values, economic transformations, and cultural transitions are all forces impacting rural regions in the 1990s, yet our understanding of the intersections between these forces is limited. This article contributes to our knowledge of rural restructuring by combining economic and cultural perspectives on regional change through a focus on land use. The analysis highlights how rural restructuring in the 1990s is a deeply penetrating process inclusive of both economic and cultural dimensions of social life. Data from a survey of 422 rural households are used to show how people's opinions and perceptions of recent land use changes are influenced by economic and cultural logic simultaneously; by recognizing the intersection of economics and culture, we can better plan for and respond to contemporary processes of change.

Keywords economic and cultural intersections, land use change, resident perceptions, rural restructuring

> They have taken all the country away from us. The Lord put this country here and put us on it to survive by the resources in this land. And put the animals here for us to eat and dress by for food and stuff. All of these people are getting away from that knowledge. Your animal rights people, and it has been taken out of perspective so much. Pretty soon it is going to make it awful hard in the future to survive. Guys your age. If you want to go out here and get a farm in this country or anything and make a living, you can't do it. (5th generation rancher, Kane County, UT)

> Can cowboys coexist with droves of cappuccino-loving settlers? With their gentrified new houses and chic art galleries, affluent newcomers are turning the traditional Mountain States into the nation's most fashionable—and most socially divided—region. Can the cowboys coexist with the Feds, the militias and cappuccino bars? (*Newsweek* byline, 15 July 1995, 24)

During the 1990s, the nonmetropolitan West was dynamic. Rates of population change across the region greatly outpaced those of the country as well as those of the metropolitan West (Johnson and Beale 1994; Fuguitt and Beale 1996; Shumway and

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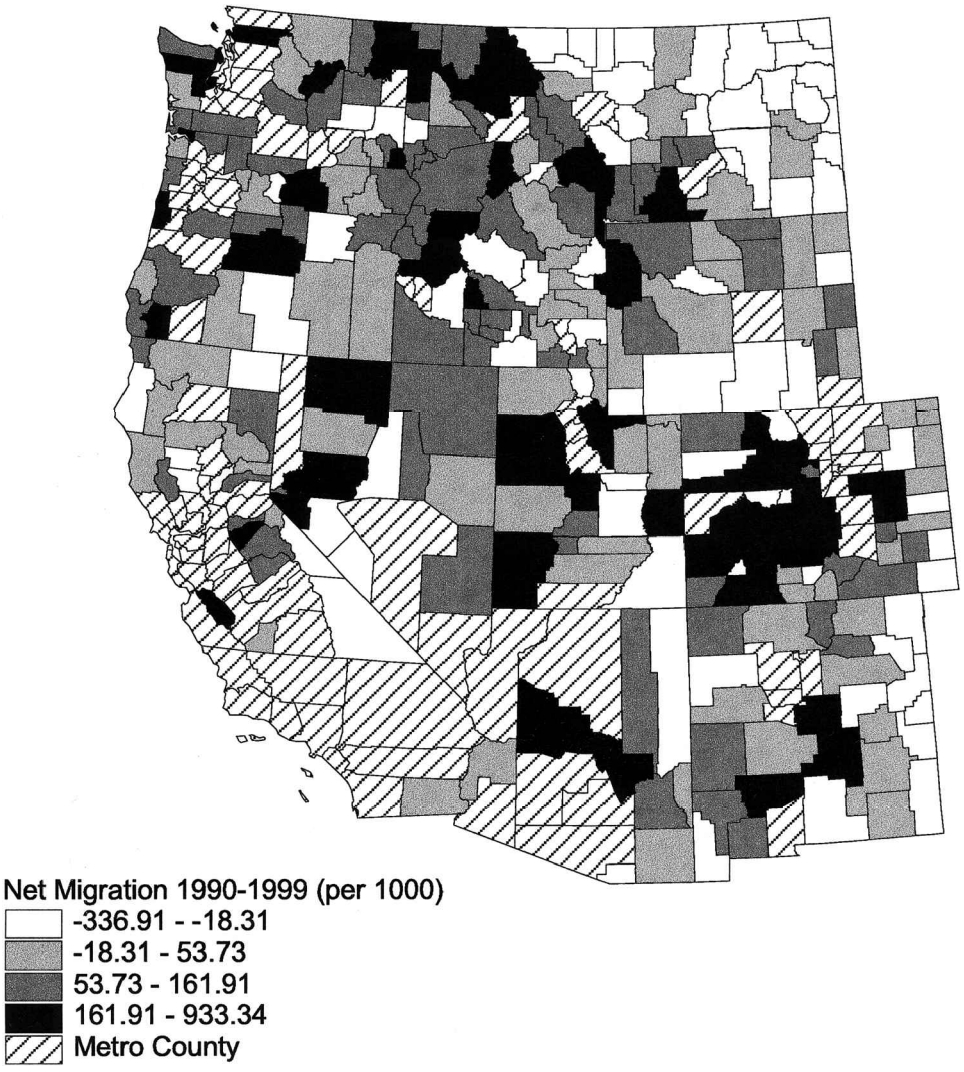

FIGURE 1 Nonmetropolitan net migration rates, 1990–1999. From U.S. Census Bureau Population Estimates (U.S. Census Bureau 2000), with data divisions in quartiles.

