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**GENTRIFICATION AND VULNERABILITY OF
MAINE FISHING COMMUNITIES**

By

Cameron R. S. Thompson

B.S. State University of New York at Geneseo, 2007

A THESIS

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Science
(in Marine Policy)

The Graduate School
The University of Maine
December, 2012

Advisory Committee:

Teresa Johnson, Assistant Professor of Marine Policy, Co-Advisor

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GENTRIFICATION AND VULNERABILITY OF MAINE FISHING COMMUNITIES

By Cameron R. S. Thompson

Thesis Co-Advisors: Dr. Teresa Johnson & Dr. Jeffrey Runge

An Abstract of the Thesis Presented
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the
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December, 2012

Maine hosts numerous small fishing villages that contribute greatly to the States economy and culture. The cumulative effects of state and federal regulation, stock depletion and other socio-economic trends threaten these communities. Drawing on ethnographic research and interviews, we examine how gentrification is affecting the vulnerability and resilience of fishing communities. This study has revealed gentrification to be a complex process, which is merely the most readily recognizable symptom of forces that are reshaping the post-industrial landscape. Fishing communities can no longer be thought of as discrete entities isolated from broad social and economic changes. Technology and new markets have unleashed fishing effort from its artisanal restraints, likewise they have enabled capital to expand beyond metropolitan barriers. Findings indicate that a rural restructuring has occurred and amenity migrants are being drawn to these communities. These people from away increase demand for services otherwise not provided and present new economic opportunities for community members and fishermen. However, as wealth migrates out of its metropolitan centers into these communities, it threatens to transform and displace productive economies with service economies. These trends may be beyond the capacity of fisheries management to account for, but policy makers should recognize their cumulative effects. The vulnerability framework readily provides a means of assessing fishing communities and

the impact of gentrification on them. The characteristics of gentrification are unique for each community, though a few themes are prominent. Rather than being an entirely negative influence, gentrification can provide benefits for the community. Nevertheless, displacement of both people and the fishing industry may occur. The increased cost of living and process of gentrification is displacing many fishermen and community members from coastal property. Further conflicts arise when fishing operations and access to the waterfront is impeded. It is apparent that when facing the threat of displacement there is much that can be done at the state and municipal level in supporting access to the waterfront.

THESIS ACCEPTANCE STATEMENT

On behalf of the Graduate Committee for Cameron R. S. Thompson, I affirm that this manuscript is the final and accepted thesis. Signatures of all committee members are on file with the Graduate School at the University of Maine, 42 Stodder Hall, Orono, Maine.

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Chapter 1

GENTRIFIED FISHING COMMUNITIES

1.1 Introduction

The archetypical New England fishing village is undergoing a transformation in which the long heritage derived from the ocean's bounty has an uncertain future. Generations of fishermen have provided for their families, but this traditional livelihood is no longer the foundation for the community that it once was. Overexploitation of the resource necessitated management action, restricting access to the stocks, and disrupted a way of life. The reverberations of these changes have been felt across the Maine coast, yet fishing persists. Recognizing the impact on fishing communities, the law now requires that management enact regulation with greater consideration of the social consequences. Nevertheless, there are forces beyond the control of fisheries management, growing stronger and placing greater pressure on these communities. These forces can displace fishermen from their communities and prevent access to the waterfront. The landscape has undergone an economic and social shift that exposes these fishing communities to a phenomenon broadly defined as gentrification. Although gentrification has been featured in social impact assessments, it is characterized in a cursory manner and labeled as a possible threat. This concept deserves a more thorough analysis so that its contribution to fishing community vulnerability is better appreciated. Gentrification features a number of core elements and follows a general pattern, but it is a symptom resulting from complex forces on scales beyond the fishing community.

Classically gentrification has been defined as an urban phenomenon in which working class neighborhoods are revitalized by the post-industrial middle class (Lees et al. 2008). Central to the process and identification of gentrification is the displacement of the previous inhabitants by this new 'gentry' (Glass 1964, Atkinson 2000). While research on the topic focused most of its attention in these metropolitan areas it was

later realized that the same process of displacement was occurring in rural areas (Bell 1992), along the coastal zone (Hall-Arber et al. 2001; Jepson and Jacob 2007), and in the wilderness (Darling 2005). However, these latter categories remain understudied compared to their urban counterparts (Yagley et al. 2005). Although the literature on rural gentrification is sparse, the study of amenity migration and rural restructuring provides an analogous theoretical framework. The terminology differs, but the processes are closely linked, and those studies provide valuable insight into the potential challenges and opportunities encountered by communities undergoing a transition (Gosnell and Abrams 2011).

This chapter examines the gentrification process at four fishing dependent communities in Maine. It will be demonstrated that gentrification is taking place and the accompanying changes are impacting the relationship between these communities and their productive heritage. Following a literature review of both the gentrification theory, and closely related studies of amenity migration and rural restructuring, this chapter presents findings from a study of four fishing communities in Maine: Eastport, Lubec, Rockland, and Port Clyde. I first trace the transition of the Maine coast to its current post-productive state, which is necessary for establishing the context and connecting this case to the literature. Through an analysis of census information, fisheries data and interviews, I provide evidence for the presence of gentrification and amenity migrants in the study communities. Lastly, I examine the communities individually and highlight the unique characteristics related to the process of gentrification found in each.

1.2 Literature Review

1.2.1 Gentrification Theory

Gentrification studies have typically focused on one of two theories that attempt to explain the process as either being driven by economic or social forces. The economic

geographer, Neil Smith, described gentrification as the movement of capital to urban areas due to a rent gap. He observed how urban neighborhoods deteriorated over long periods of time due to neglect and disinvestment, and at a certain point attracted new buyers who gentrified the neighborhood. According to economic theory, the difference between the low cost of the property and the potential for its best use is responsible for creating a rent gap which spurs capital investment (Smith 1979). A full description of the production side explanation for gentrification including the rent gap is relevant to this study because of the decline in industry and fishing in many Maine coastal communities. Once the rent gap has been highlighted we have to ask why incomers are moving to these towns and villages which starkly contrast the urban environment upon which gentrification theory is based. This leads to the consumptive side explanations of gentrification. As mentioned these theories are primarily concerned with the urban environment, however, gentrification has been adapted to different landscapes in what has been characterized as a mutation of the theory (Lees et al., 2008). These adaptations are not as exhaustive as the urban literature, but along with the study of amenity migration they provide further insights into the causes and consequences of rural, coastal gentrification in Maine fishing communities.

1.2.2 Back-to-City Movement

During the 1950s and up through the 1970s cities were undergoing a dramatic restructuring, with significant deurbanization and suburbanization of their population. Throughout this time, middle class whites exited cities in favor of suburbs leading to an increasingly stratified and racial segregated metropolitan landscape. Fearing the gradual deterioration and impoverishment of these cities, academics and urban planners alike were thrilled to observe a back-to-city movement among young, well-educated, middle class whites. These ‘urban pioneers’ were moving to neighborhoods in the old city, and revitalizing them. Many hoped this process would lead to a renaissance of cities

in decline, but the negative consequences were often ignored including chronic poverty, displacement of residents and a shortage of affordable housing (Jackson 1985; Sugrue 2005; Laska and Spain 1980; Lees et al., 2008). It was around this time in England that Ruth Glass (1964) coined the term ‘gentrification’ while referring to the class division between the urban poor and the ‘gentry.’ Along with the recognition of the back-to-city movement and gentrification phenomenon came the rush by academics and urban planners to explain it.

Understanding the back-to-city movement was problematic because what was being observed contradicted the well established theories and predictions of neoclassical economics. According to this theory a rational consumer will maximize satisfaction, or ‘utility’ with the resources they have available. The trend towards suburbanization was explained with a consumers’ preference for the space and amenities provided in the suburbs, which were relatively cheap. The middle class suburbanites could also commute into cities for employment; this segregation of work and residence was a barrier for lower socio-economic groups who could not afford transportation. Instead, it was necessary for this latter class to live in dense urban areas that were expensive, but close to work (Alonso 1964, Muth 1969). Economists who utilized neoclassical theory were surprised when their assumptions on peoples’ preferences were proven wrong by the back-to-city movement; it indicated that a robust theory on gentrification was lacking, a problem that persisted for decades.

Literature on gentrification began to pile up through the 1970s and 1980s, some of it was concerned with trying to make the neoclassical theories workable with the observations. In these attempts, assumptions were made and regressions were fitted to new data sets and variables, such as cost of travel (Schill and Nathan 1983). However, this tactic had the fundamental problem of being unable to distinguish between causality and correlation; constantly changing the algorithms to fit each case weakened its appeal (Hamnet 1992). Alternative models were presented that typified the pattern of

gentrification in cities, but these were empirical descriptions rather than explanatory theories. Patterns of population change have been investigated for a long time, Hoyt (1939) described what he termed 'residential filtering'. He observed that the development of new households and neighborhoods was primarily for the wealthy. As the buildings aged and became more affordable, successively poorer demographics filtered into the neighborhood. Stage models of the phenomenon followed the process, characterizing each step along the path to some inevitable gentrified endpoint (Clay 1979). Although such efforts provided insight into the pattern, they lacked flexibility and the capacity to make predictions, unlike most social science theory.

1.2.3 Production Side Explanations

The outline of gentrification theory thus far has presented a frustrating picture since none of the models is very useful for understanding why the process occurs. When taking up the challenge Neil Smith simplified the problem and focused on the greatest source of motivation for consumers: the pursuit of utility. There was a need to explain why certain areas were primed for gentrification, and not others (Smith 1979). Neil Smith's thesis on the rent gap became the most accepted form of the production side explanations for gentrification, which exists within a broader understanding of uneven development patterns.

Capitalism's influence on the landscape results in the alteration between development and decay, which follows a process coined 'creative destruction' (Shumpeter 1934). This pattern is due to the nature of capital to seek out new investments and profit potential, while simultaneously enabling the devalorization of previous investments. Part of the reason this occurs is because the built environment creates barriers for further development; once an area is developed, it cannot be easily altered. As a result, capital is drawn to unobstructed areas where development can occur. Meanwhile

the investment and profit potential of previous developments is undercut by the continuous advancement of technology, alteration of markets, and almost any change (Lees et al., 2008; Neil Smith 1979, 1982).

According to economic theory each landscape location has an optimal ‘best use’, which should direct how the property will be used. The determination of what to build is entirely dependent on the current context, with location being a key factor. The value of that structure will depend upon the labor and capital investment made in its development relative to the current wages and technology; a building that was costly to make decades ago, may be less valuable because of advances in technology (Fig 1.1). The sale price of the property includes its relative attractiveness, and is influenced by location, accessibility, and costs of improvement (Lees et al. 2008, Smith 1979, 1982). Thus, there are numerous economic impediments to the repurposing of land, while property owners extract its current value through tenant rents or some market activity (Ball 1985, Krueckeberg 1995, Blomley 2004).

The amount of rent a landlord extracts from tenants depends on the current value of the property, in Neil Smith’s theory of the Rent Gap this is known as the Ground Rent (1982, Fig 1.1). The sales price incorporates the expected revenue from this rent for the current period and the future, along with the house value (Fig 1.1). Agents involved in the development of new structures attempt to maximize their profitability by utilizing the full potential of the land. However, with time there is an inevitable reduction of the capitalized ground rent (economic return) owing to the deterioration of the structure along with changes in the landscape mentioned earlier. A landlord may try and maintain the value of the current structure through improvements and repairs, which support higher rents. Alternatively the structure is left to decay; maintenance is neglected; successively lower income residents occupy the space; and deterioration of the neighborhood accelerates. Meanwhile the potential ground rent almost always increases, because of a growing population and its attractive location. The difference between the potential ground rent

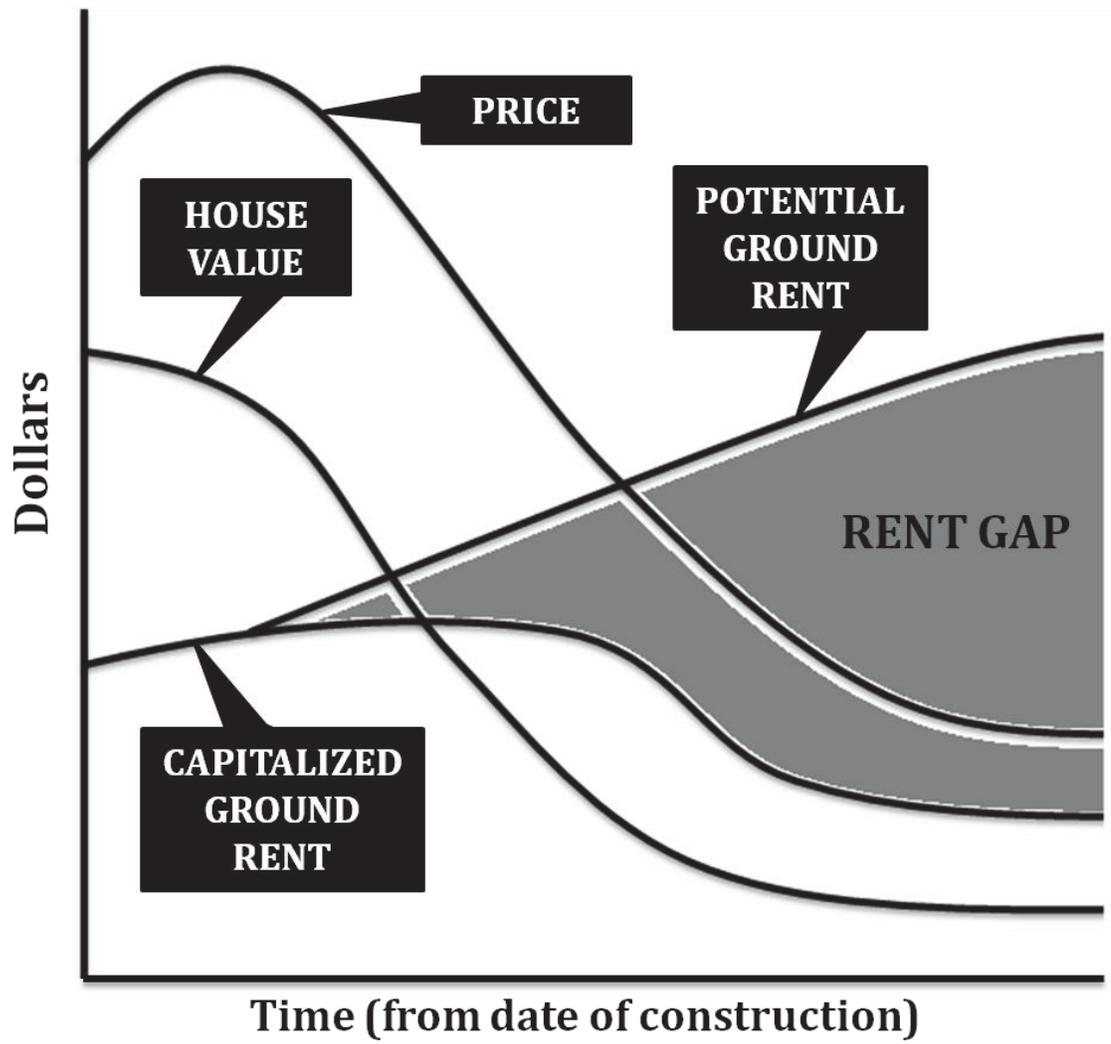


Figure 1.1: The Rent Gap. Adapted from Neil Smith, 1982

and the capitalized ground rent is the rent gap, and according to Smith (1979, 545) ‘only when this gap emerges can gentrification be expected’ (Lees et al., 2008)(Fig 1.1).

Neil Smith’s rent gap was pivotal in explaining the necessary economic conditions for gentrification to occur, but debates and challenges remain. Academics challenged that the theory was too simple or actually the reiteration of already well established ideas (Lees et al., 2008; Cark 1988). Those debates along with arguments over semantics and definitions, obscure the usefulness of the theory, as we will see later. Common across all variations of gentrification is the notion that the consumer is making a decision based on the desire for a reasonable rate of return on an investment. Although neoclassical economics recognizes the importance of agents maximizing utility, it does not do well with externalities such as aesthetic value, and these contextual aspects are key in situations of gentrification.

Academics also realized that gentrification could occur on a variety of scales as can a rent gap. It may occur house by house, or neighborhood wide and through government help, or by the will power and sweat equity of individuals who contribute their time and effort. Furthermore, an individual parcel of land may have a huge rent gap and seem ripe for gentrification, but barriers could exist preventing that process. It has been observed that the stigma certain neighborhoods earn in cities deters potential incomers from making an investment (Hammel 1999). Later I will describe a similar pattern that occurred in Maine fishing communities previously known for their fish packing plants and their smell.

Although the ‘rent gap’ has gained acceptance among many academic disciplines on the basis of its robust theory, it still faces the challenge of finding empirical support. Perhaps the greatest challenge is collecting empirical data on gentrifiers and displaced persons which must be done to verify the existence of a rent gap (Clark 1995, Ley 1987). Sifting through the multitude of property records to track the changing economic condition is part of the difficulty. Identifying and interviewing displaced

persons is another problem; anyone who has been displaced is not likely to be found in a sampling effort of the gentrified neighborhood. Exacting studies of gentrification have been hindered by these challenges along with the necessary expertise in divergent disciplines, including: economics, anthropology, geography, landscape planning and policy. However, complete studies have occurred and in principal provided empirical support for the ‘rent gap’, production side explanation for gentrification (e.g. Smith 1996; Sykora 1993; Badock 1989; Clark 1988; Hammel 1999).

The production side explanation for gentrification presented here was primarily concerned with the urban environment, but we will see that others have expanded the context as I intend to do. Although the production explanations, particularly the rent gap, have gained a great amount of credibility and set the stage for gentrification to occur, they do not answer the questions: why, when, and where? Ultimately it comes down to the individual making choices, which may contradict the expectations of a ruthless neoclassical capital accumulator. This leads us into a discussion of consumptive explanations for gentrification.

1.2.4 Consumption Side Explanations

A human geographer, David Ley, proposed an alternative explanation for the back to the city movement, citing broad societal changes resulting from the post-industrial economy and creation of a new middle class. According to Ley (1980), new service workers desired to consume a lifestyle of cultural amenities and aesthetics that only an urban environment could provide. Ley was heavily influenced by the thesis of Daniel Bell (1973), that identified the trend towards post-industrial cities. These cities were characterized as having their economies shift from manufacturing to service sectors, with the growth of science based industries and knowledge as an important resource. These changes led to the rise of managerial, professional and technical occupations while many other types of employment, particularly blue collar, declined.

Artistic avant gardes leading consumer culture instead of media, corporations or government was another aspect of the post-industrial landscape (Bell 1973). At the time, David Ley's thesis received much scrutiny (e.g. Walker and Greenberg 1982), but the cultural transformation he described is now widely accepted as true (Lees et al. 2008). More recent studies in 'rural restructuring' (Nelson 2001) and 'post-productivism' (McCarthy 2008) demonstrate that similar societal and economic changes are occurring outside the urban environment.

David Ley realized that the emerging post-industrial city could be responsible for producing the gentrifiers that were identified in the back-to-city movement (1996). Ley supported his hypothesis by studying the transformation of Canadian cities in which the rationale for land use was altered. The new middle class professionals working service jobs, desired to increase their quality of life in these cities in non-economic terms. They sought an alternative to suburbia, imagining an urban life with a new focus on consumptive outlooks, tastes and aesthetics (Ley 1996).

Through his work Ley described gentrification as a result of a new class of people seeking an alternative lifestyle, and others expanded upon this explanation (Hamnett 1991; Caufield 1994; Lees et al. 2008). Chris Hamnett (1996), who was highly critical of the focus on production side explanations, argued that gentrifiers played a key role and presented evidence that this group was made up of the rapidly expanding demographic of professional and managerial workers. Since their purchasing power in cities had increased with their new location and high paying service jobs, they had significant impacts on the housing markets (Hamnett 1996). It is well established that the post-industrial society is responsible for creating a growing middle class, and this segment became a source of potential gentrifiers, but why do they do it?

