

Darrington, Snohomish County, Washington

Conducted by William Kay

NEAI Projects*

Year	Applicant	Project	Funding Source**	Amount
1995	Town of Darrington	Public Restrooms	USFS-CAG	\$95,000
1996		Airport Parking/Information Center	Not available	\$60,000
1999		Sewer Project	RDA USFS-CAG	\$100,000
1996	Deaconess Children's Center	Community Garden	Not available	\$23,089
1997	Kid's Place Learning Center	Operating Expenses	USFS-CAG	\$12,000
1998		Facility construction	USFS-CAG	\$40,000
1995	Snohomish County Private Industry Council	Job Training Partnership Act	EDA	\$ 93,000
1995		Entrepreneurial Loan Program Start-Up	USFS-CAG	\$ 32,000
1995		Rural Enterprise Loan Fund***	Not available	\$1,500,000★
1996		Entrepreneurial Loan Program Start-Up	Not available	\$ 10,000
1997		Technical Assistance for Loans	USDS-RD, RBEG	\$ 28,000★
1999		DHW Distribution System	USDS-RD, RBEG	\$188,660
1997	DownHome Washington (DHW)	DHW Distribution System	USFS-CAG	\$ 57,000★

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

** Key to funding sources: USFS-CAG = U.S. Forest Service-Community Assistance Grant, RDA = Rural Development Assistance, EDA = Economic Development Administration, RBEG = Rural Business Enterprise Grant.

*** Award amount is a loan.

★ Not awarded as a result of the SCERT process.

Background

Geographic Setting

Darrington is located in Snohomish County, Washington, 30 miles east of Interstate 5 on State Road 530. It is located 46 miles from Everett, the county seat, and 80 miles northeast of Seattle. From Darrington, State Road 530 continues north to connect with Route 20, a heavily traveled route from Interstate 5 to the North Cascades National Park and destinations in eastern Washington. One square mile in size, Darrington is situated in narrow river valleys,

formed by the Sauk River to the east and the Stillgumish River to the north, and is bordered to the south by the 6,852-foot glacier-capped Whitehorse Mountain.

Historical Setting

The original inhabitants of the area were the Sauk-Suiattle, members of the Upper Skagit tribe. The Sauk-Suiattle subsisted primarily on fish, bounty harvested from the land, and agriculture. Their land

Darrington, Snohomish County, Washington

base steadily eroded after their participation in the Treaty of Point Elliot in 1855. Subsequently, white settlement, mineral extraction, and timber and fish harvests have drastically altered the landscape that sustained the Sauk-Suiattle. The Sauk-Suiattle now inhabit a small reservation just north of Darrington on State Road 530.

The first white men passed through the area in 1870 as they surveyed for a railroad route through the Northern Cascades. The search for gold and other valuable minerals brought the first settlers. In 1889, valuable minerals were found at Monte Cristo, 30 miles southeast of Darrington. Hundreds of claims were filed and the area quickly grew on the aspirations of miners who were active on the mountainsides in the region. It was the mining operation at Monte Cristo, however, that led to the development of a rail line and hastened Darrington's development from a supply station for miners into a town.

The first settlers built homes in the area in 1890. Within a year, the area's 65 settlers applied to the government for a post office, adopting Darrington as the community's name. The miners never realized their visions of riches and as venture capital failed to produce new wealth, mining operations diminished. With its railroad infrastructure under construction, the newly formed town turned its attention quickly to the other resource found in abundance in the area: timber. When the rail line from Darrington to the Puget Sound was completed in 1901, the first mill equipment was brought to town. Timber has remained a central force in Darrington's evolution ever since.

The United States Forest Service (Forest Service) manages forestlands that extend 140 miles from north of Mt. Rainier to the Canadian border. Mt. Baker – Snoqualmie National Forest, set aside in 1897 by President Grover Cleveland, covers portions of Whatcom, Skagit, Snohomish, King, and Pierce Counties and contains over 55 percent of Washington's population. The forest includes the Mt. Baker Wilderness area (42 percent of the forest area), the Skagit Wild and Scenic River system, and a host of recreational activities including downhill ski areas, over 1,500 miles of hiking trails, fishing, hunting, and river rafting. Nineteen federally recognized tribes rely on the forest for sustenance.

Since 1914, the District Ranger Headquarters of the Snoqualmie National Forest have been located in or near Darrington. The Ranger District's first timber sale was nearly eight million board feet of fir, hemlock, and cedar. In the early 1920s, the Forest Service announced the sale of timber on nearly 6,000 acres that included 200 million board feet of Douglas fir, silver fir, cedar, and hemlock. The sale, combined with adjacent private land-holdings comprising an additional 400 million board feet, brought an Everett-based group, Sauk River Lumber Co., to the area. Employment in logging operations grew quickly, with people living in logging camps, in Darrington, and scattered throughout the surrounding area. Sauk River Lumber Company's operation launched the area's timber industry that would include shingle, plywood, and dimensional lumber mills.

Initially, trees were cut and the logs were transported out of the Northern Cascades by train, bound for mills in the industrial Puget Sound area. During the depression, a small number of Darrington residents supplemented their incomes by taking small logging jobs or hauling and selling downed timber left behind by the locally operated Sauk and Sound timber companies. In the 1930s and 1940s, this small cadre of independent logging operations—gyppos, as they are known—grew, using trucks to haul timber out of the forest and to markets. The gyppos success through the 1950s and 1960s represented a significant change from the traditional railroad logging that predominated in forestry.

Through a series of partnerships and buyouts, one gyppo operation, Jones and Anderson, that provided logs to the local mills, eventually grew into Summit Timber. Summit Timber emerged as the dominant mill in Darrington and area gyppos sold their logs to Summit. In the early 1970s, Summit bought out most of the area's gyppos to form G & D Logging. Subsequent changes in log supply and the economy drove many other gyppos out of business. One resident said, "Darrington went from a community with 20 gyppos, to a half-dozen in the 1980s, to four in 2001."

Summit Timber was not immune to changes in the industry. Over the past 10 years, as log supply and prices varied, employment at Summit Timber dwindled. In 1995, Summit curtailed their logging

Darrington, Snohomish County, Washington

division (G&D), cutting roughly 150 positions. In 2000, they cut an additional 75 positions.

Demographics and Economic Conditions

Until 1990, Darrington's population was growing as fast or faster than Snohomish County and Washington State. Several people attributed Darrington's growth to the low cost of property and the beauty of the area. Retirees, young families from more urban areas of the Puget Sound, and welfare recipients typify immigrants to the area. "It is relatively affordable

and attractive to people at both ends of the economic spectrum," said one county employee familiar with the area. Welfare recipients moved to the area, where they believe the cost of living is lower, to reduce their cost of living in anticipation of losing welfare benefits, while younger families move to the area for a change of pace. One resident observed, "The younger people who choose to live here—30 to 40 year-olds—are urban refugees wanting to raise families in a little more secure family oriented place. They often are trading the Interstate 5 commute for the Route 530 commute."

