

PLACE ATTACHMENT AS AN INTERACTIONAL PROCESS: A CASE STUDY OF
ISLE AU HAUT, MAINE

by

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ABSTRACT

By listening to peoples' constructed stories of special places, the average person begins to understand why and how attachments to places form. This study concerns the attachments residents of Isle au Haut, Maine possess on the remote island, which borders part of Acadia National Park. The purpose of this study is to uncover social components of both place attachment and place identity among island residents as well as explain the process by which those residents form attachments.

Twelve interviews were conducted both on Isle au Haut as well as nearby Mount Desert Island. Qualitative data were collected from a purposive sample of island residents and National Park Service employees who are responsible for managing the park on the island. In-depth interviews were the sole means of data collection and provided detailed stories of life on the island and attachments that have formed. This study uses grounded theory techniques in data analysis to ultimately form a theory grounded in the collected data.

The findings from this study indicate that social interaction is key to residents forming an attachment to Isle au Haut. Further, three major social constructs emerged from the data analysis. Those constructs are sense of community, shared purpose, and shared history, all of which were found to contribute to place identity and place attachment among the residents. The results also suggest place identity as more salient than place dependence in residents' narratives concerning their attachment to the island.

DEDICATION

To my future wife, Margaret,
who has always believed in me and
whom I thank God for each day

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I would like to thank God first and foremost for providing me with the opportunity to complete my graduate work, and for surrounding me with loving, caring individuals who have made this process smoother. Thanks to Kevin Larkin who always pushed me to stand tall on my own two feet and never question myself. I am truly grateful for his patience and understanding. My appreciation goes to Drs. Bruce Hull and Joe Roggenbuck for their expertise in the field and all their help throughout this project. Many thanks go to my parents, Cheryl and Maurice, and siblings, Keri, Kirsten, and Kale, for their continued support throughout my schooling. I am truly grateful to my wife-to-be, Margaret, who has been such a motivating force in my life and has always provided care, support, and a place to go to escape this project. I look forward to spending the rest of my life with such a beautiful woman. Thanks also to our puppy, Sally, who has shown her love in the way of licks and barks the last couple of months. Finally, thanks go to Isle au Haut residents and Acadia National Park personnel for allowing me to come into their world and learn about their lives and stories. Without them, this project would not have occurred.

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A place is not a place until people have been born in it, have grown up in it, lived in it, known it, died in it—have both experienced and shaped it, as individuals, families, neighborhoods, and communities over more than one generation.

-Wallace Stegner

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Physical areas and spaces such as grocery stores, offices, apartments, college campuses, etc. are part of everyday life for many people. Throughout lifetimes, these spaces become more than simply a physical location, but rather “places” that people have gotten to know better and endowed with personal value (Tuan, 1977). As people experience these places and assign them value, a backyard can become more than a green lawn; over the years it can become the place where “Billy first learned how to climb trees.” Individuals also assign values to places with significant natural resource amenities. A park is no longer simply a place to go for a picnic; it becomes “Evergreen Park where Mike and Kim were married.” Whatever the space, individuals can form strong emotional bonds or attachments to them, and when this happens, spaces become places. Such attachment can remain for a lifetime. These connections between places and stories people have capture a sense of what has been termed place attachment.

Numerous studies have been conducted concerning place attachment within the fields of natural resource management, environmental psychology, and recreation (e.g., Shamai, 1991; Williams, Patterson, Roggenbuck, and Watson, 1992; Cuba and Hummon, 1993; Mitchell, Force, Carroll, and McLaughlin, 1993; McCool and Martin, 1994; Kaltenborn, 1997; Williams and Stewart, 1998; and Bricker and Kerstetter, 2000. The driving forces behind this line of research can be attributed to 1) the practicality of place

attachment for land use planning (Walter, 1988; Finley, 1990; Mitchell, et al., 1993; Brandenburg and Carroll, 1995; and Williams and Stewart, 1998) and 2) understanding what attributes of an area contribute to place attachment (Williams, et al., 1992; Kaltenborn, 1997). In the work of Williams and Stewart (1998), recommendations are offered for applying place attachment to ecosystem management practices with the intent that resource managers identify and respond to emotional and spiritual bonds people form with places. By assessing place attachment, researchers hope to uncover the unique emotional, symbolic experiences and bonds people have with particular places (Low and Altman, 1992). To aid in uncovering such bonds, extensive work in place dependence (Burton, Kates, and White, 1978; Stokols, 1979; and Stokols and Shumaker, 1981) and place identity (Proshansky, Fabian, and Kaminoff, 1983) has been undertaken.

The ideas of place dependence and place identity arose in the literature as two dimensions of the concept that explain attachment (Williams et al., 1992; Moore and Graefe, 1994; and Bricker and Kerstetter, 2000). Place dependence refers to reliance on a place for its functional use (Moore and Graefe, 1994; Bricker and Kerstetter, 2000) and was found to pertain to the ability of individuals to select one place over another (Stokols and Shumaker, 1981; Williams, et al., 1992). The other dimension of place attachment, place identity, is a concept that “answers the question—Who am I?—by countering—where am I?” (Cuba and Hummon, p. 112). Others have characterized place identity as a part of a person’s self-identity based on cognitions that define a person in everyday life situated in a particular place (Proshansky, et al., 1983; Hull, Lam, and Vigo, 1994).

Within the literature on place attachment, many perspectives are prevalent. Stated in a general sense, Buchanan (1985) said place attachment is the deep and complex

emotional bond individuals have with a place. Williams and Stewart (1998) claim these bonds develop over time, with familiarity with a place. Place attachment presented by Riley (1992) is the linkage of time, landscape, and people. The literature also says that place attachment is the complex affective bonding with physical environments that encompasses different psychological processes like dependence, identity formation and expression, involvement, and satisfaction (Kaltenborn, 1997).

In this study I adopt a perspective similar to Riley (1992) and Kaltenborn (1997) and claim the idea of place attachment to be the strong emotional bonds between individuals and a place constructed over time involving physical, social, and historical contexts that encompass the concepts of place identity and place dependence. The place examined within this study is the remote island town Isle au Haut, off the coast of Maine. There, many stories of what the island means to its residents are found that involve the physical, social, and historical contexts and deserve attention. This study treats place identity and place dependence as factors of place attachment, and seeks to focus primarily on the social aspects that make up place identity for residents of Isle au Haut, Maine.

Problem Statement

The problem of this study is to understand place attachment among Isle au Haut residents. As proposed by Riley (1992) and Williams et al. (1992), place attachment involves the merger of physical, social, and historical contexts. On a theoretical level, however, few studies in the field of recreation focus on all three components collectively, as contributing to place attachment. Further, little focus has been put on the social interaction that leads to attachment. On a managerial level, Isle au Haut was selected to

examine these three components collectively because the island possesses a long history of concerns such as increasing visitor use and potential fire concern between residents and Acadia National Park. Measures taken by both parties have had and will continue to have direct consequences for the other group. Further, Isle au Haut is a unique case because congressional legislation (“the legislation”) from 1982 mandates Acadia to manage their portion of the park so as “the viable local community with a traditional resource-based economy outside the park is not interfered with” (PL 97-335, 1982). The character of this community can be construed from narratives shared by residents and their stories that explain their attachment to the island. The piece of legislation and the character of Isle au Haut will be discussed in greater detail in the following chapters.

Purpose of Study

The purpose of this study is to capture ideas of place attachment as a process among Isle au Haut residents. Social concepts of place identity and place dependence were sought as well as how the potential relationship between place identity, place dependence, and place attachment was characterized. Using the island of Isle au Haut as the research site, I sought to move beyond the idea of using place identity and place dependence as scale-items that define place attachment, and focus on place identity as one of the best ways to express place attachment. The way in which this was done was through obtaining a thick description of this phenomenon through the analytic elements of narratives as told by summer and permanent residents. To guide the study and embrace social interaction among residents, symbolic interactionism provides a

theoretical foundation for understanding place attachment. In analyzing the collected data, specific stages of grounded theory were utilized to formulate a theory.

Place attachment has been looked at largely as an individual venture, whereby interaction among others is often not considered (Williams, et al., 1992; Fuhrer, et al., 1993; Cuba and Hummon, 1993; Bricker and Kerstetter, 2000). This carries over into factors of place attachment, namely place dependence and identity, being rooted in psychological literature, treating each as personal constructions (Proshansky et al., 1983; Stokols and Shumaker, 1981). The literature briefly focuses on place attachment from residents' perspectives (Hull, 1992; Brandenburg and Carroll, 1995; and Kaltenborn, 1997), with no mention of summer and year-round residents together forming an attachment. Finally, place attachment, using narratives and symbolic interaction as a guiding theory has been looked at infrequently through the literature.

This study focuses on how place attachment is constructed through time. Specifically, narratives were elicited from residents that describe participants' history with the island, length of residency, and social relationships. This research explored how interactions among the residents of the island affect the development of place attachment. This research also intended to aid Acadia National Park management in decision-making based on the social interaction that leads to place attachment. This work is beneficial to Acadia because they will see how residents construct their attachments to the island and gain a glimpse of residents' lives that they are supposed to consider when implementing management decisions concerning Isle au Haut. In other words, from stories explaining residents' attachment to the island, Acadia may potentially understand "the character of the island community" that they are mandated to protect per the legislation of 1982.

Significance of Study

This research can be justified in three ways. First, it seeks to contribute to the advancement of theory within the fields of recreation, leisure studies, and environmental sociology. As stated previously, research in place attachment has been conducted by utilizing place identity and place dependence scales to determine extent of attachment. My research presented potential social aspects that make up place identity as well as place attachment from stories told by residents.

Second, this study is important to residents of Isle au Haut. The residents can gain from this study by communicating their histories, experiences, and stories of Isle au Haut and their attachment to this place. As residents share their experiences and stories of the island, they also will potentially strengthen their sense of community and place by communicating their stories.

Third, for natural resource managers that manage lands adjacent to local communities, this study will present the importance of considering social and historical contexts of local communities in park decision-making. Most resource managers would like to manage a tract of land and not have to consider interest groups, adjacent lands, and local concerns, which slow decision-making down. This however is not always feasible. Isle au Haut is a unique case because Acadia National Park must manage the island with the character of the town a priority. In fact, Acadia is required by the congressional legislation of 1982 to manage the park on Isle au Haut so as “to conserve the character of the town” that is centered on fishing (PL 97-335, 1982). Not only is it the mission of the NPS to protect the natural resources on the island and provide recreational opportunities to visitors, but Acadia National Park must also manage Isle au Haut to not disturb the

viable fishing community outside the park on the island. This is a rare case that is limited to Isle au Haut and Acadia that implicitly calls for park personnel and island residents to have open channels of communication.

By embracing the local social and historical contexts of an area, land managers can move away from the commonly held view as outsiders of a community that exercise power by implementing decisions devoid of local concerns (Williams and Stewart, 1998). Management choices are not limited to affecting the resource and individuals within the politically drawn boundary of an area, but rather affect the resources and local inhabitants adjacent to the political boundary as well. Managers may see how important holding meetings and welcoming open dialogue from residents is to see how residents feel about a place before management decisions are made. As Williams and Stewart (1998) claim, what is local and personal to residents is what they care about and expect others to care about and act to protect.

Research Questions

This study will address three questions. They are:

1. How are the elements of place attachment articulated by residents of Isle au Haut?
2. How do potential social aspects make up place identity for residents of Isle au Haut?
3. How can understanding place attachment among Isle au Haut residents improve Acadia National Park Management?

Study Site

Background of Isle au Haut

Isle au Haut, named “High Island” by French explorer Samuel de Champlain in 1604, is a sparsely populated remote island, seven miles from the coast of Maine (Figure 1) situated in Penobscot Bay (McLane, 1982).



Figure 1.
Position of Isle au Haut in relation to state of Maine. Illustration found at
<http://www.isleauhaut.net>

It is an island of approximately 6,700 acres (six miles long by three miles wide). Roughly 40% of the island is private (the northern part of the island) with the remaining land owned and managed by the National Park Service (NPS) as part of Acadia National

Park (Figure 2). Prior to WWII, the island was owned entirely by members of the community. In 1943 the NPS was awarded land by heirs of the

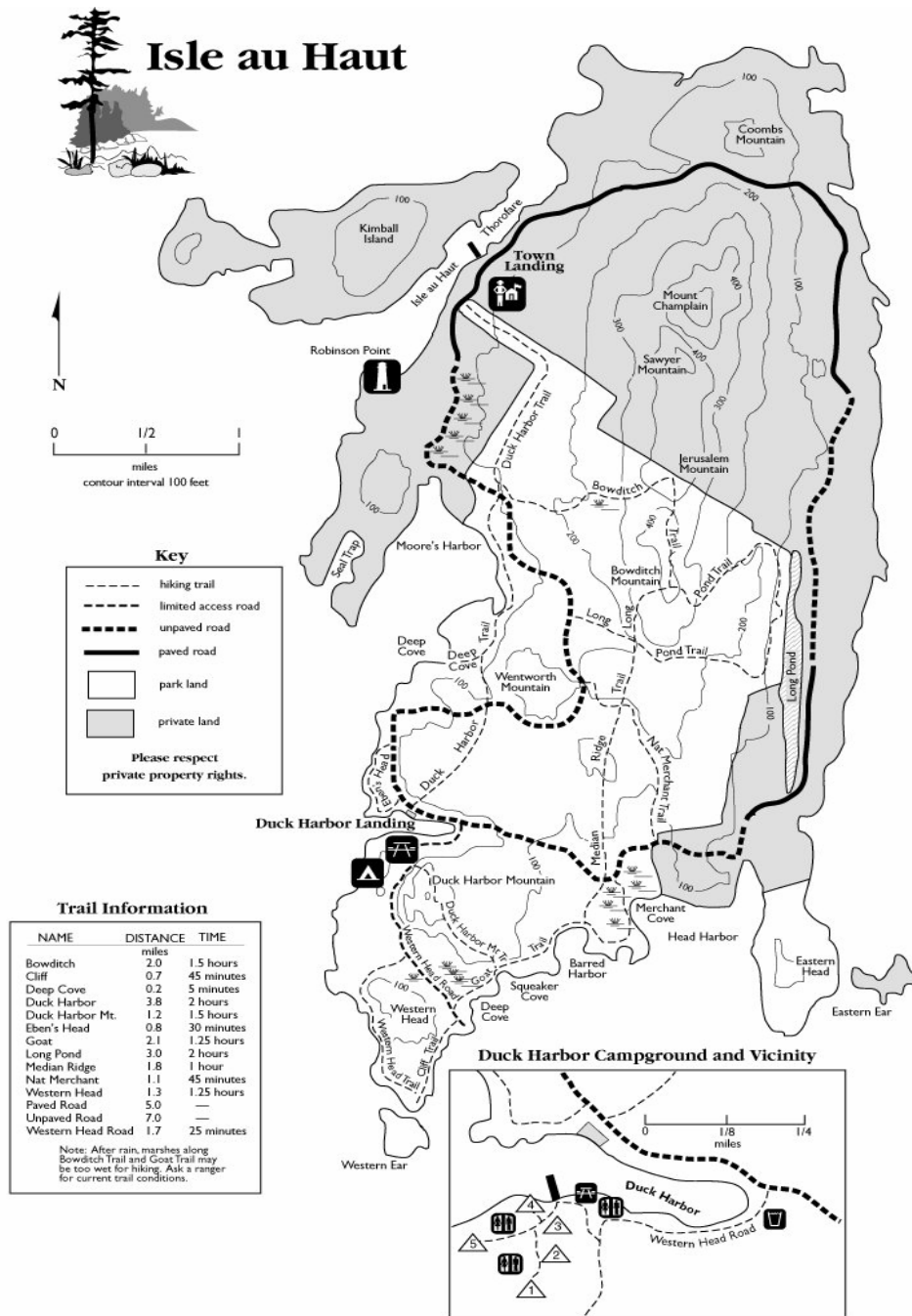


Figure 2.
Map of Isle au Haut. Illustration found at
<http://www.nps.gov/acad/pphtml/maps.html>

founders of the community and has since managed their portion as a remote, low-access portion of the park. Travel to the island is primarily done via mail boat ferry from the town of Stonington (the closest body of land and actually part of another island—Dear Isle) and also by private boats. Two entries onto the island exist: one at Duck Harbor on park property and the other in town (owned by the community) called the “town landing” (Figure 2).

According to Pratt (1974), the island was purchased in 1792 by the Barter family of Massachusetts and in 1800 had been settled by 50 individuals, who raised sheep, farmed, and fished. From that time to the present the island community has largely remained dependent upon fishing. Resource dependent communities like Isle au Haut are “areas with common social and economic interests bounded by established daily marketing and work force commuting patterns...where individuals rely on resources that can be extracted from the local environment” (Haynes, 1983, p. 2).

By 1900, the population had increased to 200, as summer residents were attracted. Around this time, lobster fishing was beginning to catch on as a way of life, and has remained a primary way of life on the island (GORP, 2002). As lobster prices varied and the motorboat was invented (which enabled fishermen to live on the mainland cheaper and travel to the island), the population has fluctuated at times. Despite these changes, the island population has remained roughly 250 residents: approximately 50 year-round, with the remaining summer residents typically staying on-island from June to September.

Isle au Haut has not embraced much tourism over the years and has minimal development. The development that does exist can be found primarily ¼ mile from the town landing. Only two small inns, a general store, and post office exist as services for

visitors and residents. Year-round residents tend to cherish their privacy, require few services, and choose to remain dependent on the dominant lobster fishing industry of Maine. Residents typically value a close, undisturbed lifestyle, with little luxuries on the island including a one-room schoolhouse (usually 3-8 students per year in the entire school), library/town hall, town dock, and church (Isle au Haut, 2002). A 15-mile road circles the island (asphalt in some areas and gravel in others), leading back to the meeting center of the island, the town landing (Figure 2). Most year-round residents live near the town landing, but some also live throughout the island including Moore's Harbor (western section, south of town), the eastern shore, Head Harbor (southeast), and Rich's Cove (northeast); all of which are areas located outside of the park boundaries. Summer residents of the community also live in homes throughout the island, but can be found predominantly at the Point (located northwest of Coombs Mountain) as travelers see this portion of the island first traveling from Stonington.

Most persons on the island have more than one occupation and help others with their skill/trade to build houses, fix machinery, care-take for summer residents' homes, etc. to keep the island functioning. However, most men (60-75%) on the island fish for a living, and all but one fishes for lobster. A place like Isle au Haut by its isolation demands from everyone a public responsibility (Pratt, 1974). Few services and development characterize such isolation on-island, as residents remain responsible to each other and help when needed to keep the island undeveloped and a fishing community.

Summer months on the island are characterized by lobster fishing (beginning around March), attending Sunday service at the Union Congregational Church (built in

1857), hiking, returning summer residents, playing communal softball in the evenings, and visiting tourists on the island (Isle au Haut, 2002). Residents tend to be kind and trusting of visitors; however, those who are rowdy coming into town and trespassers on private lands are generally unwelcome. In the past, visitors to the park would tend to have little regard for private property, as they thought the entire island was part of Acadia National Park. Currently, the NPS encourages visitors to stay away from the town and off private property by having rangers meet each boat, providing park maps, and leading hikers into the park.

