

Forks, Clallam County, Washington

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NEAI Projects*

Forks Projects				
Year	Applicant	Project	Funding Source ¹	Amount
1994	City of Forks	Industrial Infrastructure Phase I	Forest Service RCA	\$226,000
			USDA Rural Development RBEG	\$281,320
1997	City of Forks	Community Needs Survey	Forest Service RCA	\$23,000
1999	City of Forks	Forks Industrial Park Development Phase II-A and Quillayute Airport Feasibility Studies	State Community Economic Revitalization Board	\$22,500

Regional Projects				
1994	WoodNet	WoodNet Trade Show/ Buyers Guide	Forest Service RCA	\$15,000
			CTED/FPP	\$10,000
1994	No. Olympic Peninsula Visitor and Convention Bureau	Planning and Tourism Projects	Forest Service RCA	\$30,000
1994	North Olympic Timber Action Committee (NOTAC) and Clallam County Economic Development Council	Forestry Training Center	Forest Service RCA	\$50,000
1995	NOTAC and Clallam County EDC	Forestry Training Center	Forest Service RCA	\$250,000
			Local Match	\$85,821
1996	Olympic Job Training Center	Forestry Training Center	Department of Labor – JTPA	\$950,821
1996	NOTAC and Clallam County EDC	Forestry Training Center	Forest Service RCA	\$250,000
			CTED/OGDF	\$300,000

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

1. Key to Funding Sources: RCA=Rural Community Assistance program; RBEG=Rural Business Enterprise Grant; CTED=Washington State Department of Community, Trade, and Economic Development (currently the Office of Trade and Economic Development (OTED)); OGDF=Old Growth Diversification Funds (Forest Service funds administered by the State); JTPA=Job Training Partnership Act.

Background Context

Forks is located in the northwest corner of the Olympic Peninsula in Clallam County, Washington. The community lies along a remote stretch of U.S. Highway 101, approximately 55 miles southwest of Port Angeles, the county seat, 15 miles east of the Pacific Coast, and about 105 miles north of Aberdeen and Hoquiam. The town is situated at the confluence (or “forks”) of the Bogachiel and Calawah Rivers, which run westward from the glaciated peaks of the Olympic Mountains into the Quillayute River, eventually reaching the coast at La Push. Forks is one of only three incorporated cities in Clallam County. With a population of 3,120 in 2000, Forks is the slowest growing of the three, and may actually have experienced a net reduction in population since 1990, when considering annexations and vacancy rates on rental units (17 percent in 2000). Most of the population growth has occurred in the other two cities, Port Angeles and Sequim, located on the east side of the county. Forks and the unincorporated communities of western Clallam and Jefferson Counties (referred to collectively as the “west end”) have historically been isolated from the east side communities by geography. Travel is difficult on the narrow, winding roads, especially in winter due to high winds, rain, and ice.

The Forks area receives an average annual rainfall of 117 inches, and consequently has some of the most productive forest lands in Washington State. The county as a whole produces approximately 165 cubic feet of timber per acre per year (Payne 2001). The majority of forest land in Clallam County is under a combination of state, private industrial, and federal ownership. Olympic National Park is the single largest land holder in the county, comprising approximately 314,208 acres or 28 percent of all land in the county (Jenkins 2000). Industrial private forest lands comprise 24 percent of all lands (or 274,536 acres), with Rayonier being the largest private timberland holder in the area, with approximately 173,000 acres on the Peninsula. Approximately 199,536 acres (or 18 percent of all lands) is National Forest land (Jenkins 2000), and 159,104 acres (or 14 percent) is state trust land,

managed by the Washington State Department of Natural Resources.

Brief History

Prior to European-American settlement, the Forks area was the historic territory of the Quileute, Ozette, and Makah Indian tribes. The Indians in the area had traditionally burned patches of land to create meadows to attract game. The Forks Prairie, along with the Quillayute and Ozette Prairies, were the largest. When Washington was declared a U.S. Territory in 1853, governor Isaac Stevens began to negotiate treaties with Washington tribes in an effort to extinguish Indian land claims and open up the territory for white settlement. In 1856, the Quileute reluctantly signed a treaty with the U.S. government to relocate south to the Quinault Reservation, home of their traditional enemy (Halliday and Chehak 2000). When it came time to move, however, the tribe refused to leave. In 1889, President Cleveland agreed that they could remain in their traditional fishing village at La Push, about 15 miles west of Forks, but were only allowed a square mile of land surrounding the village. Today, the Quileute Tribe continues to reside on their small reservation at La Push. Other tribes living in the area include the Makah to the north at Neah Bay, and the Hoh and Quinault to the south.

Although fur traders belonging to the Hudson Bay Company visited the area prior to the 1850s, the first European-American settlers to Forks were homesteaders who arrived in the 1870s. Early settlers arrived by canoe from Seattle, landing on the coast at La Push and moving inland up the waterways (Douglas 1964). Many of these early settlers were immigrants from Norway, Sweden, and Finland. The newly arrived settlers cleared and burned the forest for farming, and raised cattle, turkeys, and hops for commercial production. Transportation of goods to market, however, posed a major challenge due to the lack of roads or trails. Cattle were initially driven to market along the beach to Neah Bay, and then eastward to Port Angeles. Trails were eventually built inland to drive cattle and turkeys. Farmers transported hops down the Quillayute River to sea

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Highway 101 running through downtown Forks

to be transported by ship; however, cargo losses were so great that hop production was discontinued by the turn of the century (Douglas 1964).

In the late 1800s, President Grover Cleveland established Olympic National Forest. Many homesteaders left the area, fearing a “lock up” of the woods. Cleveland’s predecessor, President William McKinley, however, re-opened the National Forest for settlement. Many of the new “settlers” were timber company agents, tilling enough land to satisfy the homestead laws and, when granted title to land, transferring ownership to the lumber companies (Douglas 1964). World War I marked the beginning of a timber industry in the area. The federal government constructed a railroad from Port Angeles along the northern edge of Lake Crescent to Lake Pleasant (about 10 miles from Forks) to transport logs. After World War I, logging became more important to the West End economy. The most active timber company was Bloedel-Donovan (Douglas 1964). Still, the town of Forks, which was established in 1912, remained fairly isolated until 1931, when the Olympic Loop Highway was constructed, connecting Forks to Port Angeles in the north, and to Hoquiam in the south. Paved roads opened up previously isolated forests for logging, transforming Forks into a bustling economic center. The four primary lumber companies in the area during this period were Crown Zellerbach, Rayonier, Bloedel-Donovan, and Merrill & Ring (Douglas 1964).

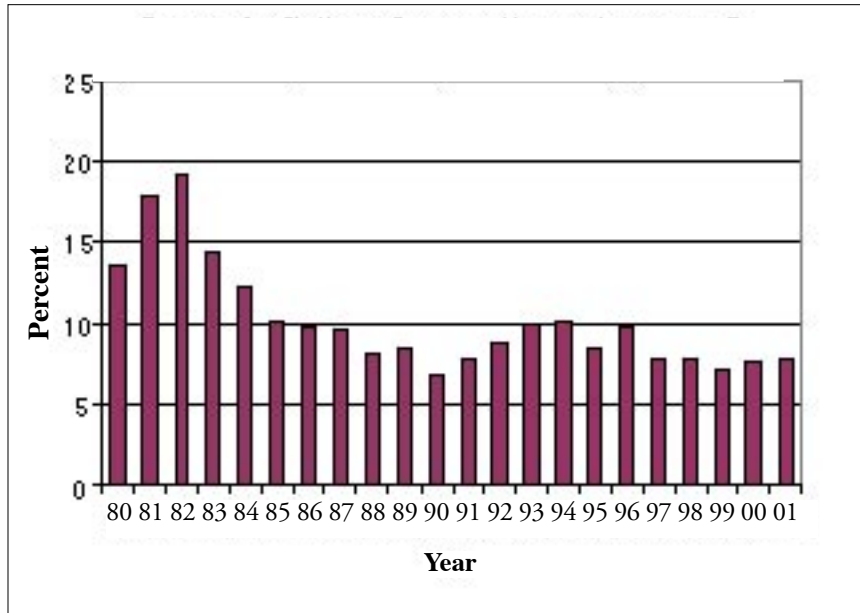
In addition to the timber industry, tourism (although seasonal) also increased its economic im-

portance to the community with the establishment of Olympic National Park in 1938. Sol Duc Hot Springs, established in the early 1900s and located about 35 miles from Forks, also attracted many visitors. Residents relied on ocean fishing, primarily for salmon and tuna, as an additional source of income, paying wharfage fees to the Quileute Tribe for use of the marina at La Push.

Although timber harvesting dominated the economy of Forks throughout most of the mid to latter half of the 20th century, the majority of logs were trucked out of the community to feed the large mills in Hoquiam and Port Angeles. Rayonier, Crown Zellerbach, and Bloedel employed hundreds of woods workers. Milling and other secondary wood processing that did occur in Forks consisted primarily of small and medium-sized operations, many of which were family-owned.

The 1960s and 1970s marked a “boom” in the timber economy of Forks. Residents talk about the community having much more of an economic base than exists today, for example, more retail stores, including a car dealership. Although Rayonier, Crown Zellerbach, and Bloedel had an important presence in the community due to their large land holdings, smaller companies, many of which relied on timber from federal and state lands, also played an important economic role. The shake industry was also important in the community. In the 1970s, the Forest Service began a salvage program, allowing blown down cedar to be harvested and used for shake and shingle pro-

Figure 1: Clallam County Unemployment Rate



Source: Washington State Department of Employment Security

duction. Trees were often “surgically” removed, using helicopters and pack tools. One resident recalls that a bolt cutter (a person cutting out sections of cedar logs and stumps for future milling) could earn \$25,000 to \$30,000 per year in the 1970s. Most of the shake and shingles were shipped to California and used for roofing and siding.

The 1980s and Early 1990s

National recessions in the early 1980s had a large effect on the timber industry in Forks. The unemployment rate in Clallam County between 1980 and 1985 remained above 10 percent, with a high of 19 percent in 1982 (Figure 1). Corporate buyouts were common among the larger timber companies, and many companies reorganized and downsized, eliminating their logging and trucking crews and contracting out the work to independent, “gyppo” operations. Many shake mills were forced to close as a result of a scarcity of cedar salvage; new regulations requiring that cedar shakes be treated with fire retardant; and lower-priced Canadian imports.