Table 1: Population Growth in State, County and Community

Year	1970	1980	1990	2000	Change 1970 – 80	Change 1980 – 90	Change 1990 – 00
Darrington	584	743	1,042	1,280	27.3%	40.2%	22.8%
Snohomish Co.	265,236	337,720	465,628	593,500	27.3%	37.9%	27.5%
Washington	3,413,250	4,132,353	4,866,663	5,803,400	21.1%	17.8%	19.2%

Source: US Census 1990 and 2000.

Table 2: Median Household Income

	1990	1995	2000
Darrington	\$ 21,691	--	\$ 32,813
Snohomish Co.	\$ 38,857	\$ 44,964	\$ 53,060
Washington	\$ 33,461	\$ 38,707	\$ 50,152

Source: Department of Housing and Urban Development and US Census.

Housing and Urban Development data from 1989 indicate less than six percent of all families in Snohomish County were living in poverty. However, in 1990, the median household income in Darrington was \$21,691, nearly half that of Snohomish County (Table 2).

In 1990, there were 400 persons 16 years and older in the workforce. More than a third were women. Less than 40 percent of the female population

is in the workforce, while more than 60 percent of the male population is in the workforce.

The primary driver of the local economy is the wood products industry. The local industry includes logging, dimensional lumber, and a truss manufacturer. The area's largest employers are Summit Timber Company, Darrington School District, and the Forest Service. Recreation (tourism) is an important, albeit small, contributor to the local economy. There are a

Table 3: Major Employers in Darrington

Employer	Industry	1990	2001
Summit Timber Company	Wood products	400	200
G & D Company	Logging and hauling	140	0
Darrington School District	Education	60	102
Darrington Ranger District	USFS	46 100*	33 8*
Reece Logging	Logging	25	25

* Seasonal positions
Source: 1991 Darrington Community Profile

number of small retail and service businesses as well as cottage industries; a 1995 local resource directory included listings for 112 local businesses. Despite the steady decline of the wood products industry, Darrington has not diversified and the local economy remains dependent on a local workforce employed in the timber industry.

Community Development Efforts Prior to the NEAI

Darrington incorporated in 1945 and is governed by a mayor-council form of government. The mayor and two city council members are elected at one time, two other council members are elected two years later. The functions of the city are limited to the police, street, and budget, and critical services like the administration of zoning. Staff for the city includes a clerk/treasurer, a part-time deputy clerk, and maintenance workers.

Addressing community development issues, such as those the community faced throughout the 1990s, are beyond the city government’s capacity. Historically, Darrington’s private sector has been able to marshal the resources necessary to forward community development. In the early 1990s, the primary mechanisms for addressing economic development were through the Snohomish County Economic Development Council (SCEDC), local chamber of commerce, or merchant’s association, and civic volunteerism.

Political, economic, social, and environmental conditions that buttressed the timber industry supporting gyppos and community-wide prosperity began

to shift in the 1970s. For a variety of reasons, including a nationwide recession, change accelerated through the 1980s. By 1994, when the Initiative began, the local economy was severely deteriorated and the community was working hard to find a solution.

Beginning in 1989, responding to the decline of the timber industry, the Darrington Chamber of Commerce’s Development Committee created a 20-year vision for the community. The committee, realizing that the community was heavily dependent on the timber industry, drafted a vision that included strategies for diversifying the economy. The Darrington City Council adopted the vision and subsequently formed the Economic Advisory Committee to build on the Chamber’s work. The three-member committee was charged with assisting the council in developing strategies for diversifying the economy.

The community’s enthusiasm for developing a plan caught the attention of a state agent, who then helped the community acquire funding to support their efforts. The Washington Department of Community Development (WDCD) put together a funding package and the County administered funds to support the public meetings and the subsequent pursuit of goals. Part of these funds was used to acquire a Washington Employment Security Department employee on a part time basis. Kathy Kirkvliet, the Employment Security employee, spent nearly three years in Darrington staffing meetings and working with the committee to produce the Darrington Community Profile that included information about city services, community facili-

Darrington, Snohomish County, Washington

ties, demographics, economy, education, housing, labor, and the like.

Working with a group of community members, the Economic Advisory Committee created the Strategic Plan for Economic Diversification. Completed in 1991, this plan recommended that the city build a sewer facility, undertake industrial development, upgrade the airport, build a community park/rest area, implement other improvements to encourage tourism, identify markets for locally manufactured arts and crafts, and establish a licensed daycare facility.

Before the Washington Department of Community Development or other agencies would fund projects from the strategic plan, they wanted assurances that the 20-year vision was compatible with the community's strengths and weaknesses. WDCD paid for consultants to complete a Strength, Weakness, Opportunities, and Threats (SWOT) analysis to serve as the basis for developing realistic community-based development strategies to stabilize and diversify the local economy. The SWOT analysis was completed in 1991. The SWOT analysis stressed the importance of retirees' transfer payments, which play a significant role in the local economy. The analysis confirmed the Economic Advisory Committee's conclusion that a diversified economy was necessary. The SWOT identified lack of consensus and "fear-based" decision-making as Darrington's two key weaknesses. One county employee said,

The analysis threw into sharp relief the continuing tension between folks who want no change and some locals and recent immigrants who see the need for change. The latter group saw the need to promote tourism and supported attempts to bring in a sewer. The glaring result of the analysis was the need for the sewer. The leave-it-alone camp did not see the sewer as an asset, and that tension is still playing itself out.

Nearly all of Darrington's residents made similar statements about the factious nature of the community and its roots in the local culture of independence and self-determination.

Subsequent to the completion of the SWOT, a developer approached the town expressing an interest in developing a parcel for industrial uses. Because property data that would have allowed the developer and the community to work from a common and shared knowledge base was non-existent, they contacted Snohomish County Economic Development Council for assistance. The Snohomish County Economic Development Council received a Community Economic Revitalization Board (CERB) grant to conduct an industrial park feasibility study to determine what industries in Snohomish County could locate in Darrington.

The Industrial Park Feasibility Report, completed in 1993, found that industrial park development is "feasible and worth the effort and expense." It included recommendations for an incubator and specified three parcels for consideration. The report stressed the opportunities the airport provided as an industrial park site and encouraged the community to recognize it as an asset. The report went on to identify "minimum infrastructure requirements," including water, sewer, and power. A sewer was seen as "vital," and recognizing the need for grants as well as loans, Snohomish County Economic Development Council outlined strategies to leverage the funds necessary to build a sewer system.