Winter months on the island usually can be debilitating to residents as temperatures fall well below zero with snow and ice making it difficult to travel. As a result, most residents are content to remain indoors entertaining themselves, choosing to be more private, rather than digging cars out of feet of snow to seek socialization. One of the worst storms in Isle au Haut history came in 1935, when the bay froze and left residents helpless for weeks. Residents prepare for such winters, insuring they have ample supplies well in advance for themselves as well as fellow neighbors (Pratt, 1974).

Despite the hardships of a resource dependent community, few conveniences, and increasing numbers of visitors on the island, “residents remain because of their true love for the place as it is, and because their salvation lies in being there as much as they can” (Pratt, 1974, page 178). Life on the island is largely about helping others in time of need, and making sure the fishing community remains functioning.

Isle Au Haut—A Distinctive Blending of Physical, Social, and Historical Contexts

Isle au Haut was selected as a study site because of its numerous unique physical, social, and historical qualities. The physical landscape of the place is characterized by

the convergence of an almost completely white spruce-forested island with seven mountain peaks and enormous rocky cliffs, all situated overlooking the Atlantic Ocean. Coupled with the fact that half of Isle au Haut is managed by Acadia National Park and transportation to the island is limited to boats, few places can compare with its physical isolation and beauty (Perrin, 1987).

In terms of social contexts, Isle au Haut is special because summer residents are considered part of the community on the island, as both summer and permanent residents have communicated. Acheson (1988) found the opposite to be true in many resource dependent communities, that summer residents do not take an active role in the life of locals, avoiding meetings and gatherings, and in essence acting as separate from the community. On Isle au Haut, many summer residents have been going to the island for years and actively partake in social gatherings and town meetings.

The historical context of the island also adds to the uniqueness of the site. Frequently, in resource dependent communities, as the demand for resource extraction decreases, many residents feel the only way to remain is to eventually become tourist-oriented and developed. Moab, Utah is a prime example of this as the once well-known uranium-mining town has blossomed into a tourism-oriented city, growing 600% in size since 1950 (Amundson, 2002). However, Isle au Haut (with summer and year-round residents sharing the same sentiment) has remained virtually a development-free fishing village despite visitors continuing to visit one of the most-frequented national parks in the U.S. The island residents cherish the long history of fishermen on the island and need few services to get by. This sentiment contributes to the resource-based economy and the character of the fishing village that Acadia has been mandated to conserve. Isle au Haut

is definitely a one of a kind blend of landscape, people, and stories, but there are also attributes of the island that appear within many resource dependent communities.

Isle au Haut—Anywhere, Rural America

Isle au Haut is like many other areas that are resource dependent in nature. Like many forested areas near large public lands, the concern is high for potential fire to occur. This is especially true of many western communities located in close proximity to national forests and parks (Morrison, 1993). Further, the less the forest is managed, like Isle au Haut (which has not burned for sixty years with no prescribed burns ever being conducted), the greater potential for fire to break out, which leads to local concern. The last large fire on the island was in the 1940s and the spruce forest of Isle au Haut is full of falling wood, prime kindling for a fire. As Dizard (1994) claims, as such a forest matures, die-offs come in large batches and present the potential for an enormous amount of fuel all at once. This was the case for the 1988 Yellowstone fires (Morrison, 1993). Ultimately, the concern for fire potential is rooted in the fear of losing property and homes near the public lands.

In many towns and communities located near public lands, vacation or summer homes are found among year-round homes. This mix is also true for Isle au Haut. Further, there is a huge disparity in income levels of summer homeowners and year-round homeowners, as the permanent residents typically come from a lower social stratum (Acheson, 1988). This disparity is apparent in terms of appearance and size of homes. Typically summer residents live in homes that are much larger and have larger yards, etc. Amundson (2002) found in western uranium towns that year-round houses were small, run down, and had minimal amenities as opposed to summer homes.

Isle au Haut, like many other resource dependent areas, utilizes resources, keeps people employed, and is responsible for maintaining a working local economy. In essence, the resource extraction keeps the school going, pays town employees, etc. (Amundson, 2002). Like the northwest with its logging industry, timber harvesting keeps persons employed, while tax money goes to keep businesses and schools running.

Limitations of Study

A few limitations exist for the present study of Isle au Haut residents. They are as follows:

1. I conducted interviews only during the high visitor-use season (June-July) on the island as well as during one year (2002).
2. As an outsider coming to the island, I realized participants in the study might not have been entirely comfortable enough to communicate their intimate thoughts and feelings concerning the island. As a result, many interviews began with participants being quite private and not sharing too many names and details.
3. Not all residents wanted me to use voice-recording devices during the interview, which could contribute to the loss of potentially useful information.
4. This research only offers a glimpse into the lives of Isle au Haut residents, and cannot entirely explain life on the island.
5. This study emphasized place attachment among residents on Isle au Haut, thus there was no attempt to generalize the findings to other rural communities near forests or parks. What the study does however is present the unique stories and histories of Isle au Haut residents the way individuals have constructed them.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

The place attachment literature focusing on the individual and determining the degree one is attached to a place is abundant. Literature explaining place attachment as a social process among individuals however, is not. This chapter then represents a synthesis of the current literature regarding the degree of place attachment and social interaction constructs such as sense of community, shared purpose, and shared history. This chapter is organized according to the specific topics addressed by this study. The sections of this chapter, then, are: (1) Place Attachment, Dependence, and Identity, (2) Symbolic Interactionism as Guiding Theory, (3) Sense of Community, Shared Purpose, and Shared History, and (4) Integration of Social Interaction Concepts with Place Attachment.

Place Attachment, Dependence, and Identity

Place attachment has been conceptualized in a number of ways throughout the literature. Many researchers characterize place attachment as symbolic and emotional bonding people forge with a particular setting, or the bonding of individuals to places (Buchanan, 1985; Riley, 1992; Williams et al., 1992; Kaltenborn, 1997; Williams and Stewart, 1998; and Bricker and Kerstetter, 2000). Geographic location is central to defining the concept. Low and Altman (1992) focus on the importance of the physical landscape in forming place attachment.

Williams et al. (1992) discussed the importance of the specific physical place and focused on other contexts, namely the social and historical aspects of the place. They presented place attachment as the symbolic, emotional connection to a place that

encompasses physical, social, and historical components of that place. Such an attachment is the connection to a place where time, landscape, and people are all linked (Riley, 1992).

Generally attachments to places are not formed rapidly, and in fact take some time to develop. Moore and Graefe (1994) claim that attachment to a particular setting generally begins to develop after a length of association. Williams and Stewart (1998) say that emotional bonds between individuals or groups and a place develop over time, and with familiarity of the place. The idea of time is also expressed in the work of Shamai (1991), claiming that in order to create an attachment to place, there is a need for a long and deep experience of place.

Attachment to a place has been examined in a number of ways throughout recreation, leisure, and environmental psychology literature. The group being examined is important to a study. The level of place attachment among recreationists, visitors, and tourists is the focus of many recreation and leisure studies (Williams et al., 1992; Moore and Graefe, 1994; and Bricker and Kerstetter, 2000). Little mention is made of place attachment from residents' perspectives. Kaltenborn (1997) looked at recreational homeowners in Southern Norway to find out to which attributes of the places they are attached. Brandenburg and Carroll (1995) focused on rural residents of a river drainage in the Pacific Northwest to understand place creation. No mention could be found in the literature that focuses on both year-round residents and summer residents in understanding place attachment.

The concept of time is another area of interest. As Williams and Stewart (1998) claim, emotional bonds with places develop over time. Variables that get at time in

many place attachment studies of recreation are largely pertaining to use history like frequency of visits (Moore and Graefe, 1994), level of experience (Bricker and Kerstetter, 2000) and years since first visit (Williams et al., 1992). What these variables tell is primarily of quantifiable experience, not necessarily history and stories of a place. Kaltenborn (1997) looked at time in terms of history. He found that local cultural history was important for place attachment to occur. This study neglected to incorporate told histories and stories about the place and how they might have affected the social context of residents.

Repeatedly the concept of place attachment has been treated as a personal construct involving the individual that possesses emotional bonds to an area. In a study involving trail users, personal backgrounds of users (age, use frequency, activity, distance from home, etc.) were found to be critical in assessing place attachment (Moore and Graefe, 1994). Brandenburg and Carroll (1995) found that personal experience of a place alters values, beliefs, and wisdoms. The work of Williams et al. (1992) found that individuals have a higher place attachment if they visited a place by themselves. This shows the lack of importance of a social context in developing an attachment to a place.

Rarely is there mention of the forces outside the individual that aid in formulating an attachment to place. Kaltenborn (1997) did find that family, social activities, history, and traditions are all important in the development of affective bonds with places. Williams and Stewart (1998) also highlight the social qualities of place attachment by claiming the importance of awareness of cultural, historical, and spatial contexts within which meanings, values, and social interactions are formed.

Place attachment is a complex affective bonding with physical environments that encompass different processes like dependence and identity formation (Kaltenborn, 1997). Moore and Graefe (1994) claim that two forms place attachment appear to take are place identity and place dependence. In order to better explain place attachment, scales based on concepts of place identity (e.g. “this place means a lot to me,” “I identify strongly with this place,” etc.) and dependence (e.g. “doing what I do here is more important to me than doing it in any other place,” “I wouldn’t substitute any other area for doing the type of things I do here,” etc.) have been utilized (Williams, et al., 1992; Moore and Graefe, 1994; and Bricker and Kerstetter, 2000). Both of these dimensions of place attachment have been conceptualized throughout the literature, and deserve attention.

From an environmental psychology perspective, Stokols and Shumaker (1981) developed the concept of place dependence. Place dependence describes “an occupant’s perceived strength of association between him or herself and specific places” (p. 457). In other words, this dependence occurs when occupants perceive themselves as having a strong association with a place. Williams et al. (1992) thought of place dependence as an issue of substitutability. In order to better explain place attachment among wilderness users, the researchers asked place dependence-related survey questions like “this place means a lot to me,” “I wouldn’t substitute any other area for doing the type of things I did here,” and also whether recreationists would stay home or go to an alternative site if the current area were closed. Williams et al (1992) found that the more willing a person was to substitute, the less attached they were to the place.

The idea of substitutability or selecting alternative place choices is also alluded to by Stokols and Shumaker (1981). They claim that “place dependency is arrived at by occupants comparing the relative quality of comparable alternative places” (p. 458). Furthermore, they argue the number of options a person has to choose from also leads to a sense of dependency. Stokols and Shumaker say that if an individual feels he or she has several similar options that person will probably feel less dependent than the individual who recognizes only one alternative. This makes intuitive sense that if only place meets our needs, we will continue to stay there or utilize the place for its functional use.

The functional use of a place was how Moore and Graefe (1994) conceptualize place dependence. What the setting provides to users and residents will dictate how dependent someone is on the place. Moore and Graefe claim a few interesting ideas from their study of rail-trail hikers: 1) place dependence is a function of how well a setting facilitates users’ particular activities and therefore 2) such dependence is valuing of a place based on functional reasons. Stokols (1979) offers that places satisfying several needs typically lead to a type of place dependence that can be described as being more embedded, extensive, or deep-seated for the occupants than places where few needs are met.

Seeking to understand the question of who a person is while incorporating the multi-contextual idea of place, the concept of place identity has received attention as another dimension of place attachment. In general terms, place identity is a “combination of attitudes, values, thoughts, beliefs, meanings, and behavior tendencies reaching beyond emotional attachment and belonging to a particular place”

(Proshansky, et al., 1983, p. 61). Cuba and Hummon (1993) say place identity answers who a person is and where they belong. In recreation settings, Moore and Graefe (1994) claim place identity develops over a long period of time and is the valuing of a particular setting for emotional-symbolic reasons. Proshansky et al. (1983) present the concept of place identity as largely a personal construction, growing out of the direct experiences people have with the physical environment. Many sociological concepts like interaction, the social environment, and social definitions of the physical setting like norms, behaviors, rules, and roles are only briefly discussed within the human psychological development of place identity (Krupat, 1983; Proshansky, 1983; and Sarbin, 1983).

The concept of place identity emerged from the field of environmental psychology with initial work by Proshansky (1978) and remains rooted there. Proshansky et al. (1983) characterize place identity as a cognitive sub-structure of self-identity, which is in essence a sub-structure of the self. They go on to say that the ‘self’ is “a term that describes the individual as a total system including both conscious and unconscious perceptions of his/her past, daily experiences and behaviors, and future aspirations” (p. 58).

Within the field of consumer research, work has also been done highlighting on the individual and psychological notions of place identity. Belk (1988) goes beyond the idea of the self (ideas of “me”) and looks at the extended self, which is thought of in terms of possessions, and characterized by referring to things as “mine.” He claims that objects such as places become an extension of the self through knowledge of the place

and “that such objects act as reminders and confirmers of our identities” (Belk, 1988, p. 141).

Symbolic Interactionism as Guiding Theory

As mentioned above, place attachment research thus far has given little attention to sociological approaches to the issue. Because symbolic interactionism ties ideas of self, identity, and meaning to more social ideas, I have chosen it as my guiding theory for this study.

Though there are numerous strains of symbolic interactionism, the version applied here ties most closely to the work of the Chicago School and Herbert Blumer. Blumer (1969) developed a version of symbolic interactionism, and his approach had three distinct premises. The first is that people act towards things (i.e. places) based on the meanings that the things have for them. In other words, people will behave a certain way dependent on the meanings created for an object or thing. This implies that meanings and behavior are linked. The second tenet of Blumer’s perspective is that “the meaning of such things is derived from, or arises out of the social interaction that one has with one’s fellows” (p. 2). The meanings people possess for things can be seen as products of interacting with others. The final tenet of symbolic interactionism includes the idea that “these meanings are handled in, and modified through an interpretive process used by the person in dealing with the things he/she encounters” (p. 5). Meanings, according to symbolic interactionism, are social products and creations formed from activities people participate in as they interact with one another (Blumer, 1969).

At the core of symbolic interactionism is the importance of social interaction. Within this interaction, humans act in relation to one another, considering the acts of others along the way (Charon, 1995). Meltzer, Petras, and Reynolds (1975) claim the theory focuses on the interaction that takes place among the various minds and meanings that characterize human societies. Charon also says that the individual is not seen as a stable personality influenced solely by the past, but as an emergent person always in a state of change, dealing with situations as they arise. Finally, central to the theory of symbolic interactionism is the idea that “we act according to how we think; we act according to the way we define the situation we are in, and although that definition may be influenced by others with whom we interact, it is also a result of our own definition” (Charon, 1995, p. 23).

Blumer (1969) claims that meanings people possess are formulated through a process of interpretation involving two stages. The first step in the process is the actor must point out to him/herself the things toward which he is acting, or the things that have meaning. “The making of such indications is an internalized social process in that the actor is interacting with him/herself” (p. 5). The second and final portion is that the actor “selects, checks, suspends, regroupes, and transforms the meanings in the light of the situation in which he/she is placed and the direction of this action” (p. 5).

Symbolic interactionism lends itself to the concept of narratives, or stories told by a group of individuals. Through time, individuals interact with one another, all the while formulating stories reflecting social interaction. Maines and Bridger (1992) claim a narrative is a telling, a performance event, or the process of making or telling a story. A narrative is an account that involves the oration of a series of events in a plotted sequence

that unfolds in time; it has a beginning, middle, and an ending with narrators, plots, settings, characters, crises, and resolutions (Denzin, 2001).

Many different forms of narratives exist in the literature. Two forms of narratives are important to this study. The first, *heritage narrative* (Maines and Bridger, 1992), is one form that gives temporal persistence to a community by providing an account of its origins, the character of its people (past and present), and its trials and triumphs over time. The community “is not different from the story that is told about it; it...is constituted by a story of the community, of what it is and what it is doing, which is told, acted out, and received in a kind of self-reflective narration” (Carr, 1986, pp. 149-150). These heritage narratives are powerfully precise because they simply recount the history of a community and its people (Bridger, 1996).

Personal experience stories are another form of narrative important to this study. This type of narrative relates the self of the teller to a significant set of personal experiences that have already occurred. Personal experience stories are shared in first-person voice and deal exclusively with the past. Another form of narrative is the *self-story*, which creates and interprets a structure of experience as it is being told (Denzin, 2001). Self-stories involve the past, the present, and the future, and relate to ongoing problematic occurrences in their tellers’ lives (Denzin, 2001). The narrative focus of this study consists of a combination of heritage narratives and personal experience stories.

In the fields of recreation and leisure studies, a good portion of the literature that surrounds symbolic interactionism concerns feminist literature (e.g., Bialeschki and Michener, 1994; Shaw, 1999; James, 2000) or the evolving idea of qualitative educational research and methodologies (Pedlar, 1995; Dupuis, 1999; Henderson,

2000). To date, little evidence can be found stating someone has looked at symbolic interaction in relation to place attachment within these fields. Linking symbolic interaction to place attachment has also been done infrequently within the fields of sociology and social psychology, however one study deserves to be noted.

Milligan (1998) examined the social construction of place attachment among employees of a coffeehouse as the business was transplanted from one location to another. Many times, we believe that meanings we ascribe to a place are predominantly positive and the attachments we possess are strong. One interesting finding from Milligan's study is that interactions that give a site meaning do not have to be extreme nor do they have to be entirely positive for a strong attachment to form. Negative experiences can also contribute to attachments because they still evoke powerful emotions that play a role in an individual's sense of self.

Milligan (1998) also highlights that for those employees with a strong place attachment to the old site, leaving the old coffeehouse behind was equally as meaningful to losing the most tangible connection to the memories it had organized for them. In other words, to lose access to the site was in a sense, like losing access to those past experiences. For these people, the physical facility and location contributed the greatest to preserving social memories (Zerubavel, 1996). This study addresses all of the contexts (physical, social, and historical) that are encompassed within place attachment (Williams et al., 1992; Riley, 1992).

Sense of Community, Shared Purpose, and Shared History

In analyzing my data, three important concepts arose from narratives. These concepts are sense of community, shared purpose, and shared history. The term “community” has an extensive literature base, with work in fields of psychology, sociology, social psychology, etc., that involve (but are not limited to) ideas of development, function, neighborhoods, and sense of community. It is the point of this section to highlight on what can be viewed as a sense of community, or how some aspects of a community are presented throughout the literature. Social perspectives are central to this discussion, as are relationships and social ties, which aid in characterizing feelings of a community.

Similar characteristics of residents are not central to establishing a sense of community. Not everyone need be white, 30 years old, and drive a new sports car to belong to the same community. Suttles (1972) states that an area does not need to be homogeneous in the characteristics or background of its residents to be considered a community and exhibit neighborhood solidarity. Geographic communities are rarely homogenous in social makeup (Jencks and Mayer, 1990). The more heterogeneous and diverse a community, it is argued, the more its residents can contribute to the community.

Feelings of loyalty and responsibility can be considered facets of sense of community. When residents’ loyalties are weak, the local community is not held to be important to such individuals (Suttles, 1972). In other words, the more loyal a person feels to the group, the more he or she feels a sense of community. Living in close proximity to one another, Suttles claims that individuals cannot ignore one another, but instead feel an unavoidable social responsibility to each other. If no one felt responsible

to each other in a community, the community would likely not support itself. This responsibility is addressed in the work of McMillan and Chavis (1986) claiming, “that as one fits in the group and has a place there, he or she possesses a willingness to sacrifice for the group” (p.10).