Davis 1996; Nelson 2001) (see Figure 1). Rapid population growth increases property values, forcing many residents to pay higher property taxes or leave the region altogether causing disruption to many families. A Driggs, ID, resident laments, "The real locals with family in the area are leaving because of offers on their farms they can't refuse, and increase in land taxes they cannot afford." The region has also experienced fairly robust economic expansion across a wide range of measures (Rasker 1994; 1995; Rasker and Glick 1994; Nelson and Beyers 1998). In the shadow of overall economic expansion, however, traditional resource based economic activities have struggled. Labor-saving technologies, international competition, and diminishing resource supplies have resulted in hard times for many in the agriculture,

timber, and mining sectors (Rasker 1994; 1995; Power 1996; Nelson and Beyers 1998; Nelson 1999). In part, new economic growth is disconnected from these traditional land-based activities, leading to additional disruptions and challenges surrounding the control of natural resources and the local environment. Such disruptions are reflected in the quote from the rancher at the beginning of this article, and this quote further reflects a rising atmosphere of resistance emerging in parts of the region.

Resistance to recent events, however, cannot be completely understood within the confines of economic logic. Land-use issues have risen to the forefront in many communities across the region, and these land-use issues demonstrate the deeply penetrating nature of restructuring and its impacts across the West. In today's Western United States, the landscape simultaneously holds economic as well as cultural values (Rudzitis 1993; 1996). Thus, in order to understand the contested nature of recent changes, we must place economic understandings of restructuring alongside cultural understandings (Jackson 1991; Cloke 1997). Freudenburg argues for research into rural community change "which monitors the residents' experiences and perceptions ... emphasizing the sociocultural realm as well as economic matters" (Freudenburg 1982, 164). This article responds to Freudenburg and utilizes information gathered from four communities across the region to examine the ways in which economic and cultural understandings influence resident perceptions of contemporary changes taking place across the rural Western United States.

Economic and Cultural Contours of the West

Historically, population movements to and from a region have been linked to trends in basic economic activities (Tiebout 1962; Greenwood 1981). The recent demographic and economic growth in the nonmetropolitan West, however, cannot be understood within the context of recent trends in resource-based sectors. Neoliberal trade policies, capital–labor substitution, industrial restructuring, and diminishing resource quality have resulted in declining employment and income levels in the region's traditionally basic sectors. For example, employment in wood products industries in the Pacific Northwest was found to have dropped approximately 30% between the late 1970s and early 1990s. At the same time, jobs outside of wood products increased nearly 50% (Power 1996). Rasker's analysis of the Columbia River Basin, a subregion within the nonmetropolitan West, shows similar trends. Farming and agricultural services declined from 11% of personal income in 1969 to 6% of personal income in 1992. Simultaneously, extractive sectors (mining and timber production) dropped from 10% to 7% of personal income (Rasker 1995). These trends in the region's traditionally basic sectors suggest different economic forces are at work driving the widespread population growth in the region.

Rasker offers an alternative to economic base theory, which he calls a "quality of life" model for economic development. Juxtaposed to the declines in extractive sectors are increases in entrepreneurial activity, producer services, and investment income (Rasker 1994; 1995; 1998). According to the quality of life model, a high-quality physical and social environment can create conditions that are attractive to footloose individuals who bring with them their own employment through telecommuting or self-employment. They also typically bring with them other forms of capital in terms of home equity and investment income. These sources of outside revenue can serve as a driving force behind local economic expansion. Empirical work testing the validity of these ideas at both macro and micro scales indicates that

recent development trends within the region are indeed linked to such new sources of outside capital. Analysis of income structure for nonmetropolitan counties in the West shows areas with the most robust population and employment expansion have higher endowments of nonfarm proprietorships and investment income (Nelson and Beyers 1998). These nonfarm proprietorships quite often serve outside markets (Beyers and Lindahl 1996), and the ensuing population growth further stimulates other sectors in the local economy (Beyers and Nelson 2000). In this quality of life model of economic development, the landscape takes on a new economic role. The environment is no longer seen as simply a site for resource extraction. Rather, the environment and landscape are seen as aesthetic resources that can be simultaneously tapped for economic gain. Pristine beauty and recreational access are common themes that resonate throughout migrants' motivations for selecting a destination (Beyers and Lindahl 1996; Salant et al. 1997), and their presence and act of migrating create a flurry of economic activity. Therefore, transformations in economic relationships between humans and their surrounding landscapes are central to contemporary processes of restructuring impacting the region.

Yet human–land relationships in the West (and other regions for that matter) extend beyond the realm of economics into cultural spheres of identity, meaning, and sense of place. According to Gottleib, residents of the West have a "more interactive relationship to the land. [It is a place] where community is reconstituted and secured. ... It is here, in this West, where the idea of home or of place offers connection to the land, to the people, and to the myriad of experiences that survive" (Gottleib 1998, 197). These ideas of home and community intricately linked to the surrounding landscape resonate with those of geographers interested in sense of place, identity, and the cultural landscape. Each place has its own unique but elusive sense of place, and "it is this sense of place that keeps people loyal to rural landscapes" (Rudzitis 1996, 134). People attach meanings to their surroundings, and this collective association of meanings constitutes a sense of place. The sense of place in the West can be characterized by access to public lands, wide open spaces, and face to face interactions with neighbors and community members (Rudzitis 1993; 1996). In parts of the West, especially those with a long Mormon tradition, the land is a symbol of many prior generations of family members. The next quote demonstrates how a person's individual and familial identity is tied to relationships with the surrounding landscape:

> In the early 1900s, my grandparents bought and lived on this land known as Squirrel Meadows. They raised a large family. This ranch was lost during the Great Depression in the 1920s and 1930s. Several generations of this family have always enjoyed family reunions and vacations in this area. Each year, Forest Service restrictions have become more stringent. If this swap is made, we as a family feel we will be completely shut out. (native of Teton Valley)

As with economic relationships, cultural relationships with the land are also changing. Daniel Kemmis laments the transformations in the West's sense of place as both social and physical environments become increasingly privatized (Kemmis 1996). As new groups of people move into the rural West, new meanings and associations are introduced. Areas once open are now closed. Land viewed primarily in terms of economics is now becoming valued as an aesthetic or ecological resource. As Mormont writes, "the main conflict in rural regions today is precisely a conflict

between those élites (and their set of meanings) and the groups who bring with them new conceptions of the rural, and new uses for rural space'' (Mormont 1990, 38). Thus, these demographic and economic changes taking place throughout the region are precipitating both economic and cultural transformations within the rural West, and the landscape or land use is central to these types of changes.