As a result of these timber industry declines, many displaced timber workers were forced to move out of the community in search of work or retraining opportunities. Although it is difficult to quantify the number of people who left the community, Census

statistics show that the population of Forks decreased by six percent, from 3,060 in 1980 to 2,862 in 1990.

The 1990 Census statistics provide a limited picture of socioeconomic conditions in Forks. For example, the unemployment rate in Forks was reported by the Census to have been only 4.8 percent in 1990. Because the 1990 Census reflects data collected in 1989, federal and state reductions in logging that took place in 1990 and 1991 are not captured in these statistics. According to one report, however, the Employment Security Department estimated that unemployment in Forks in 1991 was as high as 19 percent (CERB 1993). The poverty rate in Forks was 13.6 percent in 1990, compared to 12.5 percent for the county and 10.9 percent for the state. Per capita income in Forks was \$11,535 in 1990, compared to \$12,798 for the county and \$14,923 for the state.

Key Issues in the Early 1990s

Dramatic Declines in Timber Harvests on Federal Lands

One of the key issues facing Forks in the early 1990s was the dramatic drop in timber harvests on federal and state lands. The Forest Service had reduced the allowable cut of timber on the Olympic National Forest from 250 million board feet in the

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1980s to 10 million board feet following the ESA listing of the Northern Spotted Owl. Figure 2 illustrates the change in actual volume harvested between 1981 and 2000. Timber harvests on state-owned lands in Clallam County also declined, albeit less dramatically than the federal levels (see Figure 3). These reductions in access to public timber contributed to an already unstable and declining timber industry caused by national recessions, corporate buyouts, increased mechanization, and changes in the export market that began in the 1980s. As available federal and state timber declined, many of the smaller timber companies, dependent on logs from public lands, were unable to compete with larger companies and were forced out of business. Based on telephone directory information and personal accounts, the number of logging companies in western Clallam and Jefferson Counties decreased from approximately 70 in 1982 to 14 in 2001 (City of Forks 2001). A similar decrease was found for trucking companies, with 47 independent companies identified in 1982 (in addition to company truck fleets) and 19 in 2001. Shake mills decreased from 38 in 1982 to 15 in 2001, and sawmills decreased from eight to two during the same period. Information obtained from the North American Integration and Development Center at the University of California, Los Angeles reported that between 1991 and 1997, nine mills closed in the Forks/Beaver area as a result of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA).

Growth in Tourism

As jobs in the timber industry declined, Forks residents were forced to look for employment alternatives. One sector that had always played a moderate and highly seasonal role in the economy was tourism. In the past, tourist activities had focused on fishing and hunting, in addition to recreation at Olympic National Park. With the decline in fisheries in the 1970s and 1980s, and the spotted owl controversy in the late 1980s and early 1990s, tourism in the region had dropped. One resident observed:

During the timber crisis people were pissed off and rude to tourists. It was a knee jerk reaction—defensive-

ness—because visitors would blame logging crews...shake their fists at them. People [visitors] came in angry about 'what we did to their trees.' Over time people realized that it was not the complete picture. The media polarized the image...reduced it to two images—a logger with a chainsaw and an innocent bird. The media was successful at simplifying things.

To improve understanding of local people's perspectives and the timber industry, the Forks Visitor's Center initiated a free logging and mill tour, led by volunteers who would take visitors to local mills and harvesting sites. The mill tour allowed outsiders to see the workings of a sawmill, learn about logging practices, and gain a greater understanding of the conditions of workers.

In addition to the mill tour, a more comprehensive marketing effort by the North Olympic Peninsula Visitor and Convention Bureau resulted in an increase in tourism by the mid 1990s.

One interviewee stated, "Locals used to not appreciate tourists and tourist dollars. Once the timber crisis hit, the value of tourism became more evident. It was seen as a stable source of income." Since 1991, two new motels have been built in Forks, another motel has expanded, and three new restaurants have opened. Over all, the West End has 45 hotels listed in its tourist guide, 16 of which have been built since 1991. Although still seasonal, during the peak season (July and August) hotel occupancy is 95 percent or more on most weekends.

Employment in Corrections

Many displaced timber workers took advantage of the Training, Institutional Development and Education Services (TIDES) program sponsored jointly by Peninsula College, Olympic Job Training Center, and the Clallam Bay Corrections Center, which offered a nine-week Corrections Officers Training Program. In 1993, the Clallam Bay Corrections Center, a maximum security prison, invested \$24 million to expand the facility from approximately 400 to 850 inmates, and was in need of 80 to 120 additional

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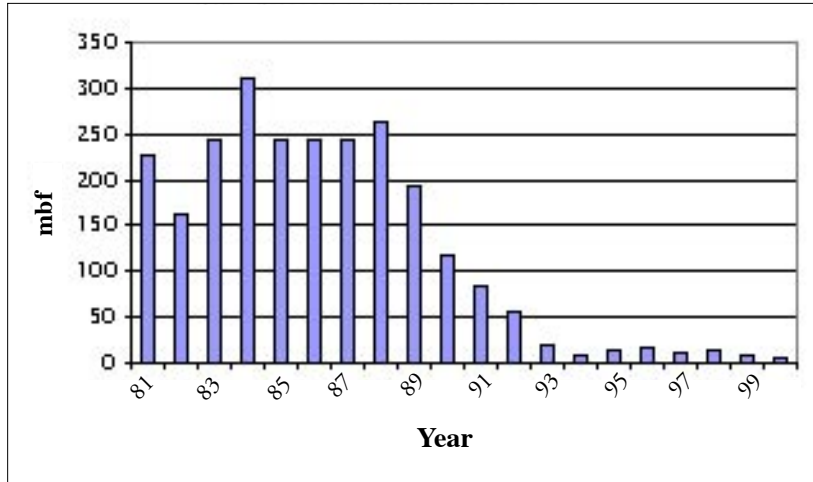
prison guards (Forks Forum 1992). The prison currently employs 400 officers and 40 support staff. One source estimated that 125 prison employees currently live in Forks, of which 50 are originally from Forks. The Olympic Corrections Center, a minimum security prison located 30 miles south of Forks, also employs a number of Forks residents.

Economic Development Approaches

In an effort to help improve economic conditions in the community, a group of local citizens

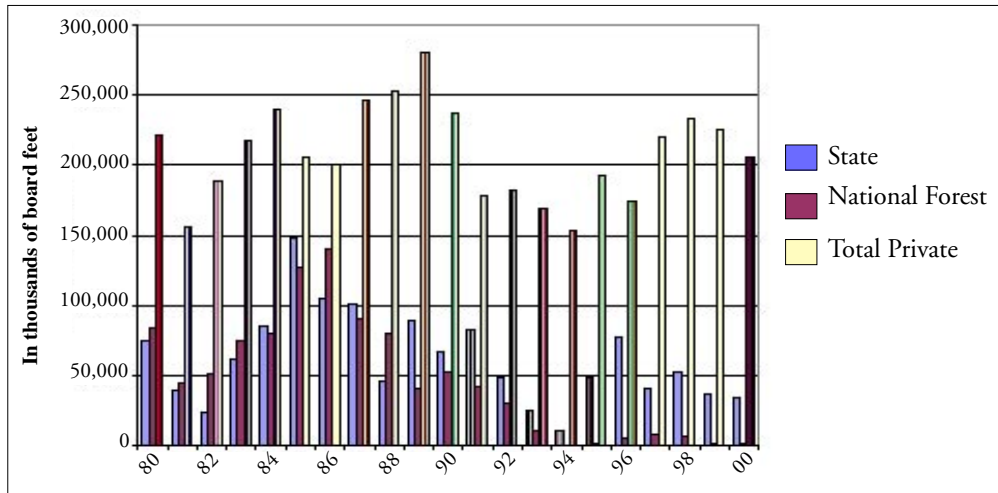
came together to form the Forks Economic Development Steering Committee (FEDSC) in 1989. Development of FEDSC was the result of three years of planning and organizational efforts among community members, with facilitation assistance provided by the Washington State Department of Community, Trade and Economic Development. FEDSC developed an action plan, which identified the key priority areas critical for promoting economic development in the community. FEDSC was well-supported by the community, with high attendance

Figure 2: Olympic National Forest Timber Harvests between 1981 and 2000



Source: Olympic National Forest

Figure 3: Clallam County Timber Harvest Levels between 1980 and 2000



Source: Washington State Department of Natural Resources

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Forks Loggers Memorial commemorates timber workers who lost their lives on the job.

at community meetings (up to 75 people) and a large volunteer base involved in planning. According to one source, development of FEDSC allowed Forks to have “a strategy that was community-initiated...It grew local capacity.”

FEDSC initially raised money for projects such as community signage, a farmers’ market, and an engineering study for a new water line. In an effort to support beautification of the downtown district, FEDSC recognized and honored people who maintained and invested in their yards and businesses. At a larger scale, FEDSC worked to develop an industrial park to create jobs in the manufacturing sector (refer to the Forks Industrial Park section of this report for further details). In 1995, as a result of the revenues generated from leasing the Industrial Park, the city of Forks was able to hire a full-time econom-

ic development director. Although volunteerism and participation has declined, FEDSC is still an advisory committee to the Forks City Council on economic development matters, and is responsible for creating and implementing an Economic Development Work Plan. Its seven members are appointed by the mayor and city council. One source stated,

FEDSC...was a capacity-building effort for the community on how they could take control of their own identity...Socially, Forks had been devastated. There was a loss of pride. People’s self-worth had diminished. So, part of the effort, much of which you would never see as a result of project outcomes, was to bring back some pride.

NEAI Projects and Programs

Community Economic Revitalization Team (CERT)

One of the primary mechanisms for implementing the Northwest Economic Adjustment Initiative (NEAI) was the development of State Community Economic Revitalization Teams (SCERTs). The role of the SCERT was to coordinate the delivery of state and federal assistance, and to work with local and

tribal governments, and private and nonprofit organizations. In Washington, the SCERT (WA-CERT) was staffed by the pre-existing Governor’s Timber Team (now the Governor’s Rural Community Assistance Team – GRCAT), which was formed in 1991 by the state legislature to coordinate assistance to timber-dependent communities. WA-CERT members included state representatives from federal agencies,

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representatives of state government who were appointed by the governor, and representatives of local government, also appointed by the governor with the approval of local governmental organizations. As part of an effort to streamline funding and provide “one-stop” shopping for projects, communities and other eligible entities submitted two-page proposals to WA-CERT. Top priority projects were assigned a scoping agent—a representative from a state or federal agency whose role was to facilitate project development and to help guide a project through the application process. In January 1998, administration of WA-CERT was transferred to the Washington Department of Community, Trade, and Economic Development (CTED—currently the Office of Trade and Economic Development—OTED).

