

# Hayfork, Trinity County, California

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## NEAI Projects\*

Year	Applicant	Project	Funding Source**	Amount
1994	The Watershed Research and Training Center	Building Community Capacity through Linkages	FS RCA	\$128,250
1994	Trinity County	Small Sawmill Coop/ Value Added Conference	FS RCA	\$63,850
1994	Nor-El-Muk Band of Wintu	History Museum Feasibility Study	FS RCA	\$18,000
1995 1995	Trinity County Waterworks Dist. 1	Sewage treatment/ water supply feasibility study	EDA HCD	\$90,000 35,000
1995	The Watershed Research and Training Center	Linkages through Soft Infrastructure, Phase II	FS RCA	\$55,000
1996	Trinity County	Adaptive re-use of SPI millsite	FS RCA HCD	\$55,950 35,000
1996	The Watershed Research and Training Center	Linkages III	FS RCA	\$76,000
1997	Hayfork Action Team--Tourism and Recreation Committee	Hayfork Downtown Beautification Master Plan	FS RCA	\$24,638
1997	Trinity County Waterworks Dist. 1	Hayfork Wastewater Treatment/ Water Reuse Facility	USDA RD- RUS	\$5,800,000
1997	Trinity RC & D Council for Nor-El-Muk	Nor-El-Muk Nation Business Office Development Project	USDA RD	\$29,110
1997	The Watershed Research and Training Center	Small log demonstration project	RCA	\$65,591
1997	The Watershed Research and Training Center	Linkages IV, technical assistance	RCA	\$26,665
1998	The Watershed Research and Training Center	Linkages V, technical assistance	RCA	\$44,181
1997	The Watershed Research and Training Center	Small diameter processor acquisition	USDA RD	\$99,000
1998	The Watershed Research and Training Center	Soft infrastructure for community development	FS RCA	\$25,000
1999	Acrylic fabrication	SCEDD Business Development Loan	SCEDD	
2001	Hayfork Action Team-Tourism and Recreation Committee	Hayfork Basin Trails Master Plan and Market Tools	FS RCA	\$25,000

\* Project funding reflects initial loan and grant totals. Final funding amounts may be different.

\*\* Key to funding sources: FS=Forest Service, RCA=Rural Community Assistance, EDA=Economic Development Administration, HUD=Housing & Urban Development, USDA RD=U.S. Department of Agriculture Rural Development, SCEDD=Superior California Economic Development Department.

## Hayfork, California

<b>County Projects</b>				
<b>Year</b>	<b>Applicant</b>	<b>Project</b>	<b>Funding Source</b>	<b>Amount</b>
1994	High Mountain Herb Co-op	Herb Cooperative Expansion	FS RCA	\$64,694
1995	High Mountain Herb Co-op	Apprentice Program/ Workshops	FS RCA	\$30,000
1996 1997	High Mountain Herb Co-op	Forest Products/ Herb Co-op/ Processing Incubator	FS RCA HCD (HUD- CDBG)	\$75,000 249,245
1996	Superior California Economic Development District	Business incubator	FS RCA	\$10,000
1998	Weaverville Basin Trail Committee	Weaverville Basin Trail System-- Trinity Gateway Project	FS RCA	\$30,000
1998	Superior California Economic Development District	Forest Planning Program, Phase IV	FS RCA EDA	\$70,000 78,000
1997	High Mountain Herb Co-op	Herb Processing Facility Expansion Study	FS	\$60,000
1997	High Mountain Herb Co-op	Value Added Manufacturing Equipment	FS	\$60,000
1998	Program Support	Trinity RC&D Council	FS RCA	\$8,400

## **Background Context**

### **Brief History**

Located in central Trinity County on Highway 3, 24 miles southwest of Highway 299—the main Northern California highway connecting the Central Valley to the coast—Hayfork is an unincorporated community of 2,315 people.<sup>1</sup> The town is bisected by Hayfork Creek, which flows into the South Fork of the Trinity River, and is surrounded by the Shasta-Trinity National Forest. The spacious Hayfork Valley was called Nor Rel Pom, meaning “south upland village,” by the earliest inhabitants—the Nor Rel Muk (“south upland people”) band of Wintu Indians. There are several stories regarding how Hayfork got its present-day name. One states that when white men first arrived in the area, the virgin hay was as tall as a man, so it was called the Hay Fork of the Trin-

ity River. As the population of white settlers—both ranchers and miners—increased, the local native inhabitants were pushed from traditional hunting and living sites. Conflict between the Wintu and settlers culminated with the massacre of over 150 Wintu at Natural Bridge, a rock formation located on present-day Shasta-Trinity Forest Service land.

By the early 1860s, Hayfork had become a prosperous settlement whose farms, according to Trinity County Historical Annals, “were producing sufficient quantities of grain, potatoes, beans, butter, eggs, and livestock to furnish the rest of the Trinity County population” (Trinity County Historical Society 1955). During this time, Hayfork boasted two grocery stores, one hardware store, two hotels, two blacksmith shops, one drug store, one

1. 2000 Census

feed store, three saloons, and two dance halls (Trinity County Historical Society 1955). Following the heyday of the mining era, in the early 1900s, men began staking timber claims on the old growth forestlands surrounding the town. However, the first mill did not open in the area until 1925, owing to the difficulty of getting lumber out of Hayfork and over the mountains to Weaverville, the county seat. This first mill was followed by a host of mills built in the 1940s, 50s, and 60s. Overall, there have been 17 mills in the Hayfork area, with 10 in the town proper (Belden 1996-97). The Sierra Pacific Industries mill remained open the longest, produced 95 mmbf/year at its height, and directly employed 140-160 people in 1996, its last year of operation.

### **Challenges and Key Issues of the 1990s**

#### *Natural assets*

Timber has been the largest legal cash crop<sup>2</sup> in Trinity County since the 1950s. However, both the amount harvested and the value of the product have dropped dramatically in the last two decades. Increasing timber restrictions put in place by the Clinton administration's Northwest Forest Plan, mechanization of mills for increased efficiency, global competition for less-expensive timber, and a degraded land base have all compounded to reduce the volume of timber that can be economically and environmentally harvested and processed in Trinity County. In the 1990s, logging volumes on the Trinity National Forest dipped to 26 mmbf, a 90 percent drop from earlier levels (Little 1998). From 1990 to 1999, the percentage of local mill board foot production consisting of Trinity County logs declined by 56.4 percent. The local economic effects of these trends were compounded by declining prices. During this same period, the average price of lumber dropped 15 percent from \$3.77/ board foot to \$3.22/ board foot (Profile 2001). This loss was felt particularly in Hayfork, where the town's remoteness and historical working character do not foster tourism development.

The federal government owns the great majority of Trinity County's 2,052,980 acres. Over three-fourths of the county's land base is in federal ownership—71 percent is managed by the Forest Service, four percent is overseen by the Bureau of Land Management, and one percent is controlled by the Bureau of Reclamation (Profile 2001). Ninety percent of the county's merchantable timber is on federal land (WRTC 1996<sup>3</sup>). The extremely high ratio of public to private land ownership in Trinity County has resulted in a high level of dependence on federal timber. Local citizens refer frequently to the frustrations inherent in their lack of access to the woods—the Forest Service “lockdown” on timber.

In other natural resource sectors of the local economy, cattle production has gone up 29 percent in the last decade, and the agricultural commodity showing the greatest gain is wine grapes, which did not exist in Trinity County in 1990. Between 1998 and 1999, the tons of grapes produced increased from 85 to 140, and the price rose from \$582 to \$1,204, showing a change in value of 301.4 percent (Profile 2001).

The high degree of natural beauty found in Trinity County's forested mountains, rugged canyons, and remote valleys has the potential to attract people interested in a variety of recreational pursuits. Trinity County has four wilderness areas—the Trinity Alps, which comprise the second largest wilderness area in California, the Chanchelulla, the North Fork (of the Eel River watershed), and the Yolla-Bolly Middle Eel, and two scenic byways<sup>4</sup>—Highway 299, and Highway 3 (Profile 2001). However, the very remoteness that attracts visitors, also hampers the creation of viable tourism enterprises. Current efforts are underway to increase the revenue and the benefit local residents receive from maintaining these scenic areas for out-of-county visitors. The economy has long been focused on timber, and current county economic development aims to keep wood processing in the county, adding value on site, and marketing the landscape itself as a unique aesthetic and recreational commodity.

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2. Illegal marijuana cultivation has also contributed significantly to the economy.

3. Small Log Demonstration Project proposal, CERT #1247, November, 1996.

4. Developed by the USDA-USFS to provide alternative uses of national forests while meeting demands for scenic driving tours on safe, well-maintained roads within or near the boundaries of national forests

### *Demographics*

Trinity County has the smallest population of the nine California counties affected by the Northwest Economic Adjustment Initiative (NEAI), with just 13,022 people in 2000. While state and other rural areas have grown, the Trinity County population has remained the same over the last decade. There are no incorporated cities, and the county seat of Weaverville is located in northwestern Trinity County, about 45 minutes from Hayfork along a winding mountain road. Overall, Trinity County has a higher proportion than the state of retirement age persons and fewer younger, working age persons. Native Americans constitute the largest minority in the county (five percent in 1999).

The two largest communities in Trinity County are Weaverville and Hayfork. In 1990, Hayfork had 2,605 residents and 18.8 percent of Trinity County's labor force and Weaverville had 3,370 residents and 31.3 percent of the labor force (Profile 2001). By 2000, Hayfork's population had dropped to 2,315 and Weaverville's had grown to 3,554. Hayfork and Weaverville have the greatest age group distributions in Trinity County and the most working adults.

The community of Hayfork is composed of roughly a half-dozen different groups. Old-time ranchers from families who have been in the area nearly since the valley's first Euro-American settlement comprise one group. A second consists of wood products industry workers who were either displaced from the mill or suffered from decreased opportunities with the downturn in the timber industry but remained in Hayfork, piecing together a living from various natural resource jobs, including the thinning and stewardship work generated by the Watershed Research and Training Center.<sup>5</sup> Wood products industry workers who moved out of the forest products industry when jobs disappeared, but stayed local, make up a third group. "Back to the landers"—many of them young families and couples who arrived in the 70s to live on homesteads around Hayfork—comprise a fourth segment of the community. Although members of the Nor Rel Muk band of Wintu belong to

each of Hayfork's social groups, they also comprise a distinct group—especially in this context, since some NEAI efforts focused specifically on them. Retirees from out of the area, a few telecommuters, and those eking out a living on government assistance or part-time work round out a general picture of the Hayfork community.

### *Persistent poverty*

Despite the many similarities between Weaverville and Hayfork, the latter has long been known as the "poverty pocket" of Trinity County (Kusel and Fortmann 1991). Many Hayfork residents see those "over the hill" in Weaverville as "doing just fine," while they continue to struggle to bring much-needed services and economic vitality to Hayfork. In 1990, even before Hayfork's drastic Sierra Pacific Industries mill closure in 1996, which affected 40 percent of the area workforce, 27 percent of the individuals and 43 percent of the children were in poverty, while countywide 18 percent of residents and 27 percent of children were in poverty, compared to state levels of 12 percent of the residents in poverty and 18 percent of the children.<sup>6</sup> "We've always had poor here but they were working poor," said one Hayfork resident.

Unemployment in Trinity County has averaged about twice that of the state over the past decade (CA-EDD 1996). Hayfork had the third highest unemployment in the County in 1990 at 11 percent (Profile 2001). Higher unemployment is expected in Trinity because of the seasonal nature of natural resource work. Here, half of the year is spent laboring in the forest and, during the off-season, workers draw unemployment or seek other jobs. The cost of living is lower in Trinity County than the statewide average, making it possible for many residents to get by on meager or seasonal wages.