Simultaneous with the efforts in Darrington, Snohomish County was working to address the effects of the downturn in the wood products industry. Starting in 1991, Snohomish County received Timber Flexible Mitigation Funds through the Washington State Department of Social and Health Services to address communities affected by the reduction of harvestable timber. The Snohomish County Department of Human Services was responsible for convening the Timber Resource Council and the administration of Timber Flexible Mitigation Funds. As a citizens' advisory council, the Timber Resource Council met annually to make recommendations for the allocation of the County's Timber Flexible Mitigation Fund. The council, 51 percent citizens, included a Darrington businessman, a community activist from Darrington (and a Forest Service employee), representatives from the Snohomish County Economic Development Council, Private Industry Council, the Everett Community College, and other community service

Darrington, Snohomish County, Washington

organizations from the rural eastern portions of Snohomish County. The remaining members included representatives from county government, Washington State Employment Security, Washington State Department of Social and Health Services, the Office of the Governor, and Congressman Jack Metcalf's office.

Timber Flexible Mitigation Fund allocations supported a variety of support services to families and workers, including but not limited to child-care, emergency services, and operational costs for family support centers in Darrington and Sultan. In Darrington, the Family Support Center, the Kid's Place Learning Center, and Volunteers of America, a charity dealing with energy and rental assistance (administered through the Family Support Center) received Timber Flexible Mitigation Funds.

Key Issues

- Darrington has been reliant on the timber industry. Through the 1990s, Summit Timber divested of their logging division, cutting 140 positions. Subsequently, three local logging companies expanded to provide Summit with 90 percent of their logs. The shift to private contractors meant that loggers' salaries fell and benefits were lost. Some loggers shifted to seasonal work in Idaho, Oregon, or Alaska, while

many others moved on to new careers. With 50 to 60 percent of Summit's workforce living in Darrington, the effects on the community have been intense and new employment opportunities were needed.

- Significant personal wealth generated through logging and manufacturing meant that Darrington could provide for itself, strongly reinforcing cultural myths of independence and self-determination. The community's heyday in the 1950s and 60s provided fuel for several decades of civic engagement and pride in the community. Groups like the High Lead Logging Association used its resources to provide for the community's needs, sponsoring scholarships and sporting activities. The decline of the local economy resulted in a significant decline in Darrington's ability to address social and economic issues.
- Planning efforts in the early 1990s resulted in several documents outlining the community's vision, strategies to achieve the vision, as well as information about community conditions and needs. Together,



Downtown Darrington with Whitehorse Mountain in the background

these efforts built a foundation for project planning and implementation. However, these planning efforts also “threw into sharp relief” a split in the community regarding what the community should do to address community development. The split hindered development efforts in the year leading into the Initiative. As well, the two

local bodies responsible for implementing the plan, the city and the Economic Advisory Committee, were at odds with each other. By early 1995, the committee was disenfranchised, its activities ended, and the city remained as the only body empowered to pursue broad-based development efforts.

NEAI Projects and Programs

Community Economic Revitalization Team

The Snohomish County government was mandated by the state to establish priorities for proposals for communities within their jurisdiction. Despite its responsibilities, the County was unaware of the State Community Economic Revitalization Team (SCERT) process when the Northwest Economic Adjustment Initiative began in 1994. In 1995, the responsibility for facilitating the SCERT process in Snohomish County fell to the Department of Human Services. The SCERT process entailed collecting pre-applications from eligible applicants; ranking the pre-applications to establish funding priority; and submitting the list of priorities and pre-applications to WA-CERT.

Because the Timber Resource Council was familiar with the communities eligible for NEAI funds, they reviewed and prioritized projects. Renee Peare, who was responsible for convening the Timber Resource Council, then prepared a motion that included the prioritized list of projects for the Snohomish County Council’s approval for submission to WA-CERT. The Timber Resource Council’s involvement in the SCERT process was minimal. Once the motion was submitted to WA-CERT, its involvement was over until the next year when they collected pre-applications, created a prioritized list of projects, and submitted the list to WA-CERT again. The council and the county’s SCERT process administrator had no other role in the WA-CERT process. According to one person familiar with the process, once pre-applications were received by WA-CERT, participating agencies took responsibility to follow-up with potential applicants. An agency per-

son—a scoper—was then assigned to review projects and assist communities with preparing full applications for funding.

In Darrington, the Economic Development Committee used strategic plan goals to establish and prioritize the list of projects. The committee submitted the list for approval by the town council. The city clerk then prepared project pre-applications to submit to the county. The city council approved the committee’s list and submitted the pre-applications to the county. Local or regional non-profit organizations also submitted pre-applications directly to the county for prioritization. The county, in turn, submitted the prioritized project list to WA-CERT, and scopers worked directly with the city or the non-profit entities to facilitate the application process. In Darrington’s case, the Forest Service scoper provided the most direct assistance to the community.

Projects

Public Restrooms

Darrington received \$76,000 from the Forest Service to construct public restrooms in a park maintained by the city. According to the WA-CERT pre-application, public restrooms were a high-priority identified in the 1991 strategic plan regarding economic diversification. They were seen as a way to provide infrastructure for tourists, to lure them into stopping in the community. Funds for the public restrooms were allocated prior to the establishment of WA-CERT and were awarded in 1995 after the city acquired a five-acre property between the two business districts and accepted maintenance responsibility for the facilities.



Public restrooms in a park maintained by the city

The park is frequently used for local fundraisers, socials, sports, and other events, and the restroom facilities are heavily used when they are open. One local businessman added that he sends groups to the public restrooms, because he has limited septic system capacity. Despite providing a benefit to the community, the restrooms have not had the desired effect of “capturing” visitors. The restrooms have not had any direct influence on the development of the local tourism industry, but because of their use, they are, in a resident’s words, a “great asset.”

Kid’s Place Learning Center

Kid’s Place accessed two grants through WACERT; it submitted a pre-application requesting \$12,000 to cover operating expenses and a pre-application requesting \$50,000 toward the \$240,000 cost of construction for its childcare facility. The need for licensed childcare was identified in the Strategic Economic Development Plan. Because the facility was not a funding priority for the city, Kid’s Place, a non-profit, submitted its pre-application directly to Snohomish County.