Local Level

The Clallam County Economic Development Council (CCEDC) was the entity responsible for prioritizing CERT applications for the county. Once a year, cities, ports, and other jurisdictions submitted project applications to the CCEDC for prioritization. Most of these entities were members of the CCEDC and were therefore well-informed about proposal deadlines and meetings. In addition to administering and prioritizing CERT applications, after the first two to three years of the CERT, the CCEDC began to provide technical assistance in project design and scoping to jurisdictions—especially to small, unincorporated communities that lacked the staff and resources to develop their own projects. In some instances, the CCEDC would serve as the project applicant on a local community project. The CCEDC was also the project lead for many regional and county-wide projects.

Clallam County was the first county in Washington to develop its own internal prioritization process, which was later adopted by WA-CERT as the state model for local prioritization. To try to make the process as objective as possible and to remove the potential for political influence, the CCEDC developed a set of weighted criteria to rank project proposals. These criteria included: the ability of the project to address the long-term economic status of people and businesses directly affected by declines in the tim-

ber industry (40 percent weight); project readiness (20 percent); ability to support long-term economic diversification (20 percent); regional impact (10 percent); and high local commitment in the form of local cash contributions and multi-jurisdictional support (five percent) (Phillips 1994). An additional five percent credit was also awarded to a project for “exceptional merit,” either with regards to the criteria mentioned above or other criteria established by the reviewers. Using these criteria, the CCEDC would convene a meeting among all groups that submitted proposals to develop a common understanding and support of all of the proposed projects. Each jurisdiction gave a presentation about its project to generate support and buy-in from the other groups, discussing the merits of the project and the criteria that it addressed. Each jurisdiction would then rank the other projects until a final ranking was established. Jurisdictions were also encouraged to reflect on the timeliness, project readiness, and local support of their own projects. Once the CCEDC established its ranking, the list of prioritized projects would then go to the county commissioners for final approval. This last step, however, was more of a formality in that the commissioners never changed the order of the ranking.

Impressions of WA-CERT

Representatives from Forks who participated in the county prioritization process expressed disappointment with the CERT process as it evolved over time. According to Forks representatives, the CCEDC modified the weights of the prioritization criteria to give project readiness and job creation potential the greatest weight. In terms of project readiness, some felt that low capacity communities, because of their limited resources and staff, were severely limited in preparing a project to the point where it was ready to be funded. Other changes to the local prioritization process included a shift in focus to projects with regional impacts and multi-jurisdictional support. The CCEDC’s perspective was, according to one source, that “local and county priorities should be one in the same.” Representatives from Forks, however, felt that priority should have been given to communities that were “most in need,” that is, directly affected by the Northwest Forest Plan

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and the ESA listing of the Northern Spotted Owl. To them, these were the West End communities. Others, however, argued that the east side communities were hit equally as hard as the West End, and were just as deserving of Initiative dollars.

Forks representatives also argued that many West End communities, most of which were unincorporated, generally had limited staff time and resources to devote to project development and grant writing, thus putting them at a disadvantage when competing with larger, better-staffed jurisdictions. Although the city of Forks itself was well-staffed, including having its own economic development director, some Forks representatives felt that the community was not well-represented by the county. They felt that prioritization by the county was problematic due to a disparity of interests. Although the CCEDC did provide technical assistance and assisted with project management and design for understaffed communities, some argued that it wasn't enough. As one source stated, "It became apparent that those jurisdictions or entities that had the capacity to develop projects and write proposals (which were often those with paid staff to work on project development) were receiving funds disproportionately over those lower capacity communities."

Forks representatives subsequently challenged WA-CERT and the prioritization process, sending letters of complaint and compiling statistics to show that communities that were most affected by changes in the timber economy were not necessarily those being served under the Initiative. In response, WA-CERT increased efforts to better address those communities most in need. It developed the "Special Emphasis Area" designation to identify counties most heavily hit by changes to their timber economies, based on models derived from socioeconomic measures. The designation also included counties that were economically depressed due to declines in the fisheries industry. Although this process helped to focus attention on communities and counties that were in need, critics still argued that county-level designations were problematic. In Clallam County and other areas, the level of need and the range of interests were not uniform across a county. One interviewee observed, "There was the assumption that

the county would represent unincorporated communities. But that didn't happen. Unincorporated communities had no one to represent their needs."

Ultimately, however, prioritization did not necessarily determine funding. Projects with a relatively low ranking were often funded because they matched the criteria of what the agencies could fund. One interviewee explained, "Project number 10 could have been a feasibility study, while the number one project could have been for construction. If the agencies had money to fund a feasibility study then that's what would get funded." Another person stated, "One of the problems with the agencies is that they want to help you do what you want to do, but then they tell you that they don't like what you proposed, and that they don't have money for that."

Although Forks initially received a large amount of agency support and funding for Phase I of its Industrial Park (see description below), the community subsequently received relatively little in the way of Initiative dollars. One source attributed this subsequent lack of funds to agency preferences (or restrictions) on the kinds of projects that could be funded. For example, Forks was interested in building an incubator space at the Industrial Park, but without a 'bird-in-hand' business to lease the space, agencies were not interested in funding a "speculative" development, regardless of its local ranking. Instead, funds were directed to areas that had the greatest potential for job creation—areas that tended to be in the more populated cities. One interviewee provided the following perspective:

After the Forks Industrial Park project, the agencies thought they were done with Forks—they had this 'we did it' attitude. They were also uncomfortable with funding a speculative development [Phase II of the Industrial Park]. Forks got a big hit right away and then it stopped... Port Angeles was also heavily impacted by the changes in the timber industry. And there was more opportunity in Port Angeles than there was in Forks. There was a period during which Port Angeles received a lot of attention because there were some opportunities there...

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For agencies, it was a catch-22—to continue to receive funding they had to show a need and get the money spent, so they allocated the money where opportunities were—where successes could occur. It shines better on the program. Forks deserved it and needed it... They were one of the hardest impacted... Forks felt that the EDC was paying attention to Port Angeles. It was ‘us versus them’—Forks versus Port Angeles—and Forks got the short end of the stick.

Competition for funding within a county thus often resulted in investments in areas that offered the “greatest bang for the buck” rather than assisting under-served, low capacity communities.

Forks Projects

This section provides a description of projects funded under the NEAI in Forks.

Industrial Infrastructure Phase I

When the Forks Economic Development Steering Committee (FEDSC) formed in 1989, one of its top priorities was to develop an industrial park in the community with the goal of creating employment in value-added wood products manufacturing. At the time, Rayland, Inc., a subsidiary of ITT Rayonier, had been negotiating with the city of Forks to sell an 88-acre piece of industrially-zoned property located at the north end of the city. Rayonier had previously subdivided the site and put in a dirt road. By 1992, FEDSC had enlisted the support of the Governor’s Timber Team, who in turn introduced the project to several state and federal funding agencies, including the Washington State Department of Community, Trade and Economic Development (CTED), the U.S. Forest Service, and the Economic Development Administration (EDA).

While the City was in the midst of seeking funding for the project, a local community member, staff from the Governor’s Office, and CTED worked together to negotiate a lease agreement with PORTAC, Inc., a subsidiary of Mistui Corp., which owns sawmills in Tacoma and Beaver (about five miles north of Forks), producing lumber for export and domestic

markets. The company was interested in expanding its capabilities on the Olympic Peninsula to include planing and kiln drying to increase the economic stability of the Beaver sawmill and to reduce costs and inefficiencies associated with shipping green lumber to Tacoma or Chehalis (the two closest dry kiln facilities). After a year-and-a-half of negotiations, PORTAC agreed to develop a 20-acre dry kiln and planing mill at the Forks Industrial Park, and signed a nine-year lease with the City. PORTAC also agreed to provide custom drying to local mills to encourage value-added wood products manufacturing. In addition to the 20-acres developed for PORTAC, the Industrial Park project sought to develop 14 additional lots in five to seven-acre parcels, all served by water, power, and phone lines, and bordered by a paved roadway.

With a “bird-in-hand” business as the anchor tenant secured, the City was able to leverage funds from several funding agencies. “Because of our planning and our commitment and seriousness, the agencies took us seriously and supported us,” commented one local interviewee. Funding sources included a \$1.2 million grant from EDA, a \$500,000 grant from USDA-RD, \$70,000 from the Forest Service, \$100,000 from the Washington State Department of Transportation, a \$420,000 Community Development Block Grant, and \$500,000 from the State Community Economic Revitalization Board. The city of Forks contributed \$375,000 in cash, and Rayland (i.e., Rayonier) provided \$35,000 in in-kind contributions. Funds were used for pre-development and infrastructure development of the Industrial Park, including annexation of the property by the City; completion of feasibility and engineering studies and environmental impact statements; completion of 17,700 linear feet of water, electrical, and phone lines; interior roadway engineering and paving; and construction of the 84,000 square foot building (to be leased to PORTAC). PORTAC invested \$3.6 million in dry kiln and wood planing equipment. A portion of the State dollars was also used to pay the salary for a Forks Economic Development Director, who was at the time the Executive Director of FEDSC. Prior to this, this individual had been working as a volunteer on the project.

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All of the pre-development and a large portion of the development of the Industrial Park occurred in the early 1990s. As one interviewee noted, prior to NEAI there was very little interaction among the agencies. “As we worked with agencies we became acutely aware of the lack of communication between them and we let them know,” she stated. Interviewees identified a staff person from the Washington State Department of Transportation as the individual who “pulled all of the agencies together.” In addition to explaining to community members the roles and functions that each agency could play in the project, this individual was able to coordinate among the various agencies. The City also formed a strong alliance with the Clallam County EDC. One source describes the process as, “lots of horses pulling together...it required everyone to be together on this to make it happen.” One interviewee also commended the U.S. Forest Service for being the first agency to “step up to the plate,” and felt that the Forest Service’s support and flexibility of funds were critical to the success of the project. “Had the Forest Service not been flexible, it [the project] would not have happened... They gave us the benefit of the doubt.”