### *"This village takes care of its own"*

Hayfork's profile as an impoverished area, its high level of dependence on Forest Service lands, and the degree of capacity among motivated residents, at-

5. The full name of the organization is the Watershed Research and Training Center, although it is locally known as "the Watershed Center." Throughout this report, it will be referred to as "the Watershed Center."

6. 1990 Census.

tracted a high percentage of Northwest Economic Adjustment Initiative (NEAI) funds. In 1993, NEAI funding to Hayfork went to early mobilization efforts to do a Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, and Threats (SWOT) analysis, re-write the Community Action Plan, and open the Watershed Center. There was, initially, low worker participation in local economic development efforts, but the mill closure brought the entire community into the effort (1,000 people at one meeting), and people organized into action teams and developed projects, ideas, and plans. According to one Hayfork resident, the lack of local formal structures contributed to the motivation and mobilization of residents. She noted that, “in the absence of government, people take initiative and self-organize.”

Hayfork residents worked throughout the early 90s to rebuild the local economy. In 1993 and 1994, Mountain Valley Unified School District applied for and received a Healthy Start planning grant for Hayfork. This money was used to remodel a building that had been used for recycling to create a Community Center, which opened in January 1994. The Center houses several county social service satellite offices, including JobLink, Planned Parenthood, Family Support Services, and Women, Infants, Children (WIC). The grant also enabled the hiring of a Healthy Start coordinator to implement programs in the school system. The number and range of services offered in Hayfork is unusual for a community of its size and relative remoteness. The presence of so many helpful organizations is a testimony to the energy and abilities—and existing social and human capital—of active Hayfork residents who are concerned with the health and development of their community. Even prior to the NEAI, they had established a track record of successfully obtaining government support and attracting necessary social services to town.

Grantees were working on Healthy Start implementation with eight other elementary schools when the mill closed in 1996. According to one community organizer, “We went into social services safety net mode. Everyone felt like they had to do something.” As workers were forced to leave, school enrollment

declined,<sup>7</sup> the number of children enrolled in free and reduced lunch programs rose (see Figure 1), and the number of school volunteer hours dropped from 15,000 to 1,400, according to one interviewee. Several community members observed a rise in methamphetamine and alcohol abuse, as well as neglect, domestic abuse, and lack of student motivation.

The Mountain Valley Youth Fund, and Hyampom University are two local, donation-based funds, while the Home Energy Assistance Program is administered through the Glenn-Colusa-Trinity Community Action Agency.<sup>8</sup> All three allow the school district to loan or grant money to families for the purchase of necessary items not in the school budget, such as propane. “This is a very supportive community,” one volunteer remarked. “People start to volunteer, and they move from client to citizen. This village takes care of its own.” Community members also brought a summer food program to Hayfork and Hyampom that instituted free breakfasts and lunches; began a community calendar to bring people together for local events; and organized volunteers through the Parent Center to hold parent education and discussion sessions, go into homes to work with families, remove head lice from students, and provide transportation for indigent families. A non-NEAI grant funded the Frontier Nutrition Project and brought a community garden and an associated nutrition education program to Hayfork.

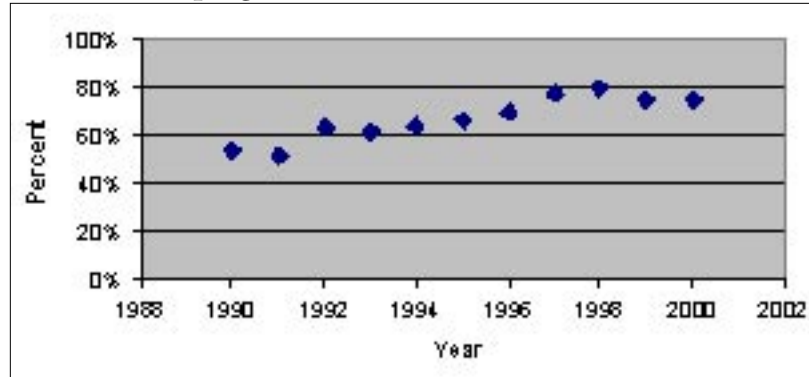
#### *Polarization and Communication*

In many northwest timber towns, the Northwest Forest Plan and associated environmental regulations that came into effect before the major mill closure polarized community members; pitting woods workers and mill workers against environmental advocates. The friction between these factions—often neighbors—made small town life nearly unbearable. Communities attempted to overcome these debilitating divisions through the creation of collaborative forums such as the Trinity Bioregion Group to try to end the cycle of blame between groups, and to craft mutually acceptable solutions. In Trinity County, this process of collaboration was underway before the

7 From a high of 450 in 1982 to 267 today. The high school has decreased from 210 students to 154.

8 Overseen by the Glenn County Human Resources Agency.

**Figure 1: Percent of children participating in free and reduced school lunch programs, Hayfork Elementary**



Northwest Forest Plan began. “I’ve seen a big change in the community; the middle ground is growing, but this process happened independently of NEAI,” said the Weaverville District Ranger, referring to the “incredible tenacity” of the community to engage in collaborative processes including the Trinity Bioregion Group, Coordinated Resource Management programs, the Natural Resources Advisory Council, and Hayfork Action Teams. “Collaboration has and will continue to be key,” she added.

*Trinity Bioregion Group*

In 1993, a state initiative supported by the California Resources Secretary, Douglas Wheeler, established the Trinity Bioregion Group. With a vision of communities coming together over contentious issues, Secretary Wheeler provided funding for facilitators. There were contentious, philosophical monthly meetings, with 40-50 attendees representing personal interests, environmental and timber organizations, the mill, and the business community. The diverse group of participants had high expectations, and attempted to agree on a forest management plan that would create a middle ground for working on fire prevention and watershed restoration, while creating sustainable work opportunities on the land base. “Before the Northwest Forest Plan, we wrote to Clinton and said ‘this is how we want to manage the forest,’ with fuels work and watershed restoration,” one participant said. The Bioregion Group had three prongs: education, training, and fuels, and they created over

100 policy agreements. According to another participant, the Bioregion Group’s positive track in terms of alliance building and forest management planning helps to account for why Hayfork is the largest Adaptive Management Area (AMA) in the northwest (400,000 acres).

Perhaps, more than any of the other collaborative processes in Trinity County, the Bioregion Group built the social capacity and set the precedent for future multi-stakeholder processes, such as the Natural Resources Advisory Council and the Resource Advisory Committee. At least in its early years, the Bioregion Group provided the most diverse forum for concerned citizens to “hash out” the issues surrounding forest management and the attendant local socio-economic changes. “The community and the Forest Service need to get different viewpoints in the room,” said one of the group’s original conveners.

The Bioregion Group preceded two important institutions in Trinity County—the Watershed Center in Hayfork and the Resource, Conservation, and Development (RC & D) Council, based in Weaverville. Some Bioregion Group members originally envisioned the Watershed Center as an implementer of Bioregion Group projects. Although the Center grew beyond that original vision, it was formed with the Bioregion Group’s blessing and support. According to the Watershed Center Executive Director, “it was easy for the Forest Service to endorse (the Center) because it had broad support” (from the diverse Bioregion Group members). Similarly, one of the

Bioregion Group members saw the RC & D program as a vehicle to facilitate Bioregion Group projects. He made a presentation about the RC & D to the group, sparking interest in the program, and mobilizing energy to bring it to Trinity County.

Although at its height members met every three weeks for two years, attendance eventually dwindled and the Bioregion Group dispersed. “The strength was the diversity of interests; when those left we lost momentum,” said one participant.<sup>9</sup> However, relationships created in the Bioregion Group endure, and the human and social capital that evolved through the Bioregion Group’s process and efforts significantly enhanced Hayfork residents’ ability to avail themselves of NEAI opportunities.

#### *Hayfork Adaptive Management Area*

In 1994, the Northwest Forest Plan formed 10 Adaptive Management Areas (AMAs) in Oregon, Washington and northern California to test new strategies in ecosystem management, science, and community collaboration, in keeping with the idea of “managing to learn and learning to manage” (Department of the Interior, et al. 1996). AMAs were envisioned as an institutional innovation for developing science-education partnerships, creating and implementing innovative watershed restoration treatments, promoting inter-agency and agency-community cooperation, generating data that would be usable at the community level, and developing new uses, value added products, and markets for the by-products of ecosystem restoration. Projects on AMAs are diverse, but all include an element of collaboration built around an attempt to understand and work with the human and ecological communities in the AMA area.

There were high expectations for the Hayfork AMA when it first began in 1995. The focus included Forest Service-community collaboration, using small diameter wood, creating stewardship contracts, doing feasibility studies for small business incubation, and retraining workers to go back

into the forest and do ecosystem management. “The Hayfork AMA was supposed to be a model forest, a transition from harvesting older growth to younger growth, an opportunity to test, observe, and change,” said the Hayfork District Ranger. However, for a variety of reasons the Hayfork AMA did not meet the expectations that accompanied its creation. Today, the probable sale quantity from the Hayfork AMA is only 25 to 50 percent of what was initially expected.

The Hayfork AMA cannot exemplify principles and practices of adaptive management because of the lack of institutional flexibility necessary for local-level experimentation and learning-process approaches, and the difficulty associated with implementing “survey and manage” protocols. The current Hayfork District Ranger felt frustrated with the lack of institutional change that would have made AMA experimentation possible. “We were not given enough flexibility,” she said. “We have to adhere to the same standards and guidelines that we do everywhere else on the forest. We haven’t been able to try anything different.” According to the district ranger, some “survey and manage” requirements call for lengthy and expensive measures to establish refuges for certain species, without necessarily first establishing the effects of human activity. When a biologist is assigned to look for a species that is suspected to be associated with old growth, he/she must comply with strict guidelines governing the season, duration, and time of day for survey work. Inventories can cost up to \$20 per acre and are followed by a public comment process. Overall, the entire effort can take up to one year and wildlife biologists, archaeologists, fisheries biologists, botanists, and hydrologists are all involved. “Standards and guidelines were set up because we didn’t know what would happen,” the District Ranger continued. “We need to test and determine what activities aren’t as disturbing—like thinning and under burning.”

Contracting and funding procedures, another barrier of work on the AMA, have made thinning

9. Past Bioregion Group participants have various theories about its formal demise. “The personalities and history were too heavy,” said one participant, “We never got to a place of agreement as to how to manage the forests into the future.” However, several members felt that, although consensus was reached on several points, a lack of commitment on the part of federal agencies led to inaction on Bioregion Group prescriptions and agreements, leading members to leave because of frustration and disillusionment with their ability to affect the process.

contracts and local-level hiring financially difficult for Forest Service personnel. District rangers expressed frustration with the difficulty of securing funding for projects like thinning and fire safety, which “don’t pay for themselves.” Currently, work is available in inventory and monitoring, which requires specialized skills that many local residents don’t have.

Although gridlock has reigned on the Hayfork AMA, good ideas have emerged and Forest Service personnel and community people alike are brainstorming ways to make them happen on the ground. “In five years we can’t expect big changes, we have to be patient,” said the Weaverville District Ranger. However, many families who were formerly employed in the timber industry may not have the resources to

wait for that change. According to the ranger, the government model has changed and citizens now have far more direct access to work with agencies, interest groups, and the political process than they did when the AMA was founded. “There’s a few of us holding out for working with the Forest Service, we can’t walk away from this, we’ve got to figure out how to do (survey and manage) and put people to work rather than go around it,” said one longtime resident. Momentum is also building among some Forest Service officials to work with community members to develop real joint projects. “We are trying to develop collaborative efforts on the whole forest, not just the AMA,” said the ranger, referring to the concept of the model forest.