Kid’s Place was started by a group of Forest Service employees in the early 1990s. The employees needed daycare, and the Forest Service helped them conduct a needs assessment. When they were unable to show enough demand within the agency, they decided to include the community in the effort. The Forest Service employees formed a board and started a non-profit organization and immediately began looking for funds. Kid’s Place opened in 1993 with \$20,000 from the Forest Service and a \$56,000 Community Development Block Grant awarded by the Snohomish County Grants Administration. Between 1994 and 1997, Kid’s Place received Timber Flexible Mitigation Fund, Forest Service, Early Childhood Assistance Program, and Therapeutic Childcare funds. NEAI funds provided gap funding to cover operating expenses and construction costs over-runs.

Kid’s Place provides long-term licensed childcare. This service has supported dislocated timber workers, their families, and others seeking alternative work opportunities. The facility is the only licensed daycare and preschool facility in Darrington. It has

Darrington, Snohomish County, Washington

openings for 35 children from ages six weeks to 12 years old. It has employed seven full-time equivalents for each of the past four years. The daycare facility was built on land leased from the school district and is located directly adjacent to Darrington Elementary School.

Kid's Place now operates on tuition supplemented by funds from the United Way, Department of Social and Health Services, Early Childhood Assistance Program slots, and Timber Flexible Mitigation Funds. Despite grant funds, the daycare struggles to remain affordable. One resident said the facility was used primarily by teachers, and complained that he couldn't use the facility: "I know others who use it. It is convenient, but not cheaper. If you are flat broke and qualify for everything [there are slots available], but if you make a little and are struggling you don't get anything."

Airport Parking/Kiosk

In 1996, Darrington received a \$40,000 Forest Service Rural Community Assistance Program (FS-RCAP) grant to pave and build a covered area for parking airplanes near the industrial park site at the airport. Based on the 1991 strategic plan and the Industrial Park Feasibility Report, the city identified airport development as a high priority for job creation. The city's pre-application to WA-CERT said the "airstrip improvement will encourage fly-in activity, plus festivals for small and alternative aircraft. This alone will affect existing retail business services. The industrial section will re-employ the local work force and generate revenue for the town through taxes."

Subsequent to the strategic plan and feasibility report, the city council appointed a commission to develop the airport. Under this commission's direction, the city paid \$6,500 to have a master plan developed for the airport. The city received funding to prepare the plan from the Washington State Department of Transportation. The city then received \$84,894 to implement airport improvements to raise the airstrip to state- and Federal Aviation Administration-recommended standards; to this sum, the city added another \$9,300 in cash and \$10,600 in in-kind contributions. When the improvements were

completed, the commission contracted with a private developer to construct and lease light industrial space to new businesses. The developer paid the 30-year lease up front, enabling the town to match the state's grant for airport improvements. Gap funding, received through the WA-CERT process, paid for the construction of a fixed-base operation hangar for airport-related businesses to lease. The parking area for airplanes was one of several improvements necessary to turn the airport into an economic development asset for the community.

Residents regard the airport improvements as a positive development. In 1995, the airport received the Washington State Airport of the Year award. The airport has enabled fly-ins that on occasion bring people into town. It has led to increased attendance at local events like the Wildflower Festival, the Bluegrass Festival, and the Classic Rock festival. Despite this increased traffic, no one has reported a marked increase in tourism or employment opportunities. The developer who leased the industrial space at the airport did some "aggressive marketing" to bring in development, but was unsuccessful because truck transit costs to the I-5 corridor were prohibitively expensive. To the chagrin of many residents, the only development at the airport thus far is mini-storage units.

Deaconess Children's Center - Community Garden

The Darrington Family Support Center received \$23,089 in 1996 from the Forest Service for staff and supplies for a community garden. The Deaconess Children's Center is a Snohomish County-wide non-profit that supports the Darrington Family Support Center. The community garden project was a potpourri of efforts packaged together to address layoffs at Summit Timber. The project was intended to provide activities and employment opportunities for youth.

The community garden was conceived as an ABC garden that evolved into a children's garden. According to the pre-application to WA-CERT, the project was designed to support tourism development by creating a "destination site." The project's goals later expanded to include a farmer's market and entrepreneurial activities to make the garden program self-sustaining.



The community garden is no longer maintained

Although the garden still stands at the west entrance to Darrington, it is no longer maintained. While active, the garden connected with other efforts, including the Wildflower Festival, and served as a site for science experiments for school children. Several people claim the garden had “broader impacts than could be understood,” by imparting skills to students besides “the three Rs,” as well as providing a pretty garden for the community’s enjoyment. Most of the project’s goals were never realized; most notably, the garden never grew to be a self-supporting project for the Family Support Center.

Sewer Project

Darrington submitted a pre-application for a sewer system to Snohomish County in 1997. The sewer was the city’s first priority, identified through the Economic Advisory Committee’s 1991 strategic plan and the 1993 Industrial Park Feasibility Report. The sewer was viewed as a necessity to support the tourism and industrial development needed to create living-wage jobs. Projections estimated 25 to 50 jobs would be created within three to five years of the sewer system’s construction. Many residents believe

that the sewer system will be a necessity in the near future to address water quality issues stemming from septic failures. Presently, the entire town is served by individual septic systems.

One Economic Advisory Committee member was proactive in trying to get technical and financial assistance for the sewer system. As a result of his efforts, the city received funds to conduct an engineering study to determine the feasibility of a system. Gray & Osborne Engineers completed the study in 1996. The plan was financed through a series of grants, including \$25,000 from the Community Economic Revitalization Board, \$101,228 from the Department of the Environment, \$51,228 in in-kind services, and \$25,000 in local matching funds.

The total cost of the sewer facility is estimated to be \$8.6 million dollars. The proposed funding package includes a \$2.3 million United State Department of Agriculture Rural Development (USDA-RD) loan and a \$2.8 million USDA-RD grant, a \$500,000 Community Economic Revitalization Board grant, a \$500,000 Community Development Block Grant, and a \$2.5 million Department of Ecology grant. The sewer facilities are scheduled for completion by

Darrington, Snohomish County, Washington

2004. In 1999, Darrington received \$100,000 from FS-RCAP to develop a new wastewater facility plan.

The city has not moved forward with the construction of the system due to interim finance issues and dissension in the community. Many residents fear the sewer system will lead to development and, separately, don't want the burden of sewer fees. In the early to mid-1990s, there was a lot of concern about the viability of timber communities, and federal agencies were supportive of the project. After 10 years in the planning stages, local and agency support for the project has dwindled. Expectations regarding business or industry locating in the area have been checked by the reality that transportation is a major obstacle. Many community members and county officials believe the sewer system will not be built, because the city was not able to move fast enough to take advantage of opportunities. "All the money moved on and enthusiasm dried up."

To many residents, the most notable aspect of the sewer facility project is that it is "creating divisiveness." They suggest that the reason the project has taken so long is because there is a great deal of disagreement about whether the sewer should be built.

