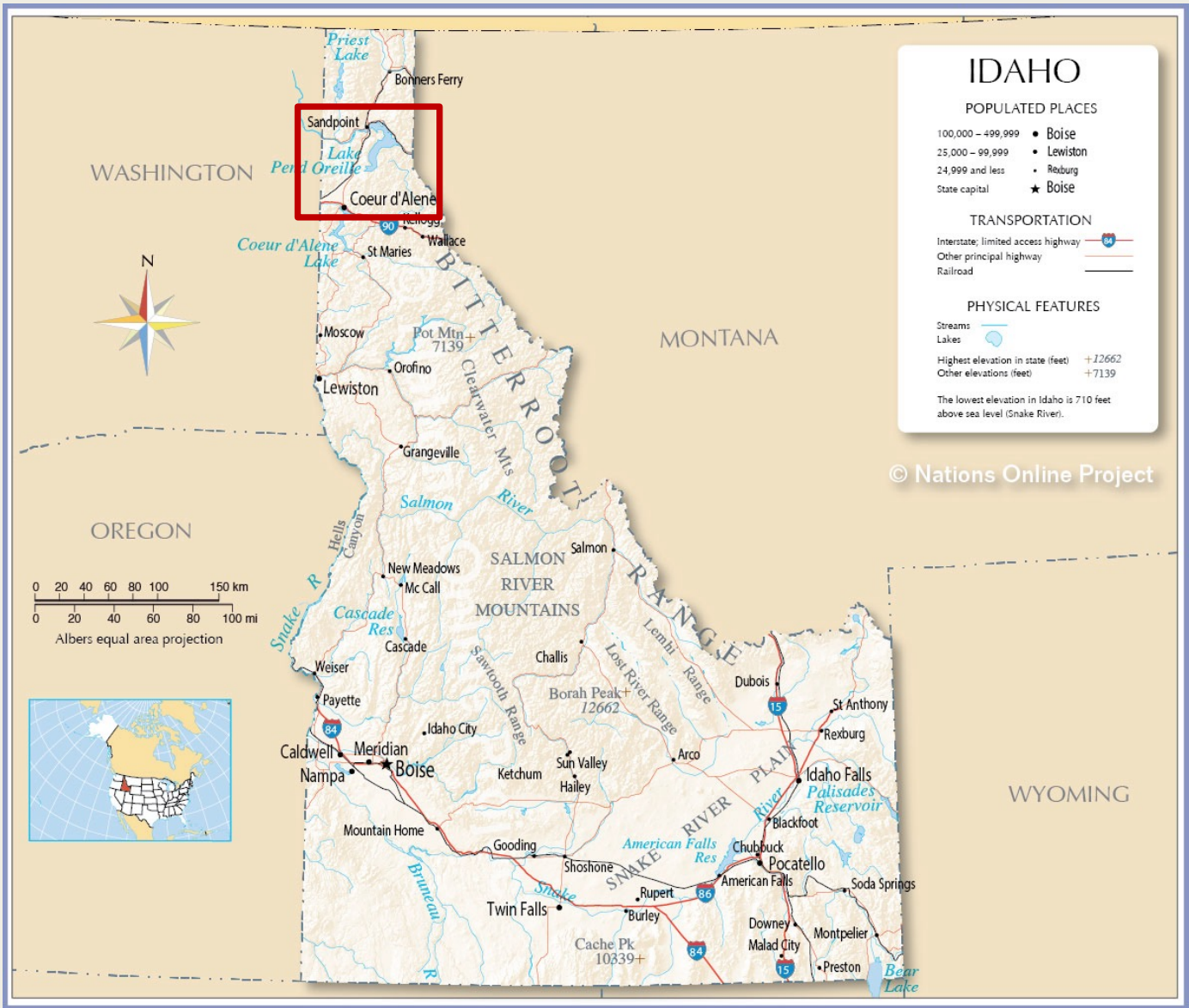


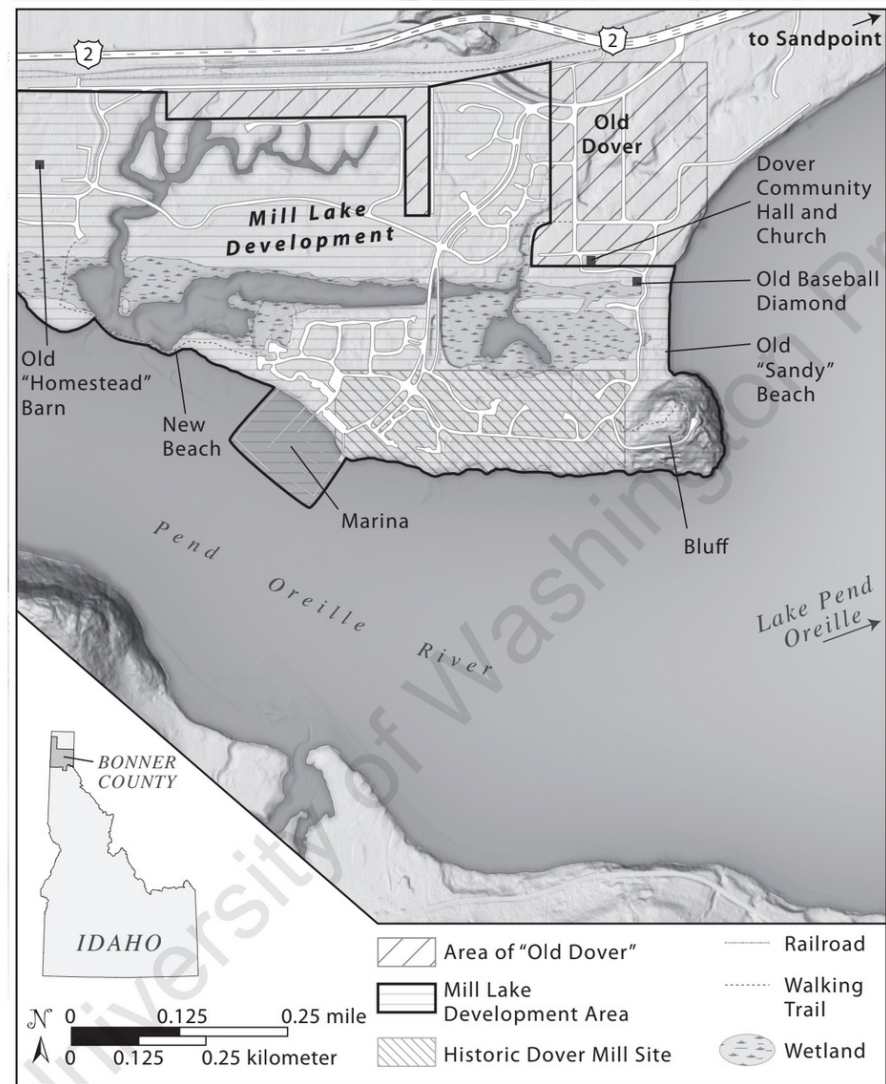
RYANNE PILGERAM

CONTESTED DEVELOPMENT  
AND RURAL GENTRIFICATION  
IN THE US WEST

# PUSHED OUT







Map of Dover, Idaho, showing some of the key places discussed in the book.



- Interviews (30) with new and old: residents, mayors, city clerks, and city council members as well as the city planner, developer, and state geologist
- Archival data from the Bonner County Historical Society
- Minutes from the City Council Meeting during the development
- Archaeological site reports
- Discussion with the Kalispel Tribe of Indians' Program Manager for Cultural Resources Management
- Afternoon with the "Dover Girls" at the community Hall

Research made possible by the University of Idaho, College of Letters,  
Arts & Social Sciences Kurt O. Olsson Early Career Research Fellowship

- **Case Study:** a process or record of research in which detailed consideration is given to the development of a particular person, group, or situation over a period of time.
- **Rural Gentrification:** “contemporary rural gentrification” can be understood as the “colonization of rural communities and small-towns by members of the ex-urban middle class” (Hines 2010, 285)
- **New vs. Old West:** “Included in Old West images are ranchers, horses, and dusty cattle drives. Today, the New West conveys images of residents wearing Patagonia fleeces and western jeans, telecommuters, and professionals with laptops able to work remotely. In addition, the New West attracts retirees seeking a lifestyle tied to the natural environment and the slower pace of country living, as well as growing numbers of seasonal residents who divide their time between city and country” (Winkler et al 2007, 479)

WHAT WAS AT STAKE,  
HOW DID THIS SHIFT HAPPEN,  
& WHAT IS THE  
RESPONSE TO IT?