Working together and helping one another can be viewed as contributing to a sense of community. As neighbors possess mutual support for one another and solve problems together, sense of community is strengthened (Kretzmann and McKnight, 1993). Suttles (1972) said, “the local community needs allegiance and recognition of all or most of its members to continue as a functioning social unit” (p. 9). Looking at Iowa farming communities, Elder and Conger (1999) found residents helping and giving to each other during economic hardships. Many times coming to the aid of others is done selflessly by individuals. Christenson (1989) describes volunteerism to build a much-needed health center for its community members, as “involvement of community residents to improve their situation” (p. 33).

Sense of community also encompasses ideas of safety/security and open communication among members of a locality. Suttles (1972) says people want to live in an area where they feel reasonably safe and are a known distance from those people they distrust. This implies that these individuals live in an area where they trust one another. A sense of community is also characterized by open communication among individuals. According to Suttles, the community is a place to share feelings and ideas, and where “most people take the risk of talking and planning with one another” (p. 245).

An extended family is another way to describe a sense of community. What this means is that those individuals within the community who are not actually related to a

person, behave toward that person as a relative. This idea of community as an extended family is alluded to in the work of Ferdinand Toennies and his conception of *Gemeinschaft*. Tonnies (1887 [1957]) claims, “all intimate, private, and exclusive living together as a family is understood as life in *Gemeinschaft*. In *Gemeinschaft* kinship, neighborhood, and friendship are closely interrelated in space as well as in time. This description lends itself to the community existing as an extended family. Jencks and Mayer (1990) focus on adults (not just a child’s parents) in poverty-stricken neighborhoods as role models for all children. Community adults can be seen as promoting good behavior, while discouraging negative forms of behavior (Anderson, 1990).

Sense of community can be seen in members defending against outside forces that threaten current group dynamics. One example of this is seen through residents exercising selective methods to ensure certain persons do not move into a community. Such communities use the quiet tactics of circulating homes by referral and selling their property to someone outside the typical pool of bidders (Suttles, 1972). Defense against potentially infiltrating businesses and development is another example. Suttles says, “when businesses and industries come into a community, they have little regard for residential groups’ interests” (p. 239). Members recognize these powerful interests of businesses and industries and defend the local interests to ensure development does not occur. One way this is done is through the community acting as a collective body. Davis (1991) claims “place-bound communities do act—sometimes out of a common interest in improving local safety, services, or amenity; sometimes out of a special interest in protecting local property values; sometimes because not to act is to acquiesce in the

community's own destruction" (p. 5). To act as a group, it would seem these individuals possess a common, collective purpose.

As the old adage goes, "many hands make for light work." A group is capable of much more than each individual thinks is possible. However, for a group to exist, act, and be successful in their endeavors, shared purposes and goals of the group must be in place (Hunter, Bailey, and Taylor, 1995). Brillhart (1998) characterizes shared purpose by "group members perceiving the goal alike and giving priority over personal goals or needs incompatible with group objectives" (p. 34).

This sociological idea of shared purpose is found throughout the literature concerning small groups, social movements, social groups, and communities. Looking at western communities dependent upon uranium mining, Amundson (2002) found that residents share the purpose of keeping schools functioning and local businesses running, to keep individuals in the community. In inner-city neighborhoods neighbors have the common purpose of looking out for one another by protecting against unwanted violence or damage to property (Anderson, 1990; Suttles, 1972). Similarly, the black civil rights movement and women's liberation movement saw oppressed groups possessing common purposes of fighting for group equality and respect (Scott, 1990).

The lack of shared purpose within a group can be detrimental to accomplishing goals. If individuals' goals are contradictory to those of the groups, the effectiveness and efficiency will likely be affected (Cragan and Wright, 1999). These individuals can be thought of as having selfish motivations, thinking in terms of "what's best for me" (Napier and Gershenfeld, 1993). To be successful, a group has to have a clear purpose in

which every member is committed to it (Hunter et al., 1995). A common purpose or goal can keep a group from falling apart, binding individuals.

Possessing a shared purpose within a group can be beneficial to its members. It brings a group together. Barker, Wahlers, and Watson (2001) claim that the presence of a common purpose or goal, whether it is specific or broad, binds the group and gives it a basic level of cohesiveness” (p. 8). Even though specific members may have individual motives for their membership, having a common purpose cements the group together (Beebe and Masterson, 1986). This cohesiveness is especially important if the social group is threatened by outside sources. In the case of natural resource dependent communities, many residents feel overwhelmed and violated by the presence of tourists. As a result, the residents bond together to avoid visitors. Acheson (1998) speaks of tourists visiting Maine in the summer and invading local communities that make their livings on fishing. In response to these visitors, local individuals do not welcome them and in fact have the shared purpose of “trying best to ignore the tourists that come from different social backgrounds” (Acheson, 1998, p. 24). Having a shared purpose within the community, residents can act collectively to insure the livelihood and way of life is not compromised.

Acting collectively is another positive benefit of possessing a common purpose among the group. People often act together with a shared purpose; they collaborate and accomplish goals more efficiently than if they acted individually (Grosz, Hunsberger, and Kraus, 1999). Examples of this collaboration are seen in groups communicating with other groups, persons joining associations, and groups holding meetings. Concern for the welfare of a town often leads to individuals forming city commissions, planning boards,

and advisory committees, at which point they express shared purposes and hold public meetings (Beebe and Masterson, 1986). These meetings are a medium for voicing concerns held by the group. Local meetings, Acheson (1998) says, are a place where fishermen can voice their concerns about the community.

As time is spent in groups or communities with others, individuals realize they have more than a purpose in common; they also have similar experiences and a past together. This can be referred to as a shared history. In his work on the social construction of community, Gusfield (1975) claims “communities might almost be defined as people who see themselves as having a common history and destiny different than others” (p. 35). This shared history is based on the interaction of members of the community throughout the past. There are communities that do possess a shared history and uniqueness to them that comes from a reverence for the past (Suttles, 1972).

Throughout the reviewed literature on communities, social groups, and social movements, a number of findings speak to a collective or shared history among residents or members of a group. First, a shared history is rooted in events that have occurred through time. These events or occurrences are central to the group’s history and can be thought of as positive/beneficial or negative/disruptive. In terms of positive events, Gusfield (1975) highlights a small town in the American Midwest and the year their high school basketball team won the state tournament. Scott (1990) speaks of African Americans and the civil rights movement of the 1960s that helped bring about better opportunities for black Americans. These events have undoubtedly contributed to the collective histories that members have constructed.

Events can also be thought of as negative at the time of their occurrence. Milligan (1998) examined the relocation of a coffeehouse in a Pacific Northwest town that was considered disruptive by its employees. Many employees of the coffeehouse felt the move was a huge loss disrupting their everyday life as “most spent a significant amount of time at the old coffeehouse beyond work hours” (p. 11). Focusing on a group of fishermen on Isle Royale, Cochrane (1987) portrays a number of traumatic events that the group went through. These negative events included: giving up permanent claims to island fisheries, outside groups planting non-indigenous fish, and implementation of fishing regulations. According to Cochrane, these events that contributed to a shared history among the island fishermen all led to the “exile” of the fishing community. The work of Katovich and Hintz (1997) capture another traumatic event of an armed robbery that occurred within a family restaurant in a small southern community. Their research focused on the story about the robbery and “the social interaction involved in constructing a shared experience between manager and patrons—an experience which was incorporated into their shared pasts” (p. 276).

Closely related to negative events, shared histories are also characterized by hardships experienced in the group or community. Elder and Conger (1999) highlight on the economic hardships of resource dependent farming communities of Iowa throughout the 1970s and 1980s. The researchers found that with decreasing land values and increasing levels of debt, some of the farming families studied had to claim bankruptcy or seek employment outside farming. Despite the financial hardships of these local communities, some members persevered and struggled through difficult times because of their collective histories and ties to the land (Elder and Conger, 1999). Another example

of hardship is lack of amenities or resources within a community. Amundson (2002) speaks of small western mining communities in the 1950s that only had access to one general store (with high prices) and one community building that served multiple purposes including as a schoolhouse, gym, theater, church, place for civic meetings, etc. Regardless of these hardships, “members were satisfied and content enough to stay as long as they possibly could” (Amundson, p. 48).

Underlying all of the above examples of constructed shared history is the importance of a physical space. In the context of the restaurant that was robbed, “patrons had a common past due to their affiliation with the restaurant (Katovich and Hintz, 1997, p. 278). For the rural Iowa communities, the association with the farmland and homes aided in the farmers common histories (Elder and Conger, 1999). In constructing shared histories among fishermen in Lake Superior, Cochrane (1987) highlights the importance of the island of Isle Royale as a setting in which memories and stories were forged.

Integration of Social Interaction Concepts with Place Attachment

Throughout the literature on place attachment, the concept has been conceptualized various ways in numerous settings. It has been examined in relation to wilderness attachment and recreationists (Williams et al., 1992), sacred space in Hindu homes (Mazumdar and Mazumdar, 1993), recreational settings and trail users (Moore and Graefe, 1994), leisure mobility and neighborhoods (Fuhrer et al., 1993), and recreation homeowners in Norway (Kaltenborn, 1997) to name a few. Many researchers characterize place attachment as the symbolic and emotional connections individuals create with a specific setting (Buchanan, 1985; Riley, 1992; Williams et al., 1992;

Kaltenborn, 1997; Williams and Stewart, 1998; and Bricker and Kerstetter, 2000). What is lacking in many of the studies is the importance of the social context in forging an attachment to a place. Few researchers (c.f., Williams et al., 1992; Riley, 1992) acknowledge the presence of social components in shaping place attachment.

Within the place attachment literature there is also a focus on place identity and place dependence as contributing factors to attachment, based on scale items (Williams et al., 1992; Moore and Graefe, 1994; and Bricker and Kerstetter, 2000). These studies do not focus on the social interaction that could be important in developing place identity and dependence, and claim that each concept explains attachment utilizing scale items (i.e., identity as “this place means a lot to me” and dependence as “I would not substitute this place for any place else”).

The concepts of place identity and place dependence are thought of largely as psychological constructs involving the individual. Proshansky et al. (1983) present the concept of place identity as a personal construction, growing out of the direct experiences people have with the physical environment. The researchers claim that place identity is a substructure of self-identity; that place and space play a major role in the human psychological development of self-identity. Williams et al (1992), Moore and Graefe (1994), and Bricker and Kerstetter (2000) all concentrated on whether or not an individual agreed with scale items that sought to explain place identity (“place means a lot to me,” “identify strongly with place,” “feel no commitment to this place,” etc.). Place dependence is also treated as an individual construct describing, “an occupant’s perceived strength of association between him or herself and specific places” (Stokols and Shumaker, 1981, p. 457). Building on the work of Stokols and Shumaker that

claimed dependence is arrived at by comparing quality of current location to that of alternate places, Williams et al. (1992) proposed place dependence to be the ability of an individual to substitute one place for another. Williams et al. (1992) found that the more willing a person was to substitute, the less attached they were to the place. From the literature reviewed, social interaction among residents, recreationists, etc., has not received much attention in forming an identity or dependence on a place.

Surrounding research on place attachment overall, gaps and areas of question exist that should be examined further. Many studies have focused on the use of quantitative methods to better understand place attachment, identity, and dependence (e.g., Shamai, 1991; Williams et al., 1992; Cuba and Hummon, 1993; Fuhrer et al., 1993; Moore and Graefe, 1994; Kaltenborn, 1997; and Bricker and Kerstetter, 2000).

Conducting surveys does not fully utilize stories and histories that people have created through association with a place. Seeing this importance, few studies have employed qualitative methods in data collection (c.f., Mazumdar and Mazumdar, 1993; Hull, 1994; Brandenburg and Carroll, 1995; and Milligan, 1998). Kaltenborn (1997) has actually called for qualitative explorations in researching place attachment.

The idea of social interaction and how that leads to attachment is missing in the literature. In fact, Williams et al. (1992) claim that an individual is more likely to be attached to a place if s/he is by him/herself, rather than s/he is socializing in a group. Kaltenborn (1997) presents a similar finding that friends and acquaintances contribute minimally to one's attachment to a place.

The concept of history has also been brought up briefly examining place attachment, place identity, and place dependence, with a focus on the individual level.

Variables used in the literature that focus on the individual are largely pertaining to use history such as frequency of use (Moore and Graefe, 1994), years since first visit (Williams et al., 1992), and level of experience (Bricker and Kerstetter, 2000). Kaltenborn (1997), however, focuses on history beyond the individual slightly in talking of long-term family connections and local cultural history in leading to place attachment. One study by Milligan (1998) does transcend the idea of individual history by presenting the collective history of a group and their attachment to a place. Overall, the literature does not specifically address concepts of shared history, which incorporates told histories and stories about places people share. As Williams et al. (1992) claim, emotional bonds with places do occur over time.

Additional social aspects are also left out of the attachment literature such as sense of community and shared purpose. However, a few studies speak minimally to these concepts. Williams et al. (1992) briefly mention sense of community in saying place attachment may be a result of more informal interactions with friends, neighbors, and co-workers. Some research actually downplays the importance of community and socialization. Kaltenborn (1997) found that interaction of friends and acquaintances in a community contribute little to the attachment a person feels towards a specific place. In a study concerning place identity, Cuba and Hummon (1993) claim that participating in one's own community does not alter the likelihood of adopting a community-based place identity.

In terms of shared purpose, which is typically apparent in community literature (Suttles, 1972; Acheson, 1998; and Amundson, 2002), little mention could be found in the literature on attachment. Cuba and Hummon (1993) do mention briefly that

identification with a place often involves emotional ties to the place, and that it may involve a sense of shared interests and values. Indirectly, Kaltenborn (1997) speaks to shared purpose as individuals making use of natural resources (summer farming, grazing, fishing, and hunting) as being important in the formation of an attachment to a particular place.

In order to close some of the gaps in the place attachment, identity, and dependence literature, employing the theory of symbolic interactionism can get at social and historical contexts that appear to be ill apparent in many studies. According to the version of symbolic interactionism put forth by Blumer (1969) three important ideas surround this theory and can be applied to place attachment: 1) people act towards places based on meanings that the places have for them, 2) meanings people have for places are forged through interaction, and 3) meanings are altered through an interactive process implemented by the persons in dealing with the places he/she experiences. Little research to date (c.f., Milligan, 1998) employs these tenets of symbolic interactionism in understanding place attachment within the field of sociology, and no studies can be found within the field of recreation linking the theory to attachment.

Based on Blumer's conceptualization of symbolic interactionsim and employing grounded theory techniques in data analysis of the current study, three areas have emerged from the data. These areas of focus include a sense of community, shared purposes among the residents, and a history or past that is shared among individuals on the island. All three concepts can be linked to place attachment in order to fill in gaps in the literature.

Many researchers claim that place attachment is largely based on geographic location (Buchanan, 1985; Low Altman, 1992; Kaltenborn, 1997; and Bricker and Kerstetter, 2000). The current research focuses on a sense of community, shared purpose, and shared history in an attempt to move beyond that idea. In fact, examining these concepts may bring us closer to addressing the importance of social and historical contexts that seem to be missing. After all, researchers have indicated that physical, social, and historical contexts are all equally important in explaining place attachment (Williams et al., 1992; Riley, 1992). Sense of community, shared purpose, and shared history all can potentially shed light on interaction of the group and history of the place through time as Shamai (1991), Moore and Graefe (1994), and Williams and Stewart (1998) have suggested. In the recreation literature, little focus has been given to residents when examining place attachment, instead focusing on recreational users (Williams et al., 1992; Fuhrer et al., 1993; Moore and Graefe, 1994; Williams and Stewart, 1998; and Bricker and Kerstetter, 2000). These three areas: sense of community, shared purpose, and shared history all appear to be social components that residents of a particular locale would possess. It is in the following chapters that these three concepts are discussed at length and grounded theory techniques are employed to uncover their interconnected relationship and their relationship to place attachment, place identity, and place dependence.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODS

The purpose of this study is to capture ideas of place attachment and how they are constructed through interactions among Isle au Haut summer and year-round residents. Isle au Haut is unique because over half of the island's area is managed by the National Park Service who is legally mandated to protect the character of the town, it is isolated (access to the island is largely via ferry) with little development, and has a small community made of up both summer and year-round residents.

Procedures

Interviewees

Roughly 250 summer and year-round residents are likely to be on Isle au Haut during the summer months. Over a period of six weeks (from late June until the beginning of August, 2002), in-depth interviews on the island and at park headquarters (on Mount Desert Island) were conducted. This time of year was selected, as suggested by the Acadia National Park Resource Management Specialist, because many of the summer and year-round residents would be on the island. The Resource Manager Specialist also recommended potential study participants (along with their phone numbers) who were contacted prior to my departure for Acadia. Each potential interviewee was contacted, told about the study (purpose of study and his or her responsibility), and asked to participate. Five individuals declined to participate; however, a few suggested alternate persons to contact.

The interviewees consisted of ten residents: six year-round residents and four summer residents. Two NPS employees (the Deputy Superintendent of Acadia and the Resource Management Specialist in charge of Isle au Haut) were also interviewed to provide preliminary information concerning residents and the island community. Two residents were also employees of the park on Isle au Haut.

If the potential interviewee had stories to share about his or her experiences on the island and was willing to share them, he or she was asked to participate. This method of sample selection is known as purposeful sampling, “based on the assumption that the investigator wants to discover, understand, and gain insight and therefore must select a sample from which the most can be learned” (Chein 1981, p. 440). Once an individual had been contacted to participate, he or she was asked to refer others who might similarly have stories to share. This is referred to as “snowballing” (Bertaux, 1981), which is the practice of having one participant lead the researcher to another.

Narratives

Narratives were utilized in this study to examine how individuals selected and described events from the past as well as how they turn these events into story elements (Maines and Bridger, 1992). Also, I wanted to portray experiences interviewees had constructed on the island, believing narratives are the best way to directly get at these experiences. As Denzin (2001) says, we can only study experiences by capturing representations through the way stories are told.

This research sought to understand place attachment from the stories told by residents as well as construct those narratives to tell the story of interviewees. As

Seidman (1998) says, the story belongs to both the participant and the interviewer. The story is in the words of the participant, but the interviewer, helps to craft the story.

Interviews

Interviews were in-depth and semi-structured in nature to elicit narratives from participants. The interviews were designed to be more like friendly conversations (Spradley, 1979) but had a specific purpose (Dexter, 1970). This purpose was to draw out narratives about the island from interviewees. Only a few open-ended questions were asked and these served only to guide the stories. These interviews were flexible and exploratory to potentially learn more about Isle au Haut and place attachment for subsequent interviews (Merriam, 2001). Interviewees were asked to reconstruct their experiences and not explicitly to remember them. “Reconstruction is based partially on memory and partially on what the participant now senses is important about the past event” (Seidman, 1998, p. 74).

At the start of each interview, I informed each individual about his or her responsibilities as a participant in the study by way of an informed consent form. Each participant had the option to decline having the interview tape-recorded. One participant chose to decline. The remaining interviews were tape-recorded, with notes made during the interview sessions. Interviews lasted between forty minutes and two hours for each participant. Interviews took place either in the homes of the residents or offices of NPS employees. This was done in order for the narratives to be meaningful and understandable to the researcher because they were told in a setting that is familiar to the interviewee (Seidman, 1998).

Upon completion of each interview, I took notes that directed questions for each interview session that followed. Interviews were also transcribed as text documents immediately after sessions ended as time permitted. This was especially the case concerning one interview that was not tape-recorded.