## NEAI Projects and Programs

### State CERT Structure

When the NEAI monies first became available, a small delegation of Watershed Center and County Board of Supervisors representatives attended meetings in Redding and Sacramento. Through these meetings, these individuals became familiar with the CERT process, worked to spread the word about the availability of CERT funds in Trinity, and made efforts to ensure that Trinity County CERT proposals would be competitive with other northern California proposals

Initially, there were conflicting views about the mechanisms for dispersing the NEAI monies. Many rural, northern counties were concerned that if the money went to the state, it would never reach the small timber-affected towns in the remote northern part of the state. There was some disagreement, at least initially, about whether to support capacity-building grants or “hard” infrastructure projects. Many rural representatives argued that capacity-building grants needed to be prioritized, or else the rural counties with the least grant-writing experience and the most need would not be able to compete. Philosophically, differing views of the structure of community-based development also fed the debate. While some believed that communities needed infrastructure—sewers, streets, etc.—to attract economic

development, others emphasized the importance of building a community’s ability to prioritize its needs, plan, build local capacity, and structure development from within. The latter required funding for “soft infrastructure,” such as planning, meetings, and community organizing. As the CERT process progressed, the agencies and delegates learned from one another and shared ideas and strategies.

Because of the dispersed nature and differing socioeconomic conditions of Trinity County communities, the local CERT process was decentralized, and each community had its own CERT action team. There was an active Southern Trinity CERT that served the communities of Mad River, Zenia, and Ruth; a Big Bar CERT; a Hayfork CERT; a Weaverville CERT; and an attempted CERT in Trinity Center. According to the Watershed Center Executive Director, having several CERTs was necessary because there was a “lack of county initiative to go after funds—unemployment was three percent in Weaverville and 22 percent in Hayfork, so Weaverville (the county seat) didn’t see a problem.” Another individual argued that if decentralized CERT processes had not been developed, then the lack of county initiative at the beginning of the NEAI would have left the most needy areas of the county without access to any of the funds.

Led by the local CERTs, every community went through the planning process and published a plan with action lists and priorities. To submit a proposal, applicants would draft a concept paper, share it with the local CERT board, determine a budget, and send it to the county. Then the Board of Supervisors would discuss projects but not prioritize them, give each project a county number and send it to Sacramento, where it was given a state CERT number. In Sacramento, the agencies would meet with 10 County Supervisors—one from each of the affected Northern counties, led by the Assistant Secretary for Forestry and Natural Resources, the CERT chair. Here, they would discuss projects and decide which agency should take the lead on funding specific projects. In Hayfork, the Forest Service was very supportive, providing capacity-building workshops and meeting places. In addition, some state and federal agency CERT representatives made time to come to Hayfork and work with community groups, which was greatly appreciated on the ground. “Their expertise and caring made all the difference,” said one community member.

Bringing the agencies together in Sacramento to examine proposals had manifold benefits. The state CERT was a useful clearinghouse—reducing red tape, streamlining deadlines, increasing collaboration, and saving money and time. According to the local water district manager, whose sewer project was funded through the NEAI, “CERT streamlined the process—the Department of Fish & Game, California Environmental Quality Act, historical offices, etc.—they were all at the table and concerns could be addressed then and there by the Regional Water Quality Control Board.” In addition, the state CERT provided a forum for agencies to learn from one another—about the importance of capacity-building for economic development, for example. County Supervisors on the state CERT also had the opportunity to share lessons, experiences, and strategies, and feel less isolated. The state CERT became a one-stop shop for grants, as agencies and other state CERT members could discuss the proposal and then direct it to the most logical grant source. Some projects in the CERT process took two to three cycles before they were funded. Each time applicants re-submitted

their proposals, they had the opportunity to create a stronger application.

The state CERT process prioritized projects and shared their lists with agencies, who then regularly used those lists to determine their own funding priorities. Agencies would grant money to non-profits and county or regional-level institutions, such as the Superior California Economic Development Department (SCEDD). These agencies could then re-grant, if that was part of the proposal. The fact that money was not available to private businesses created both conflict and collaboration. Several community members felt that failed projects such as High Mountain Herbs, or the Superior California Economic Development Department loan for acrylic fabrication in Hayfork, could have been avoided with less granting to private enterprise (see project descriptions for further information on these projects), while others castigated what they saw as a dearth of loans for businesses. One effect of this strategy, according to a community member, was an increase in the number of non-profits in Trinity County. Private businesses, due to the depressed economic situation, had little capital with which to fund possibly risky innovations or to survive a failed experiment, so non-profits became the new risk-takers and innovators.

The Watershed Center staffed the first local CERT activities in Trinity County and was involved during the formation of county and state CERT processes. As the Hayfork CERT, the Center collected early proposals, when people were still figuring out exactly what the CERT was. Since many of these proposals weren’t funded because they were from private businesses or individuals, or did not address economic diversification, the Watershed Center—as the middleman—was erroneously blamed for their denial. This early miscommunication and later Watershed Center success in obtaining grant funds led to some community mistrust of the Center. However, now most Hayfork residents acknowledge that the Center has created employment and continues to work to stimulate Hayfork’s economy.

Critics of the CERT process cite the lack of accountability, the centralized aspects of CERT, and the duplication of services. According to the coordinator of the Trinity Department of Health and

Human Services, Trinity Occupational Training and CalWORKS were struggling not to be at odds with similar services. “We needed a more cohesive county-wide effort,” she said. “Each community had its own SWOT analysis and plan, it wasn’t all pulled together...the NEAI promoted competition, not cohesion.” More communication by CERT with existing county programs would have eliminated this duplication. The Department of Labor funded a community coordinator position through Trinity Occupational Training in 1995, to act as a liaison between the multiple sub-county CERTs and other agencies and to work to eliminate service duplication, improve communication, and disseminate information on grants. When funding streams changed to solely JTPA dollars, this position became subsumed under the host agency, and the function changed to acting as a liaison between community agencies, greatly reducing the CERT liaison work.

## **Projects**

### *The Watershed Center*

A concerned Hayfork community leader founded the Watershed Center in 1993. The Trinity Bioregion Group’s broad-based support for the Center fueled initial agency support for its foundation. As a non-profit organization dedicated to the development and support of healthy communities and healthy forests, the Watershed Center is governed by an Executive Director and a diverse Board of Directors. The Watershed Center was the largest broker of CERT projects in Trinity County, directly received seven of the NEAI grants that came to Hayfork, and was involved in at least five of the others.

Referring to the origin of the Watershed Center, the Executive Director recounted how once, while speaking to a class of high school students, in 1992, about college options, she was astonished to find out that the students were afraid to leave the area. “We had made our own children feel like victims,” she said. After that, she was determined that a Hayfork institution was needed to do the research, training, and economic development necessary to develop the new ecological forestry that would accompany the NWFP. Preparing workers for the new types of jobs and making Hayfork a center for the “new forestry,”

would create local, sustainable jobs for current and future generations.

After the Watershed Center director and her husband poured a segment of their own savings into founding the organization, the Center received its first grant, “Building Community Capacity Through Linkages,” from the Forest Service in 1994, and has been growing ever since. The Center’s self-assessments report that it has created an average of 20 FTEs per year since its inception and received funding from the Ford Foundation, Trinity County, the Forest Service, and the Department of Labor. Projects have included the development and administration of an Ecosystem Management Technician Training Program for displaced forest workers, a special forest products research and marketing project, and a socioeconomic monitoring program.

Community sentiment regarding the Watershed Center is mixed. Many Hayfork individuals praise the Center’s long-term work and efforts, and acknowledge that the Watershed Center has generated employment, helped funnel government funds into the Hayfork area, and worked hard to promote forest stewardship-related economic growth and economic diversification. Others express confusion over what the Center does, and some disparage its “grant-dependency,” voicing frustration with its programs and mistrust of its monetary success. A Forest Service employee cited a lack of extensive outreach as one reason for the lack of support for the Watershed Center among some people. “Give people ownership in a project and they will accept it,” she said. “(The WRTC) doesn’t do a lot of public involvement, so people don’t know what’s going on, which builds misconceptions.”

### *Linkages*

The four Forest Service-funded “linkages” grants provided basic infrastructure and organizational support funds to the Watershed Center. “Building Community Capacity Through Linkages,” the first of these grants, was for capacity-building and creating linkages between groups, organizations, individuals, and processes, within and outside of Trinity County. The monies helped support staff travel to meetings and conferences, helping Trinity residents to access

other funding opportunities and to make vital connections with communities facing similar challenges. This funding also enabled the Watershed Center to provide staff for other organizations (including the Nor Rel Muk and Hayfork Action Teams) to help them secure grants that were funded through the CERT process. As such, the NEAI monies through “linkages” enabled inexperienced grant writers in Hayfork to become competitive through funded training programs and support for group grant writing efforts. There was no economic development organization in Hayfork at the time and, according to the Watershed Center Director, the “linkages” grants had a “nice ripple effect” through the community and helped to build the institutional infrastructure (among groups and organizations) for the transition from a timber-based economy.

#### *Small Log Demonstration Project*

In 1997, the Watershed Center received a grant from the Forest Service Rural Community Assistance Program for \$65,591 to experiment with local low-impact harvesting, value-added processing, and marketing of small-diameter timber. While the Forest Plan ecosystem management prescriptions call for the removal of small diameter trees, the expense of planning ecosystem management projects cannot be offset by the low value of these trees. While industry and environmentalists both support forest thinning for fire prevention, forest health, wildlife, and water quality, it remains difficult to invest in converting the small diameter trees into usable wood products because of low returns.

This grant is part of a three-stage project involving multiple partnerships between the Watershed Center and other organizations and individuals, including the Forest Service, Trinity Occupational Training, the Trinity County Resource, Conservation, and Development Council, the Trinity County Board of Supervisors, and the owner of the local abandoned mill site. In partnership with the Forest Service, trained Watershed Center crews did the necessary thinning treatments on a Forest Service parcel using low impact equipment and testing the technology for the harvest and processing of small diameter timber. Local crews built a small, 28-foot yarder, “Bertha,”

that can operate on existing logging roads, accommodate quick changes in cable setup, and effectively remove small diameter trees. The wood will then be taken to the sort yard, processed, and marketed. On the “Chopsticks sale” 10 Hayfork workers hauled 7,854 logs in 66 truckloads to the old Sierra Pacific Industries mill site. The suppressed douglas fir small diameter logs produced five times more lumber than the Watershed Center program leaders originally estimated (Little 1998).

Assessments of project outcomes document local economic and ecological effects; evaluate the effectiveness of community-based work; and develop methods to evaluate stewardship contracts. The project fits into a larger strategy to link sustainable woods work with stewardship-based local employment (Proposal 1997). Data from this project indicated that local, light-touch, small diameter harvest and processing was feasible, so the Watershed Center began the creation of a “forest park,” including a business incubator for small diameter forest processing. The site would include a sort yard, a processing plant, and several businesses, including a small sawmill, a dry kiln, and milling operations for value-added activities. The goal is to develop the infrastructure to support local contracting and processing of small diameter material, provide for community based stewardship on the land, size the local processing facility to the carrying capacity of the land, and finance local processing and contracting with local capital so profits are available for reinvestment.

As a final part of this project, the Watershed Center and the Resource, Conservation, and Development Council (which received a California Department of Forestry grant separate from the NEAI process for this work) collaborated to host a two-day workshop in 1998 on small diameter and hardwood milling, including a hardwood and small diameter fair with demonstrations of small, portable sawmills.

#### *Small Diameter Processor Acquisition*

Initial Watershed Center analysis of the small diameter program in Trinity County showed that six jobs were created per yarder, two jobs at the sort yard, three jobs at the processor, and six jobs creating value-added products. However, there was a lack



Harvesting small diameter logs

of a processing facility in Hayfork. In order to further support the small diameter program, in 1997, the Watershed Center applied for and received funding from USDA-RD and the Ford Foundation to purchase a small diameter processor for milling small diameter lumber on site. As part of the above described strategy, the processor would help local workers to add value to small diameter materials by milling the wood into usable planks.