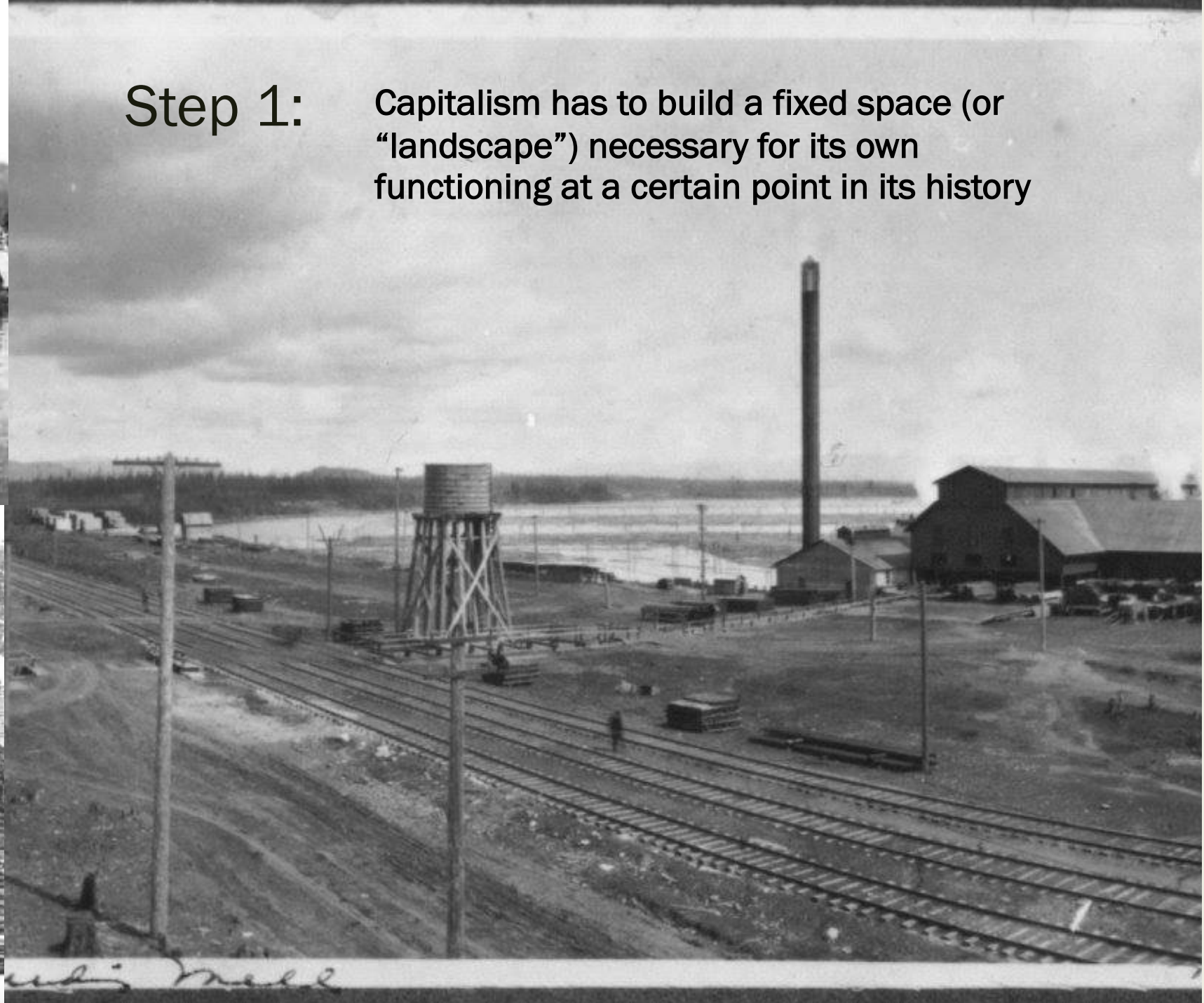


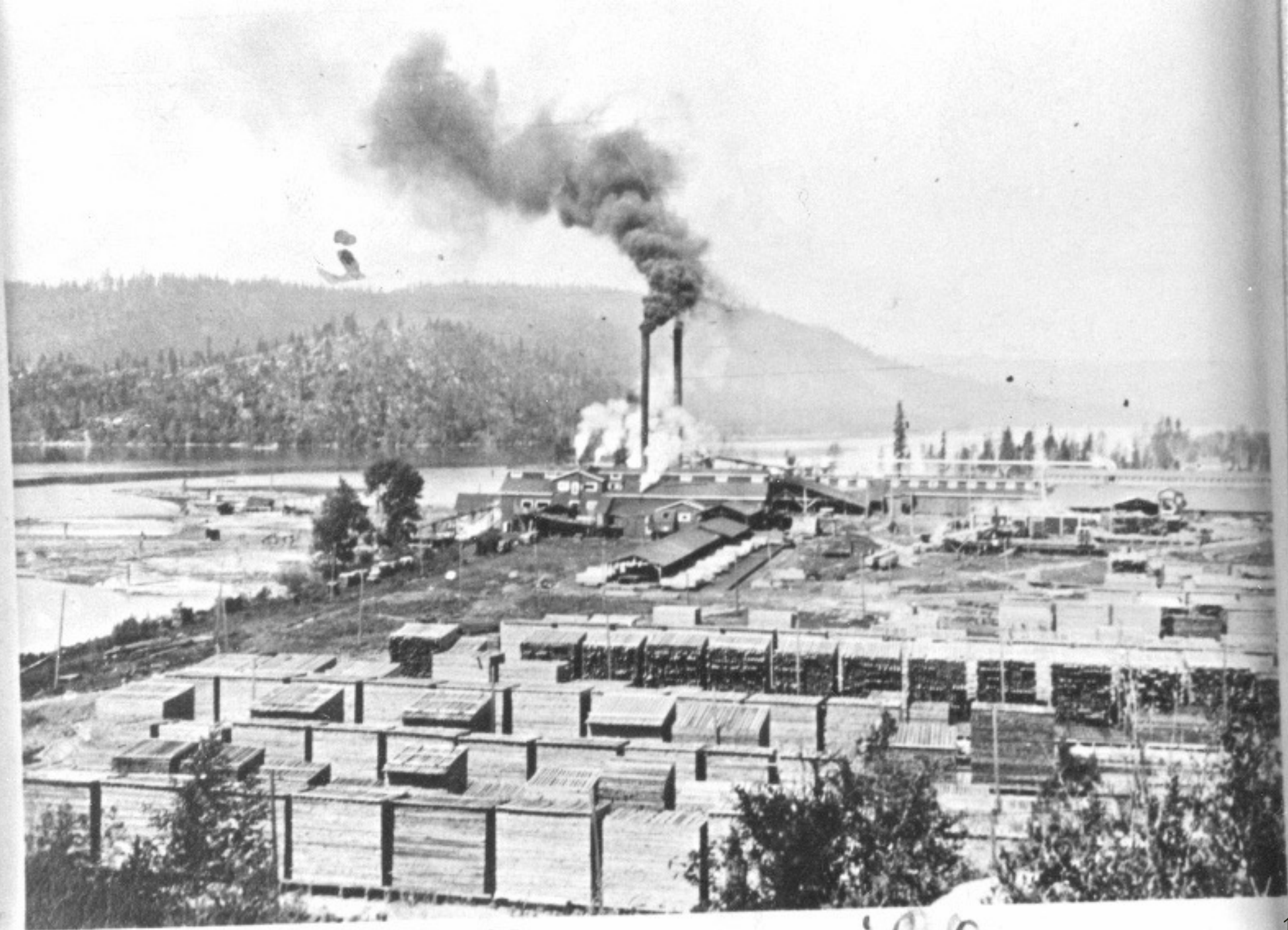


Step 1: Capitalism has to build a fixed space (or "landscape") necessary for its own functioning at a certain point in its history



LAKE PEND D'OREILLE.