Data Analysis

By studying narratives and sharing stories, a sense of biography, history, and society all seem to intersect and can be captured through analysis (Mills, 1959). Furthermore, the analysis of personal narratives can illuminate “individual and collective action and meanings, as well as the processes by which social life and human relationships are made and changed” (Laslett, 1999, p. 392).

In conducting interviews with residents of Isle au Haut and NPS employees, I utilized the narrative approach, highlighted in Reissman (2001), that encompasses large sections of talk and interview exchanges—extended accounts of lives that develop over the course of interviews. This approach is said to lead to stories that evolve over the course of the interview and are framed in and through interaction (Reissman, 2001).

The analysis of collected narratives was guided by procedural stages of grounded theory as outlined by Strauss and Corbin (1990). This method can be thought of as a funneling process of data analysis, whereby in the initial stages there are more general themes and categories, and stages toward the end contain more specific themes with connections made between such themes. Although I did not have specific categories identified prior to analysis, concepts of place attachment and ideas of social interaction were constantly in the back of my mind. The stages of analysis included open coding,

axial coding, and selective coding (Strauss and Corbin, 1990). Before these stages were implemented, I read through data sets multiple times to get a sense of what was communicated in the transcribed interviews.

After reading through data sets numerous times to gain an understanding of ideas, I began the process of open coding. This stage involved identifying categories from the data in order to minimize units to work with (Strauss and Corbin, 1990). During this stage, I created names of categories for every event, incident, and idea that I found throughout the data. For instance if someone spoke of children, parents, relatives, etc., in one phrase I created the category of family. Categories were also named for events that occurred on island, such as the fire of 1947 or the Sally Runge accident.

One of the most time consuming, yet thorough variations of open coding Strauss and Corbin refer to is phrase-by-phrase analysis. This type of open coding was implemented and involved reading through the data line by line. After this stage of open coding was over, I had generated 739 categories that were used into the second stage of analysis, axial coding.

Axial coding was the next step in analysis, where subcategories were created from the vast number of initial categories. Also, categories were connected based on common conditions and contexts, and further broken down into common themes, as the funneling process would indicate. Within this stage, steps were utilized as outlined by Strauss and Corbin (1990): 1) pose questions in terms of labels and how one category related to another, 2) look to data for evidence that support or refute questions, 3) continue to look for properties (based on context) of categories and subcategories, and 4) compare each category and subcategory for different patterns. Many of these steps occurred

automatically with coding. Seventeen categories emerged after the second stage of axial coding. All of these categories are presented in Chapter Four, and include the concern for minimizing fire potential, importance of legislation, residents considering one another as extended family, community concern for remaining a fishing community, protect resources on-island, helping each other out in times of need, etc. Each of these categories will be discussed at length in the following chapter.

The third stage of selective coding is where the analysis narrows data categories down the furthest. This last stage is similar to axial coding, but done at a higher level of analysis, where a theory was developed (Strauss and Corbin, 1990). This stage of selective coding is the “process of selecting the core category, systematically relating it to other categories, validating those relationships, and filling in categories that need further refinement and development” (Strauss and Corbin, 1990, p. 116). Also, within this stage, a movement between inductive and deductive reasoning is employed that in essence, grounds the theory. It is in the theory that a relationship between the core category and other categories are formed. In this study, the core category that emerges is place identity of the residents, with sense of community, shared purpose, and shared history being the other categories that relate to identity. The groundwork for this theory is laid in Chapter Four through interview data, and will be presented in more detail within Chapter Five.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS

The purpose of this study is to capture ideas of place attachment as well as social aspects that make up place identity and place dependence for residents of Isle au Haut. Utilizing symbolic interactionism to guide this study, data was collected in unstructured interviews from both summer and year-round residents of the island as well as employees of Acadia National Park.

By utilizing grounded theory techniques, the results that follow were arrived at by coding the data from interviews in a number of ways. It was through a series of open coding, axial coding, and selective coding that the data was funneled down into three main categories, whose relationships make up my grounded theory. These categories are discussed below.

This chapter outlines the central main categories as a result of analyzing the coded interviews, focusing on the social aspects of place identity and ideas of place attachment among residents. The lack of place dependence ideas presented in this chapter serves to convey the minimal indication that residents are indeed dependent on Isle au Haut. The results here indicate ideas of sense of community, shared purpose, and shared history all make up place identity on the island, and this identity aids in explaining residents' place attachment. This chapter is organized into the following sections: sense of community, shared purpose, and shared history.

Sense of Community

The sense of community that is expressed by residents involves a number of components presented here. It is a community where both summer and year-round residents rely on one another's time and talent and actively participate in social events together. Even though few residents are related, many members of the community feel like they are part of an island family. Sense of community is also seen through residents collectively not wanting to draw attention to the island, being against increased visitation, and wanting minimal development on the island. Isle au Haut is a community that is centered on the fishing industry, and it clings tightly to that identity.

Typically within small rural towns, members of a community are those residents who live and work there year round, excluding individuals that may own a second home and live in the area only a limited part of the year. From a year-round resident's perspective, it is easy to think of summer homeowners as being separate from the community, as summer residents only live for a couple of months on-island and typically have white-collar jobs. The same can be said of summer homeowners having little desire to be part of the community, where local fishermen struggle to make a living on-island throughout the entire year. Every interviewee claimed this to not be the case, as summer residents are considered part of the community. Peter Burke, a landscape architect on the island (who spent 18 years as a summer resident and has since moved to the island as a year-round resident) and First Selectman (New England form of local government equivalent to town mayor) of the town feels the summer people are integral to the community. He said:

The summer colony here has always been an integral part of what the island is. They are the ones that donated the land to the National Park Service. They are the ones that donated money to the church and for the town hall, and they pay an enormous amount of the tax revenue. . . . We all have something in common and that is living on Isle au Haut. And that is the basis of the community right there. It is an obvious bond.

Some would suggest summer and year-round residents have a symbiotic relationship. As the Natural Resource Management Specialist in charge of Isle au Haut, Charlie Jacobi has been visiting the island for the last 18 years and sees the relationship between summer and year-round residents as one that benefits each group. Charlie explains:

I think they recognize they depend on one another to a great degree. The year-round residents understand that the summer residents pay a lot of taxes to help keep the town afloat and the summer residents realize that it is the “year-rounders” that keep the community going and thriving, and provide a lot of services for them when they are not there; take care of their property. So, I think they are pretty close.

Belvia McDonald, a year-round resident of the island for 43 years explains this symbiotic relationship between the summer and year-round residents came about in the 1970s when “year-rounders” realized they could not keep the island community functioning alone, so they reached out to summer residents for help. Since then, the summer population has remained an important part of the community. Belvia shares this story:

There were so few of us [year-round residents] and we needed the summer people to help us do a project. We call it, “we educated the summer people” and said we need you yes for your tax money, but you need us to be a community to prevent damage to your homes. So we really depend on each other to exist. And that seemed to work and because we have included them in our world, is why all of the sudden it was a different world. And then it is a two-way street and it is an ok, much more comfortable community. They are connected with us. They are not separate from us; they are part of the community.

An example of this connection to the community is evident in the story Belvia tells about one summer resident’s responsibility to the island community:

I think every doctor who comes here, again feels that responsibility to the community that if someone is hurt, we can feel free to call them to put in stitches or give advice to repair whatever. We are lucky that way. They tell us they feel an obligation to the community for being here for them.

The summer residents are not simply part of the community because they pay higher taxes and make medical consultations; they also participate in social events and activities and interact with other residents. One such community activity on the island consists of year-round and summer residents of all ages playing softball most summer evenings at 6:00 p.m., an activity that has been occurring since the 1960s. Kaltenborn (1997) claims that such social activities, history, and traditions are all important in the development of affective bonds or attachment people have to places. Kipp Quinby, a 19 year-old college freshman and park ranger who has lived on Isle au Haut for the last 10 years gets at the community involvement and interaction of the summer residents.

The summer people really try to be part of the community. They actively participate in things and know people. Most of the people that have been coming here for quite a bit are quite sensitive to the issues of the island. So many people have been coming here since they were kids, now they have kids and they are coming here. A lot of people have been coming here for generations. And many have been coming for a long period of time, so you know they have friends they spend time with. They participate in community events that take place like they go swimming at the pond with us, they come to potluck dinners, softball, and things like that. They are definitely on vacation, they are hanging out and enjoying it, but I don't think they feel out of place. Really, they just make sure they are part of things.

Belvia McDonald speaks of softball and how it has served to bring summer and year-round residents together:

It [the softball field] is between the church and the town hall, the stone wall building. There is a big field up there and the owners allow us to mow an area big enough for a softball game, and what seems to be the habit here for years, all ages from 2-92 participate. It is such a good experience for all ages, especially little kids to learn to get along with all ages. Ever since I have...no even before I came 43 years ago, I have heard stories of softball happening. It is a community trying to have fun together as well as work hard together. And of course it all depends on how many people you have around. Summer time with summer people that is when you have more people and that is when you have softball happening.

Being part of a community allows members to become quite close as they interact and participate in events and activities together throughout the years. Cuba and Hummon (1993) found that local, social involvement particularly those with friends, but also those involving kin are significant sources of sentimental ties to local places. Many of the members of the Isle au Haut community shared their feelings that residents were thought of as more than friends, considering each other family, despite not being biologically related. Belvia McDonald describes her closeness to many members of the community:

Everybody in the community is not on paper my brother, sister, aunt, uncle, whatever, but they are adopted ones, if you will. It is like a big family and that is how I have looked at it. This is home. I have no biological aunts, uncles, brothers, sisters here, but I feel that this is my home and my community. I sit here and look out at the fishermen's boats and I say "that is my fleet." And it isn't, but it is my community fleet, so it is my fleet of fishermen.

In describing friends on the island, Jock Davis, a retired schoolteacher from Massachusetts and summer resident since 1935, also viewed community members as an extended family. It is clear that the emotional bonds Jock has with other residents as family has developed over time, with familiarity with the island (Williams and Stewart, 1998). Here he talks about his lifelong neighbors and family friends as he holds up a baking spoon that reminds him of his mother's friend:

And the funny thing is that that particular family, the Chapains, was almost godparents to my mother when she was a girl. They weren't that much older but they looked out for her. But they were the same kind of people to me and I think probably my sisters too...Benny used that spoon, but it isn't just that I knew her,

it is that my mother knew her and my grandparents knew her. And it is like an extended family.

For one year-round resident, Susan McDonald, many of the children on the island are like her own. Even though she has two girls of her own, when asked about other island children in school she talks of her perceived maternal role:

I have two girls, Geneva and Vicki. But out here, their best friend, Nicholas is like my surrogate son. I got to watch the summer and year-round kids grow up...that has been the best thing for me...just watching the kids grow up. We do have kids in other schools, we have one at Gould Academy in Bethel, we have two at Deer Isle-Stonington now, but we have had some at the academy down in Mt. Desert--George Stevens Academy.

In many small, rural communities, members are typically very private and protective of the community's character and identity. This is no different on Isle au Haut among the residents. The concerns of privacy and the growing distaste of publicity are central to the community's interests and identity with the place.

Residents on the island are generally private and do not like to interact with outsiders. Residents have not completely forgotten about the past actions of visitors being rude and disrespectful to private property. If members of the community welcome visitors with open arms, residents feel a number of things may change. The first is that more people will visit and bring with them the demand for development. With this comes the potential for the island community to change from one centered on fishing to one focused on tourism. For residents, the island is not a physical location that can be visited by tourists and left behind, Isle au Haut is a combination of emotional bonds,

experience, and history (Cochrane, 1987). By residents being private and close-mouthed, they feel they are protecting the place from outsiders who do not necessarily care about remaining a fishing village.

Residents, both summer and year-round, would like to keep the island as secret as possible. In fact, one story told by Belvia captures the secrecy residents uphold regarding the island:

In the early 1970s, Charles Pratt, a journalist from New York, stayed on the island for a few years to write a book called *Here on the Island*. At that time, the community agreed that he could write the book as long as it was not an expose of the island. He stayed on the island off and on for a couple of years to collect stories and eventually fell in love with the place. He respected the residents' wishes and never once mentioned "Isle au Haut" throughout his book.

This sort of secrecy and privacy was conveyed to me in a story Fred Eustis told me about writers that come to the island:

If a person visits the island for a short period of time, he wants to write a huge story telling everyone about the place. If he visits a little longer, his story grows smaller, revealing less about the community and place. If he stays even longer, and gets to know the people and island, he doesn't even want to write a story.

The dislike of publicity is one reason why Kris Lewis, a Registered Nurse and summer resident of three years from Massachusetts, says that some islanders just do not like to interact much with outsiders. She says, "there are some people who live here because they like their privacy and don't really want to interact. So, you just have to leave them alone."

The wintertime, according to stories, is said to be the best time to see just how private residents are on the island. Wayne Barter, who has lived on the island all of his life and who has been a Visitor Use Assistant for Acadia National Park for 19 years, claims members of the community find it hard to be mobile in the winter months, but that it is accepted to not be very social:

I think in the wintertime, most everybody keeps to themselves. As far as the winter goes out here you just don't go seek togetherness, it is hard to get out. We are content to just hang around the house on bad days and what not.

Both year-round and summer residents value their privacy and dislike the fact that many people are finding out about the island as a tourist destination. They feel that the more people know of the island, the greater potential for increased visitation. One of the greatest threats to residents is the growing publicity that invites outsiders onto the island as a vacation spot. Elizabeth Davis, a summer resident for the last few years, speaks to the growing publicity:

I also heard that there was not one, but two stories about Isle au Haut broadcast to the public, one on National Public Radio and another in Down East Magazine.

And that is always troubling to islanders when you hear others trying to draw attention to this place. Not just permanent residents, but summer residents alike try to be very quiet about the name of this island and it is troubling to hear about an article in Down East Magazine about Isle au Haut, or even National

Geographic a few years back.

If most residents had it their way, the island would remain a secret so no one would find out about it. Times have seemingly not changed since the 1970s when residents wanted

the island name left out of Charles Pratt's book, *Here on the Island*. To many residents' disgust, Linda Greenlaw, a life-long summer resident of the island, has recently written a book of short stories called *The Lobster Chronicles* about the island, where she refers to the name of the island repeatedly. Peter Burke says:

Isle au Haut is no longer.... it used to be a kept secret, but now it seems that everyone knows where Isle au Haut is, or knows something about Isle au Haut. Yeah it was written about in National Geographic, Linda Greenlaw has brought quite a lot of attention to it.

Even summer residents are finding the growing publicity of Isle au Haut to be a concern. When Kris Lewis was asked if the image of Isle au Haut would change to accommodate tourism, she responded by saying:

I am afraid it is going to be more and more. It seems to be becoming more publicized between Linda Greenlaw's book and the magazine articles in Down East Magazine and National Geographic. It is just that there are writers here now and there have been articles in magazines kind of exposing Isle au Haut.

To remain a private community with little publicized about the island, residents traditionally do not embrace tourists and the accompanying development that follows. A large reason the island is not keen on visitors (visitors that mostly go to see Acadia National Park) is that in the past they have been quite disrespectful of property and figured the members of the community owed them something. Belvia McDonald recounts a story concerning the general type of visitor to the island, the "day-tripper."

Day-trippers in the past were not something we were appreciative of. Reason being that way back then, and I am talking 1960s now, they were not guided [by

National Park Service] is probably the best word to describe them. They came on-island, they brought their picnic lunches, and they would just as soon sit on your front lawn and leave their garbage behind. And I had that happen to me several times. We got a bad taste in our mouths from that disrespect. We didn't feel we should have to provide trashcans. I mean if you go somewhere, don't you take your stuff home with you? If I went to their homes in the city and sat on their lawn to eat a lunch, would I be allowed to leave my lunch provisions behind?

A similar story by Fred Eustis, a long time summer resident since 1929, also captures the disregard of tourists during the time period:

Tourists would land at the town dock and have no clue where to go, and few knew where to look for most scenic areas of the park. They wanted public toilets, there weren't any. They wanted public water and restaurant food, there wasn't any. They trampled about in people's yards and used islanders' wells for cloth washing and woods for a place of bathroom. Townspeople felt reduced to the status of exhibits in a public zoo. The center of the town with most winter [year-round] residents felt the presence of unruly visitors the most.

The island community also is very much anti-development. In terms of services to the island, there are two inns with limited rooms available, one main grocery store/gas station, town hall, and church, which is very minimal to accommodate visitors. Dating back to the mid-1970s, the town has taken steps to insure that little development would occur. In order to combat a proposed increase in visitors to the island, acquisition of power of eminent domain, and potential park expansion per the Acadia National Park

draft Master Plan of 1972, summer and year-round residents banded together and created a town planning board and commissioned a comprehensive plan for the island.

According to Eustis, this plan sought to conserve the character of the island and town as well as to foster growth of the year-round population that relied on fishing as a principal source of income. The town, being fearful of increased visitors and a decreasing year-round population then created a town zoning ordinance to protect the community's interests and slow down the rate of development on the island. Charlie Jacobi remembers hearing about the ordinance that was put in place before he began working for the park. He claims, "[the town] enacted a zoning ordinance back in 1975 that is pretty restrictive...an ordinance that bans commercial campgrounds, certain types of overnight accommodations like hotels and motels, or restaurants that serve a set number of people." To date, many residents would rather keep visitors out of the community, and only have them visit the park. Peter Burke explains:

The town as I mentioned always wanted park visitors to go straight to the park and not stop in town. And that was an agreement between the town and the park, was that they worked together to try and accomplish that so that the village of Isle au Haut would be untouched by tourists. It was really foresight on the part of the residents because they feared that tourists would come in and try and change the town and they wanted it to stay a resource-based community.

The community on Isle au Haut is one that traditionally has not been centered on tourism and development, but rather one focused on the fishing industry. In fact, it can be said that Isle au Haut is a resource dependent community, centered on lobster fishing. According to Susan McDonald, the wife of one lobsterman, "there are twenty fishermen

out of the thirty-one [men living year round] on the island.” Kaltenborn (1997) found that such traditional uses of resources, like fishing, are seen as important for an attachment to the area. Lobstering is the major source of revenue on the island for its residents according to Fred Eustis, a summer resident since 1929 and direct descendent of the family that donated land on the island to Acadia National Park:

Yes, and lobstering is still number one. Many fishermen don't just try to make it on lobstering alone though. Haddock, scallops, etc., still are fished for, but not nearly as much for as lobster. Everybody thought it would decrease but it hasn't. The number of haddock decreasing, which ate many baby lobsters, has lead to an increase in lobster. Now more than ever, fishermen are relying on lobster with the market for them increasing and people can air freight them around to other countries.

Due to the fact that Isle au Haut is a prime location for fishing, it makes sense that most year-round residents rely on the industry for their income. Peter Burke says “this area around us is some of the best fishing in the world. We are right in the middle of it. This is still one of the best fishing areas for lobster in the world.”

Many of the community members feel that not much has changed in that the island was, and still is, dependent upon lobstering. Wayne Barter, who has lived on-island all his life, says this:

Most people fished when I was a kid, lobster fished. Most families were fishing families. I don't know if it has changed all that much as far as the year-round community goes. I think it is still fishing-based one way or another.

Kipp Quinby, who has fished since she was a child, said that the importance of fishing has not changed through the years for year-round residents. According to Milligan (1998), attachment to a specific site is also an attachment to the patterns of activity, such as fishing, known to have occurred there in the past and anticipated to occur there in the future. Even though Kipp is not currently fishing, but rather working with the NPS, she feels fishing has remained an important way of life for island residents.