Cultural elements of places, however, are often overlooked when discussions of development and restructuring arise. Typical analyses of restructuring and development focus on topics ranging from industrial change and labor market segmentation to unionization and flexible forms of production (Harvey 1988; 1989; Massey 1995; Dicken 1998). This persistent focus on economics limits our ability to understand the myriad impacts restructuring has on people and places. Economics and culture are not separate spheres, but rather are closely linked. They evolve together in specific geographic contexts. As economic relations are constantly evolving and fluid, so too are cultural relationships. Jackson calls for research that dismisses the notion of economics and culture as separate spheres, and instead recognizes ''their intersection in specific times and places'' (Jackson 1991, 216). The study of the rural landscape provides a rich context in which to engage the intersections between economics and culture. New literatures exploring nature–society relations and discourses of rural experiences are emerging, and these examples demonstrate the utility of a fusion between economic and cultural perspectives on community change (Cloke 1997). Recognizing the central place of human–land relationships in both the economic and cultural changes taking place in the West is critical to understanding the rising atmosphere of discontent among many of the region's residents.

Research Context and Methods

Perceptions have a social reality (Freudenburg 1982). Therefore, the reality of economic and cultural changes taking place in the rural West will become manifest in resident perceptions of recent events. In order to better understand the deeply penetrating impacts of restructuring, it is necessary to examine the ways economic and cultural logic inform resident perceptions of contemporary changes. The analysis in this article relies upon coded responses to survey questions to access resident perceptions. Similar techniques have been successfully utilized to access attitudes toward federal land management in the region, rising dependence on tourism, and differences between newcomers and long-term residents on environmental concerns (Rudzitis and Johansen 1989; Krannich and Smith 1998; Smith and Krannich 1998; 2000).

The survey was conducted using the Salant and Dillman protocol (Salant and Dillman 1994), and took place between July and September of 1998. The Salant and Dillman protocol is outlined in Table 1, and improves survey quality by returning a larger proportion of a random sample. A list of 5000 names was purchased from a name-finding firm, and 1200 households were selected from this list of 5000 so that a total of 300 questionnaires could be sent to four different communities. The sample was stratified in such a way to obtain an equal number of new migrants to the areas (moved in since 1990) and long-term residents of the communities, as migration is a critical component to contemporary rural restructuring (Rudzitis 1993; 1996; Beyers and Nelson 2000; Smith and Krannich 2000). Of the 1200 initial surveys mailed, approximately 220 were returned due to erroneous addresses, and 422 completed questionnaires were ultimately returned for a response rate of 43%. The response rate allows for a 95% confidence level and a $\pm 5\%$ confidence interval (Sheskin 1985).

TABLE 1 Survey Protocol

Time	Material	Purpose
Week 1	Introductory letter	Notify residents of the study and inform them that questionnaire will soon arrive.
Week 2	Survey instrument and cover letter	More detailed letter about nature of study and survey instrument.
Week 3	Reminder postcard	Encourage sample to mail back survey instrument, or thank them if already done.
Week 5	Second survey and letter	Final letter asking for participation and survey instrument for those who may have lost or thrown it out.

Note. From Salant and Dillman (1994).

The purpose of the survey was to access resident perceptions and positions toward community restructuring. Respondents were asked for information about their demographic characteristics (age, race, gender, household type, migration history), economic information (income level, employment status, industry, occupation, income sources, local/nonlocal orientation), social information (ties to social organizations, local family, social behavioral activities), and ways of interacting with the environment. This information was asked in a mixture of coded response and open-ended questions. In addition, respondents were asked to rate on a Likert scale how they perceived restructuring to impact various individual, household, and community characteristics. In conjunction with these coded questions, respondents were asked open-ended questions about how restructuring was impacting themselves, their family/immediate social circle, and the community. The analysis in this article is limited to the coded responses.[1]

The survey was administered in four communities across the nonmetropolitan West. Several criteria were utilized to select the sample communities. First, migration is a key factor in driving contemporary patterns of restructuring, so each of the case study communities experienced net migration rates in the 1990s at or above the national average. In addition to the population growth criteria, economic characteristics were used as a basis for selection. Structural change in local economies is fundamental to the West's restructuring. Cluster analysis was used to group counties based on similar economic structures, and the case-study communities were then selected to represent different structural types.[2] This selection scheme was done to capture some of the diversity in economic structure across the region.