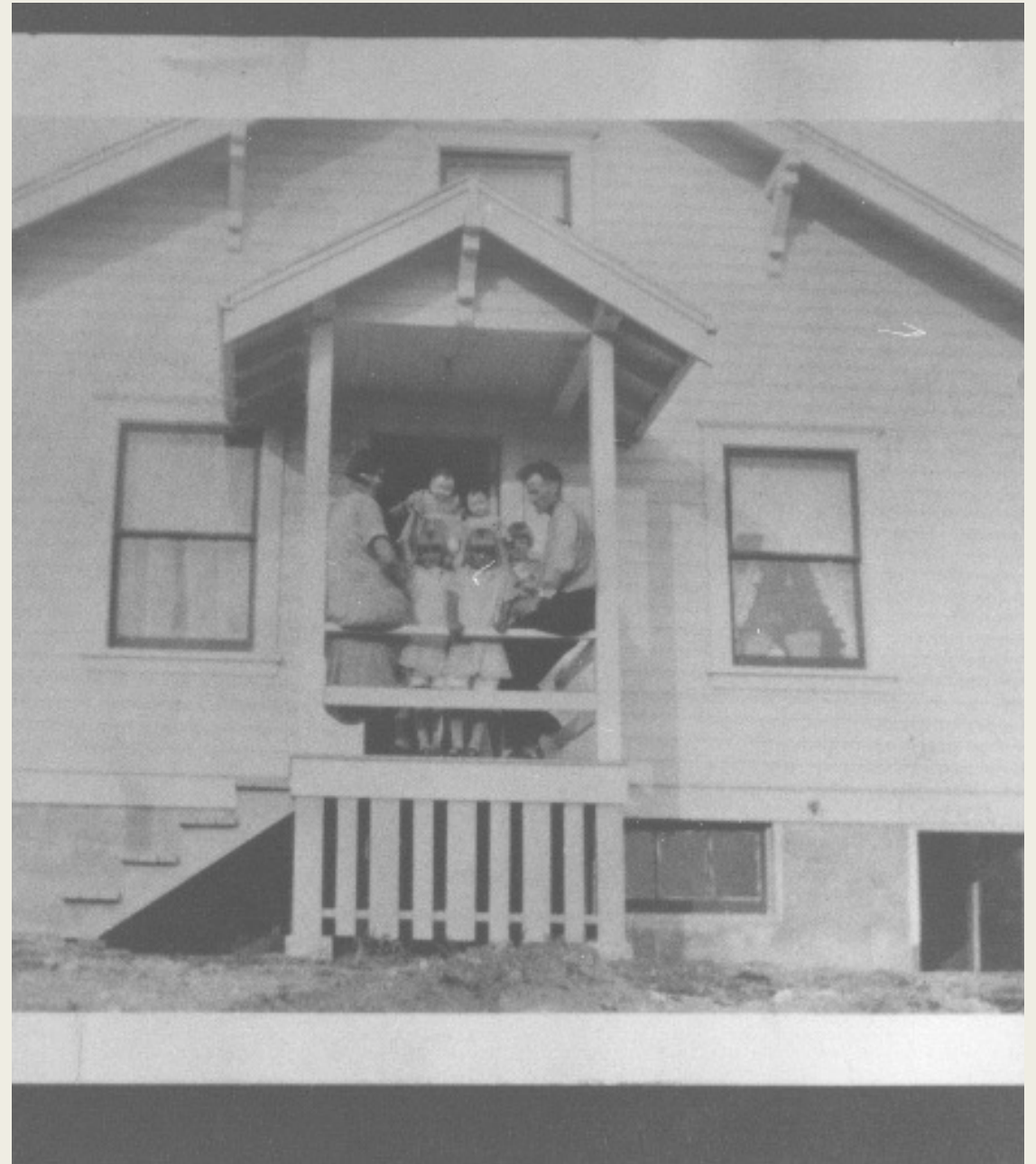




Down Mill















# Step 2:

Only to have to destroy that space  
(and devalue much of the capital  
invested therein) at a later point



# Dover

## Mill unionizes

International Woodworkers of America Local 3-10 has been certified as the bargaining agent for 37 workers at Spokane Lumber Co.'s planing mill in Dover.

John Molyneaux, financial secretary/business agent for IWA Local 3-10, said the union received word that the National Labor Relations Board officially certified the union.

The workers voted 27-7, with three challenged ballots, for the union in the election on April 9, he said.

"We always are happy to pick up a new outfit," Molyneaux said. Union officials will ask Spokane Lumber Co. to engage in negotiations for a contract for the workers soon.

# FAILING INFRASTRUCTURE

- Sewer
- Bridge
- Job Source
- Water

and Dover Lumber Co. Originally your property was owned by the lumber companies and formed a portion of the company-owned mill town.

In about the 1930's, during the era of ownership by Shaffer-Hitchcock, most of the company-owned houses were sold to the occupants. The lumber companies, however, continued to furnish water to the properties from the company system. The Pack River Co. acquired the Dover mill from Shaffer-Hitchcock in the early 1940's and continued the practice of supplying water to the old mill town area. The monthly charge of \$1.50 was never raised.

To comply with fire insurance requirements and to limit liability exposure hazards, The Pack River Co. now finds that it must cease from supplying water to non-company owned properties. The company water system must be updated and improved and that portion of the water mains not serving company-owned property will be donated to the private property owners if they so desire, or it will be abandoned. After June 1st, 1974, the company must discontinue serving water to the private owners.

It is suggested that the private owners form their own Water Association or that they form a Water District. Residents of other areas of Bonner County have done this successfully. It is believed by the undersigned that loan funds are available from the Farmers Home Administration for such purposes.

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"We always are happy to pick up

## Dover mill closes Aug. 20

By BOB COLEMAN  
The Daily Bee

The Spokane Lumber Mill in Dover is closing its doors Aug. 20, putting about 60 local workers out of jobs, a mill official said Thursday.