It [fishing] is the same. People make their living that way [fishing]. Some people do it along with something else; some people do it solely fishing. I think it is about the same. I have been more and less involved in it. I personally had a commercial fishing license since I was 6 years old and I fished...I wasn't fishing hard...you know I had 15, 20, 25 traps at a time up through the year before last. I didn't have them last year out. But the last three years before this last one, I was working as a sternman for one of the boats so that sort of puts you in the middle of it. So, it has changed in terms of where I am in it some, but for most of the island, I don't think it has changed at all.

The Isle au Haut community is not one solely made up of year-round residents, but also summer residents that, regardless of spending limited time on-island, contribute greatly to the community. It is a collection of individuals from very different backgrounds and families, treating each other as adopted relatives. In response to the growing interest of visitors to the island, residents are those that have distaste for tourism and the development that can accompany a wealth of visitors. It is a community that has a long tradition in lobster fishing, and clings tightly to that identity.

Shared Purpose

As people live in an area and become part of a community, interests and purposes tend to become collective, whether consciously arrived at or not. People begin to think alike, act similarly, and possess common perspectives. For the village of Isle au Haut, residents live, work, eat, and commune with one another on a regular basis, which in turn makes it difficult for the community not to possess joint purposes and interests. The purposes that residents share on-island are largely based on threats to the community and way of life on the island.

Many aspects of the community that were addressed above lend themselves well to examples of such collective purposes and concerns that in essence help explain this resource dependent island, place identity, and attachment of its residents. These purposes are many on the island. Residents speak of protecting the resources on the island from visitors and potential fires that may occur. They do not want resources both throughout the park (trails and trees) and on private property (the homes and land they own). It is also a common purpose to maintain the lifelines of the community, which are to keep the mailboat and school running. Without a mailboat, many residents would not be able to get to the island, and if the school closed, few potential year-round residents would be attracted to the island. Residents possess the purpose of keeping the island a fishing community and not a tourist destination, which threatens place identity with increased visitors. Two other shared purposes of residents are to maintain open communication with Acadia National Park and minimize potential fire on the island.

The first example of a shared purpose among community members is the collective concern for protecting the natural resources within the park and throughout the

island. It is clear many feel that the resources of the park are part of their “backyard” and they do not want to see it degraded in any way. This concern has been voiced throughout the community and is a major component of the boundary legislation (PL 97-335) that was passed in 1982 to create a legally mandated open dialogue between the National Park Service and the residents of Isle au Haut. Summer and year-round residents wanted to make sure the island’s natural resources would not be altered both directly on public property and indirectly on private property by visitors to the park. It was the hope in seeking legislation that the park would protect the resources on the island. According to the law that was drafted by members of the community:

There are significant resources, scenic, educational, natural, and cultural...that are deserving of protection through public and private efforts. Every effort shall be exerted to maintain and preserve this portion of the park in as nearly its preset state and condition as possible. In recognition of the special fragility and sensitivity of the park’s resources, visitation shall be strictly limited to assure negligible adverse impact on such resources (PL 97-335).

All residents who were interviewed feel the resources on the island are also their concern as they share the island with the park. Also, as more visitors are allowed to enter the park, the natural resources will likely be affected in a negative manner. Belvia voices this concern for the resources:

I would not want Acadia to damage, overly damage the resources down there. In other words, I would not want them to allow so many people down there that it would destroy what the people come to see. If you have too many people on too many trails, then they get warped and run down.

Living on an island that is split nearly in half by privately owned land and half Acadia National Park, residents feel their backyards are the park, and few residents want the park ruined by excess visitors to the island. Kipp Quinby says, “nobody ever wants to see their backyard trashed. The park is basically all of our backyards. So, nobody wants to see it degraded in any way. Nobody wants to see the park run down.” Low (1992) says the place attachment individuals feel is the symbolic relationship formed by people giving culturally shared emotional meanings to a particular space.

In addition to protecting the natural resources of the island, residents also find it essential to protect two “lifelines” of the island. They are the Isle au Haut school and the mailboat ferries (“Miss Lizzie” and “Mink”). Without either one, the existing community would likely cease to exist. It is a shared purpose of the community members to recognize the importance of each service and work to keep them functioning. Regarding the one-room school for kindergarten through eighth grade, there has been concern voiced about keeping the school open. Currently, few students are enrolled and according to many residents, if the school closes, it takes a specific number of children to reopen. Residents are worried that once the school closes, few new year-round residents will be attracted to the fishing community if their children must attend school off-island. Wayne Barter explains the scenario of re-opening the school if it closes:

We have what, seven kids in school this year. Looking ahead you don’t see that many kids coming along and once the school closes, if it closes, I think it will some day, you have to have a minimum number to reopen it. It is kind of the lifeblood of the island. You cannot attract young families if there is no school over here.

Susan McDonald also shares this concern as she said, “If the school closes, now I could be wrong on this, but I think we need 10 kids to reopen it. We can run it with one, but to reopen we need 10 kids I believe.”

During the 1980s with the growing concern of closing the school, residents began to seek methods of attracting new year-round residents. They formed a company called the Island Community Development Company (ICDC) approximately twenty years ago, which bought land and built three houses people could rent. If after three years the renters wanted to stay, they had the option of buying land on the island to live throughout the year. Since the ICDC inception, residents feel the population has steadily increased. Currently, the houses are occupied, and have served their purpose of attracting new residents, and thus bringing more children to the school. Jock Davis talks of the houses that were built by ICDC, saying “those houses were built up to try to attract people to come to the island particularly to try and keep the school going.” Belvia explains the ICDC more thoroughly:

We were afraid the community would become a ghost town and so a bunch of us said we have to do something about this if we can. This was in the early 1980s when we bought the land and then for a while we didn’t do anything with the land. Then in the late 1980s ICDC was formed, and we went and got grant money to build three rental-housing units on it. So we said we really need rental units and then some of the other town land that we had we made a plan of where other houses could be built. People could now come and rent 3-5 years, if at that time you decided “yeah, I would really like to stay,” then you could buy what I call

“cheap land” to build a house to live year-round. So, that is what we did. We got land, we got power, we got telephones, and that is how we got an influx of people. Despite the current situation of having ample students in the school to keep it going, the island always worries that if the school closes, it will be a matter of time before the year-round population begins to decrease. For residents of the island, they want a sound balance between a viable year-round population to keep the school going, and small amounts of visitors that may be attracted to living on-island year round. One of the things to stay positive about however, is the fact that residents have been worrying about the school closing for over 40 years according to Charles Pratt’s book *Here on the Island*, and it has not.

The mailboat that makes frequent trips to Isle au Haut is the other major lifeline of the island. Residents rely on the boat to bring them to and from the island and Stonington throughout the year (a 45-minute ferry ride with numerous trips made daily). The mailboat is necessary because not everyone possesses a personal boat and thus some must depend on the Isle au Haut Boat Company to ship needed material to the island.

To insure that community members would always have a means of transportation to the island, residents banded together and bought the Isle au Haut Boat Company. One of the principle owners of the company, Fred Eustis, is a summer resident who feels obligated to provide the service to residents because his family donated the land to Acadia National Park. “So as someone responsible for the island, I bought the Isle au Haut Boat Company some 30 years ago to help monitor how many people visit and provide the community with good transportation.” Charlie Jacobi sees the ownership of the company as a way in which the members of the community control their own destiny:

Isle au Haut Boat Company is owned by island residents. They took ownership of it back in the early 1970s so they would have control over their own futures. It was owned and operated by a guy from Stonington previously and now it is operated by a business or even two businesses I think that are owned by stockholders/shareholders, which are summer and year-round residents.

With the strong tradition of lobstering (dating back to the first white settlers on the island), current high numbers of fishermen, and the fact that Isle au Haut is right in the middle of prime lobster waters, there is no doubt residents want to remain a resource dependent community. According to Cochrane (1989), daily life, economic opportunities, and expressive culture show the strength of a group's attachment to a place. As mentioned previously by Kipp Quinby, "no one wants to see the island turn into anything but a fishing town." Keeping lobstering and fishing central to the island is a shared purpose that almost everyone supports. One example of the members of the community trying to continue the long tradition of fishing was when the local fishermen created their own lobstermen's association. Belvia McDonald tells the story:

In 1984 I believe, the fishermen here banded together and created a company, the Isle au Haut Lobstermen's Association and they found that they could better themselves by forming this company and each fisherman sells to the company. And they have a lobster pound in the fall where they put their best lobsters that they have. And when the market goes up in prices is when we harvest those lobsters and sell them. And then whatever profit they have made gets divided amongst how many pounds they have sold to the company. They wind up with what you call a bonus in the spring. These guys here are trying to save the

community is what they are trying to do. And this is an extra way to financially boost their salaries/income.

Some members of the community feel that development will not only lead to replacing the island's dependence on fishing, but will no doubt be inevitable over time. The community has become so comfortable with the idea of being a fishing island that its residents depend on the ocean and lobsters for their way of life. After all, fishing has been a way of life for over 200 years on the island. Cultural characteristics such as life style are likely to be associated with attachment individuals feel towards places (Fuhrer, et al., 1993). As a result of the bond residents feel towards the fishing island, Belvia and others try to slow down the rate at which development can occur:

I won't be surprised if after I am long gone that it [development] happens, but I think what we are trying to do here is slow the pace down. We are trying to prevent it from happening, but I think it is like trying to push a rock back uphill. I just think it is a matter of trying to slow it down from happening, knowing eventually we will lose. I like the idea of a fishing community, rather than a tourism community.

Kipp Quinby says something similar by stating how she does not want Isle au Haut to turn into another well-developed island off the coast of Maine:

I don't want to see this island turn into Monhegan or something like that with big hotels and thousands of summer visitors. I would really be sad to see it not be a fishing town. I think it is an identity thing too: the "fishing village/rugged fishermen on the coast of Maine thing" that I love.

Residents do everything they possibly can in order to ensure the island remains a fishing community. This includes each individual taking on numerous day-to-day responsibilities that many individuals would normally have to, because they know that if each person does not carry multiple responsibilities, the possibility of remaining a fishing island is reduced. What results is that many members of the community have more than one job that they perform. Kris Lewis sees this in many of the year-round residents performing multiple tasks:

You will see a lot of lobstermen...you know the winter is quiet, so some of them might be caretakers of summer residents' homes. Somebody might work for the town and also work for the store. Somebody might be a schoolteacher and also work in the store at the same time, and also watch over the summer homes. So, yeah I see people doing more than one job here.

For Susan and Danny McDonald on the island, having more than one job is a reality that allows them to pay the bills while carrying some of the load to keep the town functioning. Susan says:

During the summer, I work in the store. I am the town tax collector, the town clerk, and town registrar. I am chairman of the school board. I am an EMT. I guess that is it. So I mean it [the jobs] is all scattered out, so it is not too hard to balance the jobs.... And I needed the money. My husband is mainly a fisherman. But he is also the meter reader for the power company, the head plow driver. He is on the planning board. He does carpentry, but would rather not because he is a fisherman. I don't know if it is a sense of pride or a sense of community, but everyone pitches in and does their part to make sure the town stays running.

What the residents do and how they live affects the park, just as whatever the park decides to accomplish or implement, residents are affected in some way. Keeping open channels of communication with the NPS is key for residents to be able to voice their concerns of remaining a fishing community and maintaining a peaceful existence with the park. This open dialogue between park personnel and community members is yet another collective purpose of residents on Isle au Haut.

Residents and Acadia National Park have not always had open communication and a positive relationship. Before the early 1980s, residents saw the park as an absent landowner on the island. Belvia McDonald explains Acadia's lack of concern for residents in the past:

They [Acadia National Park] did as they darn well pleased. They didn't care about the community. We were basically non-existent to them. They didn't care about the fact that they got the people here and then they were imposing on private property; that wasn't concerning them in the least.

It was the Public Law of 1982 that brought about a better working situation as the law, in essence, had positive outcomes for both parties. Fred Eustis says that:

Both residents and the National Park Service gained from the 1982 boundary legislation: residents finally rationalized a boundary, eminent domain was considered unacceptable for the park service to utilize from that point on, and it stabilized the park boundary. The park on the other hand was given a contiguous area of land to manage, good next door neighbors in the residents, and it gave them a better understanding of the area to help map and set boundaries; prior to that wasn't really done.

Since the legislation, relations have been improving as personnel from Acadia National Park have been expressing their ownership of the park and involving the members of the community in the planning process. This is done primarily through scheduling meetings with residents throughout the year, at which time park personnel listen to the residents' needs and concerns, while informing them of the park's intent. As First Selectman of Isle au Haut, Peter Burke attends these meetings when they are held on the island:

There have been public meetings in the town hall and they [park personnel] addressed any concerns that the public might have had and also the park was doing some studies concerning carrying capacity and trail wear and tear, and the park wanted the residents to know of the studies going on. The relationship between residents and the park...is stronger than it has been in the past and it will continue to get better with such meetings.

Kipp Quinby said something similar:

There have been several meetings with the National Park Service and they do a good job informing residents of when they will be held. I think it [communication] has been very open. They have already had a meeting this summer and I think they are planning to have another. I think in the last couple of years the interaction has been at a very high point, in terms of actually listening and acting on what people [residents] are saying from the island.

Perhaps the most commonly held purpose among members of the community is to minimize potential fires from breaking out on Isle au Haut. Everyone spoken to on the island brought up the fact that fire is one of the most important worries among island

residents and park personnel. According to Belvia, “The one concern that we all have, living on an island, without having access from a large fire department, is fire.” Fred Eustis reiterated this fear by claiming, “fire has been a concern for years on the island, as the last two big fires here were in the 1870s and 1949.”

A number of reasons exist as to why members of the community have concern for fire as their most evident purpose on the island. Many feel the island is a tinderbox, full of forest fuels that are ready to ignite at any moment. This is due to the fact that fire has been absent from Isle au Haut for at least 50 years. If a fire occurs on the island, many of the residents, their homes, resources, etc. could potentially be wiped out. As residents have formed strong emotional bonds over the years (Williams et al., 1992), they pay special attention to things that could affect the island like fire. If fire does occur on the island, they stand a good chance of losing each other, their homes, and everything else that serves to make up their attachments to the island. Milligan (1998) says, to lose a place is like losing access to past experiences. Wayne Barter, the long-time ranger and resident of Isle au Haut speaks of the fire concern:

Well mainly, if this island catches on fire, there is a potential to lose most of the houses and lives, which are basically the main concerns. Right now the forest...we don't have a happy forest out here, it is dying out naturally. We have disease, acid fog, the bark beetle, you name it, we have it. There are tons of fuels down on the ground...the fuels here are not to be taken lightly. Most of the roots are exposed on trails and that is a potential fire hazard. It would be a mop-up nightmare if this island caught, because it would burn for quite some time. My brother and I burned some brush on-island quite a few years back. I remember it

was February when we burned the brush, and one of the summer residents was here in July I think. Well he started to smell smoke. It had been burning underground since February and the smoke was slowly seeping up.

Susan McDonald shares a similar concern for fire:

We are due for a fire. We haven't had one for a long time. There has been a lot of blow downs and a lot of underbrush sits on the forest floor, from one end of the island to the other. Something is going to happen. How soon? We just wait for it. When you have rows and rows and rows of trees that are crisscrossed and down, one spark is all it is going to take and this island is going to be gone.

Kipp Quinby also recognizes the potential for a major fire as she says:

Once this island starts up, it is a regular tinderbox. We have so much dead wood and everything. I mean half of our dirt is just sort of dried organic matter and the dirt burns too. We get these ground fires that travel along roots, and those are really scary.

Many residents feel a fire will occur in the southern portion of the island, where the park is, caused undoubtedly by a visitor. This leads residents to be skeptical of the concern visitors have for the island. Kipp Quinby feels that "people in town are a little wary of visitors that come out and don't quite realize the potential for fire and fire danger." Wayne Barter says that "most [residents] think that the fire, this is my own personal opinion, most of the people on this [northern] end of the island believe a fire is going to start down there." According to Fred Eustis, visitors will likely be the ones who start the fire on the island:

Fire is and has been one of the largest fears of residents on-island. Outsiders really have never understood this fear but realize if this island catches with its huge fuels, people have nowhere to go, same with the fire. The fear is that these visitors will be the ones that start a blaze and burn this island down, an island they don't have a deep concern or care for.

It is a concern of the residents that if a fire starts in the park with the prevailing wind out of the southwest, the island would be engulfed in flames very rapidly. Belvia explains this idea:

The scariest thing though is that you never know what the weather will give you or if it takes only a match or someone smoking. The prevailing wind in the summertime on Isle au Haut is southwest. So, if a fire started down there it would get up here with the winds in no time.

Being concerned about fire on the island, residents have acted to minimize its potential. One way to decrease fire potential is by removing the fallen trees throughout the forest. Belvia McDonald recounts that some individuals have asked the park if they could remove trees themselves:

We did approach them at some point and asked if the fallen trees, the newly fallen trees, if the people who burn wood in wood stoves for heat in winter couldn't harvest those fallen trees. That would make less wood on the forest floor that could start a fire. And that was refused, just because they said, "you cannot make a rule just for Isle au Haut, if you make a rule, it has got to apply in every park."

Susan McDonald comments on removal of fallen trees and what else the island has been doing to minimize fire potential:

Over the years, we have had many blowdowns, from one end of the island to the other. There are piles and piles of dead wood that the town could take and help clear out. This would alleviate fire danger, but NPS will not let us do it. They want nature to take its course. But when you have rows and rows and rows of trees that are crisscrossed and down, one spark is all it is going to take and this island is going to be gone. The good thing is that our fire department is getting better equipped and more effort is being put into building it up. We finally have George, our fire chief, who is willing to take the time and get people together. He even goes around the island just about every night looking for fires. But people are usually very careful on the island, even during the winter. Nobody burns unless there is like 2 feet of snow on the ground.

Kipp Quinby speaks of prevention techniques as well:

If you look right behind you, the town has been distributing fire extinguishers that are to be placed right by the door, either inside or outside so that it is in a predictable location. And if there is a fire, and you go to an exit, you are not trapped by getting a fire extinguisher. Also, if someone else comes in to put it out, they can grab it quickly. It is really for prevention, the emphasis is. Because once this island starts up, it is a regular tinderbox. We have so much dead wood and everything. So the town is focused on prevention and working with the park in terms of pooling resources and equipment and knowing who has what and where, and how it is going to work if something happens.

Owning nearly half of the island, Acadia National Park also shares the residents' concern for fire. This concern began early as the park realized the residents' concern for potential fires. Jock Davis remembers this:

...people were becoming agitated and concerned with fire. So the park then became more concerned themselves with the welfare of the island and potential for fire, and they began maintaining roads for better access to fire and an escape route.

The park has also pooled resources if the island needs park equipment, donating fire equipment, and holding classes for residents to take that teach how to fight wild fires.

Peter Burke says:

As a matter of fact, the park just gave Isle au Haut a bunch of equipment: a fire hose, a bunch of other things just a few weeks ago. I don't know exactly what it is, the fire chief knows and Wayne [Barter] knows. The park knows that is our main concern with visitors, the whole fire thing. There are more people coming out to the island. It is no longer a secret place. There are kayakers now. There weren't kayaks before. There are more private boats coming into the island.