A third selection criterion was used to further narrow the sample of potential case study communities. In examining perceptions of restructuring in rural Britain, Quayle utilizes the notion of a ''condensation point'' as a vehicle to elicit feelings and reactions to a proposed recreational development (Quayle 1984). In this study, restructuring embodies a convergence of economic, demographic, and environmental forces in particular places/communities. However, asking residents to interpret or react to ''restructuring'' was likely to lead to a wide array of responses, as restructuring is not a term used by the general public. To provide a more concrete referent, condensation points were used as symbols of restructuring around which to construct more targeted questions and coherent responses. Therefore, each

TABLE 2 Case-Study Communities and Condensation Points

Community	Condensation point
Teton Valley, ID	Proposed land swap between Grand Targhee Ski area and the National Forest Service. Grand Targhee Ski area would receive access to land adjacent to the ski area for condominium development and the Forest Service would receive an area of critical Grizzly Bear Habitat.
Kane County, UT	1996 Creation of the Grand Staircase–Escalante National Monument. The designation of the Monument eliminates the ability for mineral extraction within its boundaries and increases constraints on recreational access to the area.
Methow Valley, WA	The Arrowleaf Resort proposal including golf, cross-country skiing, and residential development.
Pagosa Springs, CO	Extremely high levels of net migration leading to rapid and visible housing construction.

case-study community had to possess a contemporary controversial issue that was likely to be on the minds of local residents. These issues had to be symbolic of changing human–land relationships, as such transformations are central to the contested nature of contemporary patterns of restructuring in the rural West. In the combined sample, 58% of respondents opposed the condensation point, and there was little variation in levels of opposition across communities. Table 2 presents the four case study communities and their respective condensation points. Figure 2 locates these communities.

Kane County, Utah—The Grand Staircase–Escalante National Monument

Kane County is located in Southern Utah along the Arizona border, and Kanab is the county seat. Today, the Mormon influence in Kanab and Kane County is still quite strong, with three Mormon churches in Kanab alone (population $\sim$3500). This Mormon presence in the area plays a strong role in local sense of place and culture. Traditionally, the economy of Kane County has been centered on resource dependent industries (ranching, farming, timber), yet since 1970, this resource dependency has been declining and other sectors of the economy have expanded.

While ranching continues to be an important segment in the local economy, mining and timber have been more volatile. Since the 1950s, Kaibab Industries operated a lumber mill in Fredonia, AZ, just south and within commuting distance of Kanab. Over half of the mill's work force lived in Kanab, and in February 1997, the company ceased operations of the Fredonia mill. Sawmill officials cited lack of adequate timber supplies on the nearby Dixie and Kaibab National Forests as the reason behind the mill closure. The closure came closely after the listing of the Mexican spotted owl as a threatened or endangered species (*Salt Lake Tribune* 1995).

On 18 September 1996, President Clinton utilized power granted in the 1906 Antiquities Act to designate nearly 3 million acres of southern Utah as the Grand

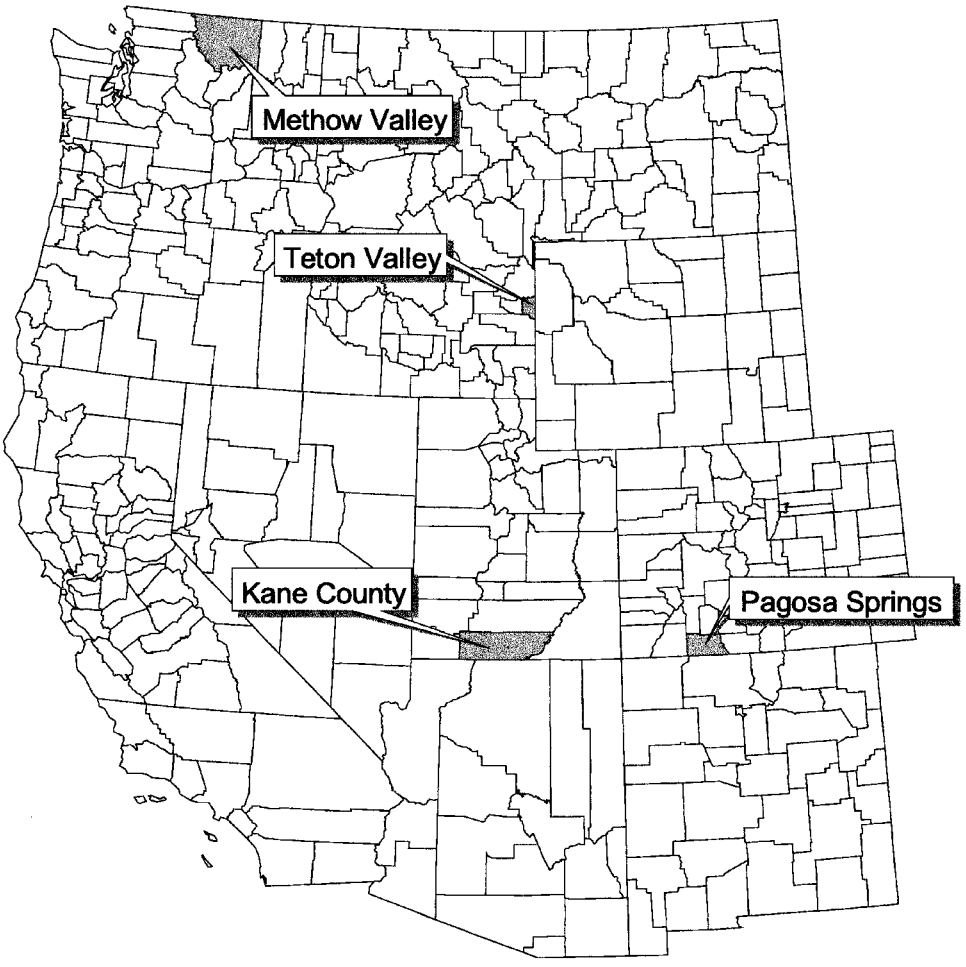

FIGURE 2 Case-study communities.

Staircase–Escalante National Monument. Over two-thirds of the monument lies in Kane County. The monument's designation serves as a condensation point through which to access local residents' attitudes toward contemporary rural restructuring. With the monument's designation come altered land use practices, new environmental constraints, changes in the economic base of the area, and greater public awareness of this area in southern Utah. All of these transformations are implicated in contemporary processes of restructuring. By examining perceptions surrounding the Monument, we can gain a better understanding of the intersections between economic and cultural dimensions of restructuring and the central role of land use change in shaping these perceptions.