When the NEAI was launched in 1994, the city of Forks and the FEDSC applied through the CERT for funds to cover costs on additional construction and park infrastructure development. Because of its involvement with many of these agencies prior to NEAI, and the amount of work that had already been accomplished on the project, the City was able to easily receive an additional \$261,320 in a Rural Business Enterprise grant from USDA-Rural Development and a \$226,000 grant from the Forest Service-Rural Community Assistance Program. These funds were used to cover electrical and phone distribution for all 14 lots, the construction of a fire protection system for the PORTAC building, a project manager, and clearing and grading of 5.5-acre parcels for future incubator buildings.

In 1996, the PORTAC building and much of the infrastructure associated with the Industrial Park (i.e., road, water, electricity, and phone lines) was completed, and preliminary engineering for a second phase of development was underway. Approximately 42 full-time jobs were created at PORTAC’s dry kiln

and planing mill. The dry-kiln facility also helped to insure the continued operations and viability of the Beaver sawmill, which employs approximately 75 people. PORTAC also paid \$10,000 per month in rent to the City.

In addition to PORTAC, the Forestry Training Center (see below) was also located at the industrial park, along with a Washington State Department of Transportation office, which purchased a piece of property from Rayonier in the 1980s. The City now uses the lease money from the Industrial Park (as well as from the Forks Municipal Airport) to cover the salary for a full-time economic development director, as well as the costs of other economic development activities.

Industrial Park Development Phase IIA

One of the initial goals of developing the Forks Industrial Park was to promote value-added wood products manufacturing, as well as the growth of other industries that would help to diversify the local economy. PORTAC’s occupancy at the Industrial Park both promoted the goal of value-added wood products manufacturing, and provided jobs and a relatively stable source of income for the City. In addition to PORTAC’s presence, however, the City and FEDSC were also interested in creating space at the Industrial Park for smaller scale, local entrepreneurs to develop and/or expand their businesses. Part of the initial agreement established between PORTAC and the City was to provide local mills access to the dry kiln to encourage value-added processing of wood products. Thus, as the next phase of Industrial Park development (phase II), in 1997, the City applied for Initiative funds to develop a 3,000 square foot manufacturing/incubator space and complete the installation of roads and utilities to the additional parcels.

A few local businesses expressed interest in leasing incubator space, but, unclear about the timeline of the site’s availability, made no formal commitments to the site. The project was eventually put on hold. Although the Forest Service initially showed interest in funding the project, it later dropped the project, reportedly because there was no “bird-in-hand” business to lease the space.

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Quillayute Airport—The city of Forks hopes to develop this site into a functioning airport and industrial park.

Since then, the only funding that the City has received for the Industrial Park was in 1999, when the State Community Economic Revitalization Board awarded \$22,500 to the City to conduct a feasibility study for both the Industrial Park and the newly acquired Quillayute Airport (described below). Funds were used to determine needed infrastructure improvements at each site, and to identify industry types most appropriate for each. The city of Forks also provided an equivalent match (half in cash and half in in-kind) for the study.

Quillayute Airport

The Quillayute Airport is a former Naval Auxiliary Air Station located approximately 10 miles west of Forks. The airport has two concrete runways, each approximately 5,000 feet in length. The airport was built during World War II, but was closed following the War. In the 1960s, the federal government transferred the property to the state. In 1995, the city of Forks initiated efforts to acquire the property with the goal of rehabilitating and restoring the airport to provide space as an additional industrial park facility and a functioning airport for commercial and/or small planes. Although Forks already has a municipal airport at the south end of town, supporters of the Quillayute Airport development feel that the municipal airport has some limitations, including small

size, close proximity to town, and lack of instrument landing technology. The Quillayute Airport—being further from town—would pose less of a noise factor, is twice as large, and has runways that are in relatively good condition.

Staff from the City believe that air transportation is a “significant requirement for a community that wants to keep up with the rest of the world.” They feel that a commercial airport would help support the forest products, seafood, and tourism industries, as well as promote aviation-related business development on-site. The Quileute Tribe is also interested in the airport as a means to market value-added products like smoked salmon. The site originally housed 80 buildings, but only four remain. Currently one business that manufactures components for refurbishing classic airplanes is located at the airport. Another building is leased to the National Weather Service and houses the Quillayute weather station, equipped with an Automated Surface Observation System (ASOS).

In 1999, the 750 acres of airport property was deeded to the city of Forks by the Washington State Department of Transportation. In that same year, the City received a \$22,500 grant from the State Community Economic Revitalization Board to conduct a joint feasibility study of the Quillayute Airport and the Forks Industrial Park. The airport portion of the feasibility study included identifying appropri-

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ate businesses that could locate at the facility, how the airport could help attract businesses to the general area, and how the airport could facilitate transport of value-added products, components, and people associated with a business. In addition to Community Economic Revitalization Board funds, the City also received funding through the Federal Aviation Association to develop an Airport Master Plan. An infrastructure study was also completed that identified the need for a water system. The City received a \$654,000 federal appropriation for the Airport and \$120,000 from the State Department of Aviation. In 2000, the City also received a \$500,000 appropriation for the airport.

In 2000, the city of Forks applied through CERT for a \$25,000 grant from FS-RCA for rehabilitation efforts at the Quillayute Airport. Forest Service funding was requested for the development of a business plan and for surveying. Forest Service funds, however, required that the City provide a \$25,000 match. Because the City was unable to provide the match, the project was not funded.

Despite the lack of Forest Service funds, the City continues to move forward with the airport rehabilitation efforts. Much of the work of the Forks' Economic Development Director is currently focused on the Airport project. In 2000, representatives from the city of Forks were invited to attend the annual WA-CERT Symposium in Ellensburg for several days of intensive planning for the Quillayute Airport. A technical team of experts, including representatives from the Federal Aviation Administration and the Washington State Office of Trade and Economic Development, worked with Forks city staff to determine the assets and limitations of the site, and the potential for both aviation and non-aviation activities. City staff that attended the symposium were very impressed with the work that they were able to accomplish, stating that it was "an awesome experience." Master Plan development continues to progress, with a runway improvement project planned for the summer of 2002.

Community Needs Survey

In the mid-1990s, a group of volunteer citizens that comprised the Quillayute Valley Parks and Rec-

reation District (in the Forks area) decided to reform the District and identify the community's needs for recreation through a small recreation needs survey. The decision to reform the Parks and Recreation District came as a result of an increase in youth crime, a number of deaths in the community from drunk drivers and minors in possession of alcohol, and a dramatic increase in intoxication charges among minors. A new aquatic center was proposed to offer physical and mental health programs to residents of the greater Forks area, as well as to visitors. At the time, the closest public swimming pool was 60 miles from Forks in Port Angeles. In addition to a pool, the aquatic center would house other facilities, such as a meeting room, a kitchen, a fitness room, and a gym.

In the process of developing the survey, the Parks and Recreation Commissioners spoke with key individuals in the community and found that other groups were interested in information that could potentially be obtained from the survey. As a result, the original recreation survey was expanded to a larger community needs survey. Through small meetings and word of mouth, the Parks and Recreation Commissioners assembled an advisory panel of community leaders and members who could potentially benefit from the survey. Advisory panel members included representatives from the Forks Chamber of Commerce, the West End Business Association, the YMCA, the Forks Community Hospital, the Quillayute Valley School District, the Forks Economic Development Steering Committee, private practice physicians, and other local community groups. The Quillayute Valley School District was particularly interested in the survey because of its plans to run a bond levy in November 1997 for rehabilitation of all school buildings. The survey could thus be used to determine the level of support for the bond.

In 1997, the city of Forks received a \$23,000 grant from the Forest Service Rural Community Assistance Program on behalf of the Quillayute Valley Parks and Recreation District to conduct the community needs survey. The primary goal of the survey was to determine the level of support for an indoor swimming pool/recreational facility in Forks, as well as for a \$513,000 school improvement levy. By the time the grant funds had been awarded, however, the Parks

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and Recreation District and the School District had already paid \$7,170 for a consultant to conduct a preliminary study. Results of the study found that 93.5 percent of those surveyed felt a multi-use recreational facility was needed in Forks. Residents expressed the greatest interest (72.9 percent) in a swimming pool, followed by a weight/exercise room (36.5 percent).

The City used the Forest Service funds to hire a consultant to conduct a more detailed feasibility study of the aquatic center/community center. This study concentrated on the operational costs and income from such a center and also compared the proposed Forks' facility to similar indoor pools in the Northwest. Specifically, the study included revenue/expenditure projections, pool programming, construction costs, and financing. Completed in December 1999, the study found that Forks' area residents were very supportive of a pool (91 percent of survey respondents said they would use the facility) and would support a bond measure to help fund the facility. The study estimated a net operating deficit of \$47,000 during the first five years, that would gradually decrease over time. This deficit was comparable to other municipal pools in the region, all of which had operative deficits that were paid for by City general funds. Since the report was completed, several board members ran independent reviews of the income potential of the pool and determined that the consultants' income models were too conservative. In re-evaluating the pool's operation costs, the revised balance sheet showed a \$13,568 deficit in year one, that would decrease to zero by year four, and become a \$3,147 surplus by year five.

In February, 2000, Forks residents passed a bond to construct the aquatic center; however, the levy for maintenance and operation failed. The Parks and Recreation District is currently preparing to resubmit the levy.

Regional Projects

This section describes regional projects that, while not developed or prioritized by the city of Forks, included and/or had some effect on the Forks community.

The Forestry Training Center

In 1994, the North Olympic Timber Action Committee, a Port Angeles-based, nonprofit representing commercial forestry interests, in collaboration with the Clallam County EDC, applied for Initiative funds to develop a Forest Technology and Training Institute (known as the Forestry Training Center). The Center would provide training on the use of advanced harvesting equipment and silvicultural procedures for small diameter tree harvesting and thinning. With anticipated shifts in federal forest management practices to selective thinning for fire prevention and ecosystem management, many industry professionals projected that future logging would be dependent on the use of new mechanized harvesting technologies. These new technologies included highly specialized, computer-aided, cut-to-length equipment that could cut and delimb selected trees, cut trunks to length, and stack the logs. What proponents of the Forestry Training Center (FTC) argued was that, although the technology existed, there was a lack of trained operators. Due to the high cost of the equipment (with prices starting at around \$800,000), and the complexity of its use and procedures, careful training was required to prevent expensive errors and damage to the machinery. The FTC would thus provide training in the use of this equipment, as well as other selective harvesting practices such as cable systems and helicopter logging.