Gentrifying neighborhoods in the 60s and 70s were characterized by a counter-culture ideology, these young middle class gentrifiers were concerned with reforming and resisting the political and structural domination of the time. Unlike their parents'

generation, they refused the suburban lifestyle and ideals (Caufield 1994; Ley 1996). Thus they moved to areas within cities that became the epicenters for the counter culture movement emphasizing awareness, tolerance, diversity, and liberation. These urban neighborhoods provided an incubator for the movement, emphasizing individualism and disdaining the postwar fordism of mass production. As a result their ideals diffused through the middle class, which is evident by the electoral data indicating left leaning politics. Since these centrally located urban environments attracted this new middle class, they also experienced an increase in their socio-economic status (Caufield 1994; Ley 1996).

The neighborhoods attracted educated, middle class youths and as a result gentrification took place, similar patterns occurred within other identifying groups. For women, living in the urban center was an opportunity for liberation with greater access to services and work. The gay community was founded in these cities, which were an oasis of tolerance, enabling their concentration and openness like never before. The black middle class was another demographic that filtered into these neighborhoods and led to its gentrification (Lees et al. 2008). The common trend among all these different groups is that they had some identifying characteristic and sought out these areas because it was where they could find ‘people like us.’ Butler (1997) was the first to report that gentrifiers sought out like-minded people in order to be a part of a community. Unlike the newly developed gentrification theory, neoclassical economics cannot account for the externalities created by these neighborhood effects. Although, this consumption side explanation is primarily concerned with metropolitan cities, we will later see that the fundamentals are similar for any gentrified landscape.

Gentrifiers seek out ‘people like them,’ but to do so they need to find an identity that distinguishes themselves from other social groups. Researchers have pointed out that there is a gentrification aesthetic; a look and feel that signals a gentrified neighborhood, for Jaeger (1986) this was typified by the buying into history through the

restoration of Victorian era homes. The renovation of historical properties helps authenticate the consumers own identity, but once the most desirable properties have been purchased, later gentrifiers must resort to new builds that mimic the architecture (Smith 1996). The interior of a home provides another opportunity to display the aesthetic, along with signals of wealth and status (Munt 1987). The origin of this gentrification aesthetic has been traced to the education and middle class background through which gentrifiers gained 'cultural capital' (Bridge 2001). Often this cultural capital is referred to as good taste or sophistication, though much of it was generated by an art community that was eventually displaced. The artists were often the first to occupy gentrified neighborhoods because it was affordable to do so. Through their activity they created cultural capital, which later became economic capital. This process raised the property values and led to their own displacement (Ley 2003).

As summarized by Lees (2008, 118), "One of the most commonly noted trends in the process of gentrification is that places and people once deemed hip, authentic, trendy and subversive quickly become appropriated, manufactured , and mass-produced kitsch for high-earning groups." Zukin presented one of the most quintessential examples of this process in her description of loft living. In declining industrial cities, warehouses and factories were no longer useful for productive activities and went derelict. Artists appropriated these spaces as cheap places to live, and through their cultural capital turned them into a chic residential space. Later waves of incoming gentrifiers mimicked this behavior and sought out loft living, but as Zukin (1989, 59) expresses it: "... only people who do not know the steam and sweat of a real factory can find industrial space romantic or interesting." Thus, through gentrification, the property which was once valued for its productive use is now coveted for consumptive purposes. Maine coastal communities have witnessed the same idealized romanticizing of the fishing industry, a topic discussed in Chapter 2 of this thesis (2.3.1).

During the 1980s the term ‘yuppie’ along with many others was created to describe this new demographic responsible for the gentrification of cities (Short 1989). The term, meaning: ‘young urban professional’ was used as a rallying cry against those who were perceived to be taking over the neighborhood, but Beauregard (1990) warns against assigning blame to these individuals. According to consumptive theories, gentrification is a result of changes in the industrial and occupational structure of society and not the burden of some stereotypical gentrifier. Indeed, many of the descriptions of gentrifiers presented here contradict the conservative and wealthy stereotype. In this chapter we will explore our own brand of gentrifier in Maine fishing communities, which have more in common with some of the earliest urban waves and the later mutations of gentrification. One criticism of the consumptive explanation is that it focuses primarily on the incomers, and often ignores the working class that is being displaced. As stated earlier there has been some harsh rhetoric and debate between the production and consumptive side academics, but in recent years there has been greater consilience and recognition that both forces are at work (Hamnett 1991, Lees 2008).

1.2.5 Adaptations of Gentrification Theory

This thesis strives to connect the theory presented in the literature with the pattern of gentrification observed in Maine fishing communities. While a great deal of effort has been devoted to exploring the primary explanations, these theories have been developed in the context of metropolitan cities, which starkly contrast our own communities. However, there has been an expansion of the gentrification idea to encompass its occurrence in other geographies, and variations on its pattern of development. Classically gentrification involved the revitalization of devalued buildings, but once the prime locations have been revitalized incomers must develop their own structures, indicating that the product being sold is the place itself (Zukin 1995).

Still later waves of gentrifiers may find that there is no rent gap to exploit and vacant property to redevelop, instead they proceed to displace the previous gentrifiers. These two contradictions to the early descriptions of the theory indicate that gentrification is not a specific pattern of change, but a generalized strategy for capital accumulation (Smith 2002). Some academics have argued that gentrification is being spurred on by a number of political and market changes. According to them, consumer sovereignty has become the new policy of modern metropolitan cities, and gentrification is a desirable outcome for improving the city and increasing tax revenue (Lees et al. 2008). The process of gentrification has been further lubricated by the invention of new financial instruments, which enable rapid investment of capital into property without proven productive or consumptive value (Hackworth 2002).

The adaptation of the gentrification theory which has been described as its 'mutation,' highlights the importance of capital and its increasing fluidity in the globalized economy (Lees et al., 2008). Gotham (2005) argued for this connection adamantly when investigating 'tourism gentrification' in New Orleans. He cited capital investment and marketers as key drivers in the gentrification of property meant to attract tourists (Gotham 2005). The same changes that have enabled the rapid switching of capital to find the most profitable investments have also created a new class of wealthy elites. These individuals are typically connected to the financial service economy and have a background that includes an exclusive education. The stock of suitable housing in financial centers such as London and New York has long been gentrified, but the incoming group is actually purchasing these properties and replacing the 'ordinary' middle class. The previous occupiers undoubtedly made a tremendous profit on the sale, but they differ substantially from this new wave. They were more socio-economically humble in their beginnings, but responsible for creating the gentrified neighborhood with its social and cultural capital, whereas this incoming group is simply purchasing that image (Butler and Lees 2006). Thus, this 'super gentrification' demonstrates that there is no end stage

for gentrification, and it can occur without the exploitation of the rent gap. This will be an important consideration for analyzing gentrification in fishing communities where house values have not depreciated.

Another form of mutated gentrification has been identified in the rural landscape, most of this research originated in Britain and is primarily concerned with consumptive explanations (Lees et al., 2008). The migration of gentrifiers to the countryside is explained with the motivation to consume a broad swath of idealized rural life, and a basic desire to escape crowded cities. It is notable that these explanations commonly hold a countercultural ideal and longing to do something different, which is similar to the early urban patterns. An American study done in Montana demonstrated that an important component to the gentrification process was the sale and consumption of the 'Rocky Mountain lifestyle.' The study recognizes the irony of gentrifiers buying into a dream that is being simultaneously destroyed by increasing development catering to them. It further highlights many of the same problems associated with its urban counterpart: the displacement of people, deterioration of the community, and loss of local identity (Ghose 2004). Consumptive explanations are well established in the literature and will be utilized later in this thesis to make connections to the study sites. There have been few attempts to approach rural gentrification from the productive perspective, but one of them done by Darling (2005) convincingly describes the creation of a rent gap during 'wilderness gentrification' of the Adirondacks.

The Adirondack wilderness in upstate New York displays many of the same gentrification patterns that have been observed in urban environments. Property values in the area have continued to increase, and now the low wages of local residents have become a barrier to homeownership. Meanwhile a greater number of properties have been converted to seasonal use for summer vacationers who may only rent it a couple of weeks. The abundance of wilderness, forested lands, and lakefront has attracted capital investment to what is largely considered a bargain. Unlike other wilderness

areas, the Adirondacks is protected by a complicated set of zoning laws which limits further development. Thus, rather than a residential space being produced there is a recreational one (Darling 2005).

Although no devaluation has occurred, the Adirondack land is nonetheless undercapitalized. This unique rent gap is created by an increase in the potential ground rent due to the properties' proximity to wilderness areas and lakefronts. While these recreation aspects are valued, typical attractors associated with urban areas are not; proximity to schools, central business districts, and workplaces are not necessary since the population occupies the rentals briefly. Even though summer people occupy the space for a short season, landlords receive higher rents from them than permanent residents, thus the rent gap is responsible for the pattern of gentrification (Darling 2005). Similar to this case of 'wilderness gentrification' many of the respondents in our study of Maine fishing communities are unconcerned with the typical valuation associated with urban locations.

Several academics have criticized the mutation of gentrification to fit various situations as definitional overload, with the threat that the original meaning will be lost. Part of the problem is that gentrification is a very politicized, powerful, word and understandably, people want to have their own ideas and work connected to it (Lees et al. 2008). Beaugard (1986) called gentrification a chaotic concept and argued that its diversity needed to be recognized. Similarly Phillips (2004) sought to expand the geography of gentrification out of the urban environment to include complementary processes. Clay (2005) fought for a more inclusive perspective, citing the need to escape narrowing definitions of gentrification as it applies to each situation. His sentiments were similar to that of Davidson and Lees' (2005), who outlined core elements to the process: reinvestment of capital; social upgrading by incoming higher-income groups; landscape change; direct or indirect displacement of lower income groups. The broad definition of gentrification including those core elements is a far more elastic and applicable concept. In the

analysis attention will focus on those core elements with frequent connections made to the extensive literature. Here I will not attempt to differentiate the process occurring in Maine fishing communities as fitting anything but the broad definition of gentrification. However, context of the situation is important for describing the pattern of changes and impact on the community.

1.2.6 Amenity Migration and Rural Restructuring

Once we accept that the gentrification phenomenon is occurring outside the confines of the urban environment, than it can be more easily identified. The rural version of gentrification received much research interest in Britain, but far less in the United States. However, amenity migration and the closely affiliated study of rural restructuring has been extensively researched in the United States and covers topics such as motives, social consequences, and economic implications (Gosnell and Abrams 2009). A brief outline of this literature resource will support its application to the fishing communities and its relation to the gentrification framework.

Amenity migration is a concept closely related to gentrification and, I argue, often describes the same process. It is acknowledged by Gosnell and Abrams (2009) that amenity migration appears in a diverse array of publications with associated terminology originating from various disciplines. Although there is no strict consensus, the basic description of the process involves the movement of people due to the draw of natural or cultural amenities. The previous definition of amenity migration closely follows consumption explanations of gentrification and workers will occasionally cite rural gentrification literature when referring to ‘pull factors’ that motivate migrants (Gosnell and Abrams 2009). Often coinciding with amenity migration is the rural restructuring of the landscape through which traditional uses yield to a growing service sector. While the theory does not match the production side explanations for gentrification the description of ‘best use’ landscape changes are similar. Research on amenity

migration is often associated with the ‘New West,’ an area of study which describes similar patterns of change in the American West (Robbins et al., 2009). Recent population increase in the Rocky Mountain region of America diverges from previous booms and bust since the scenic landscape is now more valued for its aesthetics and recreational purposes, than for extractive industries (Nelson 2001; Gosnell and Abrams 2009). Therefore, as in urban environments there has been a transition from productive to consumptive uses of property. The wealth of knowledge acquired in the study of amenity migration and rural restructuring provides further insights into the impacts on communities undergoing those changes.

Theorizing the causes for amenity migration cannot easily be separated from describing rural restructuring and the underlying trend towards post-productive landscapes. As in the gentrification literature, references are often made to the impact of globalization and the increased ease of capital flow. According to some scholars (McCarthy 2008, Stauber 2001), the increasing sophistication of global trade arrangements have marginalized rural economies. As we will see later the sardine packing industry in Maine was an early victim of this trend. The new economic structure favors the urban majority by providing the lowest cost possible for commodities while rural prosperity suffers under the pressure of international competition (Stauber 2001). Meanwhile, ‘elite’ urban professionals who value the land for its aesthetic, recreational and consumption oriented use are producing rural areas for consumption (McCarthy 2008).

The devaluation of domestic production and revalorization of rural space for consumption are the key drivers of rural change. The process is made easier and cheaper through advances in transportation and information technology that enable greater communication while living in a rural space (Gosnell and Abrams 2009). Rural restructuring, particularly the expansion of the service sector, is possible due to these recent advancements. Now businesses and professionals that serve a global clientele can be located outside of major metropolitan cities, as long as there is adequate

transportation and communication infrastructure (Travis 2007). Ironically the desire to escape the urban for the rural aesthetic has led to the expansion of the exurban landscape (McCarthy 2008). Unlike traditional gentrification, the description of amenity migration often involves building new structures and the development of land that was unoccupied (e.g. Travis 2007). Thus, another irony is that the landscape aesthetic which they want to consume is gradually destroyed through this process (Nelson 2001).

Amenity migration and rural restructuring have further implications for the local economy and communities some of which may be desirable, but are nevertheless disruptive. Typically, migrants are wealthier than local residents who may still derive a livelihood from a traditional occupation. This importation of wealth can support local economies through increased demand for services and may lead to job growth (Nelson 2001). Thus, rural restructuring results in a new type of economy based on retail and services, but these new employment opportunities for locals are often relatively low paying. While economic well being increases, social well being decreases through greater income inequality (Ohman 1999).

The transition also features an increased cost of living due to amenity migrants purchasing homes and raising property values. Combined with the lack of economic opportunity for locals, this situation leads to the displacement of residents who can no longer afford to live there (Nelson 2001). This observation is an essential component of the recognized gentrification pattern. Furthermore, like the British literature on gentrification, these studies on amenity migration have found an increased awareness of class divisions and disintegration of community identity. The selling of agricultural land for development and the shift from productive to consumptive activities have altered traditional human-land interactions (Nelson 2001; Bell 1992, 2007). Together with the displacement of people and polarization of society, the impact can be substantial. Studies report that the transition is increasing conflicts and disrupting the communities in a number of ways (Gosnell and Abrams 2009, Yung and Belsky 2007). If we accept that

the epistemological barriers between amenity migration and gentrification are primarily rhetorical, then we can utilize both literatures in attempting to understand transitioning fishing communities.

1.3 Methods and Approach

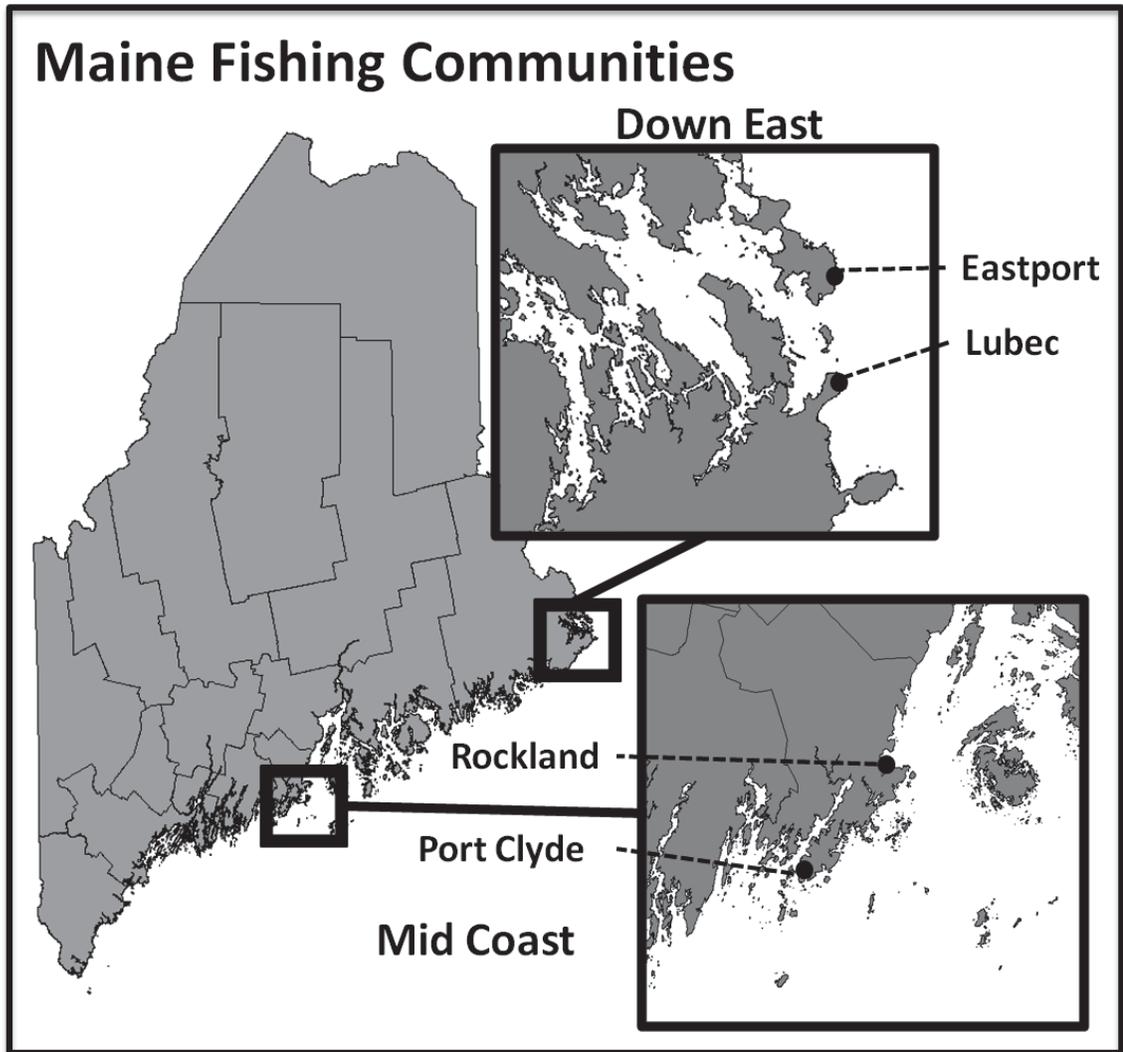


Figure 1.2: Fishing Community Study Sites. Four communities in Maine; Rockland and Port Clyde along the Mid Coast; Lubec and Eastport Down East

This paper draws on ethnographic research conducted from September 2010 to December 2011 at four fishing dependent communities in Maine (Fig 1.2). Eastport and Lubec are found in the eastern end of the state adjacent to Canada within Cobscook Bay

(Down East), while Rockland and Port Clyde are in the Mid Coast region, at the mouth of the Penobscot Bay. We conducted semi-structured (Bernard 2002) and oral history interviews (Ritchie 2003) with fishermen and other community members, as well as site visits, household surveys, and interviews with local businesses. A total of 97 interviews were conducted and coded (Table 1.1).

Maine Sea Grant Marine Extension staff and other community contacts assisted in the initial selection of key informants, and we followed these using a snowball sampling approach to identify additional informants (Bernard 2002). Interviews ranged from about 0.5-2 hours in length, and were audio-recorded for preservation, sharing (with permission), and analysis. All oral history interviews were transcribed. For the majority of the other interviews, we took detailed notes following the interview guide. We also transcribed a few key semi-structured interviews verbatim. We used QSR International’s NVivo 9 qualitative data analysis software to analyze all data collected in this project. Following a modified grounded theory approach (Glaser and Strauss 1967; Strauss and Corbin 1990), data analysis occurred through the coding and re-coding of the data, followed by additional research necessary to better understand the themes that emerged in the analysis. Identified themes are supported through supplementary analysis of available information including: state and federal fisheries data, census data, government reports, and news articles.