The Methow Valley, Washington—The Arrowleaf Resort

Okanogan County lies in north central Washington on the eastern slope of the Cascade Mountains along the border with Canada. In the western portion of this county lies an area known as the Methow Valley—a narrow river valley draining

snow melt from the Cascades south and east toward the Columbia River. The Methow has an economy historically based in agriculture and mining. Its isolation and natural beauty made the Methow a desirable place for second home owners and urban refugees seeking to get away from the Puget Sound area. With the completion of the North Cascades Highway in 1972, the Methow became more accessible from western Washington, and the number of second homes in the area increased, especially in the 1990s with the boom in the Puget Sound economy (Ostrom 1997). Currently, estimates indicate over 60% of the private property parcels in the valley are owned by nonpermanent residents. A recent survey of Methow Valley residents and property owners reports that 70% of respondents indicate their primary source of income is derived from outside the area (Jensen 1998).

Since the early 1970s, there has been interest in creating a ''destination'' resort in the Methow to capitalize on the area's scenic beauty and natural amenities. Initially, the proposed development was called Early Winters and involved building an alpine ski resort on the scale of Aspen in the upper end of the Valley. Local opposition resisted these plans and successfully thwarted that wave of ''Aspenization.''[3] The idea of creating a destination resort, however, did not die easily. Several alternative proposals and ''downsized'' versions of the alpine ski resort came and went throughout the 1970s and 1980s. Recently, a Seattle-based real estate development company has obtained a large interest in the Methow Valley through Chapter 11 proceedings, and they have revitalized interest in developing a resort community in the area (Nabbefeld 1997). The new resort dropped the acrimonious name Early Winters in favor of Arrowleaf, and the initial phase of the development plan is underway at the Freestone Inn. Arrowleaf has abandoned the notion—at least in the immediate future—of an alpine ski resort, and instead is proposing a golf/nordic skiing resort that will, arguably, fit in better with the locally developed trail system and environmentally sensitive character of the area. Even the scaled-back proposal has met with considerable opposition, and various demographic, economic, cultural, and environmental arguments surround this development proposal, which serves as another condensation point for this study.

Teton County, Idaho—Grand Targhee Land Swap Proposal

Teton County, ID, lies in the western shadow of the Teton Range along the Wyoming–Idaho border. The area was originally settled by Mormons in the 19th century, and today there is still a strong Mormon influence in the Valley, though not to the same extent as is evident in Kane County. The landscape in the area is beautiful with sweeping views across the valley toward the Grand Tetons and Table Mountain. Historically, the area was dependent upon ranching, seed potato farming, and various forest products (timber, firewood, etc.). Today, the area is home to a growing number of commuters working over Teton Pass in Jackson Hole, WY, where property has become prohibitively expensive. Teton County is also experiencing growth from endogenous tourist trade based on outdoor recreation and the local ski area, Grand Targhee. Thus, the county's population is growing and the economy is diversifying into areas outside of agriculture. Part of this diversification stems from an increase in tourism related in part to the growing popularity of Grand Targhee ski area.

Grand Targhee is a small, family-oriented ski area known for its dry ''champagne'' powder and extensive snowcat access to backcountry skiing. Located on U.S. Forest Service land, Grand Targhee has limited opportunities to expand its

facilities. Several times over the past 15 or 20 years, Targhee's ownership has proposed to trade various parcels of privately owned land to the Forest Service in exchange for the land located at the base of the ski area. Recently, Grand Targhee was bought by Booth Creek Resorts, a powerful company in the skiing industry, which owns 10 other resorts across the United States. With the change in ownership has come renewed interest in a land swap. The current proposal involves trading a large parcel of land known as Squirrel Meadows for land of equal value at the base of Targhee's ski operations. The proposed land swap serves as the condensation point for Teton County.

Archuleta County, Colorado—One of the Fastest Growing Counties in the Country in the 1990s

The final community selected for case study is Archuleta County, CO. The county seat is Pagosa Springs, and most of the population in the county lives in Pagosa Springs proper or immediately adjacent to the town in unincorporated areas of the county. Archuleta County is located in southern Colorado in the San Juan Mountains approximately 70 miles east of Durango and 180 miles north of Albuquerque, NM. As implied by its name, the area is home to a large natural hot spring. Today, the area is home to a large tourist economy and second home community for people from New Mexico, eastern Colorado, Texas, Oklahoma, and Kansas. There are also small ranching and timber operations in the county; however, these activities have never been large components of the local economy.

Archuleta County possesses the characteristics of the other case-study communities in that it is fast-growing, has increasing shares of nonearnings and nonfarm proprietor income, and is a migrant destination. In the 1990s, Archuleta county was the 14th fastest growing county in the country, growing 85.2% in the 10-year span (http://www.census.gov/population/cen2000/phc-t4/tab04.xls). Archuleta County is also experiencing growth in number of nonpermanent residents, as much of the recent recreational development centers around the sale of timeshare condominiums and vacation visitors. While Archuleta County presents no specific land-use issue, the rapid growth represents new consumptive uses of the surrounding landscape and dramatic aesthetic effects through widespread housing developments. Residents of Archuleta County are aware of their status as a rapidly growing community, and this rapid growth serves as the final condensation point in this project.