The concept for FTC began in 1990 with discussions among faculty at the University of Washington, Washington State Department of Natural Resources staff, and equipment manufacturers. The idea was modeled after similar training centers in Sweden, where the equipment was first developed, and would be the first and only such center in the U.S.² A few logging contractors were especially interested in FTC to provide training for its own workers on the use of the equipment. By 1993, a large number of individuals and institutions were participating in the planning of the project, including the University of Washington School of Forestry; Clallam and Jefferson County Commissioners; the U.S. Forest Service; DNR; Clallam County EDC; NOTAC; Peninsula Col-

2. A similar school exists in Quebec, Canada.

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lege; Washington Pulp and Paper Workers; Olympic Natural Resources Center; equipment sales persons; private land owners; logging contractors; and Congressional members and staff. In 1994, FTC was incorporated as a nonprofit organization, with a 17-member board of directors. The executive directors of the Clallam County EDC and NOTAC served as interim staff until permanent staff were hired.

In 1994, the Clallam County EDC received a \$50,000 grant from the Forest Service-Rural Community Assistance Program (FS-RCA) for FTC. A year later, the Forest Service awarded \$250,000 for the project, which was matched by a local contribution of \$85,821 and a \$800,000 machine donated by the equipment manufacturer. In 1996, the Forest Service provided another \$250,000 grant, this time matched with \$300,000 in funds from the Old Growth Diversification Fund (federal Forest Service funds administered through the State Department of Community, Trade, and Economic Development). Funds were used to hire an Interim Operations Manager to help with initial planning and administration, as well as to help cover salaries for seven instructors/trainers, fuel, equipment repair, and office expenses. FTC also received a \$950,821 Title III grant through the Department of Labor's Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA) (administered through the Olympic Job Training Center in Port Angeles) to cover the costs of tuition for up to 88 displaced timber workers. The hope was that over time, employers and land owners would begin to demand a certain skill level of their employees, thereby increasing the demand for training services provided through FTC.

The school opened in 1996, providing training in the use of the cut-to-length equipment and hand falling for cable thinning. Initially FTC was temporarily housed at Olympic Natural Resources Center, but was later moved to a facility constructed in 1997 at the Forks Industrial Park.³

Tuition and other expenses for training as a cut-to-length operator was \$14,709, and \$2,447 for hand falling. By the end of the first year, 14 students had graduated from the two programs. In 1997, the

curriculum was expanded to four types of training: harvester operator, forwarder operator, hand thinning faller, and pruning supervisor. By mid-1998, 33 students had enrolled in the cut-to-length training, 30 of whom received scholarships through the Olympic Job Training Center. Of the 33 enrolled, 19 graduated from the program and found employment in the industry, five were still in training, four quit the program, and five completed the course but were not certified. Of the 31 students enrolled in the hand falling program, 22 graduated and 18 of these found jobs in the industry, two were still in training, three completed the program but were not certified, and four quit the program. The average annual income after graduation for those who found jobs related to the training ranged from \$45,000 to \$50,000.

During the first two years of the program, FTC received a tremendous amount of support (including financial, technical, and political) and publicity via newspaper articles, field tours by elected representatives, and conference presentations. NOTAC and the Clallam County EDC received one of 10 Action Awards given by the U.S. Forest Service national office for the development of FTC. WA-CERT touted the program as representing the "essence of the Economic Adjustment Initiative...a project for workers, for community, for business development and... for ecosystem enhancement (Berkholtz 1996:22)." With JTPA retraining funds covering tuition for most of the students, the school was able to bring in a relatively large number of students. Access to active timber sales provided by private and public land owners and logging companies enabled the students to have practical, hands-on training experience. For example, during the first year Rayonier provided 130 acres of land for the Cut-to-Length Training Program, and the Department of Natural Resources designated a 110-acre timber sale to FTC. The FTC also collaborated with Peninsula Community College, located in Port Angeles and provided students with complementary training in electronics, silviculture, computers, hydraulics, and general equipment maintenance. Peninsula College also initially covered the payroll for FTC staff.

3. Although the city of Forks was not directly involved in the school, nor was it a local priority with regards to NEAI funding (i.e., the Forestry Training Center was not a "Forks project"), they did support the project and welcomed a new tenant to the Industrial Park. Several Forks' residents also went through the training program.

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Despite the initial enthusiasm and support that FTC received, the school faced a number of problems and barriers. The equipment company that had originally “donated” the cut-to-length equipment to the school, faced with financial difficulties of its own, withdrew the donation of the \$800,000 machine. Although the company provided \$200,000 in credit toward the purchase, the decision to purchase the machine became a major financial burden to the school. In addition to making payments on the machinery, the school incurred additional expenses such as repairing the equipment that was damaged during training.

More seriously, however, was the lack of demand for cut-to-length equipment operators. One of the initial assumptions of the FTC was that there would be a growing demand for silvicultural thinning throughout the forests of the Pacific Northwest. Initial proposals for the school estimated that 1.8 million acres of forest land in Western Washington was in need of thinning, resulting in 400 million board feet of lumber per year. Additional analyses estimated that over 1,000 operators of cut-to-length equipment would be needed over the next 10 years in the Pacific Northwest. The founders of FTC had also assumed that some public forest lands would be available for this type of activity. With the curtailment of most logging on federal forest lands and a dramatic decline in harvests on state lands, however, actual demand for thinning was substantially lower than originally estimated. One interviewee, commenting on the lack of demand for cut-to-length equipment operators, explained:

It never caught on. Companies were not interested in going in that direction at the time. [FTC] thought it would happen at a much larger scale. But there was not a high demand for the use of that technology. It was too early in the game.

Not only did the decline in state and federal timber sales reduce the demand for operators and thereby contribute to a reduction in FTC’s enrollment, but much of the state and federal forest lands expected to be available for training purposes were

also unavailable. On-the-ground training was thus limited. The school was forced to rely on private land (primarily Rayonier) for the majority of its training. One source commented, “...the irony was that Federal Government helped with the funding of the FTC and they were also part of the problem through the U.S. Forest Service. The high-tech machinery were dependent upon vast acres of Forest Service land for thinning and Forest Service policy prevented this from happening.” With a growing uncertainty of available jobs, the JTPA funds that had initially been available to students to cover the costs of tuition were not renewed. The majority of students that initially attended the school had depended upon these funds to cover the high cost of tuition. The drop in financial assistance thus contributed largely to the declining enrollment.

Additional problems included a lack of funds to market the program, reducing the potential pool of applicants. Although the FTC staff had strong academic and teaching backgrounds, their business management skills were limited, leading to poor fiscal accounting. With the loss of income from declining enrollment, coupled with the growing expenses of purchasing and repairing equipment, the school faced a major financial crisis. To cover its costs, FTC began to rely increasingly on logging revenue from its training exercises. When the school first opened, 80 to 90 percent of its revenue came from tuition, with only a small percentage of its operating budget coming from logging. Five years later, sources reported that the majority of FTC’s revenue was generated through logging contracts. “The Center started logging in order to pay its bills...It became a private logging company,” stated one interviewee. Because thinning contracts were limited, the school had to compete with other logging companies for jobs. However, since FTC had access to highly specialized equipment and continued government grants to cover some costs, the school had an advantage over other contractors. Local contractors began to feel resentful towards the school. One person observed, “Negative sentiment arose...Community support for the project began to fail.”

Attempts were made to save the school from financial ruin. In 1999, Senator Slade Gordon passed

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a \$600,000 federal appropriations bill to cover the debt accrued by the FTC. By that time, however, support for the project had waned. The school eventually closed in the summer of 2001. Some feel that the concept of FTC is still valid, and that the school could work utilizing computer simulation. Others felt that the school would have been more successful [had it been located in the southeastern U.S.] where jobs were more readily available.

WoodNet Trade Show/Buyers Guide

In 1990, the Clallam County Economic Development Council, in collaboration with the University of Washington-Northwest Policy Center, initiated a project to network small secondary wood products manufacturers on the Olympic Peninsula. The network, called WoodNet, was designed to bring together small wood products manufacturing firms and individual artisans (primarily those involved in producing high-quality, value-added products for niche markets) to work collaboratively to market their products; diversify their product line; and share information and resources. Initially funded by a three-year, \$300,000 grant from the Northwest Area Foundation, by 1992, WoodNet had attracted the attention of over 300 small companies and artisans (mainly one- to two-person operations) in Clallam, Jefferson, Mason, and Grays Harbor Counties. In 1992, WoodNet officially became a private nonprofit membership organization structured as a rural cooperative, and established a small office in Port Angeles.

WoodNet used a number of strategies to support and promote its members, including producing two wholesale catalogs that were distributed to retail stores across the U.S.; participating in trade shows (both domestic and international); offering individual business assistance and counseling (e.g., targeting markets, closing sales, and negotiating payment terms); and investigating the concept of a manufacturing technology center to serve its members as well as other similar networks in the Northwest (Sommers 1998). WoodNet obtained partial funding for these projects through NEAI dollars. Specifically, in 1994, WoodNet received a \$15,000

grant from the Forest Service Rural Community Assistance Program to fund a trade show and a second buyers' guide. The buyers' guide, modeled after one produced the previous year, featured color photographs of the work of 26 producers, with products ranging from furniture, wood carvings, decorative craft items, toys, and cutlery, to non-wood product items,⁴ such as jewelry, wine, and smoked salmon. Approximately 8,000 copies of the catalog were distributed to retailers nationwide. By bringing many small companies together, all were able to market their products nationally (something that they could not have done independently).

The Forest Service grant was also used to fund a mini-trade show that featured construction products made by WoodNet members. The goal was to introduce members to new markets and to serve as a forum for networking among manufacturers and buyers. The trade show, which occurred at the Seattle Sheraton Hotel in August, 1994, showcased the work of 21 small and medium construction products manufacturers. These included manufacturers of molding/millwork, doors/frames and windows/frames, engineered wood products, furniture/cabinets, pre-fabricated housing, and arts/crafts. Approximately 100 buyers attended the show, including wholesalers and retailers (from local, national, and international firms), freight forwarders, banks, warehousing facilities, shippers, industrial suppliers, ports, forestry organizations, and trade organizations. The total cost of the event was \$30,000. Additional funding for the event was provided by Seafirst Bank, Washington Export Assistance, and WoodNet, with participants paying \$200 to attend. In a short survey conducted of participants, many reported making meaningful contacts at the show, and most felt that the show was a success.