	Oral History	Semi-Structure	Business	Household
Eastport	6	3	10	20
Lubec	7	0	8	10
Port Clyde	7	1	4	7
Rockland	5	2	7	0
Total	25	6	29	37

Table 1.1: Interviews Conducted and Coded. Listed according to type and respondent’s community

1.4 Tracing the Transition from Productive to Consumptive Landscapes

Describing the occurrence of the gentrification phenomenon in Maine fishing communities requires first tracing the transition of the Maine coast to its current post-productive state. Although the fishing industry, particularly the lobster fishery, continues to be a foundation for economic activity in coastal communities, it remains vulnerable. In the following discussion, I will explain how the coast of Maine, along with the United States as a whole, has experienced a long decline in its productive economy.

In the past century, much of the manufacturing industry and natural resource based economy has declined in Maine (Colgan 2006). Manufacturing employment has dropped from 37% of occupations in 1960 to 10.1% in 2010, and major industries such as pulp and paper, ship building, and lumber are no longer as prominent as they once were (US Census 2010; Colgan 2006). While conducting the oral history interviews this theme of industrial decline was pervasive and reflects the findings of other reports (Brookings 2006, Hall-Arber et al. 2001). The most salient of these industries to leave was sardine canning and fish processing, which each study community was dependent upon at one time. The communities retained a fisheries-based economy after these industries disappeared, but many of them relied upon stocks that have undergone patterns of boom and bust, with landings rapidly increasing and then collapsing. The groundfish industry which targeted stocks such as Atlantic cod and haddock exemplifies how overfishing and management failures led to resource declines and loss of access (Hall Arber et al. 2001). A number of other fisheries, including sea urchins and scallops have followed similar trajectories, and in the past few decades the relative importance of lobster has continued to increase. It is the most valuable fishery in Maine and depended upon by many communities throughout the state, which has raised concerns among managers and scientist over the vulnerability to a downturn (Steneck et al., 2011).

1.4.1 Maine's Lost Canning Heritage

The processing of seafood through curing or canning has long been an important part of Maine's coastal heritage, but what had started off as a means of surviving harsh winters eventually became one of the largest industries in the state (Jarvis 1988). Early means of fish preservation important to the economy, but not heavily industrialized, were salting and smoking. When Julius Wolff came to start his own sardine packing company in 1876, the canning of seafood, including lobster was already a well established practice. However, he is credited with starting the first successful commercial scale operation which could compete with products coming out of Europe.

Selling his cases of sardines in New York City Julius Wolff gained great profits and expanded his operations with several more factories Down East. His success was noticeable and began to attract new investors and competition into sardine canning (Payne 2011, Jarvis 1988). The Cobscook Bay area had the greatest number of sardine canneries, with Eastport boasting 18 canneries in 1882 and Lubec hosting a respectable 17 (Hall-Arber et al. 2001). Between 1882 and 1899 the industry in Maine grew rapidly, going from 28 to 69 sardine factories (Payne 2011). Ultimately, the weir fishermen would give way to purse seiners, which in turn became antiquated compared to the mid water trawlers. The advances in fishing technology, decline of stocks, and lessening market demand all contributed to the fall of the sardine canning industry in Maine. After being briefly buoyed by demand during World War II the number of sardine packing factories declined precipitously, with the last one closing in 2010.

As opposed to the beginning of the 21st century, the sardine industry at the outset of the 20th century was an economic and political giant. Over the years the various factory owners formed canning associations to protect the industry and lobby politicians for protective tariffs. Although they were competing directly with the Norwegian imports these tariffs on processed herring had the effect of stifling the Canadian industry. While much of the stock was landed in Canadian waters, the market was in metropolitan

centers of the United States. Canadians could not access the market due to the protective tariffs that would make their product uncompetitive compared to American cans. Thus, the fish were sent across the border to be processed, and to reduce the transportation cost and time, many of the factories became established as far east as possible (Gilman 2001).

During the Great Depression the industry suffered as demand for their product dropped forcing the closure and consolidation of several factories. World War II provided a tremendous opportunity for the processors, but also initiated a number of trends which would eventually collapse the industry. When Germany invaded and occupied Norway it acquired the entire stock of canned sardines, leaving the industry in Maine as the supplier of the entire allied war effort. Since the government was providing a guarantee to purchase 85% of the production, it incentivized the industry to supply as much as they could, even if the product was inferior. As a result the herring were subjected to intense fishing pressure and the public lost access to a high quality sardine product, which they partially replaced with canned tuna (Gilman 2001).

In the post war years herring were scarce, domestic market demand had dried up, Norwegian sardines reappeared, and protective tariffs were crumbling. The 1950s were a hard time for the industry and many factories closed. It was particularly difficult for the communities of Eastport and Lubec. Along with the market changes, technology was improving and fishing effort shifted from the coast to open water where seining vessels could harvest with the assistance of spotter planes. Purse seiners provided fish more reliably throughout the year by going to the source rather than waiting on the coast, but open water seining didn't become legal in Maine until 1962 (Gilman 2001). All of this encouraged processors to move away from the American side of Cobscook Bay and establish new factories in Canada with state-of-the-art technology. However, it was the disintegration of protective tariffs and introduction of greater competition through globalization which ultimately doomed the Maine sardine industry (Wilson,

pers. comm. 2012). Sales never recovered for Maine sardines, the industry became outdated, and by the 1980s factories were struggling to find skilled packers (Gilman 2001). Particularly Down East, the loss of sardine canning is a legacy that communities still struggle with today, even as they face loss of access to other fisheries.

1.4.2 Boom and Bust of Fishing Industry

After World War II the fishing industry in the Northwest Atlantic began to change dramatically, with advances in technology enabling vessels to fish harder and longer than they ever had before. Growing animosity towards foreign fleets harvesting stocks on the rich fishing grounds of Georges Bank led the domestic industry to back legislation for federal management (Appolonio and Dykstra 2008). The Magnusson Stevens Act (MSA) that went into effect in 1976 had the dual purpose of eliminating foreign fishing effort and building the domestic fleet. After the exclusion of the foreign fleet, fishing was initially reduced, but domestic effort rapidly increased, beginning a golden age for the groundfish industry in the Gulf of Maine through the late 1970s and into the 1980s (Appolonio and Dykstra 2008). The expansion of commercial fishing offshore led to a buildup of infrastructure onshore. Many business served the fleet by bringing product to market, outfitting the vessels and crew, and maintaining the boats. During the 1980s and into the early 1990s the Northwest Atlantic experienced unprecedented fishing effort. Fish biomass which may have taken hundreds of years to build was removed from the ocean in a few decades, as a result stocks declined (Rosenberg et al. 2005).

Fish stocks, particularly groundfish had been declining throughout the 1980s and reached historic lows in the mid-1990s. Throughout this time the New England Fisheries Management Council (NEFMC) established by the MSA was trying to prevent overfishing (Appolonio and Dykstra 2008). The council had been using stock assessments, but the uncertainty in the assessments was not well understood and under political pressure

total allowable catches were often set higher than recommended by the federal scientists during the 1980s (Appolonio and Dykstra 2008). Various unenforceable regulations such as restrictions on mesh sizes, minimum fish size, and quotas had unintended consequences ultimately increasing rates of bycatch and discards (Appolonio and Dykstra 2008). Under pressure to reduce fishing effort, the NEFMC established a moratorium on new vessel permits in 1994. It initiated a trend of increasing hardship for the fishing industry with regulations continuing to be tightened throughout the following decade (Appolonio and Dykstra 2008).

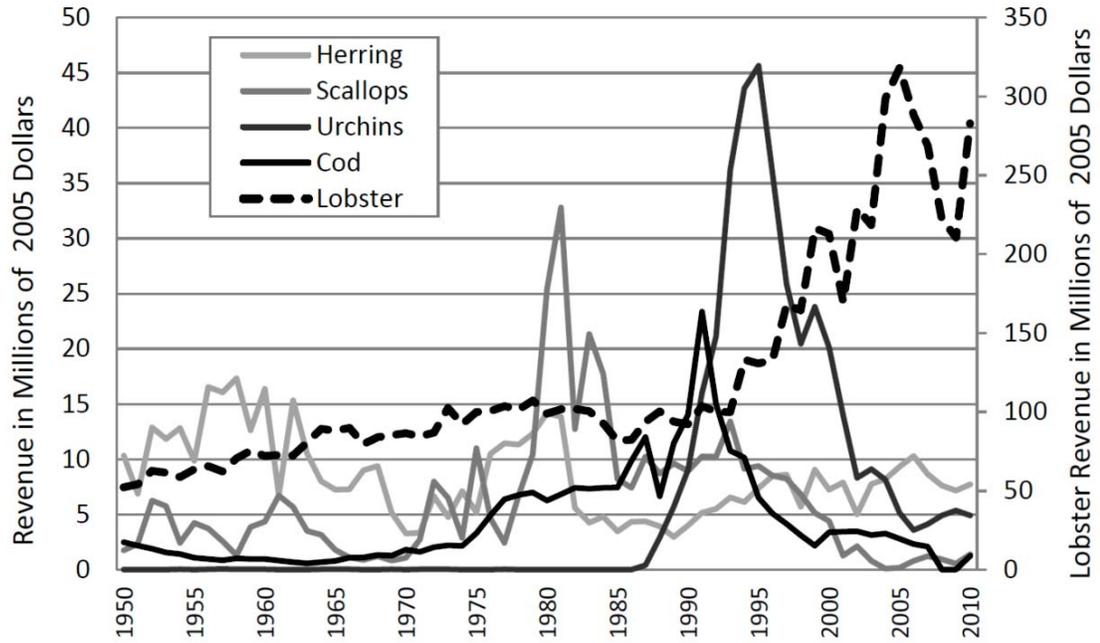
The multitude of regulations affected every aspect of fishing, stifling the industry and disproportionately impacting independent operators in Maine. Groundfish in the eastern Gulf of Maine were completely depleted, leaving fishermen far from fishing grounds that were still producing catches. Altogether the changes in the industry led to increasing cost of business for Maine fishermen, while landings revenues continued to decline. Many fishermen chose either not to fish or to neglect maintenance, which decreased business for the many maritime service companies. Likewise, the reduced volume of fish caught was preventing fish processors from operating effectively. Altogether these impacts motivated many fishermen, processors and maritime companies to leave the industry or the coast of Maine. Some relocated to one of the remaining fishing centers in the New England, such as New Bedford. These port cities provided the services and access to markets necessary for the continued viability for commercial groundfish operations (Hall-Arber et al. 2001). Portland and Port Clyde are left as the number one and two ports for groundfish landings in Maine, with the latter hosting just 3 active commercial fishing vessels (Libby 2012).

The collapse of the sardine industry along with the rise and fall of groundfishing in the Maine are salient topics for respondents in fishing communities. Although some people left the industry and the communities, many stayed and adapted to the situation by entering other fisheries particularly lobster, or sought alternative employment.

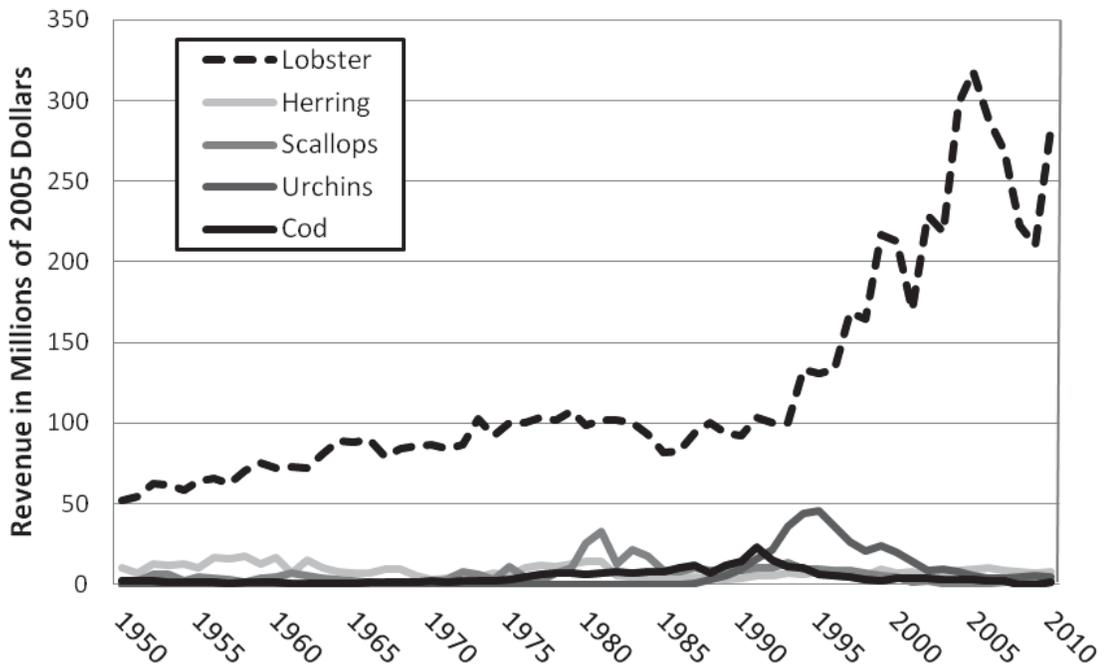
The story of groundfishing in Maine exemplifies a pattern that has been consistently repeated: the serial depletion of local stocks due to rapidly increasing fishing effort and a belated management response. Globalization and increasing wealth of consumers created new markets and high demand for fisheries products which had been previously neglected. In order to reap the benefits of market demand, fishermen readily entered these fisheries such as sea scallops and urchins and in doing so contributed to the pattern of boom and bust. Landings for sea scallops peaked in the early 1980s and declined through the 1990s reaching their lowest levels in 2004, prompting DMR to enact a limited entry system in 2010 (DMR 2012a, Maine Revised Statutes §6706). Urchins followed a similar pattern, but the market for them didn't develop until the late 1980s, followed by a collapse at the end of the 1990s (DMR 2012a, this study).

These boom and bust cycles are marked by distinct peaks in the record of landings' value over the past 60 years, but despite them no other fishery has been able to top lobster (Fig 1.3)(Oceaneconomics 2012). While lobster has remained number one, the makeup of the other top 10 stocks has changed dramatically. In 1950, 6 of them were fish stocks, in 1990 there were 4 fish stocks, and in 2010 herring was the only fish stock to remain in the top 10 (Oceaneconomics). Herring, which was historically so important to the Maine coast, now comprise just 3% of landings by value. Despite accounting for 34% of the total landings by weight, it is used almost exclusively as lobster bait and fetches a relatively low price (DMR 2012a). While the fish stocks lost prominence the invertebrates came into focus with lobster far surpassing all others in importance. Fishermen who found themselves tied to a declining stock often entered a new fishery in order to continue working, and it was the lobster industry which experienced the greatest increase in licenses.

Commercial Fisheries Landings in Maine



(a) Lobster landings on separate axis



(b) Single Axis for landings

Figure 1.3: History of Commercial Fisheries Landings Value in Maine. Revenue of each fishery is in millions of 2005 dollars, with the Lobster fishery on a separate axis in Fig (a).

1.4.3 Post-Industrial Landscape and Restructured Fisheries

Various fisheries in Maine have followed a pattern of serial depletion among local stocks, which has coincided with the emergence of the modern management regime. Historically, fishermen in Maine harvested an assortment of species throughout the year depending on abundance and availability of different stocks. This strategy worked well for the majority of fishermen who operated independently, near shore, and seasonally. The modern management regime has raised barriers to fishermen following this strategy (this study). As discussed above, access to groundfish became restricted in an attempt to reduce fishing effort, and similar patterns have occurred among other stocks, such as sea scallops and urchins. Amongst the stocks that are still prominently landed in Maine, the shrimp fishery is the only one with open access and this too may become closed in the future (Canfield 2011, Damon 2010). Commercial shellfish licenses for harvesting clams, mussels, and worms are still available through the state, but there may be further regulations at the municipal management level.

Lobstering effort in Maine has been traditionally controlled through the territorial behavior of harbor gangs which limited the intrusion of outsiders into their fishing grounds (Acheson 2003). However, the lobster industry experienced a huge increase in effort due to new entrants and increased number of traps, but rather than collapsing like many other fisheries, landings increased (Acheson 2003). The common pool resource institution of 'lobster gangs' was ultimately legitimized through state legislation with a limited entry program (Acheson 2003).

The decline of alternative stocks and relatively high price per pound of lobster has resulted in it being the most important fishery in Maine, accounting for 77% of landed value (DMR 2012b). For many coastal communities the lobster fishery is now the most important economic driver and provider of livelihoods. The landed value of lobster in 2011 was \$334 million, but the actual economic contribution of the industry is difficult to calculate with multiplier effects which may make it several times larger

(Colgan 2004). Although it is clearly the most important stock, the infrastructure that surrounds lobster differs substantially from groundfish and herring. Effort is dispersed throughout the Maine fishing communities, and little added value processing occurs in Maine. The fishery seems to have the capacity to support these communities, but this over dependence on a single species is a subject of concern for academics and policy makers interested in their resilience (Steneck et al. 2011).

Despite the decline of many stocks and loss of access, fishermen and communities remain dependent on fishing as a livelihood. While many left the industry, others adapted to the new circumstances and continue to fish. The coast of Maine is a post-productive landscape along with much of the United States, but it may have more in common with the American West than urban centers where gentrification is readily recognized. Factories left the cities enabling neighborhoods to be gentrified by the new middle class. Likewise mining, ranching, and farming faced economic challenges in the west and underwent a rural restructuring with the arrival of amenity migrants (Curran 2004, Nelson 2001, Yung et al. 2007). Maine also lost much of its resource extraction industry and its manufacturing sector, but on a smaller scale than metropolitan centers. Meanwhile the fishing industry underwent a restructuring, with collapsed stocks and loss of access leaving many fishing communities vulnerable. Although, productive activities continue in each study community, they are no longer the focus that they once were and are now under threat of displacement. Now, I discuss the study communities in detail, using interview responses, fisheries data and census information to describe how each has experienced a transition due to the restructuring of fisheries and arrival of amenity migrants.

1.5 Fishing Dependent Communities

The four coastal communities examined all have experienced the same transition to a post-industrial landscape described above, but continue to have some degree of

dependence on fishing. In this section the characteristics that pertain to their rural restructuring and gentrification will be described in order to make comparisons. They share some demographic and fishing attributes, but each community has uniquely responded to the transitioning landscape. Many of these differences stem from their varied geographies along the Maine coast and their individual histories.

Eastport and Lubec are relatively isolated communities located at the eastern edge of Maine surrounded by the prominent Cobscook Bay and Passamaquoddy Bay. Along the Mid Coast are the communities of Rockland and Port Clyde, which are at the western mouth of Penobscot Bay. All of these communities had harbored herring and other fish processing factories; though the sardine packing industry was most famously associated with the Cobscook Bay communities. The rise and fall of these Down East communities followed the sardine packing industry, with the population and economy peaking in the early 20th century and later declining with the Depression. However, the loss of the canning industry was protracted, first reducing to a handful of factories in the 1960s, then closing the last one in 1983 and 2001 for Eastport and Lubec, respectively. Although the Mid Coast communities featured sardine canneries, they did not follow the same boom and bust pattern of the Down East communities. The canneries in Eastport and Lubec were particularly affected by the loss of protective tariffs because they were competing for fish with the nearby Canadian factories; down along the Mid Coast the sardine processors did not have the same supply problem.