People of the island are concerned that with more and more people coming to the island, someone will come out here and start a fire. And they [NPS] are willing to work with us on that. They have the resources obviously, the training and manpower.

Kipp Quinby comments on the park's concern for fire as well. She says,

The town is focused on prevention and working with the park in terms of pooling resources and equipment and knowing who has what and where, and how it is going to work if something happens. They are trying to set up wildland fire prevention training to train residents how to deal with wildfires once they start and how to keep them from spreading, which is important.

As a community, residents of Isle au Haut have many collective purposes. One is to protect the natural resources throughout the island, including those on both public and private property. Residents have expressed a common purpose to keep the school and mailboat operating because these are both perceived as “lifelines” to the community. Residents also desire to keep Isle au Haut mostly a fishing community, and not a tourist destination. Open communication with NPS is another purpose residents share. Finally, the community shares the purpose of minimizing potential fires that would sweep through the entire island.

Shared History

Possessing collective purposes is not all that residents of Isle au Haut have in common. Over the years, individuals on island have also forged strong histories together through interaction. Residents of Isle au Haut have various levels of experience with the island. Belvia McDonald has lived on island year-round for 43 years, Elizabeth Davis and Kris Lewis have been summer residents for only a few years, Kipp Quinby has worked for the park for a season and lived on-island for 10 years, and Wayne Barter has lived on Isle au Haut all his life while an employee of Acadia for the last 18 years. While the extent of experience and memories may differ among these individuals, they all have

one thing in common: each person has constructed his/her own perspective of history surrounding Isle au Haut.

Many events and aspects of the island community are referred to in stories shared by residents. The histories residents possess on Isle au Haut are anchored largely in past events and occurrences that have taken place on-island. Their attachment is evidenced through their stories that link time, landscape, and people together (Riley, 1992). These stories of shared history also help to make up residents' identity on the island. These stories contribute to the shared history of residents on the island and involve the importance of fishing to the island, inconveniences of island living, coming to aid of others in need, and life as it relates to "the legislation."

For many residents, fishing has been an important part of life for a number of years. Fishing has been part of the local history for well over 200 years. Kaltenborn (1997) claims that the presence and acknowledgement of local cultural history is important for place attachment to occur among individuals. In addition to lobstering, fishing for herring (type of fish that is used to bait lobster traps) by use of a weir was common on the island until the late 1970s and early 1980s. Residents recount the structure, function, mechanization, and economic importance of the weirs. For Jock Davis, he remembers the family that lived near his home in Moore's Harbor and operated one weir there.

The family that lived down you know where you went by [an area south of town, yet north of Moore's Harbor], it was a green and red house, ok? Well that was the Chapains' house. Ralph was one of the two partners. Ralph and Phil Allen, the two of them started and built this weir in 1939 and they used to cut trees, spruce

trees off in here (points eastward). There is a brook that goes down where you went over the bridge. And you take them [branches] out and you put them in the water as posts and use the branches to help capture the fish so they cannot swim around. So, you make this porous barrier and they built this thing, and it turned out as I recall being one of the most profitable weirs along the Maine coast, at least back then. There was one year they made...a couple thousand dollars a year was a good earning...they made, I think it was \$75,000 a piece, and managed to do quite well with it. That one is gone as you can see. What has happened is that the fish one way or another seem to have been driven offshore. I don't know if anyone knows why, in any case they finally quit the thing, in I believe 1979.

Belvia McDonald also tells of another weir removed in the early 1980s that was located in the Thoroughfare, between Kimball's Island and the town.

Herring is what is caught [in the weir]. Back then, you must have heard of sardines, and what that is, is canned herring. The weir...at high tide the fish would come swimming up looking for food, and then get tricked...as fishermen are out watching and when there are a lot of fish they would put a net down so they couldn't get out. Now you have them in a pocket because you have stakes which is pieces of wood that go right down to the bottom and you have a net. Then after they have shut them off and got them, then the sardine boats, which are probably 80-90 feet boats, would come and they have pumps on them with hoses and the fishermen who own the weir would make the net grow smaller and smaller by pulling in the net. And then the hose would be put down here like a

vacuum cleaner and vacuum them into the boat. Then the boat would take them to market and however many fish they had caught they got paid for poundage.

These narratives explain shared history of the residents because the weirs mentioned were positioned right outside their windows where residents could visibly see the fishing occurring. This method of fishing was part of the everyday life for residents as either they participated or had friends and relatives that made the weirs of Isle au Haut one of the most profitable along the Maine coast. Also, from viewing pictures Jock Davis had, these weirs had been used since the early 1900s. Even though the weirs were removed approximately 20 years ago, stories told by residents reconstruct their presence and importance to the island community.

As mentioned above, fishing has been important to the island, even the Native Americans in the 1700s used the island for their fishing purposes. For Wayne Barter, whose family was the first European settlers to the island, fishing has been central to his ancestry. Thus, fishing on the island could be thought of as a ritual on the island. According to Relph (1976), rituals help in strengthening the attachment individuals possess to a place. Wayne recounts this importance when speaking briefly of his family tree.

Well there were three brothers that moved to Isle au Haut from the Boothbay region in 1792 and settled on the island: Peletiah Barter, William Barter, and Henry Barter. They were the first settlers, fishermen and farmers. A friend of mine actually traced our ancestors back and my family is direct descendants of Peletiah Barter. I don't know how many generations it has been, but that is where it all began. As far as I can tell most of the family has fished on Isle au Haut,

except my grandfather. My father's father was a steam engineer, so he went away and worked on steam ships. I guess both sides of the family were lobstermen all throughout their lives. My father's father was a lobster fisherman, until he realized he wanted to be a steam engineer and gave up lobstering. He died when I was pretty young, when I was like four years old. And my grandfather on my mother's side, he was a lobster fisherman also. Before I went to work for the park, I was a lobsterman.

Talking with many individuals concerning Isle au Haut, inconveniences and restrictiveness associated with life on the fishing island were mentioned repeatedly in their stories. These inconveniences are part of the shared history on the island, which everyone experiences making life a little more difficult. For residents to live on-island is a commitment, because even though almost everyone mentioned the inconveniences of island living, it was accepted or simply understood as way of life. Wayne Barter highlights these inconveniences:

I guess the main inconvenience of living out here is that you have to transport everything you need from the mainland—propane and most of your groceries. I guess it is just the transportation issues as far as getting everything you need out here, you have to handle things about four times before you get it here. It is not a matter of running to the store and driving back home. You have to load it in the vehicle on the mainland, you load it onto the boat, you load it off the boat, you load it into your vehicle here, and then you load it into your cabinets. That is the biggest inconvenience. You just get used to the inconveniences on-island if you want to stay.

Susan McDonald recounts a story about being pregnant with her two girls, Geneva and Vicki and the inconveniences of having no hospital on-island, coupled with the fact that winter transportation is a nightmare traveling to the mainland:

My children were born in Blue Hill [a town near Stonington]. My father-in-law, Jack McDonald, when I was pregnant with Geneva, she was due in March and he told me he didn't do winter baby runs, so I had to move off in February and I stayed with Danny's grandparents. I had problems with her, so I had to have her C-sectioned, and I was off the island from February 15 to April 16, I think it was. This was in 1992. And then I had Vicki in 1993 and we had to do a C-section with her and it was all planned by that time, so I didn't have to stay off-island that long.

From the stories told by residents, everyone shares the history of having few conveniences on-island. Inconveniences are simply accepted by residents. They realize that living on a remote island with little development has its hardships, but that is the tradition that captures the island character. A bridge does not connect to the mainland for quick travel, and if there were, it would alter the character of the island by allowing more people to come and go from the island. As a result of these inconveniences, residents share a history of planning accordingly for transportation to the mainland and bringing things to the island.

Because of these inconveniences on island, many residents will come to the aid of one another in times of need despite differences or misunderstandings. It is the people that make a place what it is and the attachment that follows from the interaction among those individuals (Brandenburg and Carroll, 1995). In such a small community, many members have to work together, because they never know when someone will come to their rescue.

There was one time on the island when Miss Lizzie, the former Postmistress, fell and broke her hip. Jock Davis remembers this:

It is typical of the way people on the island help each other out to keep the town moving. They always come to the aid of others. I remember when Miss Lizzie broke both of her hips and was all alone in her house. Being Postmistress at the post office in town, people realized she didn't come to work. It didn't take long for people to go to her house and check up on her. She waited until someone eventually came to get her and take her off-island to the hospital. I think that captures the dynamics of people on this island working together and helping each other out. Miss Lizzie just knew someone would come for her.

Belvia McDonald said this about the time Miss Lizzie fell:

I think people remember what happened to Miss Lizzie and how she knew someone would rescue her. She waited at least a day, but didn't panic. Here everyone does help each other in times of need. I said just this morning to someone else, even though you may dislike someone in a small community that someone maybe the person that lugs you off on a stretcher if you become injured, hurt, or whatever.

When residents come to the rescue of their neighbors on Isle au Haut, it strengthens the sense of community and allows people to work together. Also, in coming to the aid of others, the island as a space is given meaning through such group processes, making it a place (Low and Altman, 1992). As a place, residents have formed emotional bonds that enable them to want to help each other in difficult times. People on the island have an understanding that residents will help one another, just as residents shared in

their stories constructed about Miss Lizzie. Because of this, residents believe that as long as people need assistance on the island, help will be provided.

Wayne Barter speaks of a tragic event that involved his next-door neighbor whom he has known for years. The event that occurred in 2001 has pulled the community together.

People do come together and work together. The girl next door [Sally Runge] was in an automobile accident two weeks before her high school graduation and was paralyzed from the waist down. She is nineteen years old, and the whole community came together just like that. Summer and winter people alike, and they still are. They have raised thousands of dollars on her behalf, with auctions and whatever other way they can get money. It happened last year. That is one way people come together. And you know, years ago, if somebody's house burned down, people would come together to make donations and volunteer time to help the people get their feet back on the ground. It wasn't necessarily that they liked those people, but they helped each other out for the benefit of those in hard times.

Kipp Quinby, who grew up with Sally Runge and was a year behind her in school, remembers the story:

The Runge's daughter, Sally, was paralyzed almost a year ago exactly, I think. Yes, it was a year and month ago she got into a car accident off-island, and people are still putting on benefits and doing things to help. We raised so much money over the last year, and she is able to go for physical therapy off-island now. In fact, tonight there is a benefit show...some folk band...at the town hall to raise

money for her and this week there is an auction going on at the Kennedy's garage with proceeds going to the Runge family. If something bad does happen on-island, generally everyone pitches in, summer and year-rounders alike.

With year-round residents having a difficult time making money on-island, residents did what they could to raise money to help pay for Sally's bills and rehabilitation. These examples are important to shared history because they show how tragic events bring the community closer and at the same time allow residents to reconstruct the story in a positive light, reflecting island togetherness.

Susan McDonald remembers how building her house was no easy task having materials shipped over from the mainland. Eventually she and her husband had to do some of the legwork with the help of the community behind them.

When Danny and I decided to build our house, we had one of the local boys help...with most of what we used was polystyrene blocks, rebar, and cement. And to get the cement out here on the cement truck, they could only carry a certain amount of cement out at a time. So, we decided to do it by hand...once we got the house up and the interior walls and studs up, the town decided to have a "work day" and a bunch of people came and they put sheet rock up and cleaned the garbage. And we had a potluck...it was all volunteer.

These examples that highlight the events of coming to the aid of others show the resourcefulness and thoughtfulness of residents in constructing their histories together. From the narratives, residents are seen taking it upon themselves to help one another voluntarily, regardless of how well individuals get along. Each of the stories represent histories that residents have constructed based largely on the major past events occurring

on-island. These historical narratives also possess numerous examples of interaction (i.e.-fundraising, having a “work day”, checking on people, having a potluck, etc.) that residents point out in constructing their stories.

Almost everyone that shared stories concerning their experiences and histories of Isle au Haut spoke of life as it related to the U.S. Congressional Public Law 97-335 that was passed in 1982. Reiterating what was mentioned previously; “the legislation” had very clear direction for the island. It said that because of Isle au Haut’s isolated location and traditional resource-based economy, both the park and residents need to protect its resources. Further, the legislation made public and private property on the island contiguous, making it easier for the park to manage its land. It also stated that Acadia must manage the park as a low use area, establishing a carrying capacity and updating it every five years. What was very unique about the legislation was that it stated Acadia must conserve the character of the town as a natural-resource dependent community; a legislative mandate that exists for very few natural resource agencies concerning local communities.

Residents’ stories surrounding “the legislation” focus on three areas: life before the law was passed, how the legislation brought the community together, and life since the passing of the public law. Before the public law, life on the island was not very pleasant, as visitors to the park were seen as a nuisance and problematic to the community having to traverse private land to get to the pieced-together part of the park. Charlie Jacobi said:

It was in the 1960s that the problems; the conflicts between the residents and visitors and residents and the park began to develop. Because people [visitors]

saw a green spot on the map, they saw the dotted line for the ferry and you know Acadia National Park. “Let’s go.” They went there, they got off at the ferry and the parklands were a hike so they were sort of at wit’s end and they weren’t prepared, they didn’t know that, so there was a lot of trespass and camping on private land and I guess, just disrupted behavior for the people that lived in town and that is what started the conflicts.

Jock Davis, a long-time summer resident, remembers such disregard on the part of visitors during that time period in one of his stories:

Right beside the town landing they would have [lobster] traps out and people would come along and grab up buoys and that kind of thing. And they didn’t know anything and nobody told them not to, you know—to leave private property alone.

The visitors’ disregard and disrespect were magnified by the park’s lack of concern for the area of the island that they owned prior to the congressional legislation.

Belvia McDonald remembers this clearly.

They [Acadia National Park] did as they darn well pleased. They didn’t care about the community. We were basically non-existent to them. They didn’t care about the fact that they got the people here, and then they were imposing on private property; that wasn’t concerning them in the least.

Fearing that Acadia National Park would shift a wealth of visitors to Isle au Haut from the main part of the park (Mount Desert Island), while continuing to be an absent landlord of the parkland, the residents sought to protect their future and force the park into managing their half of the island. What resulted was the legislation that both year-

round and summer residents fully supported and worked on together to bring into fruition. Charlie Jacobi explains:

The tendency for NPS even in the late 1970s and early 1980s was to try to accommodate more people on Isle au Haut, that is what residents feared. And I don't think that would have been a good thing so the legislation put a stop to that to some degree.

Len Bobinchock, the Deputy Superintendent of Acadia remembers the residents' push for the congressional law:

When the boundary legislation was put together for Isle au Haut, the residents were very strongly involved in that. They worked with their congressional delegation and others. They were able to convince Congress to put in the boundary legislation that there would be a mandated carrying capacity and that the park would be basically managed as a primitive type of resource.

In essence, "the legislation" brought the community closer together. The interaction that occurred among summer and year-round residents in getting the legislation passed was quite meaningful to residents in bringing them closer together. Milligan (1998) says that the more meaningful the interactions that occur in a place, the greater the place attachment to the site. Belvia McDonald says:

They [Acadia] were talking of escalating park use of their portion of Isle au Haut. And at that time there were grandiose ideas and it was going to be a small Mount Desert Island. And that wasn't something we wanted and that wasn't something the homeowners, summer residents wanted either, and that was when both the summer and permanent residents banded together and went for the legislation.

Fred Eustis, a long-time summer resident who was instrumental in lobbying Congress concerning the legislation, recounts a similar perspective of working with the year-round residents while telling why the legislation was pursued:

In the early 1970s, Acadia began a General Management Plan and created a draft of the plan for Isle au Haut. They didn't consult residents however and of course that caused some very hard feelings. This draft master plan for Acadia's part of the island envisaged the indefinite expansion of tourism, and reacquisition of power of eminent domain, and the considerable geographic expansion of the park. All of these things as well as the fact that this plan came from Denver, Colorado and didn't embrace local interests at all brought the town closer and more together.... It should be mentioned that summer and permanent residents both worked together to help get the law passed. And it was almost unanimously supported among the residents in the end as every step of the way they were involved.

Belvia recounts the role summer residents played in getting the legislation passed:

They [summer residents] conducted surveys, they participated in some of the discussions, public discussions that were held and in essence they had to contribute money through taxes that paid for the cost to go for legislation because that is a costly affair.

In addition to both residents and the park gaining from the passage of the legislation in the early 1980s, life on the island and the relationship between the two parties has been quite positive according to both residents and park personnel. Neither

party is fearful of the other as both gained from the passing of the legislation in 1982.

Kipp Quinby shares that:

Acadia is not allowed to take anything by eminent domain. That was a big concern for a long time that the park could take land by eminent domain. With the legislation, it is no longer allowed to, which means the town is not in danger of being overwhelmed and the island will not become all Acadia. And I think that is very important. And it also consolidated parkland so that there weren't isolated parts of the park among private holdings and vice a versa. And that limits the amount of people that walk through private land to get to the park.

Some feel the legislation forced the park into taking ownership of their own land, but that the relationship since has been great according to many of the residents. Belvia McDonald says:

So anyway at that time when that [PL 97-335] happened, then Acadia started paying more attention to "oh, we have got land on Isle au Haut," and they started managing it and started working with the town to give the visitors what they were looking for, which was trails and no people, and it gave the community privacy and fewer people leaving picnic stuff on their front lawns. So that made a good relationship and that has pretty much been maintained, they have pretty much worked with the town. Since the legislation, Acadia has fulfilled our requirements, which are working with the community. You are talking a long time now that we have had a pretty good record, since 1982 or so. So, that is 20 years now. They really do listen. But I think the legislation is what made them listen, and I think without it, it would be different otherwise.

Prior to the public law, little interaction existed between residents and the park. Currently meetings occur throughout the year and residents are brought up to speed on park plans as well as invited to share their concerns. Len Bobinchock explains:

And now more recently the relationship between the park and the community has gotten better. The last couple of years, we have had at least one, sometimes two formal meetings with the community. And our relationship again seems to be on the upswing.

Kipp Quinby also speaks to the open dialogue between residents and park personnel.

I think it [the dialogue] has been very open. They have already had a meeting this summer and I think they are planning to have another. In the last couple of years, the interaction has been at a very high point in terms of actually listening and acting on what people are saying from the island.

It seems this open dialogue will continue into the future as both parties realize the importance of communicating with one another. This is the way Peter Burke sees it:

They have been having public meetings in the town hall and they addressed any concerns that the public might have had and also the park was doing some studies concerning carrying capacity and trail wear and tear and the park wanted the residents to know of the studies going on. The relationship between the residents and the park is stronger than it has been in the past, and it will continue to get better with such meetings.

Both personnel of Acadia and members of the community feel good about the current relationship they have. In fact, they even feel that the positive relationship will remain as long as interaction occurs. According to Charlie Jacobi:

And I will expect we will maintain good and cordial relations with them from here on, although we may not agree on everything. I think that we will maintain a much more constant level of communication with them than we have in the past. Really, our relationship since the legislation has generally been pretty good.

Belvia shares a similar perspective:

I praise Acadia really and so far as long as they do as they are doing now, which is including the community, include the summer people, in any new ideas they have, hearings and all that—but they do listen. They really do listen. But I think the legislation is what made them listen, and I think without it, it would be different otherwise.

Over the years, residents of Isle au Haut have forged histories with the island.