Despite the success of these projects, WoodNet faced a number of challenges with regards to becoming a self-sustaining organization. By 1994, Northwest Area Foundation funds had been exhausted and no additional funds were granted. Because the majority of WoodNet's members were small firms with limited financial resources, membership dues or

4. Other jurisdictions and communities also provided some funds, albeit considerably less.

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fees were insufficient to cover costs. Although WoodNet reported several positive effects for companies, it did not have a systematic means of monitoring these benefits, making it difficult to convince state and federal agencies to provide funding (Sommers 1998). The remote locations of many of WoodNet's members were also problematic in terms of networking and providing assistance. Meetings were held in different areas on a regular basis, which required members to travel long distances. One member commented that "we always had to travel two hours." By providing one-on-one business assistance to its members, WoodNet's small staff (one director and one intern) was required to travel constantly throughout the Peninsula. A few interviewees mentioned that WoodNet may have worked better today due to improved communications technologies such as the internet and video conferencing. By 1995, in an effort to become self-sufficient, WoodNet staff focused their attention on securing state, federal, and private dollars to develop a manufacturing technology center that would generate a steady source of revenue for the organization. When this effort failed in 1996, WoodNet was forced to close.

Although defunct, many WoodNet members are still in business. One Forks' resident was able to sell his hand turned bowls in a Harry and David catalog as a result of the connections made through WoodNet. In addition, other regional networks modeled after WoodNet, including Woodcraft Network, a group of small companies in Skagit County, Washington; and an Intermountain WoodNet, a group of firms in Idaho and Montana (Sommers 1998), have since formed.

WoodNet's effect on Forks residents, however, was minimal. One resident reportedly was able to sell his hand turned bowls in a Harry and David catalogue as a result of connections made through WoodNet. Of the 26 participants included in the 1994 catalogue, one (who manufactured driftwood planter baskets) was from Forks. Similarly, of the 20 companies that participated in the Mini Trade Show, one (a manufacturer of recycled laminated wood products) was from Forks.

Planning and Tourism Projects

In the early 1990s, the Clallam County EDC identified the need to promote tourism in the West End, particularly in the unincorporated communities that were heavily affected by timber industry declines. The area had recently experienced a downturn in visitors due to fishing closures, regional marketing pressures, and what many felt was a lack of a positive image of the Olympic Peninsula as a result of the spotted owl controversy and the negative press surrounding logging. The North Olympic Peninsula Visitor and Convention Bureau, a Port Angeles-based nonprofit whose mission was to promote tourism on the North Olympic Peninsula, documented business closures, staff reductions, and drops in visitor counts on the Peninsula in 1994. To help boost tourism in the region, the Clallam County EDC, along with several Clallam County communities—including the city of Forks—provided funds to hire a Tourism and Marketing Coordinator for the Visitor Bureau. The goal was to develop a News Bureau to promote travel to the Peninsula (especially during the off-season); to change the image of the Peninsula from clear cuts, spotted owls, and salmon fishing closures to ecotourism and good stewardship of resources; to promote "soft adventures" (e.g., hiking, backpacking, kayaking) and ecotourism; and to create a positive business climate.

The woman who was hired for the position was a Forks resident. County and local funds supported her position for two years, during which time she worked on special projects, particularly in the unincorporated communities of the West End. In 1994, the Bureau received a \$30,000 grant from the Forest Service Rural Community Assistance Program to fund the position for an additional year, with the city of Forks providing a \$17,000 match⁵. With these additional funds, she was able to put together press packets and to organize "familiarization" trips with national and international travel writers and journalists, generating positive press about the North Olympic Peninsula. In addition, she placed advertisements in AAA magazines, airline magazines, and other travel guides. In March 1995 alone, the num-

5. Other jurisdictions and communities also provided some funds, albeit considerably less.

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ber of calls to the Visitor Information Bureau was three times higher than the previous March, with 24,818 inquires over the course of the year.

Another outcome of the coordinator's position was the creation of tourist information packets for the West End, including a lodging guide, information on Olympic National Park, and a "five-day guide" of the west side of the Olympic Peninsula. The five-day guide brochure highlighted day trips that could be made around the area over a five day period, encouraging longer stays and more spending. Other communities on the Peninsula, such as Sekiu, Sequim, and Port Angeles, are now creating their own five-day guide modeled after the West End guide. In the first year of developing the tourist information packet, 2,000 copies were circulated. The packet is still being used today, with over 17,000 copies now circulated.

In 1995, the coordinator was selected as the Washington State Travel and Tourism Employee of the Year. She was also selected as one of 20 Washington representatives to attend the first Travel and Tourism Conference held in Washington, D.C.

Job Training Partnership Act

As part of the Northwest Economic Adjustment Initiative's effort to assist displaced timber workers and their families, the U.S. Department of Labor, through the Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA), provided additional Title III Secretary's Reserve Funds (referred to as Timber Grants) to regional and local service providers. Each of the Timber Grants ran for a two-year period and provided additional assistance to dislocated workers, including early intervention programs, occupational skills training, job search assistance, support services, and relocation assistance. Woods product workers who lost their jobs in mass layoffs or plant closings and other displaced timber workers were eligible for benefits. In 1995, the Department of Labor expanded eligibility to include secondary and tertiary workers (i.e., those living in timber-affected communities who lost their jobs or businesses as a result of general economic decline).

The Department of Labor used the Timber Grants to supplement and complement existing national discretionary funds provided through JTPA

that were based on population, unemployment, and the number of expected layoffs within a designated region or Service Delivery Area. In addition to the Timber Grants, other federal and state programs also provided funds for retraining displaced timber workers. The federal programs included the Trade Adjustment Act (TAA), which provided aid to workers who lost their jobs due to increased imports. If the federal government certified a company under the TAA, workers could receive up to 104 weeks of approved training, re-employment services, income support (including payments for up to 52 weeks after unemployment benefits were exhausted), a job search allowance covering expenses incurred in seeking employment outside of a normal commuting area, and reimbursement for relocation. A similar program began in the 1990s as a result of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), which provided benefits similar to TAA for workers displaced as a result of increased trade with Canada and Mexico. In addition, as part of the Governor's Timber Team, the state legislature authorized a Timber Training Benefits program, which allowed those dislocated from the timber industry to qualify for additional unemployment and training benefits. The program was later expanded to include those displaced from the fisheries and aeronautics industries.

In Washington, regional entities, referred to as Private Industry Councils, applied to the U.S. Department of Labor, via the Washington State Employment Security Department, for Timber Grants. The Department of Labor then awarded the grants to a local entity (commonly a county) that represented a Service Delivery Area to administer the funds and contract out services to local service providers.

Under JTPA, Clallam, Jefferson, and Kitsap Counties were grouped into a single Service Delivery Area, known as the Olympic Consortium. The Consortium was governed by the Olympic Private Industry Council (PIC) and the nine county commissioners for the region (three from each county). The Private Industry Council was made up of private employers, public agency representatives, schools, organized labor, housing authorities, economic development agencies, and community-based organizations, as well as state agencies such as the

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Employment Security Department, the Department of Social and Health Services, and the Division of Vocational Rehabilitation. Kitsap County served as the fiscal administrator of the Timber Grants and contracted services to Clallam and Jefferson Counties. In Clallam County, actual service delivery was provided by the Washington State Employment Security Department.

Between 1994 and 2000, the Olympic Consortium received a total of \$5,782,199 in Timber Grants, of which \$5,405,002 was expended. A total of 1,029 people were served with these additional funds. The job placement rate following participation in the program was 73 percent. In addition to providing direct services to clients, the Timber Grants were also used to hire additional staff. The Consortium hired seven additional counselors. The Consortium also received a separate grant of \$950,821 for the Forestry Training Center (see project description above for more details), expending \$718,780 and serving 59 trainees of which 39 were placed in jobs following completion of the program. Due to confidentiality issues, the number of individuals served from Forks was not available. Both service providers and residents agree, however, that most of those that went through retraining, apart from working at the Clallam Bay Corrections Center, were forced to move away from the community to find jobs. One resident commented, "It is firmly believed by many of us here in the community that the retraining program resulted in us changing our exportation of products. We, as a natural resource dependent community, went from exporting fish and tree to exporting skilled laborers and newly retrained workers."

To inform displaced workers about their benefits, the JTPA service providers advertised through the mass media, and also visited plants where a closure was expected. In the mid to late 1980s, an outreach team visited individual shake mills in the Forks area, many of which were certified under TAA due to increased competition from foreign imports, to notify owners and workers about their benefits. One of the counselors for the Forks' program was a displaced timber worker and an active community member, and was thus able to use his personal contacts to inform people about available services and benefits.

Barriers to Retraining

Interviewees identified several barriers to retraining. At the individual level, many were reluctant or fearful of returning to school. Many timber workers had begun working in the industry at age 16 or 17, often dropping out of high school to earn a salary that was "more than what the teacher was making." Because they had been out of school for so long, many were apprehensive about returning. Retraining also often meant relocating and/or working for a salary that was much less than what they had been making in the past. In addition, many were wary of receiving government assistance. One interviewee states, "A barrier was, of course, even wanting to go through training... There was so much emotional upheaval and resentment, anger and hostility... This was a legislative fiat, so there was this 'they are out to get us' attitude."

The physical distance to training centers created one barrier specific to Forks and other West End residents. Peninsula College, the closest community college, was 62 miles away in Port Angeles. The closest four-year institution and vocational/technical colleges were over twice that distance. Many people were reluctant to move or to commute such long distances for retraining. Although Peninsula College has a satellite campus in Forks, it would not offer a class unless at least 10 people were interested in a particular subject. Most used the satellite campus to complete their GED and/or to take computer classes.

If an individual decided to retrain in a new occupation, he/she was often forced to relocate or, if employed, commute long distances due to a lack of local jobs. One Forks resident commented, "You can train people all you want, but unless there are other economic alternatives in the area, people are not going to stay here." The Training, Institutional Development and Education Services (TIDES) program, which provided retraining as prison corrections officers, was one of the few programs that allowed West End residents to remain relatively close to home. One source commented, however, that the number employed in the prisons was significantly less than those that had been employed in the timber industry.