Rockland has had a long industrial history, with shipbuilding and lime quarrying being particularly important through the 1800s. Their economic focus shifted to a diversity of fisheries that supported processing plants and associated maritime services. Port Clyde also had a long dependence on fishing, having hosted mussel, lobster, clam, and sardine packing plants, which are all gone now. Unlike the situation Down East the loss of any one industry for these two Mid Coast communities did not result in the overwhelming exodus of the population. Economic hardships have been felt in both

Rockland and Port Clyde, but the population has remained fairly steady. The stock declines and loss of access to fisheries which was commonly felt across Maine has had their impact on these communities, but fishing dependence remains.

1.5.1 Fisheries Profile

Fishermen in the study communities have largely lost access to federally managed stocks, particularly groundfish; though Port Clyde remains the second largest groundfish port in Maine, it host just 3 active dragging vessels (Libby 2012). Along the Mid Coast lobster has emerged as the dominant fishery upon which these communities depend. While there are lobster fishermen Down East in Lubec and Eastport, Cobscook Bay is not as productive. Instead, fishermen in these communities cobble together an annual round from an array of species. Lobster, scallops, and sea urchins are all important to the livelihood of these fishermen who may hold a number of different licenses (Table 1.2). Rockland, known as the Lobster Capital of the World, hosts a number of lobstermen who are primarily part time. It is also the homeport for various other fishermen, but the amount of fishing happening in the vicinity of the harbor is limited. However, it does provide an important role in the region as a distribution hub for herring bait and center for lobster buyers.

	Rockland	Port Clyde	Lubec	Eastport
Fishing	6	8	112	20
Shrimp	5	6	0	0
Lobster	96	63	47	12
Shellfish	11	0	40	7
Scallops	3	2	31	11
Urchins	0	0	30	2
Other	9	3	13	0

Table 1.2: State Fishing Licenses. Number of state fishing licenses divided by community. Data provided by Department of Marine Resources, 2011

Determining the level of dependence on fishing is difficult, since many fishermen could be part-time while others that use the port may live outside the community (NOAA 2009). When trying to estimate how many fishermen are in a community the number reported can vary widely from each account. Determining the level of activity and dependence on fishing for each individual is an additional challenge that is not possible using most data sets. For instance, a common strategy among fishermen is to acquire a license and either not fish it at all or fish enough to demonstrate minimal landings. The strategy hedges against moratoriums on licenses and allows them to enter a fishery once conditions improve. Furthermore, while some individuals may intensify their efforts on to a single stock, others diversify their operations. As stated by one fisherman from Lubec: “There’s no one fishery that people do and just do it. . . if you’re a scallop dragger, you’re also a clam digger, you’re a wrinkle picker, you’re a lobster fisherman, you’re an urchin fisherman. You do whatever it takes to survive, you piece-meal a living together here.” These are all aspects to consider when analyzing licensing data, but combined with the rapid assessment we are able to ascertain a level of fishing dependence for these communities.

	State 1990	State 2011	Federal 2011
Eastport	48	36	5
Lubec	123	163	7
Port Clyde	57	66	17
Rockland	146	110	13

Table 1.3: Individuals with Fishing Licenses. Number in each community in the years 1990 and 2011. Data provided by the Department of Marine Resources for the State of Maine and National Marine Fisheries Service

Examining the license data across the four communities reveals that there are a number of differences between the groups of fishermen, particularly when comparing the Down East to the Mid Coast. In regards to Federal licenses there are far more individuals who declare Rockland or Port Clyde to be their principal port where they

land the majority of their catch (Table 1.3). Looking at the state licensing data we see that Eastport and Lubec are more diversified while the Mid Coast communities are heavily dependent on Lobster (Table 1.2). All communities except Port Clyde reflect the loss of access to fishing through a decrease in the number of licenses. The increase in state licenses between 1990 and 2011 in Port Clyde could be due to the draw of a robust lobster fishery as a substitute for the increase in federal restrictions. Overall it seems that Lubec and Rockland, have far more fishermen than both Port Clyde and Eastport. However, the license data can be misleading; through the interviews it was discovered that many individuals who fished out of Port Clyde and Eastport lived in one of the surrounding towns since it was more affordable. Furthermore, many of the lobstermen in Rockland do not rely on fishing, but do so part time in addition to another job which is their primary source of income. Although the fishing profiles of these communities indicates that many fishermen depend upon the industry for at least a part of their livelihood, that finding needs to be put into the context of the overall decline. Respondents frequently cite the loss of industry and limited access to the remaining fisheries, which reflects the general trend discussed above.

I think the loss of the fish processing has been a real struggle for the community to adapt to. And that's true throughout Maine where natural resource based industries were lost. . . And so with the loss of those industries, forging a new economy out of many different sources where you're not sole dependent on just a few employers to employ most of the town has been very difficult. And Eastport's far from alone in struggling with that.- *Eastport Resident*

The one relief to the overall decline of fisheries has been the robust lobster industry which continues to increase its landings and value; it provides numerous families with livelihoods and supports local economies. However, as stated earlier, nearshore lobster stocks are less productive Down East than those along the Mid Coast and entry into the fishery is difficult throughout the state. Furthermore, if anything should happen to the stocks or if the industry is no longer economically viable, it would severely impact

these communities. A respondent expresses these concerns in the quote below and realizes that without fishing these communities would complete the shift from productive economies to consumptive ones serving amenity migrants.

...you gotta realize lobstering's a really huge factor in this, like it is in all the other ports and, as we all know, if it wasn't for lobsterin' in the State of Maine it would be a sad-looking picture and every port would look Boothbay and Camden. I shouldn't stereotype but that's the truth of the matter. They'd be all tourists so that's you know, you need the commercial fisheries in these small communities, I think, to keep 'em functionin'. - *Port Clyde Fisherman*

1.5.2 Demographic Trends

Maine fishing communities are increasingly dominated by amenity oriented activities which has followed the nationwide shift from an industrial economy to a service based one. Along with the restructuring of the economy has come a transformation of the population base. These intimately linked changes have resulted in the present post-industrial landscape and have enabled gentrification to occur in these fishing communities. The most readily recognizable post-industrial transformation has been the collapse of the sardine industry and subsequent loss of population. Eastport and Lubec which, respectively, reported populations of 5,311 and 3,363 at their peak exemplify the impact. Soon after the collapse of sardine production their populations declined rapidly. For respondents in those communities, this loss in population is still an issue, and readily attributed to canning, as one Eastport resident stated: “since the height of the sardine industry the population of this place has lost 80 percent of its population.” Although, the recent changes in these communities due to gentrification are more nuanced, evidence of its occurrence can be found within U.S. census data, which is highlighted in the subsequent paragraphs.

As expected the current populations in both Eastport and Lubec are far lower than in the 20th century, and they have continued to decline (Fig 1.4). The continued

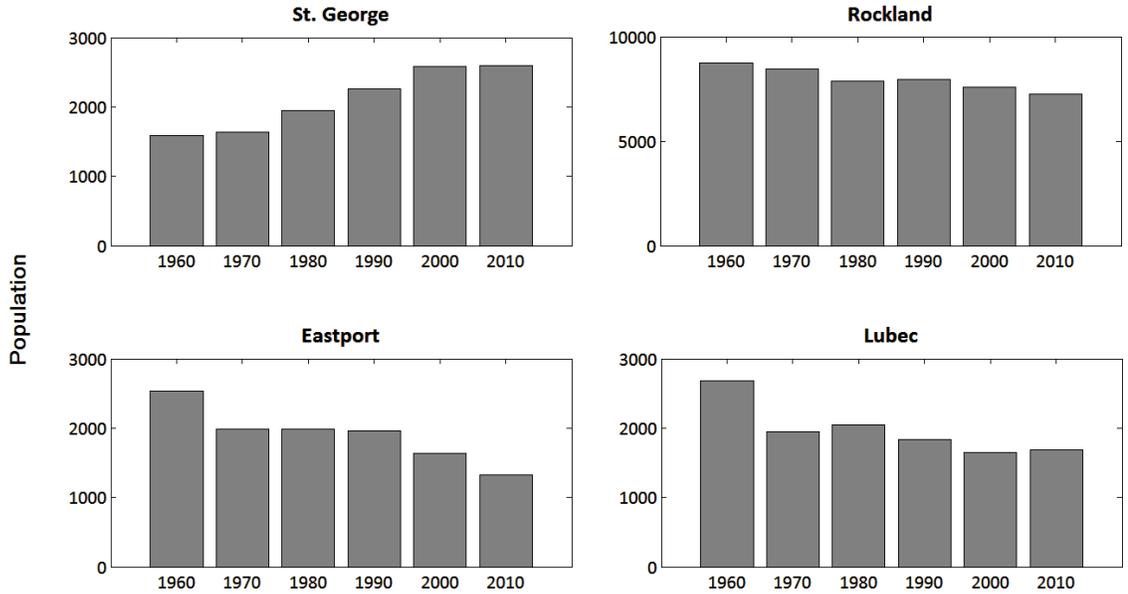


Figure 1.4: Population Change Across Study Communities. Data provided by US Census

fall of population was often attributed to further losses of industry, including fishing, which motivated an outmigration of residents seeking employment. Rockland, which is the most populous study community, has also experienced a steady decline in its population, but the difference from its peak in the 1950s is not as pronounced. Contrasting these trends is St. George which has experience a significant population increase since the 1960s, but now appears to be leveling off. St. George is the municipality that encompasses the village of Port Clyde, and is the unit for which most census data is collected. In the latest 2010 census it was reported that the village of Port Clyde had a total population of 307.

	Port Clyde	Rockland	Eastport	Lubec	Maine	United States
Median Age	51.5	43.5	54.5	54	42	37.2
65 Years and Older	34.20%	19.60%	26.70%	25.90%	15.90%	13.00%
Under 25 Years	21.80%	27.00%	19.50%	19.50%	29.30%	33.90%

Table 1.4: Age Structure Across Study Communities. Data provided by US Census, 2010.

The State of Maine is older than the nation and apart from Rockland the study communities are considerably older than the State’s average. Eastport and Lubec both feature a demographic with over a quarter of the population older than 65, while in Port Clyde it is more than a third (Table 1.4). Interestingly the median age is lower and percentage under 25 is higher in Port Clyde than those other two communities, suggesting a more polarized age structure.

Income Source	St. George	Rockland	Eastport	Lubec	United States
Earnings	68.20%	70.00%	64.50%	58.80%	79.70%
Social Security	50.00%	37.60%	49.40%	50.90%	27.50%
Retirement	25.30%	18.70%	27.30%	19.70%	17.50%
SNAP (food stamps)	6.10%	26.40%	10.50%	23.60%	9.30%

Table 1.5: Household Income Sources. A comparison across communities and with the nation as a whole, data provided by American Community Survey, 2010.

Unsurprisingly, the older communities that we studied are also characterized by a far greater percentage of households receiving income from social security or retirement sources. Once again, Rockland’s profile is closer to the nation as a whole, with more households having income from earnings (Table 1.5). However, over a quarter of its households receive food stamps, which is similar to Lubec. The percentage of families living in poverty has decreased substantially in Lubec over the past 10 years, going from 20.3% to 11.1%. Currently Eastport and Rockland have similar rates with 12.4% and 12.3% respectively, while St. George has 9.4% of its families living in poverty.

Along with the high poverty rates, Lubec has the lowest median household income among the communities, with Eastport and Rockland not far above. While St. George has a higher income than those communities it is less than the state as a whole and is the only community to have had its median household income decrease in the past 10 years. Far surpassing the rate of increase in income has been the increase in house value since 2000. House values in St. George exceed the other communities and Maine as a whole, while the Down East communities of Lubec and Eastport feature the

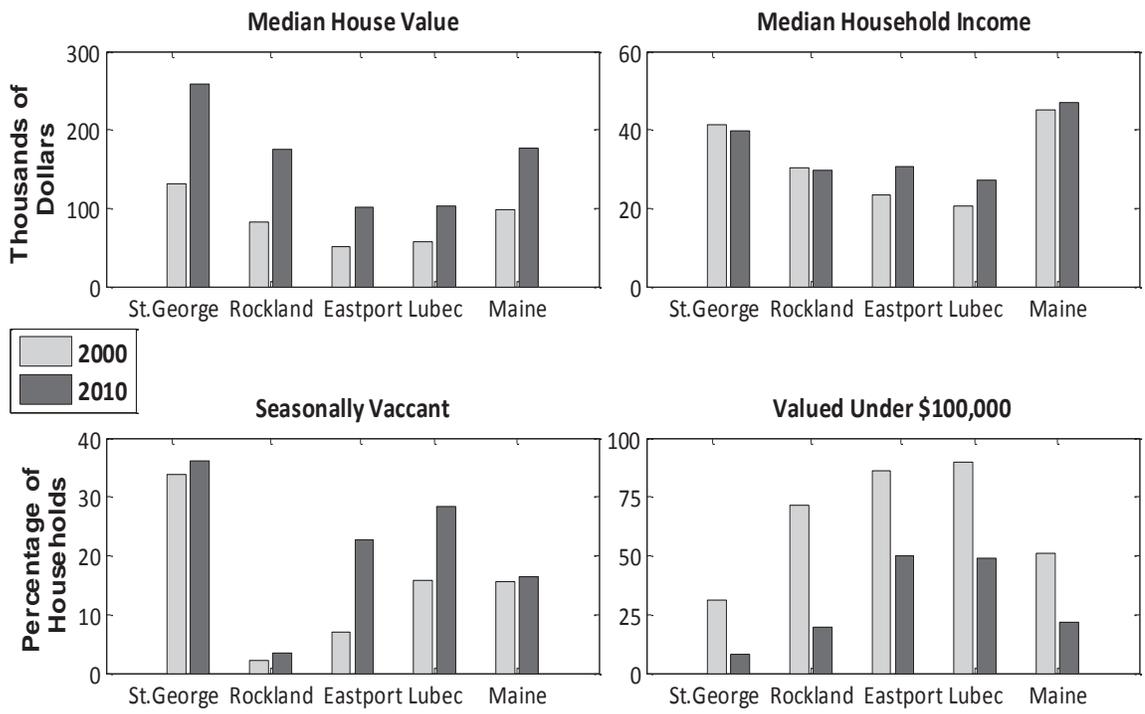


Figure 1.5: Selected Household Statistics. A comparison across the study communities for the years 2000 and 2010. a. Median house value; b. Median household income; c. Percentage of households seasonally vacant; d. Percentage of houses valued under \$100,000

lowest values. Across all the study communities the housing stock has changed dramatically, with far fewer houses being available for under \$100,000 now than ten years ago (Figure 1.5). St. George has the least affordable housing and the greatest amount of housing stock dedicated to seasonal use, which is lower than Port Clyde's rate of 48.1%. Rockland features the fewest number of seasonal households which similar to St. George has risen marginally over the past 10 years. Eastport and Lubec on the other hand have witnessed a significant increase, up 15.7 percentage points for the former and 12.5 for the latter.

1.5.3 Amenity Migration and Rural Restructuring

The fisheries and census data alone do not adequately describe what is happening in these communities, but with the additional information provided by interviews a coherent story emerges. Respondents acknowledged that much of the industry in their communities has left and with it economic opportunities for those living in the area. As a result there has been an exodus of people seeking work, but this trend has disproportionately affected the younger demographics leading to the current age structure. As expressed by this fisherman, fishing opportunities are limited: "Any kids that graduate from school realize in order to make a living you need to leave. There's very few that will actually go into fishing." Compounding the problem of limited economic opportunities is the increasing cost of living in these communities due to rising house prices and taxes. Although, poverty rates have declined, incomes in general have not kept pace with the real estate market forcing many people to leave.

Although the rising cost of housing may be due to a number of factors, respondents often attributed the increase to 'people from away' buying property and speculating on price. This demographic was generally identified as being from out of state, wealthy, and retired or close to retirement. Respondents realized that for these people

purchasing property in their community was relatively affordable, but they were bringing in capital from out of state and displacing locals. The rapid appreciation of property values is also increasing tax rates dramatically, forcing people who may have inherited their homes to sell. Since demand is primarily for shorefront property, many residents have tried to cope with the increasing costs by moving inland or to adjacent towns. Although residents are being displaced from these homes, the rapid appreciation of house values may provide a financial benefit through a substantial windfall. The situation is summarized by an Eastport resident in the quote below.

Oh, gosh. I think people from away can well afford to come here and buy houses, because the houses are fairly reasonable. Because these people have sold their homes from away or they're in a position to buy a second home. I think if anybody wants to live here, they could. I think it's harder for the locals to buy a house here, because there's not that many jobs here. -
Eastport Resident

Interviews and census data suggest that a process of gentrification is occurring in these communities. Although differences exist between each community, they all share the four essential characteristics discussed in the literature review: reinvestment of capital; social upgrading by incoming higher-income groups; landscape change; direct or indirect displacement of lower income groups (Davidson and Lees 2005). Apart from those key elements these communities also feature other aspects mentioned in the literature. Based on interview responses, the demographic called 'people from away' could be characterized as either amenity migrants or rural gentrifiers.

People from away moved to the area because of the coastal aesthetics, cultural opportunities, rural idyll and desire to escape the exurban turmoil. Long term residents and incomers alike recognize this motivation: "They come here because it's beautiful, they come here because it feels like it's a time gone by where people know their neighbors and that the living is simple." Furthermore, incomers are taking advantage of

a rent gap created by the limited productive value of coastal property and its increasing consumptive worth. Fishing is still an important activity in these communities, but the rapid appreciation of property cost due to speculation on its valuable amenities can create a rent gap (Darling 2005). Thus, fishing is being challenged by rural restructuring which threatens to displace it directly or indirectly from these communities. In an examination of each of these communities, these themes will reemerge, but so will their unique characteristics.

1.5.4 Eastport

People don't realize the whole downtown was chimney stacks, it was massively industrialized and now people fight even the slightest bit of industry. - *Eastport Resident*

As expressed in the quote above, Eastport is more than a fishing community and tourist destination, it is also an industrial center in the Cobscook Bay region. Periodically, new industries would emerge with the promise of boosting the economy and community only to be cut short or eventually decline. The story of Eastport is best exemplified by the boom and bust of the sardine packing industry, which was described earlier. Aquaculture also has had a long history in Maine, but it was not until 1984 that salmon pens were introduced to Cobscook Bay. Although the industry grew quickly, crowded conditions in the bay resulted in epidemics of disease. The need for more expensive disease control measures and increased international competition resulted in the consolidation of the industry and tenfold reduction in employment. Shipping is another industry that has been a part of the community, but its importance has waxed and waned over the years. Recent expansion promises to increase activity, which has been a source for optimism among many respondents.

A proposal for a Liquefied Natural Gas (LNG) import facility sparked great debate in the community, but was soundly defeated. The struggle within the community over LNG highlights how gentrifiers with large amounts of social capital can steer a

political decision in their favor (Butler and Robson 2001). The environmentally aware segment of the community has had less of an issue with the prospect of tidal power, see Hines (2010) for a similar case. The tidal project has gained traction in the form of test sites and plans for future expansion. While no single industry can claim to be the economic cornerstone, the several that remain viable along with fishing, tourism and the creative economy may provide a diverse and stable foundation for the community's future.

[Tourism is] one of the aspects of the economy we depend upon in the summer. Our summer season's fairly short. We're not at all like Bar Harbor or Camden in the winter it can look rather bleak. But they try to make enough money in the summer to help tide them over. - *Eastport Resident*

Tourism is a growing part of the economy in Eastport, which is recognized by a respondent in the quote above. Along with restaurants, accommodation and retail shops, several of the businesses catering to tourists offer guided boat trips for wildlife tours and sightseeing. Eastport is increasingly seen as a destination for artists and tourists alike. There are numerous galleries operated by individual artists as well as co-ops and exhibits that feature regional artists. The city serves as the epicenter of an art community that spans the Cobscook Bay region, hosting several arts organizations and non-profits which have been integral in securing grants and revitalizing the downtown. However, the tourist economy and much of the service economy in Eastport is limited by the short summer season, with the viability of many businesses dependent on those few months. Although respondents acknowledge the increasing importance of tourism, many believe the growth will be limited by the isolation of Eastport.