Jobs-in-the-Woods

The Jobs-in-the-Woods (JITW) program consists of a suite of programs administered in Washington, Oregon, and California by the United States Fish and Wildlife Service (USFWS), the Forest Service (FS), the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), and the Bureau of Land Management (BLM). The goal of JITW was to restore watershed health and create economic opportunities for displaced workers. Early NEAI records indicate there were 47 JITW contracts let by the Forest Service in the Mt. Baker – Snoqualmie National Forest. The contracts were not associated with dislocated worker training programs, nor were they awarded to Darrington area contractors, who contract almost exclusively for Summit Timber.

According to one state agent, the JITW program was modeled after Washington State's Jobs-for-the-Environment Program (JFE) that began in the early 1990s. JFE recruited dislocated natural resource workers, providing them with restoration training and certification. Funding was provided through state legislative appropriations and disbursed through competitive JFE grants, the Competitive Watershed Restoration Partnership Program grants; allotments



Summit Mill

Darrington, Snohomish County, Washington

to the Department of Natural Resources (DNR) regional offices for work on trust lands; and the Washington State Department of Ecology’s Conservation Corps. From the program’s inception through 1997, several JFE projects were implemented in Snohomish County. The contracts amounted to a total of 1,049 “worker days.” JFE records do not indicate that Darrington area contractors received contracts; nor did any residents recall participating in, or even hearing about, the program.

In 1993, Darrington submitted a proposal for JFE outlining specific strategies for addressing environmental concerns and community employment needs. In a letter of support for the application, a local resident expressed concern for how to address the training needs of potential workers, contracting issues, and the ability to maintain income; how to give “credit” for life experience; and how to best integrate community needs and objectives with the needs and objectives of the agencies. The proposal did not create any opportunities for Darrington area residents.

Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA)

The Snohomish County Private Industry Council (SCPIC) incorporated in 1983 in response to the Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA). Until 2000, SCPIC served as the keystone organization for bringing the private sector into the active management of job-training programs as required by JTPA. Through a network of contractors and subcontractors, SCPIC provided job-training services for economically dis-

advantaged adults and youth, dislocated workers, and others who faced significant employment barriers. Benefits under the JTPA were eventually extended to family members and other businesses affected by dislocations in the timber industry. Snohomish County operates Employment Security Job Service Centers in Everett and Lynwood that are contracted to administer the traditional classroom and on-the-job training programs and “readjustment services.” The area’s Job Service Centers did not receive additional funding through the Initiative.

The Snohomish County Private Industry Council marketed their services in Darrington through the city and through its participation in job fair events set up to assist Summit Timber employees who had lost their jobs. Many of the beneficiaries received enhanced benefits as a result of the North American Free Trade Agreement, not NEAI. A number of mill workers did enroll in traditional training programs and secured jobs in skilled trades; several have since relocated closer to the job market to remain competitive. In a few cases, spouses who were eligible for schooling earned Associate’s Degrees and are now working in various professions while their husbands continue to piece together work in the timber industry. Although several dislocated workers took advantage of traditional retraining opportunities, many others were not able to take advantage of the SCPIC or their network of service providers because of immediate financial needs. Many dislocated workers were able to find employment in Puget Sound’s

Table 4: NEAI Grants Awarded to Snohomish County Private Industry Council

Year	Applicant	Project	Funding Source	Amount
1995	Snohomish County Private Industry Council	Job Training Partnership Act Timber	Department of Labor	\$ 93,000
1995		Entrepreneurial Loan Program Start-Up	US Forest Service	\$ 32,000
1995		Intermediary Relending Program*	USDA Rural Development	\$1,500,000
1996		Entrepreneurial Loan Program Start-Up	US Forest Service	\$ 10,000
1997		DHW Distribution System	US Forest Service	\$ 57,000
1999		Rural Business Enterprise Grant**	USDA Rural Development	\$188,660
1997		Technical Assistance for Loans	US Forest Service	\$ 28,000

* Serves a six-county region.

** Grant applied to providing services in Eastern Washington communities.

booming economy, particularly in the manufacturing and retail sectors.

Besides its role of administering services per the Job Training Partnership Act, the Snohomish County Private Industry Council operates a one-stop micro-enterprise assistance center. It envisioned dislocated timber workers, with some assistance, becoming rural entrepreneurs, participating as members of DownHome Washington’s marketing association, and earning income from the distribution of their products. The Snohomish County Private Industry Council received several grants to support the one-stop micro-enterprise assistance center called DownHome Washington (see tables below).

DownHome Washington

DownHome Washington’s strategy is to foster small business development to diversify and expand rural economies. The strategy assumes that in timber communities experiencing severe workforce reductions, self-employment through entrepreneurship is a viable job creation strategy. DownHome Washington’s one-stop micro-enterprise assistance center provides a “comprehensive strategy for meeting the needs of new and emerging businesses.” DownHome Washington services include entrepreneurial training and technical assistance, access to capital through micro-lending programs, and access to markets through its DownHome Washington Marketing Association (DHW-MA).

Technical Assistance: Entrepreneurial Training

Between 1992 and 1994, the Snohomish County Private Industry Council received grants from the Washington State Employment Security Department to hold entrepreneurial training classes in an eight-county area, including Snohomish County. From 1994 through 1996, it received grants for entrepreneurial training classes for dislocated workers in a five-county area, again, including Snohomish County. The 1995 JTPA Title III grant from the Department of Labor was used to hold classes for dislocated timber and fisheries workers. Classes were held in Snohomish County, with a particular focus on the Darrington area.

In the early 1990s, several Darrington residents participated in the DownHome Washington course. The table below indicates the number of people who participated in the courses from timber-affected communities. According to a participant, eight people enrolled in the class in Darrington and five completed the course. The classes were held in the evenings for several nights, over the course of a month. Aspiring entrepreneurs and business owners received classroom training and assistance with developing promotional materials.

Table 5: Entrepreneurial Training Class Participation

	Goal	94-95
Interest/applicant	500	290
Enrolled	50	30
Completed	50	28
Start-Ups	28	19

Source: Snohomish County Private Industry Council

Access to Capital: Entrepreneurial Loan Program

In 1995, the Snohomish County Private Industry Council received a \$1.5 million Intermediary Relending Program loan from the United States Department of Agriculture Rural Development Rural Business-Cooperative Services (RD-RBS) to support their Rural Enterprise Loan Fund. The RD-RBS lent funds to the Snohomish County Private Industry Council at 4.75 percent interest, and it relent this money at a higher rate. It established the Rural Enterprise Loan Fund in 1994 to serve dislocated timber workers in communities in Snohomish, Whatcom, and several counties on the east side of the Cascade Mountains. Before establishing the Rural Enterprise Loan Fund, the Snohomish County Private Industry Council successfully operated a micro-lending program and administered Small Business Administration loan programs.