One of the unique characteristics of Forks, which also made assistance through Timber Grants

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problematic, was that timber industry jobs losses were not associated with a single large mill closure resulting in mass layoffs. When the Olympic Consortium applied for Timber Grant funds, it was usually associated with an expected or recent mill closure. Because the majority of timber companies in Forks were small, family-run operations, job losses occurred in small increments rather than in one large layoff event. The ability to predict a small mill or company closure was more difficult, making both recruitment of workers and estimation of needed funds more difficult. One interviewee observes, “Because of the number of small gyppo operations, getting information out about retraining services and assistance was not as easy as if there had been a mill layoff. Companies also didn’t close at the same time—some were able to hang in there longer than others. So people would trickle in rather than come all at once.” Mills would also close for a period and then reopen. One interviewee commented, “they [dislocated workers] would often be in a training program and all of a sudden their employer would offer them their old job back, so they’d quit the program.”

The timing and methods for allocating Timber Grants proved to be a major institutional barrier to serving dislocated workers, particularly for areas such as Forks that had a more dispersed timber industry. Because funding was determined by the number of anticipated layoffs, it was much easier to estimate job losses and approve a grant for a large mill closure than to respond to the “trickling in” of laid off workers, as was the case in Forks. “The

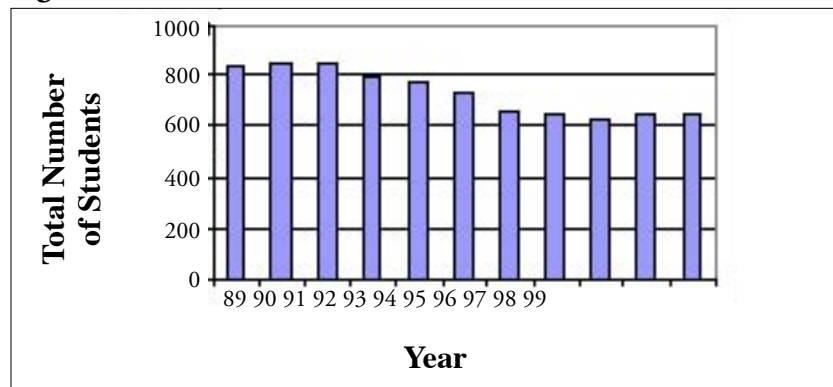
problem was that to apply for money, you had to predict layoffs for the subsequent year—document intent. But with small industries, they didn’t have a massive layoff that could be easily planned for... Sometimes a company would die in fits and starts,” one interviewee said.

The timing of the grants also presented a major problem. Because the PIC submitted grant applications based on when it could justify a large enough service population, the date a grant was submitted would vary from year to year. Consequently, grants were often awarded out of sync with training schedules—for example, one month after a community college term started. One interviewee explained, “If someone came in looking for assistance in August, but the money wasn’t available until December, then they couldn’t attend the fall term at a school... This made it difficult to provide quality training.”

In addition to problems with the timing of grant awards, the amount of funding that a person could receive was also dependent on when in the grant cycle he/she started the program. One service provider gave the following example:

If a person came in at Halloween, then we could help him go to school for two years. If someone came in nine months later, he didn’t have as much time—the majority of resources had already been allocated... If someone wanted to participate in a grant but was laid off at the wrong time, he didn’t get a full ride... There was no continuity to insure that if an individual’s needs were not

Figure 4: Enrollment at Forks School



Source: National Center for Education Statistics

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met on one grant there would be funding on the next grant... It limited the amount of assistance we could carry out... [We] need to have a standard set of resources continually available when a person wants them.

Transferring an individual over to a subsequent grant also presented problems due to uncertainty over the grant amount and the timing of an award. In addition, the Department of Labor viewed a transfer as a negative termination on the first grant, thus lowering performance standard ratings.

One interviewee felt that the Timber Grants program would have been more successful if it had been modeled after the TAA and NAFTA programs. Because the TAA and NAFTA programs were based on appropriated funds (versus supplemental grants) they functioned independently of the PICs, and had no timing restrictions—an individual could use the money when he/she needed it. One person contrasted the two programs,

A big problem was that the [timber] grants were first come, first serve. As the pot dwindled, there wasn't as much training money available... This is in contrast to TAA/NAFTA... the money is out there and you can draw it down as you need it. It wasn't an annual amount based on need. The Timber Grants were two year grants that had to be spent within two years. TAA/NAFTA were kind of a program. Those that were eligible got the money. It was kind of like Unemployment Insurance. You can get it if you are eligible and need it.

Although the Timber Grants often complemented or supplemented the TAA and NAFTA grants, participants commonly referred to TAA and NAFTA as “Cadillac” programs, and the Timber Grants as the “Broken Chevy.” Service providers felt that TAA-NAFTA were good, functioning models that had a positive impact on dislocated workers.

Current Socioeconomic Condition and Effects of NEAI on Community Well-Being

Socioeconomic Condition

According to 2000 Census statistics, the population of Forks is 3,120, up from 2,862 in 1990. Within the past decade, however, the City annexed three housing subdivisions, which could account for most of the increase. Project growth by the state was 3,460, suggesting that in fact the population has decreased in the past decade. County-wide, the population increased by 15 percent, from 56,204 in 1990 to 64,525 in 2000—an 86 percent increase. Much of this growth, however, occurred in Port Angeles and Sequim. Sequim, in particular, has experienced a tremendous influx of retirees over the past 10 years. These newcomers are attracted by affordable housing, Sequim's proximity to the Olympic Mountains, and a relatively mild climate caused by the rain shadow effect of the Olympics.⁶

The ethnic composition of Forks is also changing, with 15.5 percent of the population of Hispanic

or Latino origin, up from 5.3 percent reported in 1990. The majority of Hispanic immigrants come from Mexico and Guatemala, and originally arrived in the Forks area in the 1970s to plant trees. Later, many worked in the shake industry as bolt cutters. Many Hispanic workers in Forks are currently employed as “independent contractors” in the floral greens industry, harvesting salal, fern, and moss for large suppliers and distributing companies.

According to interviews conducted by Rodriguez (1997), the Hispanic population living in the Forks area has increased from about 15 in the 1970s, to 36 in 1980, to about 900 in 1997. The dramatic increase in the Hispanic population has created some tension in the community. Because many are undocumented citizens, Hispanics are often targeted by police. Many Hispanic families utilize local social services, further fueling resentment among some community members. Despite the racial tensions and

6. Sequim, and eastern Clallam County, have been referred to as the “banana belt” of the Olympic Peninsula.

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language barriers, community members welcome the diversity and are interested in improving relations among Hispanics and whites. The schools have established a bilingual program and a migrant program,⁷ the Catholic Church offers a Spanish mass, and a clinic serving immigrant families has opened (Rodriguez 1997). One resident stated, “A lot of community members want them to feel like part of the community.” The Hispanic community itself has also become more organized—forming social groups and organizing cultural events. A Mexican market and a Mexican restaurant have also opened in the past 10 years.

Although Forks appears to be surviving economically from a visitor’s perspective, with several new hotels, motels, retail shops, and a variety of restaurants, some sources feel that many of these businesses are barely keeping afloat. “People are hanging on the edge... There’s a lag time between the initiation of the economic downturn and the effects... At the beginning, people could rely on their savings to keep going, now their savings are drying up,” observed one resident. Another person stated that “we are still dealing with the ripple effect,” meaning the loss of businesses (e.g., clothing stores, gas stations, restaurants, grocery stores) in the community resulting from the decline in the timber industry. Still another felt that, “the booming national economy of the mid to late 1990s helped us to keep afloat... Sales tax revenues have stayed the same since 1989... Strong state and national economy helped prop up Forks’ economy.” Others attribute the survival of the community to employment at the Clallam Bay Corrections Center, which is currently the largest single employer on the West End. Clearly, employment opportunities at the prison have made a difference. Nonetheless, with the 2001-2002 national recession, many are concerned that the community may face greater economic challenges in the next few years and are a “crisis away from big struggle.” Volunteerism, for example, with the fire department, has dropped. Because many people now commute longer distances to work (for example, to the Clallam Bay Corrections Center), some sources felt that people no

longer have the time to volunteer.

Preliminary 2000 Census statistics reveal that poverty has increased in the community, with 20.5 percent of individuals living in poverty compared to 13.6 percent in 1990. Poverty among children under 18 has increased to 25.7 percent in 2000, compared to 13.6 percent in 1990. Unemployment is also up from 4.8 percent in 1990 to 5.7 percent in 2000. One indicator of the socioeconomic changes that have occurred over the past 10 years is the number of elementary school children eligible for Free and Reduced Lunch. At Forks Elementary School, this value has steadily increased from 43 percent in 1994 to 60 percent in 1999. Elementary school enrollment has decreased by 23 percent between 1989 and 1999 (see Figure 4).

Employment has shifted from the private to the public sector. Apart from the prisons, other major public employers in the Forks area include the Quilayute Valley School District (with 234 employees), the Forks Community Hospital (230 employees), Olympic National Park (132 employees regionally), Washington Department of Natural Resources (117 employees regionally, and 54 locally), and the Quileute Tribal Council (75 employees) (Clallam County EDC 2002). The major private sector employers include PORTAC (with 105 employees), Forks Thrifty Mart (with 90 employees), and Allen Logging Company (sawmill and planing mill, with 60 employees) (Clallam County EDC 2002). With current declines in government budgets, some residents expressed concern about the future job market.

Despite these hardships, community capacity in Forks also remains strong. City staff and community members remain politically and socially active. A strong logging culture⁸ and interest in maintaining a viable timber economy remain. To further promote tourism in Forks, the community has established an “Art Trek” tour in the summer months, with several galleries featuring the works of over 40 local artists and craftspeople. Many residents feel that the community is more economically diverse than in the past. The industrial park, for example, is currently seek-

7. The Title I Migrant Program provides additional educational assistance in schools to children of migrant families living in Washington (Rodriguez 1997).