The transition of Eastport has broadly followed the general pattern described earlier, with rural restructuring driven by the loss of sardine factories and influx of amenity migrants. Furthermore, the profile presents evidence for the core elements of gentrification that are outline in the summary figure (Table 1.6). Although property values had not declined, exploitation of the rent gap is still possible in Eastport through

loss of its productive value and increased consumption. As a reminder of its industrial past and population loss many houses in Eastport still stand dilapidated and vacant. There are no packing plants today, and though the downtown hosts some of the same buildings from a century ago, they have been renovated and repurposed.

Amenity migrants have filtered into the community in the past few decades, and have helped establish Eastport as a cultural center for the region; hosting numerous galleries and programs related to the arts. Eastport's trend towards artistic aesthetic mimics the process of creating artistic neighborhoods in gentrified urban areas (Lees et al. 2008). The art community and growth of new businesses has been driven primarily by amenity migrants who consider themselves semi-retired and depend on an income source outside the community. However, the isolation that may protect the city from overly commercialized tourism also hinders the progression of economic development towards higher paying service sector jobs (Rasker and Hansen 2000; Jackson 2006). Therefore, it is uncertain whether rural restructuring will provide new economic opportunities for locals. While there are still fishermen who rely on Eastport for their harbor the majority live outside of the community in the surrounding towns. Currently there remain several locations for them to access the waterfront, but displacement of the industry remains a risk.

1.5.5 Lubec

This has always been a fishing community. It's always had a lot of manufacturing: sardine canneries, herring canneries and those have all gone so now we have to rely more on tourism. - *Lubec Resident*

Lubec's history is similar to that of its neighboring community of Eastport, and though they share the same gentrification characteristics (Table 1.6) their paths diverged with the onset of rural restructuring. Since Lubec lacks the economic diversity of Eastport the loss of the sardine industry had a greater impact, and for the community of it was more than an economic injury, it was also a threat to its social identity. The

fishing industry continues to be an important source for people's livelihoods, and this dependence is a salient issue in the community, as expressed in the quote above.

With the realization that the community is undergoing a transition, there is much anxiety over the future of the community and its identity. Some of the respondents have directed the blame to tourism and amenity migrants which is exemplified in this statement by a Lubec fisherman: "... this place is pristine and beautiful and the rest of the world has found us and they're up here buying up all our land, building mansions, forcing our taxes through the friggin' roof..." The respondent is partly correct in attributing the escalating taxes to amenity migrants. House values have risen and so too have the taxes, an issue which has been compounded by the State's property assessment and education policy. The burden for funding education has shifted entirely to the local municipality and as a result the town was forced to close the high school. Furthermore, the topic of displacement due to rising cost and lack of economic opportunity was frequently reported during interviews. When reconsidering the census data, the decline in rates of poverty could be attributed to increased prosperity or displacement of that socioeconomic class. Currently, the transition Lubec faces is particularly challenging, which one respondent succinctly expresses in the quote below:

... the change is twofold, the makeup of the voting population and moving from fishing to tourism and it has winners and losers the people from away come in and buy their houses, so the local people are giving up their heritage because of certain economic factors and this is a difficult time for some people... it's a whole change of a way of life a whole gentrification of Lubec... - *Lubec Resident*

Unlike gentrifiers in most studies, amenity migrants coming to Lubec do not require access to work or services, their decision is based primarily on the rural atmosphere and available aesthetics (Darling 2005). This pattern may be found in all of the study communities, but it is most pronounced in Lubec where amenity migrants share many characteristics with tourists (Travis 2007). Tourism is increasingly becoming an

important part of the community's economy, at least for the downtown portion of Lubec. In recent years several new restaurants, retailers and forms of accommodation have been established in the town.

Although highly seasonal, tourism is cited as an increasingly important sector in the local economy. As one resident put it: "And the tourism, it seemed to be booming the last two years. I barely recognize anybody in town anymore. But it's definitely, definitely seasonal." Similar to Eastport, Lubec may be too isolated for any substantial growth. At the moment it also appears that few people are benefiting from the recent changes in the community. Most of the new businesses are owned by amenity migrants, and the jobs they have generated are primarily seasonal, which typically have low wages (Ohman 1999). The interviews and census data suggest that the changes in the community have been fairly recent which might help explain the saliency of identity and heritage as major issues. The future course that the community of Lubec will take is uncertain, but gentrification will definitely be a factor in any outcome.

1.5.6 Port Clyde

... there's the negative thing because they bought the land and the properties that the fisherman once owned it and you know he's never gonna get it back because we all know what the properties cost... - *Port Clyde Fisherman*

Port Clyde is the most clearly gentrified rural community that was investigated in this study and there is evidence that further stages of gentrification will continue. The transition to its current post-industrial landscape has already been well described above, but fisheries, particularly lobstering remains as a viable livelihood for many. However, due to the escalating property values few of the original inhabitants are able to reside in the village and now most fishermen live outside the community. While that strategy appears to be working for the moment, the bigger challenge for fishermen will be to maintain access to the waterfront, a concern expressed in the quote above.

During interviews it was frequently reported that fishermen's access to the water was becoming more consolidated as they have lost waterfront property with private docks. Productive and consumptive uses of waterfront property compete directly in Port Clyde and many fishing wharfs have been converted to private use by amenity migrants. Thus, there has been a displacement of both people and fishing from Port Clyde, but access remains with a co-op and several buying stations. While one wharf is protected as a working waterfront through a legal covenant, the rest are at risk of being converted.

The census data and interviews indicated that Port Clyde is increasingly being valued for its aesthetics and despite rising house values amenity migrants may be exploiting a rent gap (Darling 2005). Along with the core elements of gentrification being in place this aspect indicates that there was never a decrease in capitalized ground rent (Table 1.6). One of the themes that emerged was the recognition of Port Clyde as long being a destination first for "rusticators" and artist and then early waves of amenity migrants. As in the urban cases, these gentrifiers are now at risk of being displaced by a newer wave with a greater capacity for capital accumulation.

Although the risk of displacement and impact of outside wealth was acknowledged in Port Clyde, many respondents were optimistic about amenity migrants and tourists, citing the benefits they could bring to the community. These sentiments are best expressed by one fisherman: "They'll rent a mooring. They'll go to the store and they go to the restaurants. It's part of tourism. I have an expression, Help keep Maine green. Bring your money and spend it." It is well recognized that the influx of amenity migrants and tourists has led to the revitalization of many properties in Port Clyde and has provided revenues for the local economy.

Overall the town of St. George has witnessed an increase in tourism revenue in the past few decades, but the economic volume remains subdued compared to nearby destinations (St. George 2007). Port Clyde is an exception, since it is the waypoint for visitors who are traveling to Monhegan Island. The activity at the ferry terminal

greatly increases tourists traffic through the Port Clyde village, which helps the few local businesses. There are restaurants, and retailers catering to this clientele, as well as an operation offering kayaking trips, but apart from two bed and breakfast inns there is no accommodation. Instead, many of the summer visitors to Port Clyde stay in weekly rentals. As in all Maine coastal communities the tourist economy and activity is restricted to the summer season, but here it is further limited by the available space and restrictive municipal ordinances.

Fishermen may also take advantage of the tourist clientele, by directly retailing a quality product steeped in the heritage and traditions of the fishing community. Going a step further some fishermen have begun providing guided lobster tours, during which they demonstrate to locals how the animals are caught with traps. There are also many seasonal properties in town owned by or accommodating amenity migrants. Fishermen who need to supplement their income can find work by servicing these properties, according to some residents, this is an increasingly popular strategy:

I made a joke the other day. I said, “Pretty soon all of us are going to own a one ton dump truck and excavator.” [Laughter] We’re gonna be running around planting trees for people. You know, I think a lot of them are doing that and trying to find other things to get into besides just lobstering - *Port Clyde Resident*

Although fishing remains the most important livelihood within the community, it is evident that Port Clyde has transitioned towards the service sector. If there is a disruption in the lobster industry it could mean that the waterfront they utilize will lose its productive value, widening the rent gap, and further enabling the process of gentrification. The rent gap being exploited in Port Clyde is the most interesting aspect of its gentrification since there has been no noticeable depreciation of value. The aesthetic value as perceived by amenity migrants is responsible for raising property values ever higher, and despite the increasing value of lobster, a rent gap is still forming. It is this

aspect which makes the situation in Port Clyde and similar fishing communities different from the typical urban case.

1.5.7 Rockland

... when I was a kid, it was like real commercial. It was places you didn't walk down around unless you were fairly confident in your abilities to defend yourself. And it was kinda a dumpy, nasty that's the way this place was. It was all commercial. There were plants all along the shore. But now it's turning into more galleries, eateries it's just gonna keep going in that direction. - *Rockland Resident*

In recent decades Rockland has undergone a significant transformation which has been previously been recognized in a report by Hall-Arber and others (2001), naming it the 5th most gentrified fishing community in the Northeast. As expressed in the quote above, it has lost much of its working town character and revitalized itself with a burgeoning service sector economy. The cyclical rise and fall of industry has been a driving force of change in Rockland, but the recent growth of tourism represents a shift away from a productive economy. In its place a new service sector economy is taking hold, for many communities this has been considered a rural restructuring (Nelson 2002).

The stable, high paying employment often found in the service sector is not surviving in Rockland. Although, the economy is diversified, much of it is dependent on the tourism industry, which is notorious for low paying jobs. This transition was noted by respondents: "...that type of job left, we had to replace them with other jobs... Luckily, we had a development of shopping centers and added more jobs, maybe not quite the same jobs, but it still puts money in the pocket..." Limited economic opportunity in the labor pool has been a long standing characteristic of Rockland. In the past this aspect has stimulated demand for affordable housing (Rockland 2002). While house values in the city are rising, they are not increasing to the same extent as adjacent coastal communities. Housing prices in neighboring communities have been rising because of

demand by amenity migrants seeking coastal landscapes and a rural idyll, which are not abundantly available in the city. Combined with the large inland housing stock, these features help explain why Rockland has not experienced a widespread displacement of its inhabitants.

Displacement of people is a defining characteristic of gentrified neighborhoods, but in Rockland the displacement occurring is of a productive economy with a consumptive one. Amongst the four communities it has the most complicated gentrification profile (Table 1.6). Although there is evidence for many of the elements it does not follow a typical case, and the assessment is made more difficult by the reduced number of interviews conducted. The revitalized downtown and the shift of the marine businesses towards recreational and luxury boats, are indicators of gentrification.

As the fishing industry declined and many of the processing plants closed down, it enabled the utilization of space on the waterfront for other uses. Tourism and the service sector grew and took hold in many of those underutilized properties. Much of the tourism draw of Rockland is for recreational boating and sailing, which has increased greatly in the past few decades. In 1985 there were 47 moorings and just one Marina, by 1999 there were 402 moorings and three new marinas (Rockland 2002). Part of the success of the sailing fleet in Rockland can be attributed to the accessibility of the harbor and location on the coast. As expressed by one business owner: “We have a beautiful asset here, we are the gateway to the Penobscot, people come from all over the world to sail here.” The continued growth of tourism, expansion on the waterfront and increased activity on the water poses a potential problem for commercial fishing. The growth of one sector in the economy won’t necessarily lead to displacement, but there are some indications that conflicts are occurring. Fishermen are being increasingly marginalized, depending on less wharfage than in the past. Meanwhile increased use of the harbor by recreational boaters, primarily in the summer months, presents an avenue for conflict, with lobstermen losing gear to the props of passing vessels.

The waterfront infrastructure in Rockland is not only important to the fishermen in the harbor, but also vital to the entire fishing industry of the region. While a burgeoning tourism and yachting industry could pose a threat to fishing, it is not antithetical, because as one respondent expressed: “Plenty of Space. There’s plenty of space.” Regardless, as Rockland becomes more dependent on tourism, its economy becomes less diversified, furthermore the expansion could marginalize and conflict with current commercial fishing operations.

Rockland has undergone multiple transformations in its history, and shifted away from much of its manufacturing and fisheries based economy in the 1990s. It began to grow its tourism-based economy and establish a reputation as a destination for visitors, a trend that continues today. The city is an integral part of the tourism industry for the entire Mid Coast region being a highly visible regional hub along Route 1 it serves as an epicenter for much of the activity. The downtown strip of Rockland has been completely revitalized and now hosts multiple gift shops, galleries, antique dealers and restaurants. Multiple historical and cultural institutions along with NGOs have chosen the city as their home in large part because of its role as a regional hub.

Rockland is a recognized service center, providing all the benefits of a city without taking up the same footprint. Regional service centers in Maine, account for the vast majority of jobs, services and retail sales. They also host a great share of the health facilities and educational institutions. Rockland has achieved this status through its historical importance in the region, and its well developed transportation infrastructure and its lack of competition from other towns. Now with the entire region shifting to a post-productive landscape with amenity migrants filtering into the surrounding coastal communities, Rockland will continue to serve as a regional hub, but with an emphasis on consumptive services. Thus, the form of gentrification in this community cannot be isolated from the overall transformation of the entire Mid Coast region.

		Eastport	Lubec	Port Clyde	Rockland
Evidence of Gentrification	Landscape Change	yes	yes	yes	yes
	Social Upgrading	yes	yes	yes	partially
	Reinvestment of Capital	yes	yes	yes	yes
	Displacement of People	yes	yes	yes	unknown
	Displacement of Fishing	yes	yes	yes	yes
Consumption Explanations	Aesthetic or Rural Ideal	yes	yes	yes	partially
	Artist Community	yes	yes	yes	yes
Exploitation of the Rent Gap	Increase in potential rent	yes	yes	yes	partially
	Decrease in Ground Rent	partially	partially	no	pattially
	Wealthy Gentrifiers	yes	yes	yes	unknown
	Bargain Property	yes	yes	yes	unknown

Table 1.6: The Elements of Gentrification. The four core elements taken from the literature are listed under evidence of Gentrification. Aspects of the consumption explanations are considered as well as the production explanations, the later of which is specifically concerned with the rent gap. The presence of each element is considered for the study communities with a yes, no, partially or unknown (if an assesment could not be made).

1.6 Discussion

This chapter has sought to explore recent changes in Maine fishing communities by utilizing gentrification and amenity migration theories. The literature review was necessary to highlight the similarities between these two distinct disciplines and to explore their application to the challenges facing these communities. Gentrification has been cited as a possible threat to fishing communities in vulnerability research, but when considering its occurrence only a cursory connection is made to the literature. The lack of gentrification studies investigating both rural and coastal communities has contributed to these partial examinations.

The majority of gentrification literature is based on studies of urban environments, the British countryside or the ‘New West,’ but by following the transition of Maine coastal communities this chapter demonstrated there are many similarities. All of those situations feature a landscape that has lost productive value, while its consumptive use has increased. Although some productive activities remain in each, they can all

be considered as part of the post-industrial landscape. Having established the prerequisite conditions I then proceeded to argue that gentrification has occurred at the study sites, but in a manner that is unique to fishing communities.

According to an analysis of interviews and a review of secondary data, the key components of gentrification have been found throughout these communities (Table 1.6). The fishing industry has been marginalized in these communities, which may be a necessary condition for gentrification to occur. A rent gap due to a decrease in ground rent was only partially detected in three of the communities and not at all in Port Clyde. It is possible that the exodus of fishing freed property for conversion to 'best use' by reducing its productive value and removing the stigma of a working community. Regardless, it was confirmed that amenity migrants are attracted to these communities for many of the reasons cited by consumption explanations. Gentrification has resulted with the associated economic and social impacts posing a serious challenge to these communities and the fishing industry. However, context is always an important part in these evaluations, and the symptoms of gentrification are not universally applied. Although a reduced set of interviews in Rockland makes certain assessments difficult or impossible, the community nonetheless contrasts the others. The primary concern in Rockland is for the working waterfront, which has been most affected by the process of gentrification. The profiles indicated several other unique features among the communities, but some of these may have been more regional in scope.

Gentrification is occurring across the Maine coast, but it is part of a much broader societal change. Globalization and the emergence of the service sector have created new wealth while simultaneously devaluing domestic production. These forces have the potential to greatly increase the prosperity of many communities, but they also challenge a valuable fishing industry and a heritage based on that way of life. Along with gentrification literature, the study of amenity migration and rural restructuring provides insight

into some of the impacts of these transitions. Nevertheless, neither one can provide a complete explanation for what is occurring in these communities.

Contrasting the urban neighborhoods on which the theory is based, gentrification here has not happened because of an extensive deterioration of a neighborhood and devaluation of its property. Although resource extraction and industrial activities are part of Maine's past, the scale of development is much less than in metropolitan centers. These communities also diverge from cities in that the value of their location is not due to access to work, schools, or a business district, but because of their proximity to highly aesthetic coastal settings. As a consequence their consumptive value has increased despite the continued viability of a fishing industry that is primarily dependent on lobster. While this fishery may be able to keep pace for now, a major disruption could expose the working waterfront to the threat of displacement. These trends have much in common with the 'New West' literature that describes the changes and challenges associated with economic restructuring and amenity migration. However, unlike those situations the burgeoning service sector in these communities is primarily based on tourism and does not feature the desirable high paying stable employment. The transformation of the Maine coast will bring benefits as well as challenges, meanwhile these fishing communities struggle with their identity in the face of inevitable change.

Chapter 2

VULNERABILITY TO GENTRIFICATION

2.1 Introduction

Fishing communities face the cumulative effects of stock depletions, burdensome regulations, rising costs and gentrification (Murray et al. 2010). The coast of Maine is dotted with numerous small fishing communities, which are important contributors to the state's economy and culture (Colgan 2006). Although they may be uniformly painted as quaint fishing villages, each is in a unique circumstance unsuited to the broad stroke of fisheries management decisions (Pinto de Silva and Hall-Arber, 2008). Nevertheless, management plans are required to be consistent with the standards of the Magnusson Stevens Act, which call for equitable implementation of regulation and the consideration of impacts on fishing communities (MSA 2007).

The diversity of fishing communities and the difficulty of making assessments with the readily available datasets has made the national standards unattainable (Jepson and Jacob, 2007; Tuler et al. 2008). Complicating matters, it is increasingly realized that factors apart from resource health and management decisions are impacting fishing communities. These forces have been broadly recognized as coastal development and gentrification (Gale 1991), but their influence is not well understood. Seeking to overcome these barriers NMFS typically employs 'social impact assessments' (SIA). These assessments are required by NEPA when determining the impact of federal action on the human environment, but have their limitations when applied to fishing communities (Tuler et al. 2008). An approach that follows the intention of the social impact assessments, but addresses the diversity of communities in an effective manner is now being utilized. The concept of vulnerability is central to the approach, it recognizes that

differences among communities influence how regulations impact them (Tuler et al., 2008; Clay and Olson, 2008; Jepson and Jacob, 2007; Pinto de Silva and Hall-Arber, 2008).

2.1.1 Framework for Understanding Vulnerability

Broadly defined by Kaperson and others (2001) vulnerability is the “differential susceptibility to loss from a given insult.” Tuler and others (2008) have conceptualized a vulnerability framework to be utilized in the rapid assessment of communities. The key components include the exposure to a threat, sensitivity to threat, and resilience to perturbations (Fig 2.1). The framework provides a means of accounting for the various factors that contribute to vulnerability (Tuler et al. 2008). Gentrification has often been acknowledged as part of the matrix that influences vulnerability, but it is a muddled concept and difficult to evaluate. In a report by Jacob and others (2010), they attempt to assess gentrification through a variety of social indicators. Their report implies that gentrification increased the sensitivity of the community. Another impact assessment study by Colburn and Jepson (2012) attempted to detect the presence of gentrification in fishing communities with readily available data. Gentrification was measured through a variety of indexes derived from census data, and depending on the strength of the index, signaled whether or not gentrification was occurring in these communities. (Colburn and Jepson 2012). However, before accepting these approaches ground truthing is necessary to verify their validity and to understand the impacts of gentrification.