While the extent of each person's experience may differ, they all have constructed the history as they see it. It is within these shared histories that many events and aspects of the island community are highlighted. Within residents' stories is the reference to fishing and how important it has been to the island. As an isolated island some seven miles off the coast, many residents communicated how few conveniences exist on the island, which makes life harder to get things accomplished. Regardless of these inconveniences however, residents come to the aid of each other in times of great need. Almost everyone that shared stories concerning their histories with Isle au Haut spoke of life as it related to the legislation. For instance, residents mentioned life before and after the law was passed, as well as how the law helped to strengthen the community between summer and year-round residents.

Social aspects of life are central to residents' stories on Isle au Haut. In their stories, summer and year-round residents both refer to ideas and a sense of community on the island largely focused on the belief that both parties make up that community. The residents also possess numerous intentions in looking out for the island and its future. But just as important to the future of the island is the past that residents have constructed together in their shared histories. It is from these social aspects that one gets a feel for who these residents are and their attachment to the island.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION

The purpose of this chapter is to summarize the study and its findings, and to suggest its potential contribution to the fields of leisure studies, recreation, and natural resource management. This chapter consists of several sections that serve to synthesize previous chapters. The first is an explanation of results that summarizes results and presents a grounded theory of place identity and place attachment among the residents of Isle au Haut. The next section addresses theoretical implications of the study. In addition to the theoretical relevance of the study, practical relevance can be found in the third section concerning managerial implications and management directions for Acadia National Park. The next section focuses on future research needed in this area of study. The remaining parts of this chapter concern limitations of the study as well as a brief conclusion of the study's findings.

Explanation of Results

The intent of this study was to capture ideas of place attachment among Isle au Haut residents, as well as to uncover the social components of place identity and place dependence as communicated by the residents. Using Isle au Haut as a research site, it was my intention to uncover ideas of place identity and place dependence beyond the categorization of scale-items that determine place attachment (e.g., Williams, et al, 1992; Moore and Graefe, 1994; and Bricker and Kerstetter, 2000), and focus on how these constructs can be looked at as a process that explains place attachment.

Throughout the literature on place attachment, place identity, and place dependence, the focus has been on the individual constructing these concepts individually (see Stokols and Shumaker, 1981; Proshansky et al, 1983; Williams et al, 1992; Moore and Graefe, 1994; and Brandenburg and Carroll, 1995). The current study moved beyond the individual in developing these concepts and used symbolic interactionism to focus on the group of residents of Isle au Haut. This theory guided the current work surrounding place attachment among residents of Isle au Haut.

As stated earlier, place identity and place dependence were treated as determining factors of place attachment. Although Isle au Haut may be considered a natural resource dependent community where its residents share common social and economic interests and individuals rely on the local fishing to make a living, data does not point to place dependence as being central to life on the island. This may be due to fact that questions concerning place dependence were not explicitly asked of interviewees. According to Stokols and Shumaker (1981, p. 458), “place dependency is arrived at by occupants comparing the relative quality of comparable alternative places.” Residents do not mention substituting Isle au Haut for another place to live. Stokols and Shumaker also say that if an individual feels s/he has several similar options, that person will probably feel less dependent than the individual who recognizes only one alternative. It is inferred that island residents have several options of where to live, since the same type of fishing can be done off the mainland and most residents live elsewhere throughout the year.

Even though questions concerning place identity were not explicitly asked of residents either, the data suggest components of place identity are apparent within residents’ stories. It can be seen from the previous chapter that a number of social

aspects exist that make up Isle au Haut residents' place identity, answering the questions proposed by Cuba and Hummon (1993) of who and where a person is. These social aspects include a sense of community, shared purpose, and shared history. Further, these social components, which are rooted in interactions contribute to residents' identities on Isle au Haut, and through stories told concerning their identity, emotional bonds can be seen to the island.

The concept of sense of community has many meanings based on the narratives of residents. It means to feel allegiance to the group with whom you share a geographic location (Suttles, 1972). Further, everyone on the island has a role they act out. For example, summer residents pay greater taxes and provide consulting services while on-island. Year-round residents in return care-take summer homes in the winter and hold numerous jobs in town. Being part of the community on Isle au Haut also means residents can trust others and know they will be there to help in times of need (Suttles, 1972). This was captured in the way residents provided assistance to help build, raise money, and make sure individuals were transported off-island for medical attention. A sense of community also means viewing individuals on-island as an extended family. In a rural community such as this, kinship, neighborhood, and friendship are all closely interrelated in space and in time (Tonnie, 1887 [1957]). Some residents even consider others' children as their own. Community adults can be seen as promoting good behavior and acting as role models for children (Anderson, 1990; Jencks and Mayer, 1990).

In addition to ideas of sense of community, place identity for residents of Isle au Haut is characterized by numerous shared purposes. These purposes or goals that the community holds are important because they not only demonstrate that community

purposes are greater than the individuals' (Cragan and Wright, 1999) but they also bring the community closer (Barker, Wahlers, and Watson, 2001). This togetherness is demonstrated in the collective purposes that exist to protect the island community and its character from outside threats such as increased visitors to the island, potential fires, and development. As Davis (1991) claims, many communities possess shared purposes to defend themselves against external threats to the group. In short, residents see publicity of the island as a major threat. Residents see publicity as beginning a chain reaction. With greater publicity more visitors will come, signaling increased demand for development. The residents feel that increased development and businesses on the island will likely change the face of the fishing community. As Suttles (1972, p. 239) claims, "When businesses come into a community, they have little regard for the residential groups' interests." Simply put, residents feel development will cater to tourism and change the island into one that relies on tourists for income.

To protect the island community and its character, shared purposes among the residents take various shapes. Island residents share the purpose of keeping the mailboats and school functioning on the island. Both the mailboats and school are considered lifelines to the island. Without the mailboats, people could not get to the island, and without the school, few families with children would be attracted to the island. Minimizing potential fire on the island is another shared purpose among residents. Residents are worried about a potential fire on the island because the last wild fire was over forty years ago and many forest fuels are on the ground throughout the park. As Dizard (1994) claims, as forests mature, die-offs come in large batches and present the potential for an enormous amount of fuel all at once. The fear is that visitors will start a

fire in the park amidst the large fuels and it will spread to private land. Ultimately, lives and homes would be lost. Resulting from residents' concern over fire at public meetings, the NPS has offered recently to train residents in wildland fire suppression and has donated fire equipment to the town's fire department.

Seeking this open communication with Acadia National Park is another purpose residents share. The residents believe that how Acadia manages the park will have direct effects on their livelihood. This was evident throughout the 1960s and 1970s as residents claim the park was an absent landlord of the island and let visitors wander throughout private property. However, since the legislation of 1982, the park has been better about initiating public meetings on the island and briefing residents of their management objectives for Isle au Haut. Currently, meetings are held on the island to discuss management and residents are informed prior to meetings and encouraged to attend to voice concerns.

Underlying many of the shared purposes of residents on Isle au Haut is the history that the community members have constructed. Gusfield (1975, p. 35) claims "communities are defined as people who see themselves as having a common history and destiny different than others." It is through major events on-island that a shared history exists among Isle au Haut residents.

These major events can be thought of as either positive (e.g. Suttles, 1972, Gusfield, 1975, Scott, 1990) or negative (e.g. Cochrane, 1987, Katovich and Hintz, 1997, Milligan, 1998) at the time of their occurrence. Both types of these events were reflected upon in the residents' narratives. For example, reference is made to one young girl who recently became paralyzed. Another story captures the timely discovery of an older

woman with a broken hip. Also, one resident highlights on the story of the community volunteering to help finish building her home. The legislation and its passing was yet another major event that many residents spoke of while constructing their narratives. It is from these events that residents share a history on the island, and in turn capture their identities with the place.

Shared history is important because it demonstrates residents reverence for the past (Suttles, 1972). Further, mention of a shared past perpetuates the residents' desire to remain a resource dependent community centered on fishing. The greater potential for increased visitors to the island threatens this dependence and the memories residents have of a shared history. As Milligan (1998) found, to lose the island as a fishing village would be to lose access to those past experiences that occurred there.

It is from the overlap of the social concepts of sense of community, shared purpose, and shared history making up place identity that place attachment can be seen among residents of the island. Within these three concepts arise a socially constructed idea of place attachment, that Riley (1992) and Williams et al. (1992) claim encompasses the physical, social, and historical contexts of the island. For example, from the stories residents shared, numerous references are made concerning physical features of the island, the community on the island, and the past events that residents have constructed.

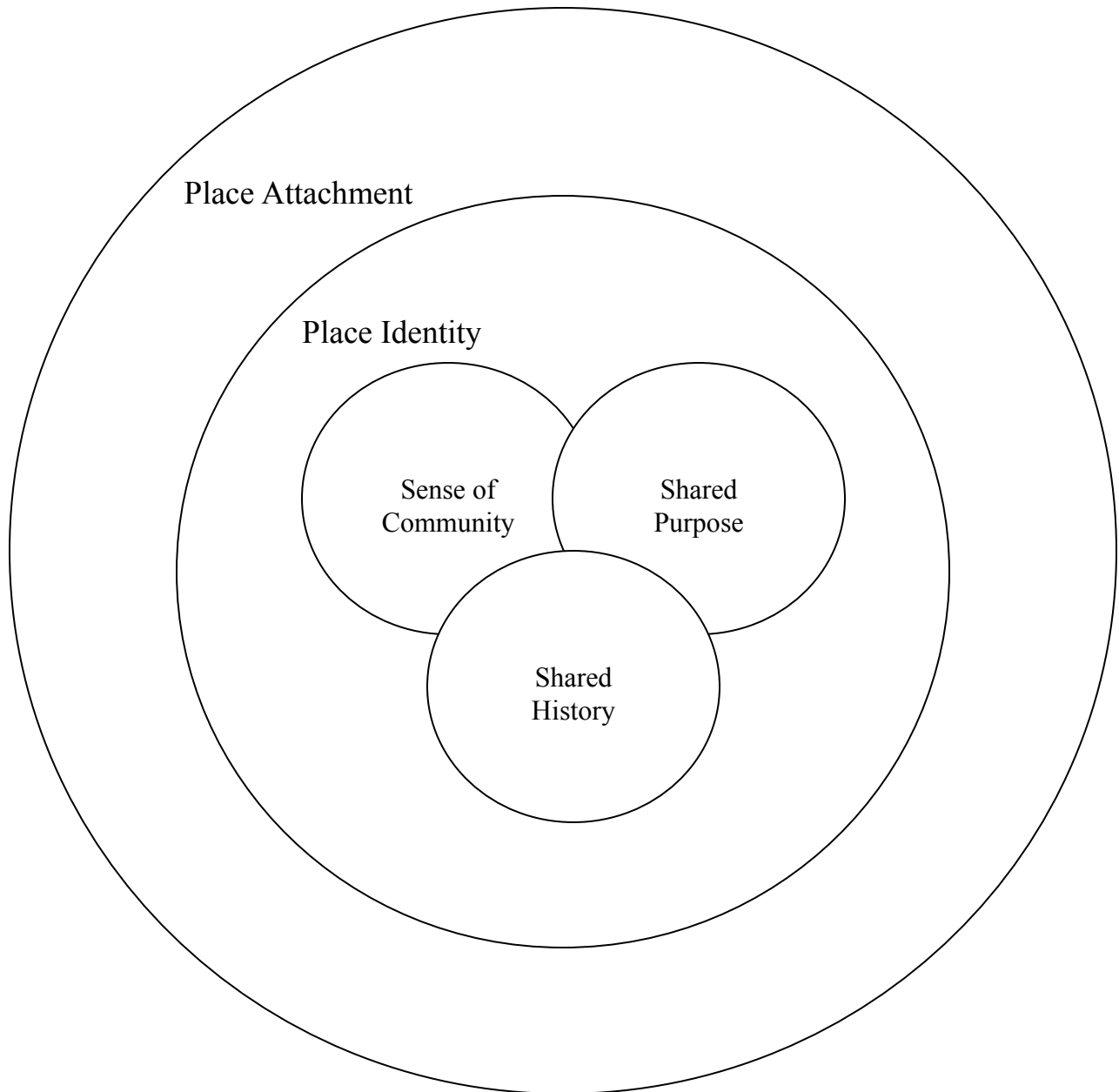


Figure 3.
Model of Place Identity as a Social Process

The proposed theory of this study concerns Isle au Haut residents' identity and attachment to the island based largely on social interaction. Residents of the island have constructed identities on Isle au Haut that are characterized by three categories emphasizing their social interaction. These categories—sense of community, shared purpose, and shared history—all overlap in defining residents' place identity, and help

explain who residents are based on where they live (Cuba and Hummon, 1993). The remaining portion of this section highlights on the overlap of these categories and their importance in shaping place identity and attachments to the island.

An example may serve better to understand how sense of community, shared purpose, and shared history all play a role in the process of leading to residents' identity with the island. This process is anchored in social interaction that occurs between island residents. Because of the fact that many families have been returning to the island for many years and residents have watched children grow up on the island, individuals feel as if they are part of an extended family (sense of community). This feeling of being a family allows residents to possess the shared purpose of doing everything possible to protect natural resources on the island from visitors potentially starting a fire in the park. With little land to retreat, a fire on the island has the capability of destroying homes and killing loved ones. To protect each other and land, residents (summer and year-round) sought federal legislation (shared history) that mandated Acadia National Park to establish a visitor carrying capacity and help insure the island would remain resource dependent, and not tourist-oriented.

The identity of residents on Isle au Haut is one that is focused on its future of remaining a fishing island. With increases in visitors to the park, community members comprised of summer and year-round residents feel the need to protect the island from increased visitors and development. This is why many are very private and denounce publicity of the island. They feel that if too many people find out about the island and visit, the demand for increased development will occur. This development will signal the

change from a community rooted in the livelihood of fishing to that of an island catering to tourists.

Having experienced the island together and sharing stories, residents, both summer and year-round, know the importance of fishing to the island. It is an island that is rich with the history of fishing as a way of life. Even before the first white settlers came, Native Americans were using the island as a summer island for fishing. For this reason, even summer residents have fished alongside the year-round residents while on the island.

Central to remaining a fishing island and continuing their identity as such, residents actively participate in social events together and have done a number of things to ensure the longevity of the island community. The residents actively participate in social gatherings that have occurred on-island for over fifty years, such as softball in the summer, potlucks, and public meetings discussing current events and town management. In addition, residents also seek to keep open channels of communication with the park, stressing their concern for fire and increased visitor use. They see both of these as threats to the island community, endangering the character of the island, potentially destroying homes, and taking lives. The legislation that was sought collectively by summer and year-round residents demonstrates the identity residents possess with the island. It is part of the history the island residents have constructed to indicate that they care about staying a fishing community and the resources of the park. It also shows that they know its identity is contingent upon park management, which is why the island does everything it can to be involved in park planning.

Isle au Haut is an island that also shares a history of not having many conveniences, where people make do with what they have and others help each other out in times of need. Stories told indicate that residents are perfectly content with having few services, because that is how the island has always functioned, getting by with very little. But what the island does have in the way of services, residents try to maintain for their livelihood on the island. For instance, the community owns their own boat company to transport residents to and fro the mainland. The residents in the past have also banded together to form a company that built homes for potential year-round residents. The purpose of this was to attract young families with children to keep the school going.

Overall, the identity residents have formed with the island have come about because the great sense of community among residents, their shared purposes, and shared histories together. Residents' identity based on these categories explains the attachment they feel toward the island. Residents have formed emotional bonds with Isle au Haut and are aware of the cultural, historical, and spatial context within which social interactions are formed (Williams and Stewart, 1998).

From this study, it was found that three major social constructs contribute to place identity and place attachment. In no way can the work of Stokols and Shumaker (1981) and Proshansky, et al. (1983) (which is rooted in the environmental psychology literature) be considered any less important to the field. But rather, my work can be thought of as complimentary to the above-mentioned works, offering social components that contribute to place identity and place attachment. Also, my work serves to add to the pioneer work of Williams, et al. (1992) and use of scale-item variables in explaining place identity and place attachment to the fields of leisure, recreation, and natural resource management.

Theoretical Implications

This study represents an effort to create a theory of place attachment and place identity as they relate to residents of Isle au Haut. All of these concepts have been discussed at length in previous chapters. Theoretical implications exist given the results presented here.

From stories told concerning Isle au Haut, data indicate a conception of place attachment based largely upon social and historical contexts of the island. Residents' shared stories of the geography and physical landscape of the island, social relations among fellow residents, as well as the history they have constructed on the island together. This supports the work of Riley (1992) that claims such an attachment is the connection to a place where time, landscape, and people are all linked.

At the center of this conception of place attachment are the residents of the island. From the data, evidence shows summer and year-round residents have developed an attachment to the island. The works of McCool and Martin (1994) and Brandenburg and Carroll (1995) focus on year-round residents' attachment to their rural place and community. Kaltenborn (1997) highlights on second homeowners or summer residents and their attachment to place. This study focuses on summer and year-round residents together, and shows how both interact to create a sense of place attachment.

This study offers a new conception of place identity that claims the identity of Isle au Haut residents can be constructed largely through interaction. This adds to the work of Proshansky et al. (1983) that purports place identity is a personal construction growing out of direct experiences people have with their physical environment. Place identity among Isle au Haut residents was also conceptualized to involve socially constructed

aspects of sense of community, shared purpose, and shared history. None of these concepts had previously been examined in relation to place identity in previous works. Within this study, it was found residents' identity with Isle au Haut develops over time as stories of community, shared purpose, and shared history indicated. This supports the work of Moore and Graefe (1994) that claims place identity develops across time.

Similarly related, place attachment was found to be constructed socially. This finding disputes the work of Williams et al. (1992) that claims individuals have a higher place attachment if they visited a place by themselves. The current research findings line up more with Kaltborn's (1997) work who found that family, social activities, history, and traditions are all important in the development of affective bonds with places.

Another theoretical implication of the study deals with the minimal mention of place dependence mentioned among island residents. Place dependence, which has been viewed as a form of place attachment in numerous works (see Williams et al, 1992; Moore and Graefe, 1994; Kaltborn, 1997; Bricker and Kerstetter, 2000), was not found to be as salient of an element of place attachment as place identity was among the residents of Island au Haut and their stories. Further, to exemplify this lack of dependence, no one mentioned the issue of substitutability concerning Isle au Haut like Stokols and Shumaker (1981) and Williams et al. (1992) claim is a focal point of place dependence.

Managerial Implications and Future Directions for Acadia National Park Management

It is the goal of this section to address managerial implications and offer future management suggestions for Acadia National Park based on this research. It should be

mentioned that such implications are specific to Isle au Haut and Acadia National Park. As a community that shares an island with a national park and has less than 7,000 acres overall, residents of Isle au Haut are directly affected by management decisions the park makes. Residents have few options when an excess of visitors flocks to the island or a fire breaks out, as their property is surrounded by the park or the ocean. Because of this, it can be shown that the park has had an effect on residents' identity and attachment to the island. For example, because of increased visitors being let onto the island by Acadia National Park over the years, residents have been afraid of their fishing community being displaced, and have taken measures to ensure the island will not turn into a tourist destination or vanish as the result of a careless visitor who starts a fire within the park.