The Center used the \$99,000 grant to purchase an Economizer mill. The mill is used in fuels thinning and on-site milling demonstrations on public and private lands and is taken around the northwest by the crew to share with other small communities. In this

way, there is regional learning and technology-sharing around the “new forestry,” small-scale approaches are embraced across the landscape, and markets are developed for different types of value-added wood products. Sharing with other rural communities dealing with the same socioeconomic issues enables horizontal learning—an important outcome of NEAI funds. The Economizer concept of adding value to small diameter wood—previously seen as a waste product—has also provided a tool for building communication among diverse stakeholders, including land owners, environmentalists, woods workers, and timber industry representatives. The Economizer has been an asset to the Center and to the region, but lack



Small diameter timber processor used for milling lumber on-site

of guaranteed access to the woods prevents using it to its fullest potential to provide work for more people than the three core, experienced crew members who currently operate it.

#### *Soft Infrastructure for Community Development*

“Soft infrastructure” refers to the staffing and programmatic funds necessary for the Watershed Center to do the following: socioeconomic monitoring; provide grant writing assistance to community groups, including the Nor Rel Muk, the senior citizens center, Healthy Kids, and the Hayfork incubator; support Hayfork Action Team meetings; promote community involvement in stewardship contracting development with the Forest Service; develop the Ecosystem Management Technician Training Program; and work on county-wide fire strategy development. See the Hayfork Action Teams section below for further description of the projects the Watershed Center is able to support using these funds.

By 1998, when this grant was received, the Watershed Center had become a place where groups could find office space, supplies, meeting areas and programmatic advice. They had previously helped

the Nor El Muk in developing office space, and provided ongoing staff and support for Hayfork Action Teams activities. Support was necessary for the Watershed Center to continue this level of involvement. This \$25,000 grant from the Forest Service allowed the Watershed Center to do basic community building through a variety of supportive activities, with the goal of fostering local institutions and facilitating economic and social revitalization after the mill closure.

According to the application, “An increase in the capacity of the community to solve its own problems is the main objective of this project and will be the main benefit.” Getting funding for this type of “soft infrastructure” work, rather than solely hard infrastructure projects like sewer systems, was one of the main breakthroughs that resulted from the mutual learning that took place during the CERT process, according to the Watershed Center Executive Director.

#### *Training Program*

In an effort to react creatively and effectively to the joblessness and associated socioeconomic problems that resulted from the mill closure, and to retain the working population of Hayfork, one of the Wa-

tershed Center's first projects was a collaboration with Trinity Occupational Training, the Forest Service, and Shasta College to create an Ecosystem Management Technician Training Program. Drawing on local knowledge and Forest Service forecasts of work in "new forestry"—surveying, ecosystem management, and restoration—the Watershed Center created a training program with Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA)/ Department of Labor funds (through Trinity Occupational Training) to help workers re-tool for the new approach to forestry. "The idea was to build up ecosystem management work to replace mill work (150 employees)—there was an opportunity to get a pretty good portion of the work back," said the Watershed Center Executive Director.

The California CERT encouraged the Department of Labor to fund the program—one of just three worker-retraining programs in California. The program was a cooperative Trinity County effort, with instructors who had formerly worked with the Forest Service, advice from RC & D Council and Trinity Resource Conservation District employees, and help from local, private woods contractors. Because of the variety of partners, the formation of the training program called for patient consensus building. Two points of contention were how the workers would be selected to participate, and what skills they would learn. The Watershed Center and the JTPA (through Trinity Occupational Training) differed in the selection criteria they wanted to use. JTPA focused on the long-term unemployed and the Watershed Center was looking for former forest workers who were ready to work. The Watershed Center eventually prevailed on this point and was able to choose the individuals that they thought would benefit most. The skills to be taught were drawn from what Forest Service officials had indicated they would need.

The program began in 1994 and had enthusiastic support from retired forest workers who were willing to help staff the program. According to the Executive Director of the Watershed Center, "I called a former logging engineer and told him that I needed help organizing the program. He cried and said, 'I thought no one would need to know these skills again.'"

Since the program's inception, over 50 people have been trained on projects set aside by the For-

est Service for learning opportunities. Participants received wages of \$10.29 per hour for the fieldwork and were compensated for the 1,040 hours of class time over six months. The total project costs—with Trinity Occupational Training counseling, administration, participant support, retraining, and pre- and post-testing staff time, totaled \$491,910.

Despite the degree of knowledge gained and Forest Service promises of future ecosystem work, work on the forest never materialized. Some blame this on the Forest Service "old guard" and "bias toward working with the same, large contractors." A review of the program prepared for Trinity Occupational Training offers another opinion:

...internal reorganizations associated with downsizing and budget cuts moved service contracting authority to more distant centralized offices...despite the best efforts of local Forest Service and community organizations, they had little control over the federal budget and procurement policies (Danks and Aldinger 1998).

Many retrained workers were discouraged and retired, turned to new occupations, or left the area. Some remain, piecing together seasonal jobs, often with the Watershed Center, until more opportunities arrive. "We tried to keep them around, but the worker skill base has changed here, the contractors have left," said the Watershed Center Executive Director, who sees it as a failure that the training program was unable to do the most important thing—keep locals in town and working in the woods.

With the lack of jobs available, the training program appears unsuccessful to many Hayfork residents and some Forest Service staff. JTPA funding and support from Shasta College also sunsetted after two years. According to one Forest Service official, providing projects or funding for the program feels like "subsidizing" forest work for locals, instead of helping locals to become competitive with larger contracting procedures or diversify to new types of work. "If we are diversifying through retraining why are we still in the woods?" asked one Forest Service official.

This perspective contrasts strongly with the views of a long-term Hayfork resident and County Supervisor: “the soul of Hayfork is its relationship to the woods.” Many Hayfork residents feel abandoned by the Forest Service and dismayed by its lack of support for the trained, local workforce.

Despite some local and institutional criticism of the program, Watershed Center staff envisions redesigning the training program to create a national community forestry training center with regional and national participation. According to the Watershed Center Executive Director, expanding the participation and project partners will increase institutional support for the program, making projects available on a larger scale and changing the way forest work is approached and contracted out. The Watershed Center envisions the creation of a “Hayfork model mentor program” to provide technical assistance to other communities wanting to institute similar programs. At this point, the program requires basic support grants, which may come through National Fire Plan funding, and a secure job base for trained workers to move into. “I love training but there must be a need,” said the Trinity Occupational Training Executive Director when asked about her organization’s support for possible future training endeavors.

#### *Resource, Conservation, & Development Council*

The Resource, Conservation & Development Council (RC&D) is an independent non-profit organization that works in partnership with a national program sponsored by the USDA. The national RC & D program authorizes the formation of council areas; once a community is approved, the USDA provides the office, program coordinator, vehicle, and funding. The purpose of the national program is “to accelerate the conservation, development, and utilization of natural resources to improve the general level of economic activity, and to enhance the environment and standard of living in authorized RC & D areas” (USDA n/d).

The local council has a nine-person board of directors representing Trinity County communities and organizations. They identified community development as a high priority for the area because it

offered the opportunity to work on a broad range of activities. The RC & D was instrumental in several Hayfork NEAI-funded projects, including the Nor Rel Muk Business Office Development, and the Small Log Demonstration Project. The RC & D also attended meetings and supported the work of the Hayfork action teams.

In 1998, the RC & D received \$8,400 from the Forest Service-RCA program for general program development. The RC & D also submitted three CERT proposals in 1996 that were not funded: a fire infrastructure project, and two agricultural projects that would have directly affected Hayfork. One of the agricultural projects was designed to create forums to discuss marketing strategies and small-scale agricultural techniques for operations including vineyards, and herb and mushroom cultivation. This project was funded outside of the NEAI process, through a mini-grant from the Natural Resources Conservation Service, and consisted of two-dozen forums over three years. Despite the amount of interest generated, the project was halted because there were no new start-ups or ventures.

#### *Nor Rel Muk History Museum Feasibility Study*

There are about 700 Nor Rel Muk, with 150 to 200 in the Trinity County service area.<sup>10</sup> In 1985, the Nor Rel Muk formed a non-profit corporation—the Nor Rel Muk Nation. As an unrecognized tribe, the Nor Rel Muk have been working to gain federal recognition for nearly 20 years. Part of the application process for recognition requires proof of cultural continuity, as shown by collections of historical resources, historical documentation, and ongoing practices. Without a central place to preserve and display historical items, the Nor Rel Muk are concerned with the dispersal, degradation, and loss of their material culture. In addition, it is impossible to obtain cultural artifacts that are housed in other institutions without a proper place to house them in Hayfork. “We want to bring our collections here from the Smithsonian, from Berkeley, etc., so we can study our documents and move towards federal recognition,” said the Tribal Chairman.

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10. Estimate from the Nor Rel Muk tribal office.

The Nor Rel Muk and their local partners—the Watershed Center and interested citizens—had the application for the museum feasibility study ready at the beginning of the CERT process. The project fit with objectives delineated in the Hayfork Community Action Plan to diversify the valley economically by attracting visitors and revenue. A museum would bring ecological and cultural tourists, as well as provide a vital repository for Nor Rel Muk historical items.

In 1994, the feasibility study was funded through the Forest Service-RCA program for \$18,000, a local merchant made land available, and a Museum Advisory Committee was formed of interested citizens, with the Nor Rel Muk Tribal Chairman as chair.

Initially, the Nor Rel Muk goals for the project were a reference library with humidity, light and temperature controls for preserving items, and a cultural center. In monthly Museum Advisory Committee meetings, the project grew to include an art center, theater, county branch library, Forest Service research center, archaeology library, and a museum with multimedia, interactive exhibits. Local citizens participating on the committee thought that the additional elements would help the tribe to staff the museum and increase the benefit for the entire Hayfork community. However, the estimated cost of the proposal, designed and written with the help of a local architect, and excluding site acquisition and the performing arts theater, was close to \$8 million.<sup>11</sup> Market research in the feasibility study indicated that people would travel from the Highway 299 corridor to visit the site, and that funding could be raised to build it. However, money was needed from the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA)—money earmarked for recognized tribes. Although the museum would help the Nor Rel Muk in their research to gain recognition, their current unrecognized status made it difficult to obtain these necessary BIA funds.<sup>12</sup>

After the completion and presentation of the feasibility study in a public meeting in 1995, the Nor Rel Muk terminated the committee, to the disappointment of non-tribal committee members who

were excited about the study and ready to seek further funding for the museum. The Tribal Chairman expressed frustration, feeling that the proposal grew much larger than the Nor Rel Muk originally intended. “It got too expensive with the different needs,” he said, referring to the ideas for an art center, theater, research center, and multimedia museum that grew from the original need for a place to house cultural artifacts and Nor Rel Muk tribal archives. Although no further action has been taken on the museum, the detailed design schematic plan completed by the architectural consultants has served as a reference for at least three other projects in Trinity County.

#### *Nor Rel Muk Business Office Development Project*

As a dispersed, unrecognized tribe, the Nor Rel Muk lacked a business office facility that would allow them a central place to store their records, hold tribal meetings, conduct business, and continue seeking recognition. With the aid of the RC & D, the Nor Rel Muk submitted a grant to USDA RD. In 1997 they received \$29,110 and a donation from the Watershed Center to secure an office. The initial office space was within the Watershed Center building, but the Nor Rel Muk have since relocated to a separate location in downtown Hayfork. The current office houses ancestral records, hosts tribal council meetings and basket weaving classes, and has an internet connection, a telephone, and a computer. As a central place for Nor Rel Muk activities, the office has facilitated the growth of social and cultural capital within the tribe. “This office wouldn’t be here without the grant,” said the Tribal Chairman. “We tried to work out of our homes but things were lost; it was a hardship without the office.”