At the same time that it received the RD-RBS Intermediary Relending Program loan, the Snohomish County Private Industry Council received a \$32,000 grant from the Forest Service’s Rural Community Assistance Program (FS-RCAP) to start up the Entre-

preneurial Loan Program. DownHome Washington used these funds to pay the staff that provided the technical assistance to prospective borrowers. Generally, the funds were used to assess the needs of businesses and to provide those businesses with services to direct them to other service providers. In 1996, the Forest Service supplemented the previous year's grant award with an additional \$10,000. Funds from the FS-RCAP were used to conduct outreach to people in communities. DownHome Washington staff attended community meetings and met with other organizations, such as banks, chambers of commerce, and small business assistance centers to generate more interest and referrals for borrowers.

One business in Darrington received a loan as a result of DownHome Washington's outreach efforts. A local used-car dealer expanded his services to provide financing to customers. The business closed within a year, the businessman moved to California and defaulted on the loan.

Access to Markets:

DownHome Washington Marketing Association

Through its efforts to help develop rural businesses, DownHome Washington found it had difficulties getting distribution. It saw creating access to markets as a key area for the transition, so they started a distribution business. In 1997, DownHome Washington received a second FS-RCAP grant for \$57,000, to develop its distribution system. DownHome Washington used these funds to hire a customer service representative, buy a delivery van, and create signage to increase the distribution of Down Home Washington Marketing Association products.

The Snohomish County Private Industry Council received a USDA-RD Rural Business Entrepreneur Grant (RBEG) in 1999. The grant, used for marketing, entailed purchasing a second delivery van, providing technical assistance, developing a logo, point-of-service displays, and hiring staff to work with retailers to get shelf space.

Socioeconomic Conditions and Effects of NEAI on Community Well-Being

Socioeconomic Condition

Many former timber mill employees and/or their spouses now work relatively low-wage jobs in service and retail. Some hold higher wage jobs in manufacturing or government in the more urbanized areas of the county. Where many Darrington households historically relied on a single income, it is increasingly common for both adult members of a household to work to compensate for lower wages and fewer benefits.

Simultaneous to changes in the local job market, many "urban refugees" moved into the area. Darrington is becoming a bedroom community. Both new residents and old alike are commuting 30 miles to the Interstate 5 corridor to work. Consequently, consumer goods and services are purchased in the Interstate 5 corridor, where prices are thought to be lower and the selection greater. These trends have expedited the decline of the local economy.

Local businesses have struggled to survive and many have closed. The downtown, where most of

the businesses were located, is now largely vacant, and many full and part-time employment opportunities have been lost. "Shops here are struggling. There used to be three restaurants, two cocktail lounges, and a bar. Now there is one bar and two restaurants, and I am not sure how they are open." Darrington's location on a road designed for transportation of materials out of the community makes business retention and expansion extremely difficult. As well, the commute has also reduced residents' time and willingness to participate in civic matters.

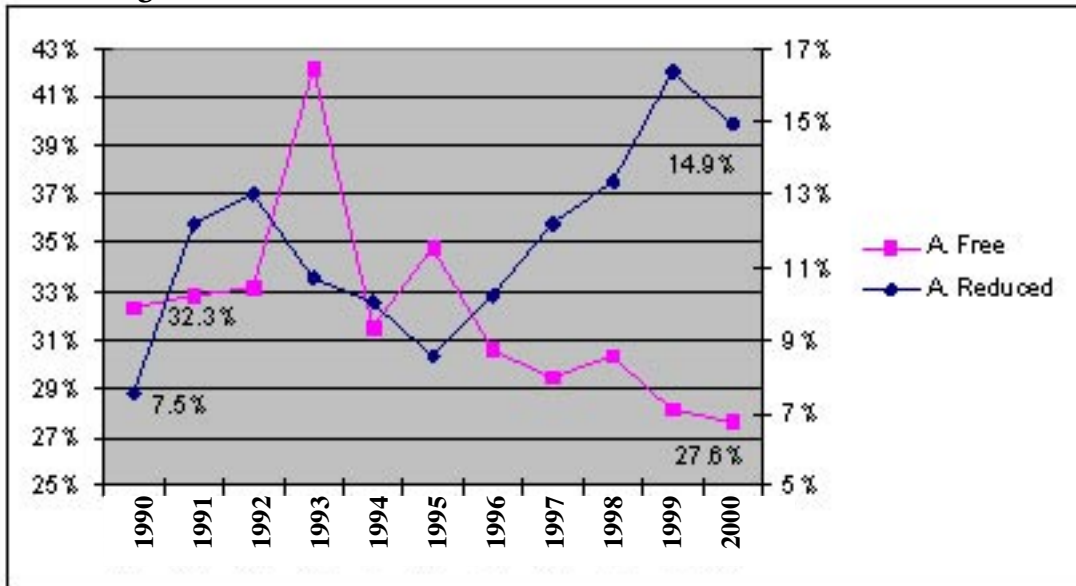
Darrington is not enjoying the prosperity experienced by many communities in Washington, much less, within Snohomish County. In 1998, roughly 66 percent of Darrington's population was in the category of low to moderate-income. According to the 2000 Census, 4.7 percent of the families live below the poverty level. Increases in personal income were stagnating in Darrington while increasing in Snohomish County and other areas of the state. Each year, more than 40 percent of the students in the Darrington

School District enroll in the free- or reduced-lunch program; this rate is twice the county average, which hovers around 20 percent of the enrolled students.

Data from the lunch programs for Darrington School District #330, suggests that the rate of impoverishment remained fairly constant through the 1990s, while the intensity of poverty diminished. By

the end of the 1990s, more students qualified for reduced lunch rather than free lunch; the total number of students enrolled in both programs did not decline. A spike in free lunch enrollment in 1993 and 1995, was followed by a steady decline. It is notable that school enrollment increased between 1990 and 1997, and only declined slightly between 1997 and 2000.

Figure 1. Free and Reduced Lunch Enrollment as a Percent of School Enrollment in Darrington School District #330



* Reflects average monthly number based on October through September the following year
 Source: OSPI, personal communication, 2001.

Community Capacity

NEAI was intended to assist timber workers’ transition to new jobs, diversify timber-based economies, and enhance community infrastructure. Although many of the projects in Darrington were successfully implemented, with one exception, the suite of investments was not successful in increasing Darrington’s capacity to address community needs and issues stemming from changes in the economy.