Results

It is important to distinguish between perceived individual and community level impacts of restructuring (Getz 1994; Smith and Krannich 1998). Respondents were asked if they supported or opposed the condensation point, and then they were asked to rate how they perceived the condensation point impacting various aspects of their family's and community's lives. These methods were utilized to differentiate between different scales of perceived impact (individual vs. community). For example, respondents were asked to rate how each condensation point would impact their family's recreational activities on a scale from greatly disturbed/disrupted to greatly enhanced/improved. In addition, respondents were asked to rate the impacts of each condensation point on community recreational activity. Table 3 presents the

TABLE 3 Response Summary for Perceived Impacts of Condensation Point

	Greatly enhanced/ improved		Somewhat enhanced/improved		Neutral		Somewhat reduced/disrupted		Greatly reduced/disrupted		
	Opponents (%)	Supporters (%)	Opponents (%)	Supporters (%)	Opponents (%)	Supporters (%)	Opponents (%)	Supporters (%)	Opponents (%)	Supporters (%)	Chi-square
How will the [Condensation Point] impact:											
your current job	0.6	13.4	15.3	23.9	55.9	60.4	15.9	2.2	12.4	0.0	53.63
your property values	10.3	17.3	31.5	49.6	32.6	30.9	12.5	0.7	13.0	1.4	37.66
community employment opportunities	3.9	12.4	47.8	60.1	21.3	12.3	10.7	2.9	16.3	0.0	61.33
community property values	14.7	18.1	36.5	60.1	19.4	19.6	17.1	0.0	12.4	2.2	43.31
family recreational activities	0.0	9.9	1.6	22.5	28.3	47.5	39.3	15.5	30.9	4.9	104.40
relationships with family and friends	0.5	7.5	1.6	33.8	6.3	25.6	34.1	27.8	52.8	5.3	44.26
daily life in the community	2.2	8.0	7.1	44.9	12.6	21.7	59.3	23.9	18.7	1.4	100.39
the community's role as steward of the land	0.0	7.5	6.8	33.8	6.3	25.6	34.1	27.8	52.8	5.3	116.55
community sense of place	0.6	6.5	3.4	31.2	8.9	26.1	29.6	27.5	57.5	8.7	113.10

Note. All chi-square statistics significant at .01 level.

response summary to these rating questions. The chi-square statistics are all significant at the .01 level, demonstrating how both economic and cultural measures differentiate supporters from opponents.

The responses summarized in Table 3 demonstrate that at the individual level, perceptions of restructuring are influenced by both economic and cultural factors. Proponents of recent changes are more likely to see their property values and job situations improving as a result of these events, while opponents feel their jobs and property values have been disrupted. Such a tendency is not surprising and follows economic logic. Proponents see their economic position enhanced, while opponents feel their position threatened. Clearly, residents' perceptions are influenced by the ways in which restructuring will impact their economic well-being (Getz 1994). At the same time, however, larger differences emerge between supporters and opponents along more culturally inscribed axes. Over 70% of opponents believe their family recreational activities will be at least somewhat disrupted as a result of recent events. In contrast, less than 21% of supporters hold such a view. Likewise, family relationships (another noneconomic dimension) further divide supporters from opponents. Over 85% of opponents fear their family relationships to be somewhat challenged by restructuring, compared with less than 33% of supporters. People who support recent events see these events as having a positive impact on their lives, while those in opposition perceive the impacts to be negative. The point to be drawn from Table 3 is that both economic dimensions of communities (job situation and property values) and cultural aspects (family relationships and recreational activities) differentiate supporters and opponents, indicating the need for analyses that place these perspectives side by side. Furthermore, these results indicate that cultural factors are more important in understanding differential perceptions of restructuring, as the chi-square values for the cultural categories are much greater than those for the economic categories.

Perceived Community-Level Impacts

The need for placing economics and culture side by side is further highlighted when respondents articulate their perceptions of impacts at the community scale. Once more, both economic and cultural dimensions of community differentiate supporters from opponents. Nearly 90% of supporters anticipated recent changes in the community would improve employment opportunities at least somewhat, and almost 80% of this group (supporters) also saw property values somewhat or greatly improved. Interestingly, almost half of opponents also feel recent events will improve employment opportunities and property values. At the community level, stronger differences emerge between the two groups on more culturally focused aspects of communities: their role as stewards of the land, sense of place, and the overall daily life in the community. Supporters of recent changes are much more likely to see these aspects of communities as improved or enhanced, while over 75% of opponents believe daily life, sense of place, and community's role as stewards have been at least somewhat if not greatly disrupted.

In examining the community-level impacts of restructuring, we begin to see the benefit of recognizing the cultural dimensions of communities that are also implicated in such processes of change. In terms of nominally economic aspects of communities (property values and employment opportunities), there is less discord between opponents and supporters in the perceived impacts. A majority of both

groups sees these economic dimensions of communities beneficially impacted by recent events. Only when the analysis recognizes that cultural aspects of communities are transformed during restructuring do more stark contrasts emerge.

Logistic Modeling: Fusing Economic and Cultural Perceptions of Community Change

The argument being made in this article is that rising discontent surrounding recent changes in the rural West can be more completely understood by recognizing both economic and cultural dimensions to these transformations. Job opportunities, property values, recreational activities, and relationships with family and friends are all implicated in the types of land-use changes selected as condensation points. As such, any understanding of perceptions of or attitudes toward restructuring must recognize the deeply penetrating nature of such forces. The preceding analysis shows how both economic and cultural criteria differentiate between supporters and opponents. Other than appearing on the same page, however, the analysis thus far has done little to demonstrate how economic and cultural logic combine to influence peoples' perceptions of recent land use changes. They both appear to be important when viewed in isolation, and the second stage of the empirical analysis is designed to look at these aspects simultaneously. Will the effects of economic perceptions outweigh the effects of cultural aspects? Or, will individual level impressions "explain away" the perceived effects of community level changes? By building a series of logistic regression models using survey data coded into dummy variables, it is possible to determine how these economic and cultural dimensions combine to shape people's perceptions of recent restructuring-related changes. In these models, support/opposition (support = 1, opposition = 0) is a function of perceived economic and cultural impacts, or

$$\text{Support} = f(\text{perceived economic impacts, perceived cultural impacts})$$