#### *Hayfork Action Teams (HATS) —Tourism and Recreation*

After the mill closure in 1996, the Hayfork Advisory Committee was formed to go through the steps (creation of a community action plan and priorities, and a Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, and Threats analysis) to make the community eligible for CERT grants. In 1995, active community mem-

11. The plan allowed for incremental development of the museum, and later additions of the other entities to be financed separately from the museum.

12. The plan noted that the tribe needed to obtain tribal status through the BIA to receive permanent funding for operational expenses.

bers, anticipating the mill closure, had already been working on updating the Hayfork component of the Trinity County General Plan, including soliciting suggestions for economic diversification in collaboration with local merchants, the Forest Service, and mill workers. Just after the closure, the Board of Supervisors called a town meeting and 1,000 people turned out to discuss their future. Five Hayfork Action Teams—Social Services, Natural Resource Development, Community Infrastructure, Economic Diversification, and Tourism and Recreation—were formed. Only the Tourism and Recreation team remains and it has taken on projects that originally fell under the jurisdiction of the other groups.

The Tourism and Recreation team has worked on the following projects: downtown beautification, development of a Hayfork trail system, a youth conservation education camp, and development of the Hayfork airport. They have received CERT funds for downtown beautification (1997), and for marketing and planning the Hayfork Basin Trail System (2001). Other team-supported projects—such as the airport lounge, Mountain Valley Eldercare, and the acquisition and repair of the Indian Valley Guard Station have been funded through other means and/or completed with community energy and support. The Tourism and Recreation team also collaborates with other community institutions and activities, including the Community Center, and regional or county economic development efforts. The team continues with Watershed Center support and the dedicated efforts of local residents, but faces opposition within Hayfork for its activities (see Beautification below), and continues to struggle to create feasible tourism possibilities in the remote area.

### Beautification

In an effort to improve Hayfork's general appearance, convenience, and pedestrian safety downtown, the Hayfork Action Teams Tourism and Recreation Committee applied for and received a \$24,638 grant from the FS RCA for downtown beautification in 1997. Project organizers contracted with a landscape architect and used the grant to develop a design plan for two miles of Highway 3, including downtown Hayfork. Since the 100-foot wide High-

way right-of-way was necessary for the total scope of improvements, including much needed storm drainage changes and repairs, CalTrans and the County Planning and Roads departments were involved at the beginning. The Trinity County Resource and Development Council also became a partner and the Watershed Center acted as grants coordinator for the landscape design plan.

The Tourism and Recreation Committee held monthly public meetings to develop the plan with the landscape architect, and convened three annual town meetings sponsored by the Chamber of Commerce for each design phase. The project coordinator also went to property owners within the project to explain the plan and fit it to the needs of businesses. Cal Trans completed a storm drainage system, paving, curbing, and striping, while the landscape architect focused on lighting, walkways, an irrigation system, and landscaping. The goals of the project were to enhance Hayfork's image and attractiveness to bring people and businesses to Hayfork, and to improve parking, circulation, bikeways, and pedestrian systems. In addition, the storm drains would dovetail with the proposed sewage treatment facility.

However, some local business owners in the central core expressed feelings of being shut out of the project and a sense that decisions that affected their well-being and financial solvency were being made without their input. One of the most contentious elements of the project was sidewalks and parallel parking through the downtown area that would have reduced street parking for businesses along the highway, forcing customers to park farther away and walk. Merchants were concerned about losing valuable business—having already lost so much after the mill closure. Long-time business owners and residents also felt that sidewalks and landscaping were unnecessary additions to Hayfork. "They want to turn this place into Beverly Hills," said one resident, sharing a perception that project proponents, as relative newcomers to the area, were creating a plan that was inappropriate for Hayfork. These concerns, and a feeling of being left out of the planning process, created strong opposition to the project.

"It took over three years to build consensus," said the RC & D program coordinator. "We were

hoping (the beautification) would encompass all of downtown Hayfork but conflicts reduced the scope.” Project proponents characterized the opposition as small town aversion to change.

Ultimately, a new curbing/ drainage system was instituted, bike lanes were added, and plantings were done along two-thirds of downtown Hayfork. A sign made by a project opponent that said “leaving Hayfork” was placed at the beginning of the beautification area, attesting to the division in the community. Ideological differences regarding the importance of Hayfork’s appearance—with project proponents calling for the necessity of having a safe and presentable downtown in order to attract new businesses and visitors, and project opposition calling for keeping things the way they were, miscommunication about the project, different ways of approaching projects, and misunderstandings on both sides contributed to the lack of total project success. “It was a compromise,” said one of the coordinators about the final outcome.

#### *Indian Valley Conservation Education Camp*

Since much of the original population that the Watershed Center was trying to help, such as families dependent on the timber industry, has now left, the Watershed Center has turned its focus to youth. In this capacity, it has helped the Tourism and Recreation Committee acquire a former Forest Service guard station at Indian Valley. Using its existing connections with Forest Service staff, and after a laborious struggle to obtain use permits for programs at the guard station from the Forest Service, the Watershed Center built agency support for a conservation education summer camp for local youth during the summers of 2001 and 2002. “The current District Ranger cares about the project, and I think there is support for community conservation and education, and service learning/natural resource projects at the supervisor’s office,” said the Center Executive Director.

The goal of the Indian Valley Conservation Education Camp is to offer an opportunity for hands-on learning in the forest. Similar to the Watershed Centers’ Ecosystem Technician Training Program,

participants will perform Forest Service restoration projects and learn about ecosystem management and stewardship. The camp will be integrated with school year curriculum, creating a link to the local forest for students and teachers. In addition, a current effort is underway to include Nor Rel Muk participation and instruction.

#### *Hayfork Basin Trails Master Plan*

In 1997, the Weaverville Basin Trail Committee received \$30,000 from the Forest Service RCA program to map, improve, and publicize the Weaverville Basin Trail system. This multi-year, successful effort stimulated a parallel project in Hayfork and the Tourism and Recreation team began working on creating a Hayfork Basin trail system. The team applied for a grant to do on-the-ground visual and GPS<sup>13</sup> trail condition surveys, complete GIS<sup>14</sup> mapping of trails in the Hayfork basin, create a targeted marketing strategy in partnership with the Outdoor Recreation Department at Humboldt State University, and design, publish, and distribute brochures targeted towards mountain bikers and horse packers.

In 2001, the team received \$25,000 from the Forest Service RCA program. However, they were told that the grant could not be used to do work on Forest Service trails. Instead, the funding will support the marketing, promotional, and GIS work, while the team has raised other monies to support a Forest Service trail manager to do the trail condition surveys. To fund the necessary trail maintenance and construction work, the team has applied for non-CERT funding from the Trinity County Resource Advisory Committee (RAC) to do a training program with the Watershed Center and the Forest Service. In this program, a six-person crew would be hired for 20 weeks to learn and perform trail maintenance, planning, and layout under the guidance of Forest Service trail personnel. Although the RAC proposal was not funded in this cycle, it is being considered for the next cycle. In the meantime, team members are looking into other modes of funding and beginning the brochure and outreach development work with Humboldt State University.

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13. Global Positioning System.

14 Geographic Information System.

Once complete, project proponents envision the Hayfork trail system connecting to Weaverville and other Trinity County communities. Ultimately, Trinity County trails may be offered to tourists as a multi-day, rugged back country adventure.

*Trinity County Waterworks, District 1: Sewage Treatment Feasibility Study, Wastewater Treatment/ Water Reuse Facility*

Like many rural, unincorporated communities, Hayfork lacked a centralized sewer system up through the mid-90s. All homes and businesses had their own septic tanks and wastewater disposal systems. However, with an increasing population, the Hayfork Valley could not support this decentralized treatment. A high groundwater table and clay soil caused sewage to overflow into the streets in wet weather. In response, the Trinity County Health Department placed a moratorium on any new construction.

When the NEAI process began in 1993, the manager of the Trinity County Waterworks district that serves Hayfork (District 1) had been trying to find the funding to build a sewer for 10 years. In 1995, a County Supervisor who had become involved in the local and state CERT process encouraged the district manager to contact an EDA representative, who informed him that Hayfork had been earmarked for a sewer system feasibility study. With help from EDA personnel, the district manager was able to submit a successful application and received \$90,000 for a feasibility study in 1995.

The feasibility study showed the necessity of building a sewer in Hayfork in order to lift the moratorium on building, accommodate growth, and create year-round sanitary conditions. USDA-RD Rural Utilities Services offered a \$5-\$6 million grant for the project if the district would agree to leverage that amount by borrowing \$1.2 million. Knowing that the Hayfork population would not support a tax increase to fund a new sewer system, the district manager had to search for additional funding.

Although the bulk of the funding for this project came from USDA through the NEAI, the District Manager also went outside of the CERT process to access other funding sources. Hayfork qualified for the small communities grant program through the Water

Resources Control Board, and received \$3 million. Then, the Housing and Urban Development-Community Development Block Grant program offered a two-year, \$1 million grant to pay the assessment and hook-up fees for households below a certain income level. With these CDBG funds, 65 percent of the users were hooked to the sewer free of charge. “The election with the sewer system on the ballot would have crashed and burned without funding to help pay assessments—people were starving and without jobs, they weren’t about to vote in a sewer system,” the district manager said.

With the funding in place, and having selected an innovative wetlands-treatment design, the district put the project out for bid. At first, the bids that came in were too high, so the district had to redesign the project in order to be able to afford it. The second time they put the project out for bid, they were under a time crunch to obligate the grant funds and mandated by state law to hire the lowest bidder. As such, they couldn’t be selective about the contractors who applied. A faulty relationship with the contractor led to litigation and the district hired its third attorney last year. Despite these challenges, the district manager did not blame the CERT process, recognizing the difficulties inherent in the cycle of federal funding. “The legislature says go spend, and state staff has to spend on time. We had to go to bid and award contracts fast because of the time it took to bring the bids down. We might have lost everything if we tried to re-bid. These are the rules and regulations with contracting; it’s just the nature of the beast.”

Hayfork’s innovative new sewer system was actually three projects: lift stations to raise the waste at intervals during conveyance to the treatment plant; a mainline connection system, or piping to carry the sewage; and the collection system. The first two components were finished ahead of time, but problems occurred with the collection system.

Miscommunication between the collection system contractor and the project manager slowed the other two aspects of the project. In one situation, the collection system contractor did not compact the ground under a lift station. When the rains came, the building fell and the district had to hire a new contractor to pump grout under the building and

straighten it. According to the district manager, this job cost more than the building itself. Additional lack of compaction along the streets—in direct opposition to project directives—caused flooding in the wet winter of 1999. The district had to hire an engineering firm and a geologist and the initial contractor left the job. “All we want is for them to do a good job,” said the district manager. After the first contractor left, the manager hired a new contractor, causing the first contractor to sue and leading to the current litigation over the project.

Miscommunication with the collection system contractor increased the cost of the project, necessitating the solicitation of more funds from USDA-RD. The district is currently on award six, and has promised to return the money after the litigation with the contractor is complete. The system itself is now finished and 75 to 80 percent of those to be included are connected. However, many of the largest customers, including the school and the Cal-Trans yard, are not hooked up yet, so the current connections only constitute 50 percent of the expected volume. Larger customers are slower to hook up because of the pipe and system re-designs they must perform on their properties. The district is responsible for sewer lines from the street to the property line, and the owner performs the necessary modifications to connect to the main line. Businesses are required to pay for their own assessments, which are measured in household equivalents of \$1,776 per household. In spite of this, businesses support the new system. “In the long term I know it will have an impact,” said one small business owner who opposed several of the other NEAI-funded projects.