We draw on the framework developed by Tuler et al. (2008) to conceptualize vulnerability (Fig 2.1). The differing characteristics of people and places affect how they will be impacted when exposed to a threat. These differences can emerge at various scales, from the individual to the landscape for human factors, and similarly for the environmental conditions. Characteristics of the system derived from these distinct attributes influence its *sensitivity* which is the degree of harm inflicted on individuals

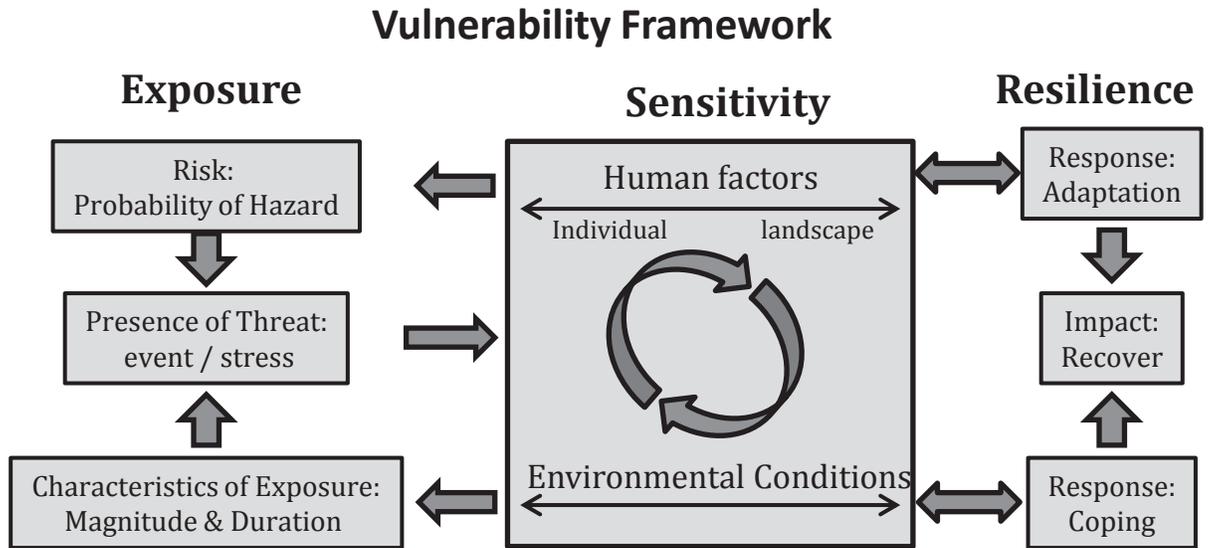


Figure 2.1: Vulnerability Framework. It features the driving forces interacting in a dynamic manner, with factors that can occur on a variety of scales. Adapted from Tuler et al. 2008

and groups by a hazard. For instance, a fishing community located further from productive fishing grounds will face greater injury due to the implementation of a Days at Sea program than one closer to the resource because it is more sensitive. The new regulation *exposes* fishermen to a number of hazards, such as weather and loss of access. Fishermen farther from fishing grounds will use up more of their limited time during transit and may be more willing to steam during unfavorable weather. The response of fishermen to this exposure determines their *resilience*. Although, resilience is usually regarded as being opposed to vulnerability, the concept is more concerned with the recovery from the stress and the adaptations made to better handle similar threats. A dramatic adaptation for a fisherman in this instance would involve moving to a harbor closer to the fishing grounds. However, notice that what adds to the resilience of the individual does not necessarily benefit the community. These factors fall into a number of categories characterizing the driving forces which shape the three dimensions of vulnerability: demographic, socio-cultural, individual decision making, economic, technological, or environmental. In an analysis, the various dimensions can be considered independently,

but Tuler and others (2008) remind us that the “factors and processes that create and maintain them are often inter-related and inter-dependent.”

2.1.2 Gentrification, Symptom of Post-Industrial Amenity Migration

Maine has experienced a rural restructuring with manufacturing and resource extraction industries diminishing in importance while the service sector grows (Colgan 2006, Brookings 2006, Chapter 1). Concurrent with this economic shift, fishing communities have witnessed the birth of the modern management regime and the serial depletion of many local stocks. As a result the fishing industry has undergone its own restructuring with a loss of access to many fisheries and an increasing reliance on lobster. The transition from a working town to a post-productive landscape has been witnessed firsthand by many respondents. For the fishing communities studied here the most recognizable transformation has been the loss of sardine canneries and fish processors. This experience strongly influences their perception of the community’s history, its identity, and the current changes due to outside forces. This economic transformation is symptomatic of the gentrification process, which was covered in chapter 1 of this thesis (1.4).

Although the manufacturing and fish processing industries eventually left, the communities still retained a fisheries based economy. However, due to serial depletion of local stocks and the loss of access from management action, the fisheries profile of these communities has been transformed. Over the years a number of fisheries, such as groundfish, urchins, and scallops have seen a rapid increase in landings, followed by decline. The economic restructuring of Maine along with the transformation of the fishing industry has already impacted these communities. As a result they are currently less dependent on the fishing industry as a whole than they used to be. This reduction in fisheries engagement and reliance was detected through vulnerability indicators that use readily available data. It was shown that Port Clyde was still heavily dependent on

fishing, while the other three communities were at the threshold (Colburn and Jepson 2012; Colburn and Jepson pers. comm. 2012). Despite the collapse of stocks and loss of access, fishermen remain dependent on fishing as a livelihood and the lobster industry now supports many of these communities.

In this chapter I explore gentrification in Maine fishing communities using the vulnerability framework. Each of the fishing communities investigated here is undergoing a process of gentrification, with an influx of amenity migrants who do not share a common past or worldview. Through a number of themes I demonstrate that gentrification has the potential to bring new economic opportunities (*resilience*), but might also constrain these communities (*sensitivity*) and directly conflict with fishing activity (*exposure*). These themes have been identified as being related to gentrification and will be discussed in the context of vulnerability.

As expected many of these vulnerability themes describe the negative effects of gentrification on the communities. Through the displacement of residents and working waterfronts from coastal properties gentrification has reduced fishing access and added to the communities' sensitivity. Surprisingly, several themes highlight the positive aspects of gentrification. The amenity migrants who purchase coastal properties also provide alternative sources of employment and revenue by increasing demand for services otherwise not provided. Many of the themes are more complex and subtle, altogether these themes indicate that gentrification can simultaneously increase and decrease the vulnerability of fishing communities. The themes described here are based on an analysis of interviews with community respondents. Rather than relying on secondary information the focus is on the communities' perceptions, supporting data for gentrification and a description of the methods employed can be found in chapter 1 (1.3).

2.2 Demographic Trends and Changing Faces

2.2.1 Population Shift

At the turn of the twentieth century the communities of Eastport and Lubec were at their peak, which is often attributed to the vibrant canning industry. The demand for sardines was bolstered by WWII, but soon dissipated afterwards (this study, Hall-Arber et al. 2001); population dropped precipitously and continued to steadily decline in the subsequent decades. The population loss is a salient issue for respondents within these two communities and a factor they attribute many of their current problems to. The prevailing sentiment is expressed by this Eastport resident:

Unfortunately the population has continued to decline. I mean since the height of the sardine industry the population of this place has lost 80 percent of its population. That's a huge hit and reality has hit home . . . whether it be schools, the downtown district, the city's ability to provide even basic services to the healthcare system and everything. - *Eastport resident*

Contrasting the Down East communities Rockland and St. George appear to have fairly steady populations. Nevertheless, all these communities have experienced an outmigration of their population, and amenity migrants are now replacing 'locals.' The issue of population change was often discussed with respondents mentioning how they no longer recognized other community members, while referring to incomers as 'people from away.' It is an apt term, encompassing a wide demographic, including tourists, seasonal residents and amenity migrants. We use it here to capture all those groups which are more similar than different and to distinguish those people from the restrictive definition of 'locals' (Bell 1992). Short (1989) has pointed out that labeling incoming groups is common in cases of gentrification and helps distinguish them from residents. The use of the term here follows that pattern as exemplified by this Lubec fisherman: "You know, people from away more and more people from away are moving in here now. . . when I grew up here, we knew everybody."

The changes in the makeup of the community is a frequently cited topic among fishermen and lifelong residents, particularly in the Down East communities. Some of the respondents expressed their dismay when realizing the character of their community was changing. This sentiment is captured by a Lubec fisherman: “I look now where I grew up and I don’t know the people that live in those houses where my grandparents lived, where I lived. It’s terrible sad to see your town bein’ sold off and people outta work.” Much of the population change is attributed to the influx of people from away who choose the area for its amenities and purchased property, which follows the pattern of amenity migration (Hines 2010; Gosnell and Abrams 2011). While respondents from Port Clyde, Eastport, and Lubec are aware of people from away buying homes it is less the case in the city of Rockland. Amenity migration literature would suggest that a population rebound could occur in rural areas that suit the needs of potential in-migrants (Rasker and Hansen 2000). The interview themes indicate that the Rockland community has declined but not to the extent of the others, the case is similar for Port Clyde, but ‘locals’ were quickly replaced with amenity migrants buying homes. The Down East communities have lost a substantial population and although amenity migrants are moving in, there haven’t been enough to restore these communities to their historic levels.

2.2.2 Seasonal Population

Rather than being permanent residents, people from away are often described as summer people who occupy their homes for a few months of the year. In interviews local respondents would describe the homeowners as transient and apart from the community as a whole. For example one Lubec fisherman said: “I hardly know half of them now because they’re summer residents. They come in the summer. They go in the winter. A lot of these houses are all vacant in the winter now.” Some respondents believed that the

influx of people from away was good thing for the community as a whole, but asserted that they would rather have a larger year round population.

This seasonal population pattern is common across the communities, but its direct cause may be different for each. For instance, in Port Clyde respondents often reported that weekly vacation rentals were an important component of the summer population, as opposed to seasonal residents. In Eastport and Lubec the salience of the topic might be due to a substantial increase in seasonal housing over the past decade. Interestingly, amongst amenity migrants the topic of summer people was also a frequently cited topic as exemplified by this Lubec resident “. . . when we moved here 10 years ago, everyone on our block on center street lived here year round, within 5 years we were the old timers on the block, three people live here year round on our two blocks, the rest are summer folks.” The previous quote and others like it suggest that there is a continuum of community attachment among amenity migrants, a topic to be explore later.

2.2.3 Age Structure

A common theme across communities is the concern over the lack of youth in the community, an issue which is supported by both census data and other reports (e.g. Brookings 2006). Many explain the low numbers of young people through the lack of local economic opportunities, and the need for them to move away for higher education and work. When comparing the current situation to earlier times, respondents attribute the greater number of families with children in the past to the higher level of fishing activity. One Eastport resident commented: “Any kids that graduate from school realize in order to make a living you need to leave. There’s very few that will actually go into fishing.” According to the interviews many of the people who had left during the decline of industry had families with children. There are children in these communities now, but they often leave for college or work, eventually finding employment in more urban setting. Compounding the problem the town of Lubec was forced to close its high

school, and Eastport is facing similar pressures (Kiley Mack 2010a:e; Hewitt 2010; Whelan 2012). The concern for these schools was prevalent and the cause for their closure is directly related to the changing demographics, which will be explained later.

Another prevalent finding was that many respondents who could be considered amenity migrants had some connection to the communities during their youth. They may have summered in town regularly or had some family connection to the area. During the interviews it was further suggested that people from these communities might return to them after having a career and making their wealth in a metropolitan center. This belief is articulated by a Port Clyde fisherman: “Others moved away, had big paying jobs in most cases. They were college graduates, went on to better jobs and a lot of them want to drift back.” Regardless, the overall sentiment was that these places were losing their young people and with it the core of their community.

Respondents reported that as well as experiencing a dispersal of youth, these communities were witnessing a growth in the retiree population. The Maine demographics feature a higher average age than the nation as a whole, and these communities are older than the state’s average (US Census 2010). Interviewees revealed that people from away who were buying homes were often older and retired or close to retirement. The topic of becoming a retirement community was often correlated with the lack of youth. Many respondents were concerned by this trend, with one resident expressing: “I’m afraid it’s going to become a retirement community, where the schools have all but collapsed. . .” The previous quote was given by an amenity migrant who had summered in Eastport as a child and decided to retire there, it demonstrates the conflict many face. Especially Down East, people would like to see these communities grow but the only demographic that is increasing are the retirees. The amenity migration of retirees has been commonly documented elsewhere and is likely to increase with the expectation of baby-boomers reaching retirement age (Yagley 2005 et al., Haas 2002). A interviewee who was also a realtor summarizes this population shift:

People that are coming here are semi-retirees, they're coming here and buying homes because they are inexpensive, you can buy a home for under a hundred thousand dollars, so people from away are coming here, buying their homes with equity loans from their homes that they live in all the time, so that when they decide to retire, they'll sell that home, they'll have their home paid of here and they can live with no mortgage and have money in their pocket from the home in which they used to live and then they retire here, so we are more of a semi-retirement community. - *Eastport resident*

2.2.4 Socio-Economic Gap

Although not questioned directly about the topic, respondents often brought up the wealth disparity when referencing people from away who were purchasing property in the area. It was frequently cited that these new residents had come from another state and often a metropolitan area. There they would make their money, which was assumed to be much more than a person could derive locally. A Port Clyde resident reflects on this pattern in the following quote: "This is something I've seen is this wealth factor move into Port Clyde. I don't know how else to call it, but there's been an influx of people from outside of the state with money, buying up houses." Similar trends have been found amongst amenity migrants in the West, and have been attributed to increased equity gains and mobilization that came with globalization (Yagley et al. 2005; Travis 2007; Nelson 2001). The response of fishermen and residents to this wealth factor followed two paths, with some individuals citing both. Many were resentful towards this wealthy demographic, while others were grateful to have a new source of revenue in the town; the reasons for both perspectives will be investigated in later themes.

2.2.5 Amenity Migration

One of the goals of this research was to affirm whether these 'people from away' fit the definition of amenity migrants or gentrifiers and I found that both labels applied. The oral history interviews were not designed to investigate amenity migration and the respondents were not directly requested to interpret why tourists or in migrants selected

their community. However, these topics did arise, and along with the business and household interviews provide evidence for amenity migration.

Referring to people from away as relatively wealthy often coincided with referring to local property values as being relatively affordable. It was acknowledged that compared to elsewhere the price of coastal property in Maine was inexpensive. One respondent from Lubec readily makes the connection: “I think it’s why we’re getting a lot of the influx of people. I mean it’s the last holdout of decently priced coastal real estate in the country.” Affordability combined with the greater incomes of people from away was viewed as a reason for them to be attracted to the area and buy property. Interviews with amenity migrants confirmed this to be an important factor in their decision to move to the community. Yagley and others (2005) have found this affordability to be an important attractor of amenity migrants. Darling (2005) has shown that a rent gap can occur when the bargain priced real estate in rural areas becomes valued for its amenities and recreational use. The same is true for amenity migrants in Maine, they are taking advantage of the rent gap and acquiring property for the consumption of three related ideas: rural idyll, coastal aesthetic, lifestyle choice (Phillips 2005b, Lees et al. 2008).

Local respondents were aware of the quality of place that their communities had to offer, as are institutions planning for the state’s future (Brookings 2006). Long-time residents simultaneously valued these amenities and recognize them as attractors of tourists and people from away. Although it was a common theme, most of the references to the coastal setting and natural beauty of the area came from Lubec. The notion of the ‘Rural Idyll’ and community value was more evenly distributed across interviewees. A few of these sentiments are exemplified in the quotes below (Table 2.1). References were often made to other coastal communities and metropolitan cities when describing the community; differentiating their own community as being ‘unspoiled,’ ‘quiet,’ ‘peaceful,’ ‘safe’ and ‘friendly.’ These descriptions signify the importance of the rural aesthetic and the community identity as separate from the urban landscape (Bell 1992).

Port Clyde	I like the community. I like where I don't have to go through rush hour every day to go to work. My biggest rush hour is getting bait out of the bait shed right now.
Lubec	It's one of the most beautiful places in the world and I think that there's a lotta power in our tides. I think it's a very magical place.
Eastport	I would say that the people that have come here and seen it as a wonderful place to live, and have brought their dreams and the money with them.

Table 2.1: Interview Responses on 'Rural Idyll'. Study community of respondent is indicated

For fishermen the concept of culture and lifestyle amenities was the least salient topic. The respondents who referenced this theme and gave examples were primarily community members who had direct connections to amenity migrants. In the business interviews questions were directed towards what amenities attracted people: arts and culture were a frequent response. Art and cultural activities among others were cited as reasons for visits by tourist and in-migration of people from away. The importance of art in attracting people follows the pattern of gentrification in urban neighborhoods (Lees et al. 2008). For the study communities, particularly Eastport, the creative economy is an important and growing part of the community. The communities of Lubec and Port Clyde have an art and cultural presence, but did not feature a similar level of activity. Rockland and Eastport both act as a cultural center for their regions featuring many art galleries and non-profits. These responses follow the findings of urban gentrification literature in which incomers become integral in creating art communities.

Along with its hosting of a renowned art museum, Rockland is considered a destination for sailors and pleasure boaters (Hall-Arber et al. 2001). However, water based recreation as an attractor was more often associated with tourism and not a key factor in the decision for many individuals to move to these communities. Access to outdoor recreation was important to amenity migrants, but many mentioned lower impact uses, such as kayaking, hiking and walking trails. Activities and recreation as attractors for amenity migration was difficult to distinguish from its importance to the

tourism industry. The rural ideal and coastal setting available in these communities were necessary conditions for these amenity migrants, after which they balance their desire for affordability, open space, culture, and recreation. Many respondents had some connection to where they chose to live, as mentioned earlier, many had a family attachment. Another prevalent pattern was for amenity migrants to first visit the community as a tourist, later stay there seasonally, and eventually purchase property. However, Kuentzel (2005) has found through longitudinal studies that this path to residency is primarily driven by the socio-economic conditions and not tourist amenities. The situation here is no different, availability of relatively affordable housing and existence of a rent gap is necessary for any gentrification to occur.

Another prominent theme that arose from interviewing amenity migrants was their claim that the study communities attracted ‘a certain type’. Incomers and long-term residents alike recognized that living in the rural Maine coast can be difficult for some people who were used to having more conveniences. Many of these communities are fairly isolated, which filters out many amenity migrants, as observed by an Eastport resident: “. . . only the people coming here, the right type are going to be happy here and come here anyway we are away from it all and that’s why most of us are here.” Furthermore, amenity migrants often claimed that their community attracted a demographic which could be described as: active and supportive of the community, culturally knowledgeable, cosmopolitan, and outdoorsy or nature loving. The propensity for gentrifiers to seek out ‘people like them’ has been well recognized (Butler 2005) and may lead to the further influx of amenity migrants.

2.3 Vulnerability Themes and Impact

2.3.1 Creating a Narrative of the Working Waterfront

The prerequisite rent gap became established in these communities largely due to the decline in productive activities specifically fishing, and increase in their consumptive

value. The Maine fishing community has become devalued with respect to its industrial capacity and revalued for what it represents. Tightly linked to the rural ideal mentioned by many respondents was the belief that their community represented an authentic fishing village. This romanticizing of the former productive value of these communities follows a pattern amongst areas experiencing amenity migration and gentrification. In the American West, incomers sought the Rocky Mountain dream or cowboy lifestyle, and to achieve it would purchase ‘ranchettes.’ These properties were formerly working ranches, but had been subdivided and sold to amenity migrants. The new owners no longer valued the productive capacity of the property, but wanted to emulate a lifestyle that has been idealized through Hollywood culture (Travis 2007). Amenity migrants may also move to an area which has been marketed as featuring this idealized working atmosphere, only to contribute to the destruction of this aesthetic through unrestricted development (Hines 2010, Travis 2007). Maine fishing communities are similarly undergoing a romanticizing that threatens to replace the fishing industry reality with an idealized narrative.