The models were built using binary dummy variables based on the most powerful categorical response from each question along with contextual dummy variables: newcomer (arrived in area post 1990), employment in primary sectors (agriculture, forestry, or mining), and low income (annual income $<$ \$15K as low income). The contextual variables were included as they represent characteristics of individuals implicated in processes of restructuring described in the introduction. The results of the logistic modeling are presented in three panels of Table 4. Three different models were constructed: (1) considering only individual-level perceptions, (2) considering only community-level perceptions, and (3) combining both individual and community level perceptions (Getz 1994; Smith and Krannich 1998). Within each panel of Table 4, two separate sets of models are presented. Model 1 reports regression coefficients when all variables are forced into the model simultaneously, but considerable colinearity is evident in these results. Model 2 presents more parsimonious results constructed using Wald's stepwise method for variable selection. The variables are listed in the order in which they entered the stepwise model.

The results from the logistic modeling further support the case for placing economics and culture side by side when examining the impacts of restructuring (Jackson 1991; Cloke 1997). At the level of the individual (panel 1), the signs on the variables in model 1 are all in the expected directions, but the unique effects of certain variables are uncertain. Lower income residents who see their recreational

opportunities and participation in community life disrupted are more opposed to the condensation point.[4] However, the effects of perceived job impact, migration status, and employment in primary industries are unclear. The stepwise model (model 2) eliminates variables with significance levels less than .1. At the level of the individual, perceived impact on recreation enters the model first followed by impacts on job and participation in community activities. Taken by itself, then, a nominally cultural characteristic (recreational activity) is the strongest predictor of support. This result is perhaps indicative of a new human–land relationship emerging through which residents gain attachment to place (Rudzitis 1996; Gottleib 1998). When other variables enter the model, as expected, this cultural variable loses some (though not all) of its explanatory power. When looking at the combined effects of economic and cultural variables, the economic variable (impact on jobs) appears most powerful, as it takes away some of the cultural variable's (recreation) explanatory power. Impact on participation in community activities also enters the model and behaves in the logical direction. People's participation in community activities transcends the economic sphere. The low-income variable is the only other variable to enter this model, and its sign indicates that even while considering variation in perceived impacts, lower income residents are more skeptical of restructuring.

Overall, these individual-level models correctly classify approximately 70% of all respondents, though they are much better at categorizing opposition than support. These classification results indicate opponents to recent changes are a more homogenous group with respect to how they perceive restructuring to impact their lives. Supporters are more diverse (reflected in the lower classification results) in how they see restructuring impacting them as individuals. Perhaps they are more concerned with community-level rather than individual-level impacts.

The second panel in Table 4 presents the results for the community-level model. Similar problems of collinearity arise in the community-level model when all variables are forced into the model simultaneously, but the signs on the variables are still in the expected directions. In the stepwise community level model, the first two variables to enter the model both describe—at least in part—cultural aspects of communities. Daily life in a community has both economic and cultural dimensions, and enters the model first. It remains the most powerful predictor of support or opposition, and can be interpreted intuitively. Supporters see restructuring as enhancing daily life while holding other variables constant, while opponents do not. Communities' role as stewards of the land enters second, followed by employment opportunities. Interpretation of the coefficient of the employment variable is also logical. People who feel employment opportunities in the community are somewhat disrupted by recent changes, while controlling for perceived cultural impacts, are opposed to the condensation point, ergo restructuring. As was the case in the individual level model, low income is the only contextual variable to contribute significant explanatory power to the stepwise results. Again, all things being equal, low-income respondents view restructuring more negatively.

The interpretation of the stewardship variable is more complex. For the environmental stewardship question, the most powerful categorical response distinguishing supporters from opponents was "no impact," meaning people who felt there was no impact on environmental stewardship were more supportive of recent events, all other things being equal. Reading this result "backward," however, provides more meaning. People who felt there was an impact on the environmental stewardship are more likely to oppose these changes. Thus, people's relationships with the environment comprise another (cultural) aspect of communities that is

TABLE 4 Logistic Regression Results

	Model 1		Model 2	
Variable	*B*	Sig.	*B*	Sig.
Family/individual-level model				
Recreation somewhat enhanced	2.847	0.001	2.797	0.001
Job greatly improved	8.337	0.546	3.467	0.001
Family participation in community somewhat improved	1.811	0.007	2.079	0.001
Low income	−0.761	0.036	−0.78	0.011
Newcomer	0.313	0.251	—	—
Employed in primary sector	−0.67	0.237	—	—
Classification results	Supporters	38.5%	—	40.0%
	Opponents	96.7%	—	96.2%
	Overall	69.6%	—	72.8%
Community-level model				
Daily life in the community somewhat improved	2.074	0.001	2.068	0.001
Community role as stewards of the land—no impact	1.803	0.001	1.815	0.001
Community employment opportunities somewhat improved	1.594	0.002	1.688	0.001
Low income	−0.671	0.069	−0.7	0.059
Employed in primary sector	−0.29	0.605	—	—
Newcomer	0.25	0.384	—	—
Classification results	Supporters	61.5%	—	62.3%
	Opponents	87.3%	—	87.3%
	Overall	75.4%	—	75.7%
Combined individual and community				
Daily life in the community somewhat improved	2.143	0.001	2.181	0.001
Family recreation somewhat improved	2.585	0.001	2.526	0.001
Community role as stewards of the land—no impact	1.696	0.001	1.741	0.001
Family job greatly improved	8.034	0.532	3.267	0.002
Family participation in community somewhat improved	2.031	0.004	2.224	0.001
Low income	−0.726	0.075	−0.89	0.012
Employed in primary sector	−0.279	0.648	—	—
Newcomer	0.402	0.189	—	—
Classification results	Supporters	68.5%	—	70.0%
	Opponents	87.3%	—	87.1%
	Overall	78.6%	—	80.0%

transformed under contemporary rural restructuring, especially in the West. Resident support/opposition can be partially explained by including this dimension in the analysis.