However, gossip over the ongoing problems with the contractor and such visible problems as flooding streets, led to public mistrust of the project. USDA-RD calls for mandatory hookups when it funds sewer systems, requiring users to destroy their existing septic tanks. Individuals who built or recently purchased their own tanks and doubt the efficacy of the new system have been unwilling to destroy their existing systems—even if they meet the low-income designation and can hook up for free. Some landowners did not face the soil and water problems on their properties and don't feel that the new system is necessary.

To attempt to build trust in the project, the district manager, who also owns a local restaurant, publicized that the restaurant was the first entity to hookup to the new system. In addition, the district manager personally performed the first 20 hookups and supervised the first 500.

Before the new system was complete, and just after two months of construction, EDA came forward and offered funds (\$1.5 million) for reclamation. However, a reclamation plant has not yet been constructed. Without the largest users connected, there is not enough water to reclaim. Now, after three extensions while project managers finished the main project and waited for increased hookups, EDA has mandated that construction start by July 2002. The district envisions aquatic projects, a golf course, or possible agricultural uses for the reclaimed water. According to the manager, the irony is that at the beginning of the project, when they first put the sewer system out for bid, there was “too much project and not enough money,” and they had to reconfigure the design and put it out for re-bid. Now, there is “too much money and not enough project,” and the district hopes that it will be able to design and build the infrastructure for reclamation before EDA reclaims the funds.

Although the sewer project has lifted the moratorium on building and allowed the sale of six to eight properties of the 50-60 that previously couldn't be sold or inhabited, the cost of the project has not yet translated into job generation or increased revenue for the community. “The sewer is not going to put Hayfork back together; it's a piece of the puzzle,” said the district manager.

*Superior California Economic Development District (SCEDD)*

Business Development Loan—Acrylic Fabrication

In 1999, SCEDD provided a \$7,000 loan to a small business in Hayfork that planned to manufacture acrylic display cases, creating jobs and generating revenue in the community. According to the Executive Director of SCEDD, the individual had a background in the field and completed an acceptable application. However, he defaulted on the loan and left the area. SCEDD officials cited drug abuse as the cause of the project proponent's delinquency.

The most significant repercussions of this default were social, as it allowed individuals who were critical of the CERT process to say that the CERT monies were just “thrown” at private individuals, without those recipients being held accountable. “The process allowed individuals to use projects to their own financial gain,” said one County Supervisor. “We needed someone in charge to oversee the process when pots of money came in.”

#### Business Incubator

In 1996, the Forest Service provided \$10,000 to SCEDD to fund a feasibility study for a business incubator in Weaverville. Although the facility was never built, interest was generated that led to Hayfork’s incubator. According to the SCEDD Executive Director, after the Weaverville study was complete, the Watershed Center took the next step and did a study targeted towards a specific type of incubator—one for forest-related businesses.

A Community Development Block Grant through Trinity County, separate from the CERT process, funded the Hayfork incubator building. The incubator is a “Wood Center” that will hold classes and training for businesses, offer low rent over a single five-year term, and provide office equipment donated by the Department of Health and Human Services. An advisory board of community members has been established to oversee the incubator and review proposals from potential tenant businesses. Six applications have been received, and Jefferson State Forest Products, a small diameter furniture building firm that already provides nine local jobs, and Northwest Erosion Control will be the first tenants.

Although the Hayfork incubator started under the umbrella of the Watershed Center, it has its own board now and the Center believes that it will become “self-sustaining.” The incubator originally faced community disapproval because the Watershed Center Director’s husband owns Jefferson State Forest Products. However, concerns have and are being addressed in community meetings and the incubator is becoming “a community-owned facility,” according to the Director. The incubator may also contribute to the local economy by installing a biomass space heater. If this is realized, waste products from thinning

projects undertaken by local property owners or businesses, will be able to be sold to the incubator and burned in the biomass heater to generate heat during the winter months.

#### Forest Planning Program, Phase IV

The Forest Service granted SCEDD \$70,000 in 1997 to continue economic development planning in a tri-county area that included Trinity County, and, specifically, Hayfork. With additional support from the Economic Development Administration, SCEDD went into communities to assist in the community action plan development process, grant writing, and project prioritization. These activities built the local capacity of community members to access funding for specific projects. SCEDD personnel assisted Hayfork residents in the development of their action plan and helped water district staff to complete applications for the sewer treatment project.

#### High Mountain Herb Co-op

Between 1994 and 1997, the High Mountain Herb Cooperative received five Forest Service Rural Community Assistance (RCA) grants totaling approximately \$560,000. Encompassing southern Trinity and southeast Humboldt Counties, the purpose of the Cooperative was to develop the human capacity, production and processing infrastructure, and marketing ability necessary for the cultivation, processing, and sale of medicinal and other herbs. The Cooperative sought to promote regional economic revitalization through the development of agricultural and special forest products niche markets. The first grant created three demonstration herb-growing operations, two on valley farms and one on a hillside farm. The second grant funded the construction of the building, and the third grant supported workshops and an apprenticeship program for herb growers. The two final grants helped to cover start-up costs until the income generated from herb sales was realized.

The organization eventually folded due to competition from overseas markets, onerous financial obligations, cash flow shortages, and differences between Cooperative members. This affected Hayfork

in terms of the negative perceptions people built of the Cooperative and of the CERT process for funding it.

The High Mountain Herbs building in Southern Trinity County stood vacant for two years and some feared that the county would repossess the building. However, the efforts of a local SCEDD representative brought a vitamin supplier—Naturely—into the facility. Naturely plans to expand, rent another site in Hayfork, and employ several residents in vitamin manufacture and processing. In this case, the existing High Mountain Herbs building provided an excellent facility for Naturely, and due to the efforts of local economic developers seeking to find a use for the vacant site, may eventually provide some much-needed economic stimulation in the Hayfork valley.

### **Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA)**

The JTPA program in Trinity County works through Trinity Occupational Training in Weaverville. Trinity Occupational Training has satellite JobLink centers located in Trinity communities, including Hayfork. Trinity Occupational Training also housed the community coordinator. Many citizens assumed that the coordinator would staff the Trinity County CERT, although funding for the position came to Trinity Occupational Training. Confusion over the coordinator's role created controversy, as some felt that the coordinator was not serving the overall Trinity CERT agenda. According to the Executive Director of Trinity Occupational Training, the coordinator was only funded for one year to focus on linking community CERTs and spreading information about the CERT process. After that, funding changed and the position shifted to focus on linking community agencies, with only a small CERT coordination component.

JTPA dollars and programmatic support were key in the initial Ecosystem Management Technician Training Program, implemented by the Watershed

Center. By the time the Sierra Pacific Industries mill left Hayfork, 40 people had graduated from the training program with skills associated with watershed restoration, forest thinning, and fuel breaks. This enabled some workers to stay in Hayfork, but the lack of local access to Forest Service employment left many trainees only working sporadically, or transitioning to new types of work. Trinity Occupational Training was also concerned with repeat program attendees, making agencies and training providers feel that they were providing subsidies, rather than new opportunities that would become bridges to future work. When the grant sunsetted, the program was not reinstated.

Opportunities for work in Hayfork remain low, although Watershed Center programs, Superior California Economic Development Department work, and Hayfork Action Teams efforts are underway to change this. If an individual applies for unemployment or welfare they must come to the local JobLink office in the Hayfork Community Center and go through the "system." This means at least completing a resume, and can include taking courses, participating in counseling, undergoing retraining, and/or undertaking a thorough job search. Job Link personnel commented on the number of former mill workers and older clients that they serve. While some individuals just want to complete the requirements and leave, many come in voluntarily because they want to go to work. Often, instruction begins with basic resume building and interviewing skills. Once participants have built confidence and advanced past this stage, the biggest problem facing Job Link counselors is the lack of jobs for people who don't want to leave the area. Work opportunities have long been declining in Hayfork, despite the number of people who are willing and ready to work. According to one informant, a low paying maintenance job opened at the fairgrounds this year and garnered 17 applications from young and old residents.

## Current Socioeconomic Conditions and Effects of NEAI on Community Well-Being

### Socioeconomic condition

The Trinity County labor force averaged 4,910 in 2000, with unemployment at 12.7 percent.<sup>15</sup> Most employees work in government, which employs 48 percent of the Trinity workforce. A total of three-fourths of these workers are employed by local government. Retail trade is the next largest category, with 18 percent of the workforce—most of whom work in the eating and drinking establishments, followed by services, which employs 14 percent of Trinity residents. A total of eight percent of Trinity workers are employed in manufacturing and public utilities.<sup>16</sup> The labor force in the county declined from 5,360 in 1990 (with unemployment at 12.4 percent) to 4,890 in 1999 (with unemployment at 11.5 percent, due to primary and secondary effects of mill closures and layoffs (Profile 2001). The Hayfork Sierra Pacific Industries mill closed in spring 1996 and was the largest private employer in Hayfork and Trinity County. In fact, 30 percent or more of the existing non-government payroll in Trinity County was lost when the mill closed. Hayfork felt the closure much more acutely: the town lost 80 percent of its non-governmental payroll.

As of 2000, 602 people in the County were receiving CalWORKS payments.<sup>17</sup> A five-year study (1996 to 2000) of unemployment in Trinity County shows that the County has followed the same trends as Hayfork (although actual percentages were higher in Hayfork), with a County peak in 1996 of 14.4 percent unemployment, a low point in 1999 of 11.5 percent, and a slight rise in 2000 to 12.4 percent. In contrast, state unemployment dropped from 7.2 percent in 1996 to 4.9 percent in 2000.

The three largest age groups in Hayfork in 1990 were 65 or over, people between the ages of 40 and 44, and children 0-4 and 10-14. The mill closure and its relocation to Lincoln, California, in the Central Valley, often split families, with the breadwinner being forced to follow the mill and return home on

the weekends. This social stress led to disciplinary problems in the schools, according to community members who work with students and parents.

The population of Hayfork has changed markedly since the mill closure. Retirees make up roughly 20 to 30 percent of the population now; a much larger percentage than they did in the past. These individuals may bring money to the community from elsewhere, e.g. retirement or social security income. The number of single parent households with children has also increased.

A comparison between Weaverville and Hayfork by Watershed Center researchers illuminates the degree to which Hayfork has changed relative to its neighbor city, Weaverville. Located on Highway 299, a well-traveled corridor between the Central Valley and the coast, Weaverville has retained its mill and developed a viable tourism economy.

Over the last decade, Hayfork's population declined by 290 people, while Weaverville's increased by 184. Broken down, the population decline in Hayfork included 200 children, some of whom were replaced by the 51 seniors who moved into town. In Weaverville, the population declined by 46 children, but 48 seniors arrived. While Hayfork lost just 11 households, it also lost 108 families with children. The latter indicates that households are increasingly occupied by either single parents, individuals, or couples who are not raising children. In contrast, Weaverville gained a substantial 132 households and lost just 58 families with children.

Over 30 percent of salary and wage labor employment was in the timber industry in the late 1980s and, by 1994, harvests had dropped to their lowest levels since 1949. The mill continued until 1996, but, as statistics indicate in the introduction, younger families were forced to leave to find work, the school began losing students, and free lunch participation rose. According to several citizens, volunteerism in the community dropped and morale fell

15. Employment Development Department, Labor Market Information Division, March 2001 Benchmark.

16. Employment Development Department, Labor Market Information Division (<http://www.calmis.ca.gov>).

17. <http://www.calmis.gov>

among young and old community members. “Students don’t want to come to school; some just get free lunch and go,” said one Hayfork resident. “We are losing extra-curricular activities and even college preparatory classes that the students need to be competitive.”