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 five dimensions: (1) physical capital, which includes a community physi-

cal 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 abilities and capabilities of residents; (4) cultural capital, the myths, beliefs, norms, and life ways that serve to organize groups and facilitate survival; and (5) social capital, which includes the willingness of residents to work together toward community goals (and not just self-interested goals). Evaluating the impact of NEAI projects on the capacity of Darrington thus requires a closer examination of these various dimensions of capacity.

Darrington, Snohomish County, Washington

Physical Capital

Darrington's physical infrastructure evolved to serve two primary purposes, 1) remove, process, and transport resources from state and federally managed lands to the industrial Interstate 5 corridor; and 2) support the provision of basic city services, goods, and services to the local workforce and their families. The shift away from a timber economy resulted in changes in physical infrastructure needs. Remnants of the old infrastructure include the nearly vacant downtown and an abandoned railroad. Examples of new NEAI-funded infrastructure include the development completed at the airport, the opening of the Kid's Place Learning Center, and the planned construction of the sewer facility.

The development of the airport and the sewer facility address one type of emerging need: infrastructure to attract and/or develop new industry to create employment. The airport and adjacent industrial lands have not been successful in increasing employment opportunities in Darrington and it is questionable whether they will in the near future. The sewer system has not yet been constructed but is viewed by many as a critical component for diversifying the economy through industrial and tourism development. Kid's Place Learning Center, on the other hand, is a vital component of the local infrastructure. Kid's Place provides reliable and high quality childcare, allowing parents to commute to work or school, supporting the needs of dislocated timber workers, retrained workers, and dual income families by broadening the range of opportunity.

Financial Capital

Darrington area entrepreneurs and businesses have increased access to capital as a result of the NEAI. Individuals unable to get loans from traditional lending institutions can access capital through the Snohomish County Private Industry Council's Rural Entrepreneur Loan Fund. A Darrington area business received a loan to expand its business; it later failed due to local economic conditions. Access to capital through the Rural Entrepreneur Loan Fund reportedly benefited communities on major transportation routes, but it has not proved beneficial to entrepreneurs and business owners in the Darrington area.

Human Capital

NEAI funds were used to provide technical assistance to Darrington area entrepreneurs and businesses designed to increase individuals' business skills. Five business owners and entrepreneurs completed training programs. Despite this training, local entrepreneurs still lacked the skills to open their own businesses. Several people were critical of the programs, because they did not address the immediate need of residents—steady income. The Snohomish County Private Industry Council has not been active in Darrington in several years.

Social Capital

As residents struggle to make ends meet in the face of changes in the community, no unanimity has emerged regarding suitable development strategies for Darrington. Airport enhancements, the Kid's Place, the planned sewer facility, and other federal investments did little to increase Darrington's ability to work toward common goals. Nevertheless, the Kid's Place and the Family Support Center increased their base of support and increasingly work collaboratively to achieve social service objectives. There are few other examples of cooperation between various public and private sector efforts.

Before the Initiative, members of the business community, elected officials, and others put substantial energy toward broad-based community development efforts. These people worked together to develop a vision for the community that included development goals and strategies. Individuals or groups responsible for specific projects did follow through with some efforts, leading to the implementation of several projects, including airport enhancements and the construction of a daycare facility. Many of the projects were completed with negligible effect on the community; no development ensued building on NEAI investments.

The success of the Kid's Place and the Family Support Center reflect concerted and on-going attention to providing for social welfare needs of the community, built on Snohomish County's and the Timber Resource Council's efforts through the 1990s. Darrington's ability to address social service needs increased as a result of investments in a licensed daycare

facility and a local family support center, though NEAI contributions to these facilities were minor. The Kid's Place Learning Center and the Family Support Center increasingly serve as important points of connection for some community members. The Family Support Center, the Kid's Place, and the Darrington School District now work together to address human welfare needs, such as reducing the incidence of teen pregnancy.

The long, slow, and steady deterioration of Darrington's social and economic well-being over the past 20 years has weakened the community's ability to work toward common goals. One county employee familiar with the community summed up the problem:

There was strong volunteerism in the early days when there was money in the community. There was the way to get things done, like the community center, cat work [heavy machinery], materials, etc. That capacity is not there anymore, not as much equipment, not as many people, not as much resource.

Fissures between the various community development interests slowly deepened and widened. Between 1994 and 2000, there was very little collaboration or coordination among the different community groups, the city, and the county-level service providers. The community's inability to work toward common goals was not directly addressed by NEAI investments. In spite of NEAI investments and small gains made by organizations like the Family Support Center, the willingness of residents to work together toward community goals has declined.

Effects of NEAI on Workers

NEAI investments in Darrington, in organizations providing services in Darrington, had little effect on the ability of dislocated workers to find jobs in existing or new industries. Attempts to create new employment opportunities in the tourism, manufacturing, or cottage industries failed.

Yet, the overall goal of investments was to create jobs or preserve them: airport enhancements were designed to support industrial and tourism development; the sewer system and loan programs were intended to support tourism development; and loan programs coupled with entrepreneurial training was intended to spur cottage industrial development. At best, investments facilitated the development of infrastructure necessary to support future initiatives.

The construction of Kid's Place is the only NEAI venture that did help a limited number of workers find new jobs. The reliability and quality of the Kid's Place services increased the range of opportunities available to families, and enabled a few workers, or their spouses, to participate in training programs and to find jobs on the Interstate 5 corridor.

In sum, NEAI investments provided little benefit to dislocated workers or their families and local businesses, and provided limited benefit to the community at large. In contrast, traditional worker retraining programs, which did not receive additional support through NEAI, had moderate successes in retraining displaced workers and finding them jobs. The burgeoning Interstate 5 economy, less than an hour to the west, provides the most important backstop to the loss of employment opportunities in Darrington.

Patterns and Themes of Successful Interventions

Inappropriate Investment

Using NEAI funds, the Snohomish County Private Industry Council provided entrepreneurial training, access to capital, and access to markets. Its efforts were intended to help existing service and retail businesses expand by providing them loans.

The Snohomish County Private Industry Council also tried to support or cultivate entrepreneurs, crafts people, and local businesses to the point where they could take advantage of loan programs and the Snohomish County Private Industry Council's marketing association.

The Snohomish County Private Industry Council's efforts did not have any long-term benefits for area residents. Supporting the expansion and development of local businesses was ill conceived at a time when the local economy was deteriorating and the marketplace was shifting toward the Interstate 5 corridor. Furthermore, the effort to support rural entrepreneurs to build the marketing association was ineffective and did not address the most immediate and pressing need of the local workforce—steady income and stability.

The SCPIC's executive director and other employees reported it difficult to provide more than nominal assistance in Darrington. They reportedly put more energy, and had more success, in communities on main transportation corridors where there are sufficient markets. One loan officer said, "The level of collateral was higher; there were more viable candidates. Generally [we] have a much better relationship with Highway 20 and Highway 2 corridors [and consequently] there are higher levels of investment." According to the Snohomish County Private Industry Council, the major barriers were the town's location and a local culture that is "risk averse."