This model is slightly better than the individual model in terms of classification results. Overall, 75% of respondents are correctly classified with the community model, and there is much less discrepancy between supporters' classification rate and opponents'. Its ability to classify supporters is greatly improved from 40% to 62%, and it still correctly classifies 87% of opponents. This suggests there is more between-group variation with respect to these community-level perceived impacts compared to within group variation.

The final panel of Table 4 presents the results of the combined logistic model including both individual and community level perceptions. The same processes were used to create these models, and the results further support the argument that the impacts of restructuring must be considered in terms of both economic and cultural logic. Again, interrelationships between primary employment, low income, and migration status confuse the results in model 1, but the signs are in logical directions. The variables are listed in the order in which they entered model 2. People who feel restructuring will negatively impact their recreational activities, jobs, community life, and environmental stewardship all are more likely to oppose these changes when controlling for fluctuations in other variables. Low-income respondents are also more likely to oppose recent changes. Thus, both economic and cultural logic contribute to an understanding of support/opposition for recent changes. The stepwise model correctly classifies 80% of the respondents, and the differential between classification success rates is even smaller than in either of the previous two models. The most powerful predictor of opposition toward recent changes is the perceived impact these changes will have on personal jobs, followed by personal recreational activities. While recreation, environmental stewardship, and daily life variables enter before job impacts, the job variable subsumes some of these more cultural variables' explanatory power once it is included in the model. There is no distinction between perceived community versus individual impacts in the order the variables enter the combined model. A community-level variable enters the model first, followed by an individual-level variable and then a community-level variable, and so on. It seems respondents interpret/perceive restructuring on both an individual and community level simultaneously, yet the three largest coefficients in model 2, panel 3, all correspond to individual/family-level impacts.

Discussion/Conclusion

Several aspects of this study are worth noting as they pertain to policy implications, the role of the popular media, and our theoretical understanding of contemporary processes of restructuring. In the stepwise estimations of the logistic models (model 2), low income residents were consistently more likely to oppose recent events on both individual and community levels. This opposition suggests low-income residents are more marginalized (or at least perceive their positions more disrupted) in the wake of restructuring. This may indicate a lack of adequate public services to aid low-income residents in coping with contemporary forces of change. During case-study visits, several respondents discussed myriad problems faced by low-income residents in their communities, ranging from day care for young children to lack of affordable housing. Clearly there are service provision implications that require

further investigation, as the overall goal of growth and development is to enhance the well-being of all rural residents.

This project was stimulated by the recurring stories about conflicts surrounding growth and development in the "New West" appearing in the popular media (Clifford 1995; Elliott et al. 1995; Farley 1995; Brooke 1996; Clayton 1996; Healy 1996; Verhovek 1998). The media paints contemporary debate in the region as one between newcomers and long-term residents. The analysis in this article, however, suggests that these media reports exaggerate and embellish the real situation. Newcomer status did not contribute significantly to our understandings of perceptions of restructuring. This result suggests that the rising discontent in the rural West is more than simply a newcomer/long-term resident conflict. These results are consistent with Smith and Krannich's earlier work that also found little differences between newcomer and long-term residents on environmental attitudes (Smith and Krannich 2000). While there may be resentment on the part of newcomers and long-term residents toward one another as symbols of change, these results indicate that on a deeper level of perception and attitude, there is more common ground between these two groups.

On a more theoretical level, this article deepens our understanding of the disparate perceptions of restructuring in the rural West. To restate Freudenburg, perceptions reflect social reality (Freudenburg 1982). In reality, restructuring is a deeply penetrating process simultaneously impacting economic and cultural dimensions of people's lives and communities. To focus exclusively on employment, income, and property value changes would be to overemphasize the importance of the economic impacts. Likewise, an analysis examining neighboring practices, family relationships, and recreation would overemphasize the cultural sphere. By designing this project in a way that allows us to place the economics "alongside the cultural" (Cloke 1997), it is possible to see how these dimensions of communities interact and are both transformed as places experience restructuring. The modeling analysis shows how both economic and cultural aspects of communities are undergoing change, at least in the minds of community residents. Supporters are distinguished from opponents of restructuring in how they perceive it to impact recreation, daily life, environmental stewardship, and also employment opportunities (individual and community level) and property values. Fusing economic and cultural dimensions into a single analysis deepens our understanding of these differential perceptions and provides groundwork for better dealing with contemporary processes of restructuring on the ground.

Notes

1. See Nelson (2001) for analysis of the open-ended responses to these surveys and interviews.

2. See Nelson and Beyers (1998) for a more detailed discussion of this cluster analysis and the relationships it has to contemporary development in the rural West.

3. The initial developers involved in Early Winters were discouraged by the resolve of local opposition and moved their interest north of the border to Whistler-Blackcomb in British Columbia.

4. This tendency for the most powerful differentiators to be in the "somewhat" rather than "greatly" category is undoubtedly due to the fact that very few people selected the most extreme option on these scaled measures. This is true for most of these rated variables.

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