### **Community Capacity**

Community capacity is the collective ability of residents in a community to respond to external and internal stresses, to create and take advantage of opportunities, and to meet local needs. Community capacity consists of roughly six dimensions: (1) physical capital, which includes a community physical infrastructure (e.g., sewer systems, business parks, capital assets such as equipment, housing stock, and schools); (2) financial capital, which includes money, credit, and other financial resources available for local use; (3) human capital, which includes the skills, education, experiences, and general capabilities of residents; (4) cultural capital, the myths, beliefs, norms, and life ways that serve to organize groups and facilitate survival; (5) social capital, which includes the willingness of residents to work together toward community goals; and (6) natural capital, which includes natural assets like healthy watersheds, scenic lands, and productive forests. As the next sections demonstrate, in Hayfork, NEAI projects affected all six forms of community capacity.

#### *Physical Capital*

Before NEAI, Hayfork’s existing physical capital consisted of the mill sites, which could be re-developed for local industry, a defined main street area of the town with numerous frontage buildings—some of which held viable businesses and some of which were vacant—a functioning airstrip, two schools with multiple facilities, a centrally-located community park, the County fairgrounds, and a decent road system connecting Hayfork to major highways like 299 and 36.

Several NEAI projects improved Hayfork’s physical capital. However, some of these became divisive and led to community conflict. The new sewer system, for example, will allow for future development in the community, and addressed sanitation and en-

vironmental concerns, but some individuals do not want to destroy their existing septic systems and feel frustrated by project complications. However, support from business owners for the new treatment system remains high and many Hayfork residents believe that the new sewer system will serve the community well into the future, as it will allow for new businesses to easily access infrastructure that did not exist before the NEAI funds were available.

The beautification project attempted to improve the safety and appearance of the downtown area by instituting sidewalks, storm drains, bike lanes, and landscaping. However, some business owners in the central core area, who feared losing parking in front of their stores, felt their input was ignored. Underlying tension between old-timers and relative newcomers to the community also contributed to the lack of community buy-in on this project. Currently, Hayfork has new sidewalks, storm drains, and landscaping through two-thirds of the downtown area. Some individuals appreciate the town’s new look and increased pedestrian and bicycle safety, while others think that these are “sidewalks to nowhere.”

The Watershed Center projects enhanced the physical capital of Hayfork by purchasing innovative equipment—like the Economizer—to use at the old mill site. Watershed Center initiative and NEAI funds also built an incubator near the fairgrounds for use by emerging businesses. Supported by the Watershed Center, Hayfork Action Teams are working to develop the infrastructure to create a trail system around Hayfork. This will improve existing physical capital of the trails themselves, and make trail riding and biking in the area an organized, marketable commodity. By acquiring access to the Indian Valley Guard Station, the teams are also developing the old Forest Service buildings into an innovative, local conservation education camp.

Substantial physical capital development and improvement also remains to be done in Hayfork. Several vacant buildings line Highway 3 through town. These are examples of existing physical capital that could be utilized within the community or improved and marketed for sale. With just one hotel and one restaurant on the main street, Hayfork also lacks the amenities that might draw tourists to stay in

the area. However, there is adequate space to house hotels and restaurants in the vacant buildings that could be remodeled.

*Financial Capital*

Financial capital in Hayfork developed both within and outside of the NEAI process. Financial capital was secured through NEAI funds that helped start the Watershed Center, employ local people, and support a variety of community- and national-level projects. Through the NEAI-funded “linkages” grants, the Watershed Center received seven years of basic programmatic support that allowed their programs to begin, and allowed them to support other community-based groups, (such as the Nor Rel Muk and Hayfork Action Teams). NEAI funding also enabled the Center to conduct the research and establish the reputation necessary to receive additional funding to continue their community capacity-building, job creation, and educational activities.

*Human Capital*

Hayfork lost a significant amount of its workforce after the mill closure, decreasing the human

capital in the area. The NEAI-funded Ecosystem Technician Training Program, coordinated by the Watershed Center, enhanced local human capital by training workers in the new forestry. However, when no work was to be found, many of these trainees retired or left the area to use their newly acquired skills elsewhere. Those who remain employed in Hayfork possess highly specialized skills—such as tree climbing, electrical skills, computer skills, knowledge of specialized equipment, or professional woodworking abilities. Remaining workers must also be able to do a range of work well, and to work variable jobs and hours year round. The influx of retirees since the 1970s has also brought a substantial amount of human capital into the area, as many individuals have arrived who are knowledgeable, possess a range of diverse skills, and are willing to participate in and support community efforts.

Those trained in the Watershed Center program and remaining timber workers who have been able to “get by” over the years, as well as young people looking to stay in Hayfork, compile a diversely skilled workforce. Those with high levels of skill in grant writing, administration, community organizing,



The Nor Rel Muk tribal office

and networking (i.e. Watershed Center, Community Center, and Healthy Start staff) are working to stimulate the local economy through local, regional, and national-level collaborations.

In summary, Hayfork's human capital has gone through a variety of natural transitions and fluctuations over the years, was substantially drawn down by the mill closure, and is being built by and has increased through WRTC work, community services like JobLink, and retirees willing to participate in community efforts.

### *Cultural Capital*

A strong thread of cultural capital underlies Hayfork's efforts to pull through the timber recession, mill closure, and ongoing transition to a more diversified economic base. The comment "this village takes care of its own," from a local business owner and Healthy Start participant, reflects the commitment to local self-sufficiency, cooperation, and mutual support that characterizes Hayfork. Rooted in a strong sense of place and a strong attachment to developing sustainable livelihoods that enable families to remain in the area, Hayfork residents have been able to take advantage of grants through the NEAI and programs like Healthy Start. Driven by a sense of community responsibility, community members have used these grants to expand and strengthen various forms of cultural capital.

Even Hayfork residents who disparage reliance on government funds, do so because they believe that the community can take care of itself. This belief in local initiative, also due to the lack of government in the area, has helped keep Hayfork alive over the years and has helped community members to work together to help their community in the face of economic and social recession.

Aside from the existing cultural capital in Hayfork, the NEAI has helped to increase local cultural capital by awarding grants to the Nor Rel Muk. NEAI funds have helped the tribe in its efforts to strengthen group identity and social cohesion by establishing an office, which became a meeting place and a location where tribal documents and other common property may be stored. These efforts are in tandem with other developments, such as on-going work to gain federal

recognition, codify tribal ecological knowledge, and create alliances with other northern California Native American groups.

### *Social Capital*

The Hayfork community is a diverse assemblage of different groups. It includes "back to the landers," retirees, urban refugees, adults who grew up in Hayfork and returned to work and raise their families, woods workers—retired and active, and low-income families that rely on county support. These groups largely get along well with one another in social efforts and there is a strong sense of community and working to "make Hayfork better" among old timers and new comers alike. However, differences, prejudices, and misperceptions remain between the multiple sectors of the population. A large segment of the population works together energetically to bring services and improvements to the rest of the community. These individuals are involved with the schools, the Community Center, the Healthy Start program, the churches, Little League, Rotary, HATS, the Chamber of Commerce, the fairgrounds, the Watershed Center, and various community charitable funds. This diverse category of people brings funding and recognition to efforts in the area.

Amongst some segments of the community, NEAI has helped to increase and strengthen social capital. The various "soft infrastructure" grants the Watershed Center received helped strengthen the social capital of the community insofar as they enabled the Center to support other community-based organizations that eventually have become independent and self-sustaining. Collaborative efforts, such as those represented by the Trinity Bioregion Group, in which diverse stakeholders were able to come together and identify common ground, are also part of building social capital. NEAI projects, such as support for the Watershed Center, have helped strengthen the community's capacity to identify issues of common concern and develop strategies for addressing them.

### *Natural Capital*

The hills and mountains surrounding Hayfork have a natural and rugged appeal, but many outdoor

recreationists overlook the Hayfork area in favor of destinations deemed more “spectacular.” However, Hayfork Creek and the South Fork of the Trinity River lend the area a riverine attractiveness that draws water, adventure, and bird enthusiasts.

Since the Hayfork area was not utilized by timber harvesters in earnest until the late 1920s and early 1930s—much later than many, more accessible areas of the Sierras—the cutting that took place is still very apparent on the landscape. Plantations, stands of young second or third-growth trees, and clear cuts create visible reminders of the land’s industrial timber history. In addition, hydraulic and other forms of mining that took place before logging commenced have left visible rock washes and changed the structure of the creeks. This evidence of heavy use makes it difficult to market Hayfork as a tourist destination. “We were never cute, we were timber and mining,” said the Watershed Center Executive Director.

However, one thing Hayfork residents have that many remote destinations lack, is the potential to develop a working landscape. A working landscape is an area that those with the skills and the knowledge—ecosystem technicians—can use as a living laboratory. The lands surrounding Hayfork require thinning and fuels treatment and they are mostly under Forest Service jurisdiction. Once questions of access and ecological effects are resolved, there is large scope for developing ecosystem management-based employment. The value of Hayfork’s natural capital lies not only in the natural beauty of the rivers, forests, and creeks, but also in the fact that it can foster and sustain the region’s human, social, and cultural capital.

### **Worker Effects**

When the NEAI monies came to Hayfork, they dovetailed with local on-going efforts to prepare for the mill closure. Watershed Center coordinators and other community activists envisioned establishing a new type of economy based on the ecosystem management that the Forest Service said it would be implementing on federal lands. Activists hoped that if they could re-train workers and establish new job opportunities fast enough, in cooperation with the Forest Service, they could keep the former mill workers and timber families in town after the Sierra Pacific Industries mill closed. Unfortunately, a combination of the Forest Service not being able to provide the work they had initially thought would be available and the ability of some workers to transfer to the new mill in Lincoln, California with paid relocation fees, led to an outflow of many of the former mill workers and their families. As in other NEAI communities, after the mill closed, some of the people who could get work elsewhere left town.

Aware of some of the Watershed Center’s activities with value-added processing, some workers who initially migrated to Lincoln returned to Hayfork to work with the Center. Through long-term economic development projects proposed by the Hayfork Action Teams, the Community Center, and other local entities, and forest-related sector development through the Watershed Center, the NEAI monies stand to benefit the next generation of forest workers in the Hayfork area. However, the original mill workers themselves were largely not served because of the time it has and continues to take to re-start Hayfork’s economic engine and provide local jobs that can replace the old timber employment.

## **Patterns and Themes**

### **A disconnection between the Northwest Forest Plan and the NEAI**

The Northwest Forest Plan sought to create a new stewardship-based, natural resource management regime. Its socioeconomic companion, the NEAI, attempted to offset the affects of declining timber industry employment levels by providing funding for

communities to diversify away from exclusive timber and woods products industry dependence.

Unemployment and poverty data show that even in the “timber years” of the 1980s, poverty remained significant. As such, the Forest Plan had the potential to reform entrenched problems in resource management, such as why natural and financial capital are

allowed to flow out of resource dependent areas, even when work is available. According to Watershed Center research, when the Forest Plan effectively closed public lands, private land values increased but local workers were still not getting the work—on private or public lands. Despite the amount of work that needed to be done on the Shasta-Trinity National Forest, and the presence of a trained labor force, the Forest Service continued contracting large projects with sizeable, out-of-area outfits. “Overcoming the barriers to delivering work to the local workforce was not in the transitional plan,” said the Watershed Center Director.

Since delivering Forest Service work to the local workforce did not materialize on the Hayfork Adaptive Management Area or in the Forest Plan, the purpose of economic stabilization inherent in the NEAI was effectively split from the thinning, restoring, surveying, and stabilizing of the forest essential to the implementation of the Forest Plan and to restoring forest health.