Port Clyde Amenity Migrant	Lubec Fishermen
... people love to see the coast of Maine, this is your archetypical little Maine coast fishing village, and the scenery and New England fishing aura is Port Clyde spelled out.	They see a fishing boat as being quaint and cool, but they don't understand the hardships that it takes to live here.

Table 2.2: Working Waterfront Narrative Quotes. Type of respondent is indicated

The juxtaposed quotes above (Table 2.2) represent the ongoing struggle between differing points of view in the communities. It also represents a process through which the place itself is being themed as a fishing community, an amenity to be consumed (Chang 2000). Fishermen and community members are aware that many visitors sight-seeing in the area seek out the fishing industry and enjoy watching the activity on the water. Perhaps due to its proximity to the coast and the coinciding of its season with summer tourism, lobstering has received much of the attention from tourists interested

in the diverse fishing industry. Beyond the fishing activity itself, the narrative being consumed is the idyllic fishermen's way of life, much like the consumption of ranch life in the West (Travis 2007). Respondents express how tourists see fishermen as linked to a historic and authentic way of life that no longer exists elsewhere. Thus, tourists want to be able to consume lobster, and watch the boats as they skirt around the many inlets and coves to haul their traps. The working waterfront as a theme to be consumed by tourists may have real economic value. One study by Ellingson and Seidl (2009) found that without ranching as a background for tourism, visitors would reduce trip length and with it revenue could drop \$230 per person. In a similar manner, fishing activity and the narrative surrounding it may be attracting tourists and encouraging greater consumption.

A few of the fishermen interviewed provided 'lobster tours' for visitors, these tours represent the pinnacle of people's intrigue into the lives of these mariner cowboys. Through the tours fishermen take tourists on boat rides and demonstrate how to catch lobsters in traps. Inadvertently the fishermen are fitting a narrative that has already been created for them (Zukin 1995). The theming of Maine fishing communities and creation of the narrative is best exemplified by Linda Bean's Perfect Maine. The introduction to their website uses the characterization to market various lobster focused restaurants and rental properties in Port Clyde: "As the fog lifts off the morning waters of our working harbors, the horizon is expanded to reveal lobster boat... rocky shores... spruce ledges and islands. And the waterfront awakens as it has for generations of working families." (Linda Bean's Perfect Maine n.d.)

Interestingly some respondents have linked tourism to the lobster fishery, expressing concern that if stocks decline so might tourist revenue. Such beliefs reflect the growing realization that these fishing communities are becoming jointly dependent upon both fishing and tourism, or more precisely the lobster fishery and tourism. The consumable value of the idyllic fishing village will certainly provide an alternative source of income. It is possible that those alternative opportunities could reduce the

sensitivity of those communities. However, the identity struggle between the consumable and productive fishing village also exposes the community to a source of conflict (Gosnell and Abrams 2009). Furthermore, Chang (2000) asserts that the process of theming reduces the adaptive capacity of communities since their activities must follow a certain narrative.

2.3.2 Community Transition to ‘Best-Use’

A common pattern expressed in these fishing communities was the long decline of industry, the subsequent loss of access to the fisheries, and shift towards tourism and service based economy. Although the shift may not be complete and fishing may continue to be an important livelihood, it is no longer as central as it once was (Hall-Arber et al. 2001, Colgan 2006). During the interviews this rural restructuring was a frequent topic of respondents discussing the changes in the community and possible future. As presented above, much of this economic transition has coincided with a changing population, spurred by amenity migrants and the decline of locals due to a lack of economic opportunity. When discussing the loss of fishing jobs and industry, respondents would indicate a shift in the economy by citing the influx of people from away and tourism. The pattern of change in these communities is similar to other studies and follows the model of rural restructuring (Nelson 2001, 2002; Rasker and Hansen 2000; Robbins et al. 2009). Often the respondents were specific with their description of the change and would recount the loss of resource-extraction businesses and the subsequent establishment of a service-sector related company. These anecdotes often focused on the downtown or waterfront. Although they did not directly distinguish whether this new economy was based on tourism or the service sector generally, they would note how the new businesses and jobs were related to both.

Comparing across the four communities, there were noticeable differences in the rhetoric used to describe the transition, which relates to real distinctions (Nelson 2002).

Eastport	There has been certainly a shift towards more of the creative economy and I think that will continue to be fairly strong part of the economy here in Eastport. . .
Lubec	A mini Bar Harbor. From what I've seen in the last few years, how the tourisms been growing,
Rockland	Rockland until 15 or 20 years ago was not a town for tourism. It was a working town.
Port Clyde	I've seen Port Clyde change a lot. It was all fishermen when I was a young fella. [Laughter] Very little tourism. . .

Table 2.3: Interview Responses on the Transition. Study community of respondent is indicated

The quotations (Table 2.3) reflect not only the transition but also their distinct ontogeny. The Eastport transition is particularly interesting; while many respondents describe the change in terms of greater tourism, a closer inspection reveals that though it is growing, so too is a creative economy. This creative economy stems from many people from away who have helped establish Eastport as a cultural center for the region. Noting the many new restaurants and shops, residents in Lubec believed they were witnessing a rapid expansion of tourism and the town would eventually resemble a well-known tourist destination: Bar Harbor. For Rockland the scale of the transition and revitalization is reflected by the distinction made between the past and current character of the community. Rockland is a regional service center and may not attract many amenity migrants, but as a hub for tourism its economy provides many of the convenient services this growing population would expect. (Brookings 2006; Hall-Arber et al., 2001). The harbor hosts numerous marinas catering to pleasure boaters while the city features several attractions including a renowned art Museum. Both Rockland and Eastport cater to an artistic aesthetic, but the interviews suggest that tourism is of greater focus in Rockland. Port Clyde is a waypoint for travelers seeking a ferry to Monhegan Island and thus much of the discussion regarding people from away relates to the ferry terminal. The differences between Down East communities and those in the Mid Coast

are evident in the interviews, and suggest that changes in the latter are more prominent. However this salience could be due to its novelty. Nelson (2002) has found that perceptions of rural restructuring are similarly influenced by the socio-economic status of the respondent, thus the higher poverty rates Down East could also contribute to the salience.

2.3.3 Community Conflicts

The rural restructuring literature demonstrates that the influx of amenity migrants and concurrent economic transition is correlated with greater recognition of socio-economic status (Nelson 2001). The growing awareness of class divisions has similarly been pointed out in the gentrification research that was done in the British countryside (Bell 1992). The study communities here follow this pattern with many respondent remarking on the wealth of amenity migrants. The division of wealth in these communities can be a source of resentment for many respondents as observed by this Eastport resident: “I think there is a pettiness and jealousy thing that goes on in the community, for people who haven’t got the resources that the people who come in with have...and I think there is a little resentment there.” Many respondents view the transition in these communities to be a travesty and the animosity they feel towards the changes are often directed at people from away. For those who focus on the negative aspects of the transition, people from away are believed to be taking over the town. The quote below by a prominent community member in Lubec summarizes why this cultural conflict is occurring:

It’s challenging...I think Lubec and many places on the coast of Maine are at the tipping point where now in the town meetings half or more than half the votes could come from people who were born away and moved here, so their opinions are very different from the people who were born here and their education is different and their vision for the future of Lubec is different... - *Lubec Resident*

A frequent complaint by residents, who feel marginalized by the influx of amenity migrants, is that they are changing the town into the place they came from. This conclusion is correct in a certain sense; during rural restructuring there is greater demand for services otherwise not provided and supply often increases to match it (Robbinson et al. 2009). Apart from the market forces at work, respondents are also referring to the political power of amenity migrants. It has been observed elsewhere that gentrifiers are readily able to acquire social capital and use it to reach their own goals (Buter and Robson 2001). This capacity for organization was demonstrated in the Down East communities of Lubec and Eastport during a recent conflict over a proposed Liquid Natural Gas facility. The proposal for the facility has been repeatedly defeated partly due to the efforts of community members who value the region for its amenities. The debate pitted environmentalist and those who valued the natural aesthetics against the desire of many for a new source employment. The conflict and outcome here resembles one in Montana in which amenity migrants prevented the development of a new mine (Hines 2010). For a community dependent on the fishing industry, a powerful lobby of amenity migrants could potential increase their sensitivity. Nevertheless, the social capital of gentrifiers can also be applied to causes supporting the fishing community, which I will show later.

2.3.4 Identity Crisis

The views expressed above are not universally held, many individuals are welcoming to the new demographic of amenity migrants and see them as the future for the community. Thus, much of the conflict resides in differing views of the future. While it was once certain that these communities were dependent on fishing, it is not the case anymore. Many believe that tourism and the service sector are becoming more important to the economy and that the heyday of the fishing industry is gone forever. Contrasting that view is the belief in the cyclical nature of fishing; once the

stocks rebound the industry will return and the town will prosper. When asked to characterizing the changes to the community of Lubec one respondent had this to say: “Desperation, people are – we’ve lost our identity. We were the sardine capital of the world. What are we the capital of now?! [Laughter]” This crisis of identity was found across the communities, but most prevalent in Lubec, which is likely due to the novelty of changes. The issue often came up when interviewees were asked ‘Is this a fishing community?’ People responded in surprising ways. Amongst lifelong residents and fishermen the response usually included a reference to the past character of the community saying: ‘not like it was,’ and they would then describe the decline of the industry. Nevertheless, many still believed they were a part of a fishing community. Contrasting the previous answers, respondents, including amenity migrants, argued that it was a fishing community for a variety of reasons not related to the current dependence. A few of the prominent reasons that are exemplified below include: the fishing history and culture, the salience of fishing activity, and the livelihood derived from it (Table 2.4).

Salience & Activity	See it floating out there? All those boats, that’s what maintains a fishing community. Or the community maintains the boats, you could say it either way. Yeah, a fishing community.
Culture & History	I think a lot of people want to preserve that heritage... but there are a lot of newer residents that don’t have that experience and so they might not see it quite so much as a fishing community as the older residents do.
Livelihood & Dependence	It’s definitely our largest industry. I’d say two-thirds of the men in town have some sort of fishing license. That might be clamming or wrinkling or – we definitely live by the ocean.

Table 2.4: Interview Response to ‘Is this a Fishing Community?’ Identified theme of quotes are indicated

2.3.5 Rising Costs and Closing Schools

The crisis of identity facing these fishing communities reflects many of the same problems that came with rural restructuring in the American West. In those cases where the landscape had shifted from productive to consumptive valuation there was a loss

of identity that was tied to land use (Gosnell and Abrams 2009, Bell 1992, Nelson 2001). The changing way of life in the west contributed to the animosity many felt towards amenity migrants. Here we are observing a similar situation, but the identity crisis extends beyond the fishing aspect. The lack of youth and loss of schools has led respondents to question whether the town can survive as a viable community. Thus far the only school to have closed is the high school in Lubec, but now the high school in Eastport is facing similar pressures (Kiley Mack 2010a:e; Hewitt 2010; Whelan 2012). The reasons for the closure have to do with Maine State policy and property valuation rather than a loss of students or local tax base.

Maine municipalities receive the vast majority of their revenue from property taxes. Those funds are used to pay for the cost of administration, services, and infrastructure, but the bulk of it is expended on education. Recognizing the various ability of towns to pay for education the State has a policy of school subsidies. They determine the operating costs and assess the value of property from which revenue can be extracted at a standard mill rate. If a municipality falls short in its revenue state funds make up the difference (Maine Municipal Association 2004). However, in the case of a gentrifying coastal community like Lubec where there is over 95 miles of coastal property, the town should be considered as property rich, but income poor. Although housing prices and taxes have increased greatly, income has not, and many residents' finances are fixed, particularly the elderly. Facing the challenge of dwindling state aid and an impoverished tax base, the town government sought solutions to the problem. After much emotional deliberations on the topic a town vote was put forward and it was decided that the local high school would be closed in the Fall of 2010 (Hewitt 2010). While some of the respondents in these communities blamed amenity migrants for increasing the taxes others were grateful to have the new source of tax revenue.

The increasing interest in coastal property amongst amenity migrants results in its rising value as a consumable (McCarthy 2008, Robbins et al. 2009). Respondents

would describe the rising cost of housing, particularly on the water, through citing examples of how properties once purchased with a few hundred or few thousand dollars are now being sold for hundreds of thousands if not millions of dollars. The recent recession and housing slump had depreciated the real-estate market, but the overall situation was thought to be of increasing property costs due to its amenity value on the Maine coast. As reported by one Port Clyde resident: “We never really saw the real estate crash in Port Clyde, because the properties are basically a commodity. There’s only so many shorefront properties...” Along with the influx of wealthy amenity migrants buying property above its productive value, there has come another hallmark of gentrification: the revitalization of degraded structures (Atkinson 2000, Lees et al. 2008).

When the subject of people from away came up, one of the positive aspects often referenced was the tendency for the new owners to invest in the property and renovate the existing structures. While descriptions of fixing up the property were often positive, the building of ‘mansions’ was viewed as distasteful. The increasing value of the shorefront, the improvement in the housing stock, and the dwindling supply of available property all serve to increase property costs in these communities. The rising house values increases the cost of living for anyone looking for a home to buy and for anyone who already owns one. The higher property valuation forces these municipalities to raise taxes because they receive fewer subsidies from the state. Thus, a resident who already owned a home or inherited a home may still be displaced due to higher costs of living. Through these mechanisms, the gentrification of the Maine coast adds to the sensitivity of these communities and exposes the population to the threat of displacement.

2.4 Loss of Access Due to Gentrification

2.4.1 Displacement from Coastal Property

The development of gentrified neighborhoods inevitably leads to the displacement of the previous inhabitants (Lees et al. 2008, Atkinson 2000); in this case we

are witnessing displacement of both ‘locals’ and working waterfronts (Colgan 2004, Hall-Arber et al. 2001). As discussed, two key changes in these communities are the decline of industry and productive activities in these communities, and population change consisting of amenity migrants purchasing property. The increasing cost of living has its effect on the local inhabitants, forcing many out of their homes and out of the community. Discussion of the high taxes and its relation to people from away was a frequent topic in interviews. Coping with these increasing costs many people have started moving outside the community and to back roads away from the water where housing and taxes are significantly cheaper.

This pattern of displacement is a clear indication of gentrification in these communities and a source of conflict for fishermen who rely on access to the water for their livelihood (Hall-Arber et al. 2001, Jacob et al. 2010). The declining fishing industry has resulted in a widespread degradation and loss of infrastructure. As many fishing operations ceased so too did their demand for associated services, leading to the eventual shuttering of those businesses (Hall-Arber et al. 2001). Respondents discuss both this decline in services and the consolidation of the working waterfront to a few wharfs; little more than 20 miles of the Maine coast is considered a working waterfront (Colgan 2004). No longer do fishermen typically have shore property and their own docks to operate out of, more often they rely on municipal wharfs, buyers’ docks or co-ops (Colgan 2004, this study). In Rockland much of the shorefront has been redeveloped as marinas to service pleasure boats, while in Port Clyde property owners keep yachts on their repurposed docks. This direct altering of formerly productive structures for consumptive purposes has long been an issue with rural restructuring and gentrification (Lees 2008 et al., Gosnell and Abrams 2009, Travis 2007).

Recognizing the growing access problem the State of Maine initiated the Working Waterfront Access Protection Program (WWAPP n.d.). The program creates a legal

covenant that permanently protects and preserve the property, ensuring its availability and affordability for commercial fisheries operations. The selection criteria for these working waterfront grants strongly favors established wharfs currently in use by commercial fishermen (WWAPP n.d.). Therefore, it is unlikely that waterfront already redeveloped for consumptive activities will be selected for this program. Gentrification of these coastal communities threatens to displace fishing from the waterfront, and this threat of displacement falls under the exposure dimension of the vulnerability framework. For the future viability of the fishing community this may be the greatest concern relating to gentrification. The issue was recognized by residents in all of the study communities, a few of their responses are summarized below (Table 2.5).

Port Clyde	... they bought the land and the properties that the fisherman once owned it and you know he's never gonna get it back because we all know what the properties cost
Rockland	... if you look out through the harbor, you'll see a few lobster boats and you'll see a lotta sailboats and a lotta sailboats tied around the marina. O'Hara knows where the money is. People that own sailboats have money.
Port Clyde	... to get access to the working waterfront, you need to have co-ops and stuff like that. You hafta have fishermen owning the property. If not you're very vulnerable and you don't know what the future holds.
Lubec	... all the local fish buyers had to move off the coast because they couldn't afford the waterfront. And so the wealthy people come in and bought up the waterfront. . . That's how I see it. They put me out of business.

Table 2.5: Displacement from Waterfront Quotes. Study community of respondent is indicated

2.4.2 Loss of Right-of-Way

A similar disruption to commercial fishing has occurred with amenity migrants purchasing property and barring the public from using traditional fishing access points. These right-of-ways give access to tidal flats and rocky shores where people harvest clams and periwinkles, which are particularly important sources of income in Lubec (this study). Respondents often reported that after a property was purchased, the access

points continued to be used until someone disrespects it by leaving trash or cutting down trees. Once the property owners discovered these insults they would close gates and put up no trespassing signs. One Lubec fishermen succinctly describes the situation: "... they bought the property up and they decided that the fishermen weren't goin' down through there no more and it became a big conflict."

Many fishermen were sympathetic to the property owners' decisions and it was revealed that individuals may later gain access by seeking personal permission. Although fishermen no longer could use these right-of-ways through private property, their access to the tidal flats and rocky shores is protected. Laws governing riparian rights in Maine declare that use of the intertidal lands is protected for activities pertaining to fishing fouling and navigation. Similar to cases of fragmented ranch land in the West (Yung et al. 2007) the difficulty for fishermen is in how to reach these isolated locations. In both cases expenses increase as investments are made in transportation cost, time, and effort. Furthermore, fishermen are subjected to increased hazards associated with accessing beach heads from the ocean; contending with currents, fog, and weather. Ultimately the inception of this problem can be traced to the displacement of locals from coastal property by amenity migrants. In the vulnerability framework the loss of right-of-way due to gentrification increases the sensitivity of fishing communities.

2.4.3 Conflict on the Water

For those that work on the water in the summer pleasure boats and tourism may be a source of conflict, an issue which has been found elsewhere along gentrified coasts (Hall-Arber et al. 2001). In this study the theme is almost exclusively restricted to Rockland; while pleasure boats may share the water with fishermen in other communities, it has not been reported as an issue. Rockland Harbor is a multiuse port featuring a diverse range of amenity and commercial activities; lobster fishing only represents a

segment (Rockland 2002; Hall-Arber et al., 2001). Along with pleasure boats, including the numerous sailing vessels, Rockland hosts a ferry terminal and various commercial vessels, which frequently traverse the harbor. For lobster fishermen this large volume of traffic poses a potential source for losing fixed gear. Typically gear will be lost when the buoys and attached line are caught in props of passing vessels. Furthermore, the numerous moorings have effectively taken up much of the fishing ground. One fisherman summarized the situation saying: “The more traffic there is, the worst the fishing is because you’re gonna lose gear...”

Attempts were made to establish a channel in Rockland to segregate boat traffic, but fishermen report that adherence to the channel is low. Other respondents in the community suggested that the lobstermen were intentionally antagonistic and conflicts arise when they push boundaries. A business owner on the waterfront observed:

... the fishermen are their own worst enemies, they do this intentionally, it’s almost like a power struggle. They’ll put traps right in the middle of the channel, and boats do everything they can to avoid them, but a lot of boats don’t and they can’t... - *Rockland business owner*

The struggle is reminiscent of territorial conflicts between lobster gangs (Acheson 2003) and may serve the same purpose: to defend their fishing ground. The conflicting uses of the water may not be an issue in communities where they are primarily dependent on winter fisheries, when traffic is minimal. However, fishing within Rockland harbor is done almost exclusively in the summer, when lobsters are active in the shallow warm water. The combination of a summer inshore fishery and an active harbor have exposed the Rockland fishing community to this threat of user conflict, which may happen to other communities undergoing gentrification.