8. The Forks Visitors Center houses a logging museum and a memorial to loggers.

ing ways to attract other manufacturing companies outside of the timber industry. Plans for the development of the Quillayute Airport focus on promoting the aeronautics industry. The community has been a major player in advancing telecommunications in the area. For example, representatives from the community have been heavily involved in the Sappho Gap Project, a telecommunications initiative designed to complete a fiber optics “loop” around the Olympic Peninsula. Completion of the “loop” will provide a redundant telecommunications system, opening up the potential for “high-tech” businesses to operate in the area. Forks High School is equipped with video conferencing capabilities, and the hospital has advanced “tele-medicine” technology that links patients to doctors in Seattle. Despite a reduction in volunteerism, many residents feel that the community still has “spirit and drive.” For example, last year the community raised \$87,000 in two days for a collage scholarship fund, an amount that had been increasing each year by five to 10 percent. One resident stated, “You’d think that as tight as money is these days, this wouldn’t happen year after year.” These changes in socioeconomic condition, both positive and negative, are useful in understanding the context in which NEAI took place. Given the minimal number of projects in Forks, however, it is highly unlikely that these changes are in any way a result of Initiative projects. The following section discusses some potential effects of NEAI projects in Forks.

Effects of NEAI on Community Capacity

This section describes some of the potential effects of NEAI on community capacity in Forks. 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 (Kusel 1996). For this study, we identify five dimensions of community capacity: (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 abilities and capabilities of residents; (4) cultural capital, which includes the myths, beliefs, norms, and lifeways 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). In evaluating the effects of NEAI projects on community capacity, we break our analysis down into these various dimensions.

The NEAI played a relatively minor role in improving community capacity in Forks. This can be attributed to the relatively small number of projects that were funded in the community. Nevertheless, projects funded through NEAI did provide some benefits.

Physical and Financial Capital

Initiative funds contributed to the infrastructure development of the Forks Industrial Park. Although the City initiated the project prior to NEAI, Initiative funds helped to complete the project. The physical capital improvements associated with the project were vital to the creation of new jobs, but also made an important contribution to the City’s financial capital. Income generated from PORTAC’s lease, combined with revenues from the Forks Municipal Airport, have allowed the City to fund a full-time economic development director for the past six years. The City is hoping to generate additional revenue with the renovation of the Quillayute Airport. Promotion of tourism on the West End has also contributed to the financial capital of the community by bringing in more tourist dollars.

Human and Social Capital

Although not specifically targeted to Forks residents, regional projects, such as the Forestry Training Center and WoodNet, contributed to the development of human capital (i.e., skills, education, and experience). The Forestry Training Center provided training opportunities in the use of cut-to-length equipment and harvesting procedures for small diameter tree thinning. WoodNet helped build human capacity by providing business development and marketing assistance, and connecting producers with buyers. Both of these projects, however, eventually

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failed, and, given the substantial dollar investment in these programs, it is questionable whether they achieved any long-term benefit at all.

The Community Needs Survey, which focused on the need for an Aquatics Center, brought together a diverse array of community service, educational, and economic development groups in an effort to understand and better meet the needs of Forks residents. Although an Aquatics Center is what many consider “soft” community development, an overwhelming majority of residents supported the project and felt it would strengthen and improve the quality of life in the community.

Overall, NEAI also provided a forum in which community leaders could broaden their awareness of resources, policies, and processes. Through their participation on the WA-CERT board, Forks’ leaders gained greater knowledge of programs and larger, regional issues. One interviewee commented, “NEAI served as a catalyst...It provided a forum...it allowed the community to participate at a broader level—to be heard and understood.” Although the knowledge obtained through the community’s participation in WA-CERT didn’t result in a large number of funded projects, some feel that Forks is still better off as a result of its participation. “Forks’ capacity, awareness of resources, and policy awareness has grown. They now know how to work at the regulatory level... NEAI has allowed Forks to deepen its partnerships—they are seeing themselves in a larger context. Because they had been so isolated, they now see themselves differently. They are now a leader in the state,” stated one source. Others, however, feel that Forks’ capacity to work at the regulatory level and its involvement in larger regional economic development issues is a result of the City’s frustration with NEAI. One source stated, “Since we were not being served by the

NEAI process, we went to other efforts....[NEAI] reaffirmed with us the need to play the game at a different level and in a different manner.” Another interviewee commented, “Forks survival was by using other tactics [than WACERT]... We circumvented WACERT.”

Effects of NEAI on Timber Industry Workers

A significant proportion of Initiative dollars that came through Forks and Clallam County went towards improving conditions for displaced timber workers. The long-term success of these efforts, however, was limited due to the failure of many of these programs to survive, and the small percentage of displaced timber workers who were actually served. Nevertheless, Initiative-funded projects and programs did help some individuals. By securing PORTAC as the anchor tenant at the Forks Industrial Park, 42 new timber-industry jobs were created in the community, in addition to helping to secure the viability of PORTAC’s Beaver Mill. Over \$1.8 million dollars in NEAI funds⁹ were invested in the Forestry Training Center (FTC), providing training to approximately 100 people. The high cost per trainee (approximately \$20,000 per student), the large scale at which each trained worker would operate, coupled with an uncertain job market, however, proved unsustainable. JTPA funds helped support training at FTC, and also provided retraining opportunities for displaced timber workers that were interested in transitioning to other occupations. Nevertheless, many interviewees stated that the numbers served through the FTC and the Olympic Consortium (the local JTPA grant recipient) were only a small percentage of those that were actually displaced from the timber industry. The majority of these displaced workers received no assistance through the NEAI.

9. Excluding local and private matches and appropriated funds.

Patterns and Themes of Successful Interventions

Dedication to Economic Development

The establishment of the Forks Economic Development Steering Committee (FEDSC) was a critical first step in efforts to improve economic conditions in Forks. By creating a formal entity focused on economic development efforts, the community was able to strategically plan its economic future. The Forks Industrial Park was the direct result of FEDSC's efforts. Not only did the Industrial Park result in the creation of new jobs, but the revenues generated from leasing the site enabled the City to hire a full-time economic development director.

The formation of FEDSC was also a critical step in enabling the community to organize, define, and begin to take charge of future development efforts. One source observed:

The initial organization of FEDSC was locally driven and they have continued to develop on their own.

- They developed the skills and knowledge on their own.
- They have done it for themselves by staying connected politically and programmatically.
- They know who the players are.
- They know who to call.

Pre-Existing Human and Social Capital

One factor that contributed to the success of projects was the human and social capital that existed in Forks prior to and during the six years that the NEAI was in place. Staffed with an active city attorney/planner, treasurer, and economic development director, the city of Forks was well-equipped to develop

and implement projects. In addition to the number of staff available to pursue economic development efforts, staff have been consistent (apart from the economic development director) over time. Although many community members were forced to leave the community in search of work, including many of the traditional leaders in the wood products industry, the core leadership in Forks has remained relatively consistent.

Although Forks' capacity is not fully revealed by the number of Initiative-funded projects, some are hopeful that bigger, more long-term results will come in time. "Forks has positioned itself for the future. They've made a significant investment. The leadership does exist. Economic development takes longer. The Initiative was time-relevant. Community and economic development are longer lasting than the Initiative."

Multi-party Collaborative Relationships

Another factor that led to the success of projects was the collaborative relationships established among various project beneficiaries and funders. The Forks Industrial Park is an example of both the commitment by the city of Forks and the collaborative relationships established between the City, the CCEDC, Rayonier, PORTAC, and state and federal funding agencies. With the leadership of a Washington Department of Transportation staff person, state and federal agencies began to work together and coordinate their efforts. Many attribute this coordination among agencies as critical to the success of the project. Multiparty collaborative relationships were also established on other projects, such as FTC, WoodNet, the Quillayute Airport, and the Community Needs Survey.

Conclusion

Heavily hit by national recessions, structural changes in the timber industry, and dramatic cuts in federal and state timber sales in the 1990s, the community of Forks has managed to maintain a viable economy, but not without undergoing significant changes and restructuring. Many attribute the community's survival to a combination of employment opportunities at the Clallam Bay Corrections Center, tourism, timber harvesting on private lands (e.g., Rayonier), and the continued existence of some manufacturing jobs in the community (e.g., PORTAC and Allen Logging Company). New jobs in the timber and wood products industry have not, however, come close to replacing jobs lost in those industries. Training programs have served only a small percentage of displaced workers.

Only a handful of projects were funded under the NEAI in Forks, and the long-term benefits of these projects remain questionable. The Industrial Park was a major success in terms of its construction

and recruitment of PORTAC, which now employs 42 people. City staff, however, note that much of the planning and funding for the Industrial Park occurred prior to NEAI. The Forestry Training Center, a regional project, housed at the Forks Industrial Park, trained timber workers in the use of cut-to-length equipment and hand thinning. The Forestry Training Center, however, was short-lived, and, due to the lack of demand for cut-to-length equipment operators, resulted in few long-term jobs for trainees. Tourism promotion efforts, funded in part by NEAI dollars, were successful in helping to improve the image and exposure of the North Olympic Peninsula, and resulting in an increase in tourism on the West End. Forks' ability to survive economically, however, comes more from the City's own dedication to economic development, a high capacity staff, the formation of multiparty collaborative relationships, and its involvement in larger, regional economic development efforts.

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Interviewees

Phil Arbeiter	Former Mayor of Forks
Brent Bahrenburg	Project Development Specialist, Office of Trade and Economic Development
Al Barr	President of the Forestry Training Center
Eric Carlsen	Public Works Engineer, Washington Department of Natural Resources
Kathy Cunningham	Director of Forks Economic Development Council
Rod Fleck	Attorney and City Planner, City of Forks
Don Grafstrom	Lunsford and Associates, Inc. Realty
Tom Grey	Job Service Specialist, Clallam County Career Development Center
Carol Johnson	Executive Director, North Olympic Timber Action Committee
Sandra Kint	Former Director of the Forks Economic Development Steering Committee
Phil Kitchel	Former County Commissioner
Gerry Lane	General Manager, Allen Logging Company
Radd Leighton	Counselor, Employment Security Department, Forks Office
Dan Leinan	Treasurer, City of Forks
Richard Lohneis	Forks resident
Pat Mansfield	Forks City Council member
Bill Peach	Forest Manager, Rayonier Forest Products
Ginger Phalen	Jobs-in-the-Woods Coordinator, US Fish and Wildlife Service
Bart Phillips	Former Executive Director, Clallam County EDC
Bob Potter	Human Services Planner, Olympic Consortium
Nedra Reed	Forks City Council member, Mayor of Forks
Rafael Salazar	ESL Instructor, Peninsula College, Forks Satellite Campus
Diane Schostak	Executive Director, Forks Chamber of Commerce

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