Cultural Barriers and Community Development Support Mechanisms

The failure of the Snohomish County Private Industry Council as a regional service provider, mirrors the fate of many outside entities in their efforts to assist Darrington. There is a history of outside agencies, including Snohomish County and Washington State Department of Community Development, attempting to implement community development processes and projects in Darrington and achieving little success. Two examples include the SWOT analysis conducted by the state in the early 1990s and Snohomish County Private Industry Council technical and financial assistance to promote entrepreneurial and business development. The stated cause of these failures is often cultural, relating specifically to the "culture of independence" or "risk aversion." One service provider said, "There is significant big city–rural area difference. The cultural barriers cannot be over-estimated." In a starkly contrasting statement, one county official observed

that, while there have been on-going efforts to serve Darrington, little has been accomplished—"a lot of people go to the community and say they will help but provide no follow through," adding that, "this is why we need to find and support the natural leaders in the community."

Outside organizations such as the Deaconess Children's Center, have successfully developed means for service delivery that remove cultural barriers and that develop or otherwise engage individuals to provide leadership from within the community. The Deaconess Children's Center's Family Support Center in Darrington has been effective in assessing needs and providing assistance to meet the needs of individual families within the community. Deaconess Children's Center plays a key role by assuring the continuation of funding and developing resources to broaden the range of services the Family Support Center can provide or access.

Another example of an outside organization helping the community, is the staff person that Washington State Employment Security lent to Darrington for three years in the early 1990s. This person played a key role in community development and helped the city acquire resources from government agencies. As an outsider, given the dissension in the community, the staff person was able to ensure that development strategies represented the needs of the whole community, rather than the interests of a single group. The staff person coordinated and advanced projects, while community members struggled to make ends meet. This model of an outside organization providing staff to support community projects was successful as long as the staff person worked in Darrington. Once she left, however, the model failed, because community members had not acquired the staff person's skills and there was no one to dedicate their time to advancing the projects.

Leadership

Changes in the timber industry and the accompanying effects on Darrington reduced the ability of individuals to provide the leadership necessary to address diverse community needs and issues, as many residents struggled to make ends meet. The shift

from single income to dual income households and to commuting to the Interstate 5 corridor, curtailed residents' involvement in community efforts. Simultaneously, businesses were experiencing difficult times and reduced employee hours, thus reducing storeowners' ability to participate in community development. These changes greatly reduced leadership in the community.

Cross-Sector Communication and Coordination

Because of the location of its ranger district office in Darrington and its role in WA-CERT and the Snohomish County SCERT processes, the Forest Service was able to provide human and financial resources to advance community development in Darrington. A Forest Service employee, who was active in community development in Darrington and who participated on the Timber Resource Council and WA-CERT, told the community about how to acquire funds and informed funding agencies of the community's needs. Sharing information across levels of governance and between governmental and non-

governmental organizations proved invaluable for acquiring funds.

Pitching-in: A Culture of Volunteerism

Despite their differences about development projects, Darrington residents remain committed to participating in and supporting work-party volunteer efforts. According to Darrington residents, there is a long record of the community working together to complete projects. Examples include the construction of the community center with donated materials and volunteer labor, and the hosting of the world archery tournament. Although the community's ability to work toward a common good has diminished, airport enhancements and the construction of Kid's Place both relied on community support. Volunteer labor and donations combined with NEAI investments was key to the projects' successful completion. Unfortunately, the spirit of volunteerism does not appear to extend beyond donated materials and labor. In fact, there is a distinct lack of interest in participation in meetings or planning efforts.

Conclusions

NEAI investments had little cumulative effect in helping timber workers transition to new jobs, diversifying Darrington's timber-based economy and enhancing community infrastructure. Despite the successful implementation of individual projects, NEAI investments failed to have a positive effect on Darrington residents' lives.

Several projects that received funds through the NEAI were independently successful and of value to some community members. One resident said NEAI investments "improved quality of life in the community. Just the little things, restrooms, daycare, paved airport parking, garden; people saw these things and it made community feel alive." The local businessman who participated on the Snohomish County Timber Resource Council concurred, saying he thought investments in "bricks and mortar" were important and "pay dividends...It is difficult to put a dollar sign on and assess the value." Another businessman said that the failure to the airport development efforts and the Snohomish County Private Industry Council's lack

of success means that no NEAI investment improved economic conditions in the community.

The Darrington city government's capacity to take on the community development agenda was and remains very limited. Many community members commented that community efforts all suffered for lack of leadership and broad-based support and participation. The mayor reflected,

There was some structured stuff very early on; people were involved in generating visions. A lot of people went on for a year or two. But staff left, the ranger left, and efforts fizzled because of the reliance on volunteers. The city tends toward not addressing long-term stuff and they are one of the only entities for administering grants.

Unfortunately, NEAI did little to develop leadership or encourage volunteerism in the community. If anything, residents' willingness to work toward community goals has diminished over time.

Darrington, Snohomish County, Washington

References

Poehlman, E. 1995. Darrington: Mining Town/Timber Town. Gold Hill Press, Shoreline, Washington.

1991. Darrington Community Profile. City of Darrington, Darrington, Washington.

Darrington, Snohomish County, Washington

Interviewees

Renee Peare	Snohomish County (Department of Human Services)
Lyla Boyd	Clerk, City of Darrington
Leila Dempsey	Mayor, City of Darrington, Summit Timber Employee
Sarah Burlingame	Human Resources, Summit Timber Company
Marvin Kastning	Darrington resident, community development activist
Daniel Rankin	Darrington resident, logger
Carol Gladsjo	USFS Darrington Ranger District
Ester Wright	Darrington resident, Economic Advisory Committee member
LuAnn Kuper	Darrington resident, Kid's Place Learning Center
Wyonne Perrault	Deaconess Children's Center Darrington Support Center
Laurence Larsen	Darrington resident and businessman
Michael Cade	Snohomish County Economic Development Council
Brent Lambert	Snohomish County (Grants Administration)
Kathy Kirkvliet	Washington Department Employment Security
Kenny & Linda Frittle	Darrington residents, former Summit Timber Employees
Jeff Voltz	Snohomish County Private Industry Council
Richard Anderson	Darrington resident and business owner
Gary Kieland	Summit Timber Company

Focus Group Participants

Jesse, age 17	Tammy, age 14
Jared, age 12	Dan, age 15
Danny, age 15	Francesca, age 16
Sam, age 14	Kathleen, age 12

Darrington, Snohomish County, Washington