2.5 Alternative Opportunities and Resilience

2.5.1 Revenue and Employment from Tourism and the Service Sector

The loss of industry, collapse of stocks, and declining access to fisheries has greatly hampered the economic prospects for these fishing communities. As described above, the lack of opportunity is driving people out of the area and disrupting the makeup of the community. However, with the in-migration of a relatively wealthy population and expansion of the tourism sector across Maine (Brookings 2006; Colgan 2006), there exist opportunities for an alternative livelihood (Rasker and Hansen 2000; Robbins et al., 2009). The economic shift has brought in a new tax base to support the community, and provides new avenues of employment through tourism and the service sector. Respondents are aware of these sources of revenue and their growing importance for the community.

Growth and Discovery	Eastport's coming alive, it's what I call the last frontier, people are finding it, people are tired of the Bar Harbor and the T-shirts, the crowds, this is a fishing community, they way it's supposed to be.
Activity and Revenue	They'll rent a mooring. They'll go to the store and they go to the restaurants. It's part of tourism. I have an expression, Help keep Maine green. Bring your money and spend it.
Employment Opportunities	When that type of job left, we had to replace them with other jobs. Luckily, we had a development of shopping centers and added more jobs, maybe not quite the same jobs, but it still puts money in the pocket of the wage earner of the family...

Table 2.6: Tourism and Service Sector Quotes. Identified themes of the quote are indicated

When discussing the community and the impact of tourism and people from away respondents typically describe the benefits of the transition in regards to employment, revenue, or activity. The quotes below capture those aspects and the general growth of tourism witnessed in these communities (Table 2.6). Whether the town is a destination in itself or a beneficiary of tourists visiting the area, many jobs are associated

with businesses that cater to this clientele, including but not limited to: accommodations, restaurants, and retail stores (Hall-Arber et al. 2001, this study). For many communities tourists are only a segment of the business, since there is also an influx of seasonal residents and amenity migrants. Individuals in these latter demographics are in further need of services that can be provided by the community. The necessary maintenance of property and increased demand for conveniences otherwise not available creates more opportunities (Rasker and Hansen 2000, Travis 2007). While these specific businesses and transactions were noted, respondents also expressed a generalized belief that the service sector was increasing revenue for the community. Many respondents expanded on this idea expressing the need for people from away to generate tax dollars for local municipalities.

The transition to a service sector economy has created jobs catering to tourists and amenity migrants, as a result its importance has increased (Nelson 2002). As discussed earlier, the prospects for a career in the fishing industry are limited. Anyone looking for a livelihood in these communities will most likely find their job opportunities are within the service sector (Travis 2007). Respondents were glad to have these sources of revenue, but some were ambivalent about the importance of tourism. Many interviewees suggested that the community was increasingly dependent upon the service sector, but there was no consensus. Rather, respondents expressed a range of views on the relative importance of tourism and fishing. Some considered tourism to be the future of the community, others disregarded it as a passing fad, and many thought both were important for a diversified economy.

2.5.2 Adaptive Capacity of Fishermen

The new revenue sources due to rural restructuring and amenity migration have been presented in the context of benefits to the community overall. Alternative opportunities for income are also available for fishermen who may have lost access to fisheries.

The increase in service sector work has led to many fishermen taking on a second job and fishermen's awareness of these opportunities is reflected by this response from Lubec: "...tourists are better than nothing right. And if that's your only show in town then maybe we all gotta' be a lawnmower or a caretaker of the house somewhere." Furthermore, some have worked as employees in retail stores and others have started their own business. In Lubec, Port Clyde, and Rockland interviews were conducted with fishermen who all had started businesses serving food products; only one of which was dedicated to selling fish. However, the general benefit to the fresh seafood market was well recognized. The belief was frequently expressed that tourists and amenity migrants were interested in consuming local seafood product, particularly lobster. It was further thought that this would increase their prices, as expressed by this Port Clyde fisherman: "...it helps because of the price. Tourists love fresh fish..." Lubec and Port Clyde each feature businesses that create value added local fish products and sell them to an exurban clientele. The former of the two businesses is a community supported fishery which sells groundfish provided by the Port Clyde sector and shrimp from some of the same fishermen. Inherent in their business plan is that they receive the patronage of the people from away who have a wealth of social and economic capital. The community support provided by people from away is further explored later.

Perhaps the most striking example of an alternative opportunity was the discovery of fishermen giving the previously mentioned 'lobster tours'. Through these tours lobstermen provided visitors a guided trip and demonstrated trap fishing. They were the most often cited example of an opportunity for fishermen to be involved in tourism. Similar opportunities exist to captain wildlife and sightseeing tours. Although respondents may not have been involved, they often knew of someone who was and considered the possibility of doing it themselves.

Interestingly, the report by Hall-Arber et al. (2001) had also found a fisherman involved in the tourism industry, but noted that fishermen were considered ill-suited

for alternative employment. That conclusion stems from research on the happiness and well being of fishermen in which it has been suggested that fishermen are not likely to be interested in alternative employment (Pollnac and Poggie 1988; Pollnac et al., 2006). It was noted that fishermen are self selected and those in the occupation are attracted to its risky nature and capacity for self actualization. Nevertheless, they also concluded that charters would provide a suitable alternative since the work provides a comparable level of adventure (Pollnac 2008). Perhaps lobster tours and whale guides are an acceptable alternative for fishermen. However, the rhetoric used to describe this business suggests they are not willing to replace fishing as their occupation, as demonstrated in this quote from a Lubec fisherman: “I play around being a captain in the summertime cause it’s a piece of cake right, it’s fine. Taking people out in the boat, show ‘em whales. . .” Taking a second job can be considered an adaptation that can enhance the resilience of a fishermen, but the example here may be more attuned to the fishermen’s lifestyle than some other opportunities.

Although fishermen consider guided tours to be an easy means of generating income they cite several barriers to entry and limits on its expansion. First, anyone who wishes to legally take paying passengers out on a boat needs a captain’s license and their vessel inspected. This would require a substantial investment by the fishermen, which likely discouraged and prevented many from pursuing this opportunity. Furthermore, a belief often expressed by respondents was that the number of tours that could operate effectively was limited, and an increase in number would quickly saturate demand. For some fishermen it was simply not an option as they were far too dedicated to fishing during the tourist season and did not have the time for other activities. Not surprisingly some respondents expressed a distaste and unwillingness to participate in this aspect of the service sector, with one Lubec fisherman stating: “. . . you get people that come up to you What’s that? How do you get them? And you just wanna be left the hell alone. . . You don’t wanna be a tourist attraction.”

2.5.3 Gentrified Community Support

The interviews with amenity migrants have revealed that they feel very attached to the communities in which they reside. This segment of the population appreciates the fishermen in the community, but generally they desire to support the community as a whole and in ways that follow their own ideals. Respondents frequently mentioned extracurricular activities that they are involved in, which followed a gentrifier's aesthetic (Lees et al. 2008) with many of these organizations focusing on the arts. Recent and semi-retired amenity migrants have the skills, the time, and the energy to devote towards volunteer work in these communities and they are happy to do so (Lees et al. 2008). The view of one Eastport resident exemplifies this: "... it's not like you were born here, but I've put quite a bit of energy into working around and trying to get things fixed up, and is that attachment, I'm proud of the work I did..." Many of the fishermen in the community recognize the support that people from away provide as indicated in the quote below:

I find the majority of these people are very supportive of our community affairs, our ambulances, our fire departments, our social organizations, the churches. They contribute to all these things, far more than a lot of people realize. - *Port Clyde Fisherman*

The community attachment and support demonstrated by amenity migrants could lead to the reduced sensitivity of these communities and provide alternative means of coping with perturbations in the fishing industry. In addition to the general support for the community by individuals there are a number of non-profit organizations with the stated goal of assisting the fishing industry. As an example, the Cobscook Bay Resource Center (2012) serves the towns of Eastport and Lubec and their mission is "To encourage and strengthen community-based approaches to resource management and sustainable economic development in the Cobscook Bay region, the Bay of Fundy, and the Gulf of Maine." While this institution does receive grant money, it also relies on

donations. Although not founded by amenity migrants it is hard to imagine how such an organization and others like it could survive without amenity migrant support and disposable income. The community supported fishery known as Port Clyde Fresh Catch was created through a similar situation with the help of the Rockland based Non-Profit, Island Institute (Steeves 2010). This pattern of community support was summarized by a non-profit director in Rockland:

This place survives because it has dedicated summer folk that have the money to invest in donations here and think it's an important thing. I mean there's no mistake that there's 5 or 6 really big non-profits right around here most of those are supported by people from away, and the local community ends up benefitting from it. - *Rockland Resident*

2.6 Community Sensitivity Factors

2.6.1 Limitations of Service Sector

As presented above, respondents readily acknowledged the opportunities provided by amenity migrants and tourists, and many also recognized the communities growing dependence on the service sector, but the benefits are limited. The service sector may provide more employment for the community, but these retail and tourist-based positions are typically lower paying (Yagley et al. 2005). Along with the increasing population of wealthy amenity migrants this may lead to economic inequality (Ohman 1999). Rural restructuring that displaces traditional work with the service sector is often disheartening for the local population (Nelson 2001). These negative aspects of rural restructuring were revealed through interviews. Some respondents also question the benefits of the service sector by discounting the perceived level of economic activity. Here, tourist and migrants were not believed to spend much money in the area, and their major expenditures were on products from outside the state, such as recreational boats. Furthermore, respondents note that many of the new businesses and the rental properties are not owned by 'locals' but by amenity migrants who are

catering to their own cohort's demands. This suggests that the potential for economic gain are limited and wealth inequality will continue to grow in these communities as it has elsewhere (Travis 2007).

Rockland	I understand it's bringing money into the restaurants and stuff. I don't like it so much because I believe that every town should be a working town because I think it's better for the people, I think the people are healthier by working
Port Clyde	... most of these rental properties are owed by out of state people; wealthy people who bought the houses to rent and had the money to buy them.
Eastport	... we have quite a few shops that are open downtown in the summer, but in the winter it can look rather bleak. But they try to make enough money in the summer to help tide them over.
Lubec	... it's a winter fleet. That's when our boats are out in the bay fishing. And we do have a large lobster fleet, but they usually fish the outside shore... The bay's pretty much unused most of the summer except for pleasure boats so I think it's a great thing.

Table 2.7: Quotes on Factors Effecting Restructuring. Study community of respondent is indicated

Regardless of the inequalities that manifest from this process of gentrification many were still grateful for the economic development. This utilitarian viewpoint has also been shared by a number of economists (Travis 2007). Nevertheless, the extent of the transformation may be limited by geographic constraints (Jackson 2006; Rasker and Hansen 2000). While it was a common belief that potential development was limited, respondents listed various reasons that corresponded to their location (Table 2.7). Down East, the isolation of the community and difficulty of reaching it was cited as a barrier to growth. Along the Mid Coast, respondents believed the necessary space for development was already saturated, these are factors that Hall-Arber et. al (2001) also identified as barriers to gentrification. Across all communities was the reference to the short summer season, implying that revenue from tourism and seasonal occupants would be limited to these few months. This has further implications for individuals dependent on seasonal employment; the prospects for wealth are limited given only a few months to work at a low-wage service job (Brookings 2006). However, for those whose primary

income is derived from the winter fishing fleet, summer seasonal work may fit well into their annual round. Many of these issues relating to rural restructuring are discussed by respondents, a few of their views are listed below (Table 2.7).

2.6.2 Isolation Hindering and Protecting

The Down East communities of Lubec and Eastport are similarly isolated, though the extent of rural restructuring occurring in each is different, with Eastport seeming to be further along. Isolation, while stifling the development of industry, has also provided some protection for these communities. The distance to markets and infrastructure makes it an unlikely location for businesses to become established; their costs will be high, and capital (labor and physical) may be unreliable. Furthermore, without air travel immediately available, the high end service industry will avoid these communities, since they cannot easily reach clients (Rasker and Hansen 2000).

I don't think we will ever be trampled to death like Bar harbor due to the geologic area, we're tiny and it's not easily accessible, it's accessible, but not easily accessible, due to how and where we are located on the map we won't be flooded with people, I just don't see that happening, I think it will always remain small, it'll be quality, good caring people

Bar Harbor in the summer is like a Walt-Disney world version of the Maine coast and Eastport has an authenticity that we want to keep

The people that come here are looking for something different, then just because somebody else goes there I'm going to go there, type of attitude. They come here because there's something different to see.

Table 2.8: Interview Responses on the Benefits of Isolation

Despite the drawbacks of isolation, and depending on your point of view, there is a potential benefit. Due to their isolation these Down East communities may be protected from the tourism-based commercialization and rampant theming experienced by similar coastal communities (Chang 2000, Gotham 2005). Theming, as discussed earlier, is the idealized characterization of a community in order to market and sell it as a consumable. For many Maine communities their theme centers on the quaint New

England fishing village with lobster being the focus. When discussing this process interviewees reference the communities of Bar Harbor or Camden as being the archetype tourist trap. Respondents often cite that the Bar Harbor model and associated big box stores will never work in their own community. They believe this partly because of their isolation and the nature of its visitors. An argument could be made that individuals who are inclined towards conveniences will not make the trip Down East, these people may be better acclimated to commercialized centers. This logic has been utilized to explain the self-attraction that occurs amongst gentrifiers who seek out neighborhoods of ‘people like us’ (Butler 2005). These ideas are captured in the quotes (Table 2.8).

Except for basic services, regular trips to nearby cities are required for obtaining necessities in the Down East communities. Individuals may travel an hour to one of the regional hubs or the three hours to the city of Bangor in order to go shopping. Many amenity migrants and ‘locals’ have expressed their appreciation for this isolation, desiring to be as far removed as possible without having to leave the country. Now with high speed internet reaching these rural areas they are no longer cut off from their social networks and the events of the world as they once were. Isolation is an aspect of these communities that could be considered as adding to or subtracting from their sensitivity, but either way it is central to their character and a key factor in their vulnerability.

2.7 Discussion

Gentrification is occurring across coastal Maine, property values are rising and previous inhabitants are being displaced. However, each community must be evaluated separately in order to ascertain the form of gentrification taking hold and its extent. The narratives found in this investigation, along with the census data and previous studies reveal a progression from west to east and a divide between relatively rural and urban. Maine has a long history of amenity migrants and Port Clyde experienced one of those early waves. Thus, it has had a longer time to cope with its gentrified nature and the

numerous seasonal residents. Although rising costs have forced many fishermen away from the coast, adaptations by them and the community have enabled fishing to continue. Rockland is distinctive in its lack of amenity migrants taking up residence; instead it is a 'service center' providing conveniences demanded by these consumers. The result of which has been the diversification of the harbor. The fishing industry remains important, but space for expansion is unavailable, inhibiting the possible return of a larger fleet.

Eastport and Lubec, like Port Clyde, have seen an escalation in cost, which is encouraging some fishermen to move outside of town. Gentrification is relatively new to these areas, but efforts by these towns to promote themselves as tourist destinations indicates that it will continue to progress. The demographic changes are particularly salient Down East; rather than attributing it to gentrification it may be due to a crisis of identity. Eastport is an interesting case with its population decline, moderate summer seasonality, healthy shipping port, and continued revitalization of downtown. This relatively industrial town has undergone a restructuring and what is emerging is a far more diversified community. Fishing remains an important part of its character, but not an industry it is particularly dependent on. A new creative economy is taking hold, due in large part to the efforts of amenity migrants establishing an arts community. Still, the fishing port character remains an important draw for all these communities regardless of the actual level of fishing activity. Some fishermen have been able to capitalize on their own mystique by offering tours, and overall the community has benefited from the attraction. However, theming can constrain a community to follow a certain narrative, limiting their adaptive capacity (Chang 2000, Zukin 1995).

The findings of this study have revealed that gentrification is a complex issue that cannot easily be accounted for with secondary data. Counter to the assumption that it would increase vulnerability, many communities and fishermen have taken advantage of the opportunities it has brought. Previous studies which considered gentrification in their vulnerability assessment of fishing communities, have implied that it will increase

their sensitivity (e.g. Jacob et al. 2010). Although, it is a likely outcome there are also positive aspects related to gentrification. Lobstermen on Monhegan have long recognized the benefits and adapted their seasonal round to it. Halting fishing in the summer allows them to cater to tourists (Princen 2005, Acheson 2003); perhaps other fishing communities could follow their example.

This study has further revealed that factors affected by gentrification are found within many categories characterizing the driving forces of vulnerability. Thus it is possible to find examples of gentrification's influence within any segment of the vulnerability framework (Fig 2.1). When analyzing the themes identified here it has been in the context of the framework, but it was often unclear if they should be categorized as reducing or adding to the sensitivity. The fishing communities here have demonstrated that what adds to their sensitivity can also provide new opportunities for adaptive capacity. The framework can contend with these apparent contradictions because it is dynamic and accepts the multiple scales and interactions occurring between factors. Interviews have revealed many of these connections, but they may remain enigmatic, which is why the congeneric study of amenity migration and rural restructuring has been valuable. Many of the themes discovered here have also been described in that literature. Nevertheless, what we are witnessing on the coast of Maine does not equate to the amenity migration that occurred in the 'New West.' Despite the quality of place endemic to the Mid Coast and Down East, it is isolated and its service sector economy remains primarily seasonal. Fishing will continue to be important, but faces displacement as conflicting sectors grow in prominence. Recognizing the threat, measures have been taken to maintain space for productive use of the waterfront. From these themes it is clear that loss of access is the greatest threat posed by gentrification, and the means of combating it must be specific to the fishery and location.

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BIOGRAPHY OF THE AUTHOR

Cameron Thompson was born in Paget, Bermuda on January 14, 1985 to parents Lisa and Michael. Although, he grew up in the agricultural community of Kinderhook NY, his father's family is Bermudian. The many trips back to that tiny island in the middle of the Atlantic helped inspire him to pursue a path in marine science and policy. Cameron's interest in the natural environment and intersection with society was cultivated while spending summers on Lake George in the heart of the Adirondacks. While there he gained experience outside academia as a camp counselor and later a wilderness trip leader for groups of teenagers. This avenue of his life culminated with a 5 week backpacking trip during the summer of 2008 in which he led a group of teens to summit all forty six high peaks in the Adirondack mountains.

By this time Cameron had completed his high school and undergraduate career. He received his high school education from LaSalle Institute in Troy, NY, graduating in 2003. While at the Catholic military school he earned the distinction of going without a rank for the majority of his senior year, only receiving it back in time for the graduation ceremony. Throughout highschool Cameron ran for the cross country team, along with both the indoor and outdoor track teams; he wasn't very good, but managed to keep up the hobby to the present. He then attended the State University of New York at Geneseo in 2003 and obtained his Bachelor of Science degree in Biology in 2007.

Cameron's experience outside of academia includes leading wilderness trips as well as several field technician positions. As an intern in 2006 he worked at the Bermuda Aquarium and participated in sea turtle research. His work with sea turtles continued in 2008 as an intern for Mote Marine Laboratory in Sarasota, Florida, where he monitored the nesting beaches. After that experience Cameron headed inland to become a research technician at Del Rio, Texas in 2009. His work in the desert shrub land was on the endangered black capped vireo, a small handsome bird with a pleasant song. Cameron's

work with the sea turtles and black capped vireo convinced him to never work with another endangered species.

Starting in August 2009, Cameron was enrolled in the School of Marine Science's graduate program at the University of Maine. His time as a graduate student will inevitably come to an end, and his next steps may have to follow the Bermudian motto: *Quo Fata Ferunt*. Cameron is a candidate for the Master of Science degrees in Marine Policy and Marine Biology from the University of Maine in December, 2012.