Additionally, the implementation of the Forest Plan, including Adaptive Management Areas and the NEAI, required bureaucratic innovation and flexibility that the Forest Service has struggled to provide. While the AMAs called for experimentation and innovation, the agency is a large bureaucratic body that moves slowly and, in the eyes of one local critic, “doesn’t promote people for taking risks, but for toeing the line or taking only small risks.” Local Forest Service officials have also been disappointed at the disconnection between the ideals of the AMAs and the NWFP and the NEAI, but face daunting legal and institutional barriers that bar innovation.

### **Access to Forest Service Land**

In order to stimulate the local economy around woods work, the Watershed Center is experimenting with the feasibility of small diameter processing and value-added activities in Hayfork. Work generated through these projects and value-added products made by Jefferson State Forest Products have helped the community, but the long-term effects remain to be seen. A big question is whether or not locally pro-

cessed, sustainably harvested small diameter products can be marketable. Obtaining the wood from Forest Service land remains a concern. According to the local SCEDD representative, “until products become available at a feasible price, we can’t compete.”

Since the Forest Service and, to a lesser extent, the Bureau of Land Management, dominates land ownership in Trinity County, any large scale economic restructuring that includes the local land base depends upon a Forest Service partnership. Most locals believe that a new type of work on the land is needed to bring Hayfork out of an economic depression. Access to Forest Service land includes, but is not limited to, timber sales and service contracts; Hayfork Action Team members, the RC & D, and Watershed Center personnel also struggled to access the Indian Valley Guard Station for the conservation education camp.

### **Contracting Procedures Remain a Barrier**

To create new models of land management in response to increasing public concern, and to heal a degraded land base, the Watershed Center instituted a training program to re-train local woods workers in ecosystem management—managing for a range of values—with work including restoration and forest thinning for fire protection and forest health. When the Watershed Center was beginning the training program, they asked the Forest Service what type of work the agency would be paying to have done on the forest. Although the Forest Service initially responded with a list of ecosystem management skills, the agency has been unable to supply contracts for local workers on the local forest. Work that is put out for contract is either appealed by environmental groups, or packaged in large parcels (notably, Indefinite Quantity contracts or IDQs) geared towards large companies of workers.

Local Forest Service officials argue that they are bound by extensive federal requirements, making it necessary for each sale to generate enough revenue to cover the costs of planning and of meeting National Environmental Policy Act requirements.<sup>18</sup> The price of designing multiple small contracts for a thin-

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18. See Hayfork Adaptive Management Area section for a description of survey and manage requirements.

ning or brushing project that results in biomass or small diameter timber is more expensive than the return on the product. Forest Service officials also feel that local workers are bidding too high, while large firms bid far lower and can still get the work done. In addition, when the Forest Service puts out large contracts, local contractors don't bid because—according to Forest Service personnel—they lack the capital or the capacity to take on a \$25,000 to \$100,000 year-round project.

Local residents are frustrated that, even on the AMA, these barriers cannot be overcome. Currently, acres of un-thinned Forest Service plantations clog the hillsides of Trinity County. “It almost seems as if the Forest Service is letting a train wreck take place as risks to the ecosystem build up,” said one retired Forest Service employee. According to this individual, the Forest Service timber management program has relied on migrant crews under large companies for the past 40 years because of their low rate per acre. “We know what it costs—paying service contract wage rates—to do certain work,” he said. “People bid half of that and we know they are paying their workers too little or not doing a good job.” Local contractors feel that if the Forest Service were held accountable to paying fair wages, workers would not be pitted against workers, and local bids would not seem too high.

### **Social change occurred after the mill closure**

The individuals involved in the mobilization efforts following the mill closure—with the Hayfork Action Teams, the Watershed Center, and Healthy Start—remarked that they were dealing with a “different community” than when they started. The lack of dependable, local work drove many young families from town. Demographically, 600 people under the age of 44 left, including 102 families. Over the same period, 300 people over the age of 55 arrived. Hayfork also now has a substantially larger percentage of low-income single mothers and retirees. “Families losing logging income can't wait five years while the local economy figures out what its identity should be,” said the local District Ranger.

This change has influenced the economy and the schools, in addition to the entire social structure

of the community. Work remains at a premium and, while some retirees are very involved in economic restructuring, others keep to themselves. Teachers are meeting in Hayfork every three weeks to try to come up with ways to teach their “new” population of kids. “We are trying to raise their motivation,” said one local activist. Poverty rates in the local elementary and high schools went from 50 percent to 80 percent within the five years following the mill closure. Teaching, according to the Watershed Center Director, must respond accordingly by relating lessons to the children's experiences as poverty survivors and drawing on the strengths that evolve from such experiences.

In addition, as Hayfork community members and Trinity County politicians endeavor to rebuild the local economy, they must ask—‘who is the population we are creating work for?’ and ‘what are their skills?’ The answers to these questions have changed since the initial mill closure. The Watershed Center, for example, has reacted by focusing on developing opportunities for local youth, such as the conservation education camp.

### **The types of projects undertaken in Hayfork progressed through several stages**

NEAI and other funding to Hayfork went through a progression that is traceable through grant applications. The support began with basic capacity-building funds to start the Watershed Center, support the Hayfork Action Teams, and create an action plan. This helped local residents to work together, formulate plans, and build their own skills and ideas—raising the level of social and human capital necessary for the community to plan and strategically develop other forms of community capacity. Subsequent funds focused on infrastructure projects that increased physical capital, such as the sewer system, the purchase of the Economizer, and the construction of the Van Duzen building for use by High Mountain Herbs. These projects provided the opportunity for using the various forms of human and social capital that earlier grants had supported. From this base of human and social capital and strategic infrastructural development emerged another generation of funding focused on growing businesses and

creating lasting economic opportunities. This is exemplified by the Hayfork incubator.

Apart from the limitations posed by the lack of access to surrounding forest lands, this staged development of different community capitals, instituted in part through CERT-established conversations between the various federal agencies that were part of the NEAI process, has seemed to work well for Hayfork. A key point is that capacity-building was funded and allowed to develop before and during the consideration and funding of infrastructure or incubation-type projects.

### **Capacity was developed but economic troubles persist**

Hayfork's social, physical, and financial capital were developed with NEAI funds and the community also possessed a high existing degree of social and cultural capital that allowed mobilization around specific causes and internal community collaboration. Although Hayfork went through the progression delineated in the vision for community recovery of the Northwest Forest Plan and the NEAI, the community still faces daunting problems. "We did everything we were told to do," said the Watershed Center Executive Director, yet the community is still in dire socioeconomic straits.

Some community members blame Hayfork's lack of recovery on lack of access to Forest Service lands, while others focus on the need for local entrepreneurs to "rebuild Hayfork from the inside out." Others look further back to long-term trends in forest management, citing the paradigm governing resource use itself as the cause for Hayfork's reduced capacity and the debased ecological condition of the forest. "If we'd had the right vision in 1960, we could have had a timber economy here forever—if we were careful and sustained," said one local resident. In any of the above cases, it remains clear that, although the community followed the CERT-delineated prescription for recovery, recovery did not fully occur. This indicates that, for a remote community that is historically both economically and culturally tied to natural resource work, "rebounding" from an eco-

economic transition away from natural resources is more complex and multi-layered—requiring a re-thinking of how locals can be involved in forest management, and a deliberate, holistic effort to create work that is sustainable for the landscape, the economy, and the human community.

### **Supporting natural capital has the potential to increase human, social, and cultural capital**

There is a strong culture among Hayfork residents of working the land—as farmers, miners, fishers, or woods workers, and the land around Hayfork continues to be a working landscape. Encouraging restoration projects on the land base can help to maintain the local culture around natural resource stewardship and keep Hayfork from becoming just a tourism-based service economy. While the relationship between natural capital and community capacity is a core element of the community's identity, as discussed elsewhere in this case study, NEAI projects have struggled to realize that relationship on the ground.

### **Alternatives exist in Hayfork now that were not there before**

While Hayfork continues to rebuild, resources have become available that were previously non-existent and plans are on the table that would have been unheard of a few years before. The conservation education camp, Jefferson State Wood Products, the Hayfork Basin Trail System, the local Job Link office, and Mountain Valley Eldercare are examples of the new facilities and plans that stand to positively affect the community socially, economically, and financially.

Hayfork has gone through a ground-shaking transition in the last 10 years. The community has diversified socially and economically and continues to do so. Existing social capital initially started the process with the Healthy Start grant, and continued to grow through NEAI funds. Today, Hayfork has lost several businesses, also gained a few, and achieved national recognition for its local efforts and challenges.

## Conclusions

Because of its need, its close proximity to national forests, and its lack of a feasible tourism economy, Hayfork has become a poster child for the NEAI. As a testimony to its forest dependence, conditions radically changed in Hayfork after the mill closure. The degree of poverty and out-migration was perhaps one of the worst examples of what happens to a timber town with mill mechanization, increased global competition, and the implementation of the Northwest Forest Plan. Because of its existing community capacity, NEAI opportunities, and support from CERT members, the Hayfork community was able to access a variety and an abundance of grant funds. However, funding and organizing have not yet been enough to “put the town back together.” The ingredients to rebuilding the economy—building community capacity, physical infrastructure, and then progressing towards incubating businesses—require two other

additions: time, and collaboration and support from federal agencies, policy makers, interest groups, and other communities.

As of yet, just over a decade has passed since initial mobilization began within the community to diversify Hayfork. More time may be needed to see the efforts to economically rebuild translate into local jobs and economic vitality. Time and restoration work are needed for the forest to grow and to heal. Commitment must flow from the agencies to support restoration work, which does not—at this point—pay for itself. Without agency collaboration, projects like the Watershed Center’s Ecosystem Technician Training Program cannot be successful. In order for communities like Hayfork—remote and resource-dependent—to be successful, agencies must be involved in and committed to the process, supporting local efforts at the national, regional, and local levels.

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### Interviewees

Anna Arnold	Planning Officer, US Forest Service, Hayfork
Sally Aldinger	Community member
Joyce Anderson	District Ranger, US Forest Service, Weaverville
Kenneth Baldwin	Independent forester
Joseph and Susan Bower	Bioregion group members
Charles and Maryls Bramlet	Longtime woods workers
Laird Crandall	Executive Director, Trinity Occupational Training
Hersh Dunaetz	Business owner
Scott Eberly	Project Coordinator, Trinity RC & D Council
James French	Superintendent of Schools, Trinity County
Larry and Diane Glass	Business owners, long-time residents
Craig Hair, Jr.	District 1 Manager, Trinity County Waterworks
Donna Harmon	District Ranger, US Forest Service, Hayfork
Duane Heryford	Economic Development Specialist, SCEDD
Roger Jaegel	Director, Ecosystem Management Technician Training Program, Watershed Center
Lynn Jungwirth	Executive Director, Watershed Center
Rhonda (Sam) Karas	Career Assistant, Trinity Occupational Training
Monique Lepine	Accountant, Jefferson State Forest Products
Duane Lyon	Rural Community Assistance Program Manager, Shasta-Trinity National Forest
Ralph Modine	Trinity County Supervisor, District 3
Bob and Jan Mountjoy	Hayfork Action Teams
Lowell Norgaar	Longtime resident
Raymond Patton	Nor Rel Muk Tribal Chairman
Mayme Patton	Hayfork High School Secretary
John Porritt	Longtime woods worker
Jan Raffety	Parent-Community Coordinator for Mountain Valley Unified School District
Robert Reiss	Trinity County Supervisor, District 5
Wendy Reiss	Community Center Coordinator
Laurie Roan	Office Manager, Watershed Center
“Hippie Chuck” Sauer	Resident, miner
Jim Spear	District Conservationist, NRCS
Phil Towle	GIS Center Co-Director
Arnold Whitridge	Former County Supervisor
Greg Wilson	Designer, Jefferson State Forest Products
Linda Wright	Director, Trinity County Health and Human Services

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