Acadia National Park should care about residents' identity and attachment to the island for a couple of reasons. The first reason is because federal law legally mandates them. This is a unique case where a federal land agency is mandated to protect resources outside of its own property. Recently, it has become customary to be concerned with local areas near federal land involving ecosystem management techniques, but nowhere else was it found that the National Park Service had a federal obligation to manage outside of its existing land. The legislation passed in 1982 requires the park to limit visitation to assure minimal impacts to the resources of the island and to conserve the character of the town. The result of banding together as a community to protect itself from potential threats the park would allow, the residents of Isle au Haut sought this piece of legislation. According to Williams and Stewart (1998, p. 22), "what is personal, local, and immediate to people is what they care about, act on, and expect others to act on." It

is obvious that attachment to the island and identity as a resource dependent community are what the residents care about and expect the park to protect as well.

Acadia National Park should also be concerned with residents' identity and attachment because they reflect local interests and concerns that can be deemed just as important as national concerns of the public surrounding management (Williams and Stewart, 1998). By discounting the local interests of Isle au Haut, Acadia National Park would be ignoring residents' constructed value of identity and attachment. Currently, local concerns are being addressed minimally through a few public meetings held on the island each year. An increase in these meetings could potentially warrant greater input from residents concerning management decisions. This would allow park personnel to spend more time on the island, interacting with residents, and ultimately lead park personnel to better understand residents values and attachments to the island (Brandenburg and Carroll, 1995). This understanding could serve to make better management decisions, incorporating local concerns, not just functional uses of the park that serve visitors. What makes this difficult, however, is the fact that uses are easier to plan and manage for than feelings or attachments for places (Mitchell et al, 1993).

In essence, Acadia National Park has to manage so as not to disrupt the character of the fishing community on Isle au Haut as the residents requested in the legislation of 1982. Within the wording of the legislation however, character is not aptly defined. My idea of place attachment as place identity can be seen as the character of the community. To expand, the conceptions of sense of community, shared purpose, and shared history from this research serve as indicators of what the character of the fishing village is to the residents. Further, these three social aspects of place identity should be maintained to not

disturb the community's traditional dependence upon fishing. In order for Acadia to manage more appropriately then, they must understand the process of how place identity comes about for the residents. From the research, land managers will hopefully understand this process, which will allow them to gain insight of how to manage for the character of the local community.

A number of management actions for Acadia can be suggested from the data. These suggestions concern number of visitors to the island and the growing fear of fire. Many residents feel that with more and more visitors finding out about Isle au Haut, the character of the island will shift from a fishing community to a tourist destination. In the 1960s and 1970s, when too many visitors wandered through the town and private property, Acadia built Duck Harbor in the southern end of the park, and began to have rangers meet each boat and provide maps to guide visitors to the park. Currently, the number of visitors is still an issue, with private boaters docking in the thoroughfare and at Duck Harbor and kayakers visiting on day trips. Over the years these individuals have increased in numbers according to residents and the park personnel. The problem is that these individuals continue to wander through town, and are not counted towards the visitor carrying capacity that the park has in place.

As it was written in the legislation of 1982, Acadia National Park is responsible for establishing a carrying capacity and reviewing it every five years. The park has accepted no formal carrying capacity, but has been operating under an Appalachian Mountain Club (AMC) recommended carrying capacity of 120 per day since 1989. Ultimately the mailboat serves to limit the number of visitors to the park to 50, but residents still are concerned the current carrying capacity is not working well enough. A

formal carrying capacity needs to be established and enforced to decrease the threat of the fishing community being changed into a tourist destination. Currently, visitor use studies are being conducted on the island. Throughout the duration of those studies, meetings should be held updated residents on findings and potential plans. These meetings will give residents the opportunity to be brought up to speed on the studies as well as allow residents to voice their thoughts and concerns on an appropriate carrying capacity. These meetings should be held at a time of the year when both summer and year-round residents are on-island.

Fire is another concern of residents on Isle au Haut. Since the last fire over forty years ago, fuels are loaded throughout the forest floor. The concern of residents is that one summer the island will be experiencing a drought and a visitor will start a fire in the park. If winds are out of the southwest (like they typically are in the summer) the fire will spread to private land. The park also shares the concerns of the residents to some degree, and has taken some preventative steps on the island. These measures include donating fire equipment to the Isle au Haut fire department, offering wildland firefighting classes to residents, and communicating to visitors when fire indexes are high.

Additional actions need to be taken, however, to insure residents do not lose their lives and homes. Currently, the town does not have an evacuation plan in place, nor does the park. This is one area Acadia can work with the residents to create a plan that will benefit both residents and visitors, and could involve specific safety zones on the island to retreat to. The largest concern to residents is the great amount of forest fuels that make the island a prime area for a wildfire to occur. Residents feel it would be in their best interest to have the fallen logs removed, either through prescribed burns or taken as fuel

wood for wood-burning stoves. To monitor the island periodically, Acadia National Park should also conduct overhead flights. By monitoring with overhead flights, the park could catch a slow burning fire that could potentially get out of hand. It has been the case in the past that Acadia has flown over the island to check for fires during very dry seasons. The frequency of these trips should be increased to at least once per month. These flights will look for small fires and then Acadia National Park could contact Isle au Haut fire department to report fire activity. Even though Isle au Haut is small in comparison to the rest of Acadia National Park and has infrequently burned, residents have no where to go if a fire breaks out.

The key to all of these suggestions and potential actions is open dialogue. Most residents feel they are listened to by the park and will continue to be heard through public meetings. However, the frequency of meetings should be somewhat greater. Currently, there is at least one meeting per year, but this should increase to include times when both summer and year-round residents are on-island. As it stands, meetings are held on an issue-by-issue basis, and this should be changed to more regular meetings, such as every third month. With more regular meetings scheduled, park personnel and residents will know exactly when meetings are and can prepare. If meetings continue to occur when they are needed, little notice may be available for residents to attend.

Future Research

Future research on place attachment should come in two specific areas, both of which are qualitative in nature. The first is more work exploring place dependence and place identity as measures of place attachment. As seen from this study, place

dependence is not expressed throughout residents' stories as was expected. The focus on future research should be placed on the relationship of place dependence to place identity and attachment. Also, research concerning sense of community, shared purpose, and shared history should be conducted for future conceptual development and measurement development. Such research could help to determine if these constructs are good measures of place identity and place attachment.

Using a setting similar to Isle au Haut, qualitative research should be done integrating visitors into the study of residents to determine if they play a role in constructing place attachment. As indicated previously, work concerning place attachment and recreational visitors has been undertaken. Also, work concerning residents and place attachment has been conducted. However, no study examines place attachment constructed by both jointly. This future research may offer fruitful insight into the concept of place attachment for both researchers and managers alike.

Conclusion

The purpose of this study was to capture ideas of place attachment as a process among Isle au Haut residents. It was also the purpose to uncover social components of place identity and place dependence. The results of the study revealed a number of findings. They showed little evidence that residents are dependent upon Isle au Haut. This is based largely on the fact that residents did not express issues of substituting the island for any place else. This study did present two important findings of place identity among residents. First, that place identity is a social process involving a sense of community, shared purpose, and shared history as constructed by residents. Second, that

place identity seems to be more salient to residents in their attachment to the place, as opposed to minimal dependence on the island. Ultimately, this study shows that summer and year-round residents of Isle au Haut can form an attachment to the island based largely on the social interactions that take place on-island.

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Appendix A

PARTICIPANT INFORMED CONSENT FORM

PARTICIPANT'S INFORMED CONSENT

Title of the Study:

Place attachment as an interactional process: A case study of Isle au Haut, Maine.

Investigator:

This study is being conducted by Kyle Woosnam, candidate for a master's of science in Forestry at Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University.

Kyle can be reached at (540) 231-7899. Faculty advisor, Kevin Larkin, can be reached at (540) 231-1621.

I. Study Purpose

- The purpose of this study is to capture the essence of place attachment and how it is constructed through interactions between Isle au Haut residents and the National Park Service by focusing on narratives told by the both the residents and employees of NPS.

II. What Will I Have to Do?

- Fill out this Informed Consent Form and return it to the researcher before the interview begins.
- Participate in an interview, answer questions about your experiences on the island, and tell the interviewer the stories surrounding those experiences.
- The interview will take about one to two hours.
- The interview will be audio-recorded and transcribed for analysis.
- You will be contacted to see if you would like to review a summary of the findings.

III. Benefits of this project

- You will be helping the researcher complete a masters of forestry at Virginia Tech, as well as communicating your stories of Isle au Haut.

IV. Is It Private?

- Your name may be used in the final report of this study so as to strengthen the integrity of the research and capture the reality of the situation. Every effort will be made to change information if you so desire that might allow someone else to identify you. Only the researcher and his faculty advisors will have access to the raw data collected.
- The information you share will be considered your stories of the study site and will aid in presenting the researcher with a sense of place attachment. Your responses will be reported in the final write up.
- If you so choose, your name will be removed from all forms and data collected and will be replaced with a fictitious name to be used throughout the study and in the final report.

V. Risks

- You may decline to answer any question.

VI. Compensation

- When the project is complete, you may request a summary of the studies' findings.

VII. Freedom to Withdraw

- If at any time you change your mind about participating in this study, you are encouraged to withdraw your consent and to cancel your participation.

VIII. Approval of Research

- This research project has been approved, as required, for projects involving human subjects by the Institutional Review Board of Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University and by the Department of Forestry.

IX. Participant's Agreement and Responsibilities

- I have read and understand what my participation in this study consists of. I know of no reason that I cannot participate in this study. I have had all my questions answered and hereby give my voluntary consent for participation in this project.
- If I participate, I may withdraw at any time without penalty. I agree to abide by the rules of this project.
- Should I have questions about this research I will contact:
Kyle Woosnam (540) 231-7899 Researcher/Interviewer
Kevin Larkin (540) 231-1621 Faculty Advisor
Dr. H. T. Hurd (540) 231-5281 Chair of the Virginia Tech IRB

Participant's Signature

Date

Appendix B
POTENTIAL INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

The following potential interview questions are not exhaustive or intended to be standard questions everyone will be asked. The interview itself will not be structured where I ask a set of specific questions. The purpose of these questions will be to elicit narratives surrounding the interaction between park service personnel and Isle au Haut residents. The interview process will evolve to formulate new questions as I see potentially interesting themes, ideas, and concepts arising from prior interviews.

Residents

Time

What do you do for a living?

How long have you lived on Isle au Haut?

How often do you use Acadia?

How often do you use park on Isle au Haut?

What is the nature of use on Isle au Haut? (what do they do there, how long stays, etc.)

Why Isle au Haut? Why this island, here?

Visitors

How many visitors do you see on this island?

Are they usually alright to deal with?

Do visitors understand distinctions between public (parkland) and private (town) area?

How do number of visitors currently differ from the past? Any trends?

How does the new landing site off of the parkland affect interactions with residents?

Interaction

How often do you see NPS employees (formally and informally)?

How are you involved in NPS planning efforts? Attend meetings?

Do you know _____ (certain persons with NPS) well?

Has he/she been ok to work with?

Have there been times when you have been especially upset with NPS?

Have there been times when you have gotten along well?

What is NPS role on island?

NPS Employees

All three employees

What have you guys been doing on Isle au Haut lately?

Any present/potential future planning/management decisions?

What is your role on the island?

What does Isle au Haut mean to the NPS and Acadia?

Are there any management aspects specific to Isle au Haut harder to accomplish than others?

Are Isle au Haut residents typically involved in park planning?

Are there antagonists/supporters of NPS being on island?

Do you get along well with many of the residents on the Island?

Any confrontations with residents on island that you might remember?

Employees not living on Island

How connected to Isle au Haut are you?

How often do you get over there to see area?

How often do you get over there to deal with matters?

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Education

Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University

MS in Forestry, May 2003
Emphasis: Natural Resource Recreation Mgmt
Thesis title: Place Attachment as an Interactional Process: A Case Study of Isle au Haut, Maine
GPA: 3.71 / 4.0

University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

BS in Leisure Studies, December 2000
Emphasis: Parks and Natural Resources Mgmt
GPA: 3.70 / 4.0, graduated with High Honors

Honors

Delivered Commencement Speech for College of Applied Life Studies (2000)
Department of Leisure Studies Charles K. Brightbill Award (2000)
University of Illinois Dean's List (Fall 1999, Spring 1999, and Fall 1998)
National Dean's List (1997 and 1998); President's List (1997 and 1998)
College of Applied Life Studies Continuation Scholarship (1999 and 2000)
Illinois General Assembly Scholarship (1998 and 1999)
University of Illinois Leadershape Institute (1999)

Relevant Employment

May 2003 to present

Assistant Director of Outdoor Camps: Blacksburg Parks and Recreation, Blacksburg, VA
Supervisor: Matt Humphries (Recreation Supervisor) (540) 961-1133

In charge of creating and implementing environmental programs for campers (ages 5-16); leader of adventure, canoeing, climbing, and backpacking camps; liaison between campers' parents and park administration.

August 2001 to May 2003

Graduate Research/Teaching Assistant: Virginia Tech, Forestry Department, Blacksburg, VA
Supervisor/Advisor: Kevin Larkin (Assistant Professor) (540) 231-1621

Teaching assistant for classes FOR 3544 (Outdoor Recreation Management) and FOR 2554 (Nature and American Values); graded papers and exams; assisted in delivering lectures; wrote quizzes; filled in for absent professor; researched materials for advising professor as well as for my own project; collected, entered, and analyzed data; assisted other graduate students in data collection and coding; delivered environmental education programs; facilitated programming workshops for local teachers; wrote progress reports; and wrote research proposals and thesis.

April 2001 to July 2001

Field/Laboratory Technician: Mississippi State University, Forestry Department, Starkville, MS
Supervisor: Stephen Schoenholtz (Director of Water Resources and Associate Professor) (541) 737-9112
Assisted in collecting stream samples from logged areas and streamside management zones for Weyerhaeuser funded project; identified macro-invertebrates; took field measurements of water quality and habitats; monitored stream channel degradation; traveled from home base two hours away; and operated with surveying equipment to take field measurements.

August 2000 to April 2001

Programming Intern/Forestry Intern/FFT2 Firefighter (AD Hire): U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, Noxubee National Wildlife Refuge, Brooksville, MS

Supervisor: Richard E. Smith (Administrative Forester) (662) 323-5548

Programming duties: assisted in delivering indoor/outdoor programs to local at-risk, disadvantaged school groups (K-12) involving: mathematics, physical education, conservation, land management, prescribed burning, wildlife management, recycling, biology and zoology topics; maintained center, took students on field trips throughout refuge. Forestry duties: cruised timber (including calculating basal area, stand age, tree height, dbh, species identification, and optimal thinning); created logging bid invitation contract; used GPS

to record locations in forest concerning seed trees, fire breaks, and trails; and manipulated GPS data in GIS Archview V 8.0. Fire duties: participated in prescribed burning of forests and fields on refuge for hazardous fuel reduction and habitat management of federally endangered Red-Cockaded woodpecker; burned grasses/timber (fuel models 3 and 9) with hand ignition on areas of 0-175 acres; burned fire lines using drip torch; and constructed fire breaks by hand. Other duties: maintained trails and constructed wooden fences; banded wood ducks; installed artificial Red-Cockaded woodpecker nests; performed water control duties; and collected trash from recreational areas. Tools and equipment used were federal vehicles, Honda ATVs, GPS PLGR and Trimble units, increment borer, compass, 10-factor prism, clinometer, loggers tape, Biltmore stick, post-hole digger, gas auger, council rake, chainsaw, shovel, bladder bag, and drip torch.

January 2000 to August 2000

Research Assistant; Data Analyst: National Laboratory for Tourism and eCommerce at the University of Illinois, Champaign, IL

Supervisor: Daniel Fesenmeier, PhD (Professor) (217) 333-4410

Assisted in conducting surveys for the greater Illinois convention and visitors bureaus; performed data analysis; wrote reports for concluded surveys; created presentations in Microsoft PowerPoint from data sets; updated business web page; and operated in Microsoft Professional Suite.

May 2000 to August 2000; October 1998 to April 1999

Park Operations Internship; Student Fieldwork Employee: Urbana Park District, Urbana, IL

Supervisor: Joe Potts (Superintendent of Operations) (217) 344-9583

Performed specific landscape and arborist duties; initiated energy-use analysis of all facilities owned by Urbana Park District; assisted in preparing indoor/outdoor settings for programming; conducted independent study of HVAC systems for indoor aquatic center; attended administrative meetings; performed trail maintenance; maintained playgrounds; repaired outdoor pool filter; participated in trash removal; performed electrical light maintenance; and identified numerous local flora and taxonomy. Urbana Park District manages and maintains 24 parks totaling 545 acres. Operated park district vehicles, lawn mowers, leaf blowers, backhoes, chainsaws, saws, and numerous other construction and maintenance tools.

January 1999 to January 2000

Research Assistant; Data Analyst: Grand Canyon Monitoring and Research Center in cooperation with the University of Illinois, Champaign, IL

Supervisor: William Stewart, PhD (Associate Professor) (217) 333-4410

Conducted data entry of sample populations of white-water rafters and guides rafting Colorado River in Grand Canyon; analyzed data received from returned questionnaires (operated in SPSS version 10); revised proposed questionnaires for study; coded statistics; and compiled appendices for final report. Operated in Netscape, Word, Excel, PowerPoint, Internet Explorer, Print Shop, Adobe Acrobat, and various Internet browsers.

May 1999 to August 1999

Site Interpretation Intern: Illinois Department of Natural Resources, Kankakee River State Park, Kankakee, IL

Supervisor: Stacey Powers (Site Interpreter) (815) 933-1383

Led guided tours of state park; worked cooperatively with Chicago Park District to deliver programs to inner-city youth (ages 8-15) created and conducted campground programs; created daily programs (for all ages); assisted the public and oriented them to the park and the activities offered; maintained inside and outside of the park's visitor center; maintained park facilities; built park signs for public use; constructed many new displays for the visitor center and Illinois State Fair; operated within designated budget for interpreters; and conducted horticultural work throughout park. Operated state vehicles, small power tools, and landscaping devices.

Volunteering

Champaign-Urbana Special Recreation, "Teen-Time After School" volunteer, delivered indoor/outdoor programs to youth and young adults (ages 13-21) with disabilities. Programs emphasized sports, arts, crafts, outdoor/nature, and local trips to bowling alleys and mini-golf courses. Programs were delivered in recreation centers, nature center, and outdoors (August 1998-December 1998).

Activities

Member, Rho Phi Lambda National Honor Society-U of I Chapter
Member, Golden Key National Honor Society-U of I Chapter
Member, National Honor Society of Phi Kappa Phi-U of I Chapter

Teaching

Spring 2003, FOR 2554 (Nature and American Values) at VPI, graded papers and exams
Fall 2002, FOR 2554 (Nature and Am. Values) at VPI, graded papers, quizzes and exams, and filled in for professor
Spring 2002, FOR 3544 (Outdoor Rec. Mgmt.) at VPI, wrote quizzes, graded papers, filled in for professor, and research materials needed for class
Fall 2001, FOR 2554 (Nature and Am. Values) at VPI, graded papers and filled in for absent professor

Certifications

S-130: Firefighter Training and S-190: Introduction to Fire Behavior and FFT2 Red Card (November 2000)
ARC Basic First Aid and CPR (2003)
Project Learning Tree, Project Wild, and Project Wet Facilitator (April 2002)

Interests

Athletic programming, guiding hikes, outdoor programming, dendrology, journaling, reading environmental/conservation history works, woodworking, gardening, hiking, camping, basketball, and tennis.

References

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