The mill, which processes about 5 million board feet of lumber per month, announced the closure to its employees Thursday.

Plant Manager Dale Roberts said the closure is due to economic reasons.

The Dover mill works in association with a mill in Tonasket, Wash. Lumber cut at the Tonasket mill is shipped to Dover for surface planing. The shipping costs contributed greatly to the closure, Roberts said.

"It's expensive to ship. The more you handle it the more it costs," he said. "It cuts into your profits."

"It's just not feasible."

Roberts estimated the four- to five-hour drive between plants cost the company in the

neighborhood of \$30,000 each month.

General manager Jack Carter of the Tonasket plant refused to provide any information.

Roberts said a planing machine is under construction at the Tonasket plant and the entire process probably would be completed there.

"Everybody kind of half expected that it was going to happen," Roberts said. "There have been rumors for quite a while."

Stakeman Terry Frazer is one of the lucky ones who has a job to turn to.

"I've got another job with my dad," he said. "I'll work with him for a while."

Roberts said he plans to run the mills as smoothly as possible until the closure. He said he was not sure how the workers will be affected by the news.

"When you go out to lunch and come back and are told you don't have a job, it takes a while to sink in," Roberts said.

Bonner Co. Daily Bee Sat May 9, 1992



at the Dover Mill site is completely engulfed as firefighters set up their ene.

BY C LYONS  
RETD D HOFMEISTER

CG 2 218

Frank Warrer  
Dover, Idaho

Dear Sir:

For many years the property upon which you presently reside in Dover has been furnished water by The Pack River Co., and its predecessors, Shaffer-Hitchcock, A. C. White Lumber Co., and Dover Lumber Co. Originally your property was owned by the lumber companies and formed a portion of the company-owned mill town.

In about the 1930's, during the era of ownership by Shaffer-Hitchcock, most of the company-owned houses were sold to the occupants. The lumber companies, however, continued to furnish water to the properties from the company system. The Pack River Co. acquired the Dover mill from Shaffer-Hitchcock in the early 1940's and continued the practice of supplying water to the old mill town area. The monthly charge of \$1.50 was never raised.

To comply with fire insurance requirements and to limit liability exposure hazards, The Pack River Co. now finds that it must cease from supplying water to non-company owned properties. The company water system must be updated and improved and that portion of the water mains not serving company-owned property will be donated to the private property owners if they so desire, or it will be abandoned. After June 1st, 1974, the company must discontinue serving water to the private owners.

It is suggested that the private owners form their own Water Association or that they form a Water District. Residents of other areas of Bonner County have done this successfully. It is believed by the undersigned that loan funds are available from the Farmers Home Administration for such purposes.

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March 27, 1985

Dear Dover Citizen:

RE: Dover Water System

As you may be aware, the current water system constructed during the early 1900's is owned by Shamrock Investment Company. Shamrock acquired this system as an incidental part of Dover Properties and W.I. Lumber Company, at this time, is a lessee of the property.

Because questions have arisen as to how improvements might be made to the system to better serve the Dover area, it has been decided that a meeting be held. The purpose of the meeting is to discuss the current status of the system as well as what conditions may be available not only to Shamrock but also to the residents of the system.

A meeting has been scheduled an informational meeting for Friday, March 29th, at 7:00 P.M. at the Dover Community Hall.



Staff photo by Jesse Tinsley

Dover City Council member Craig Hofmeister stands in the oft-flooded pump room of the city's water supply.

## Dover, Idaho, has difficulty keeping water pump going

By Kevin Keating  
Staff writer

DOVER, Idaho — Craig Hofmeister took an unscheduled two-day vacation this week and spent it wrestling in a damp, dark pump house trying to restore running water to residents.

The city's main water pump on the Pend Oreille River shut down during a power outage Tuesday. Without a backup system, the pump house filled with over eight feet of water, drowning all the electrical equipment inside and cutting off water to the town's 80 residents.

Hofmeister, a city councilmember, somehow found himself with the dubious honor of trying to pump water out of the equipment shack and fixing the water-logged motor.

"I'm not a mechanic," he said throwing his hands up in the air. Hofmeister works with developmentally disabled adults at Panhandle Special Needs in Sandpoint.

But with the help of a few other volunteers, he managed to get the pump started Tuesday

night only to have it die again Wednesday morning. He spent another day drying out equipment and by noon water was flowing from the taps again. "For how long I don't know," he said.

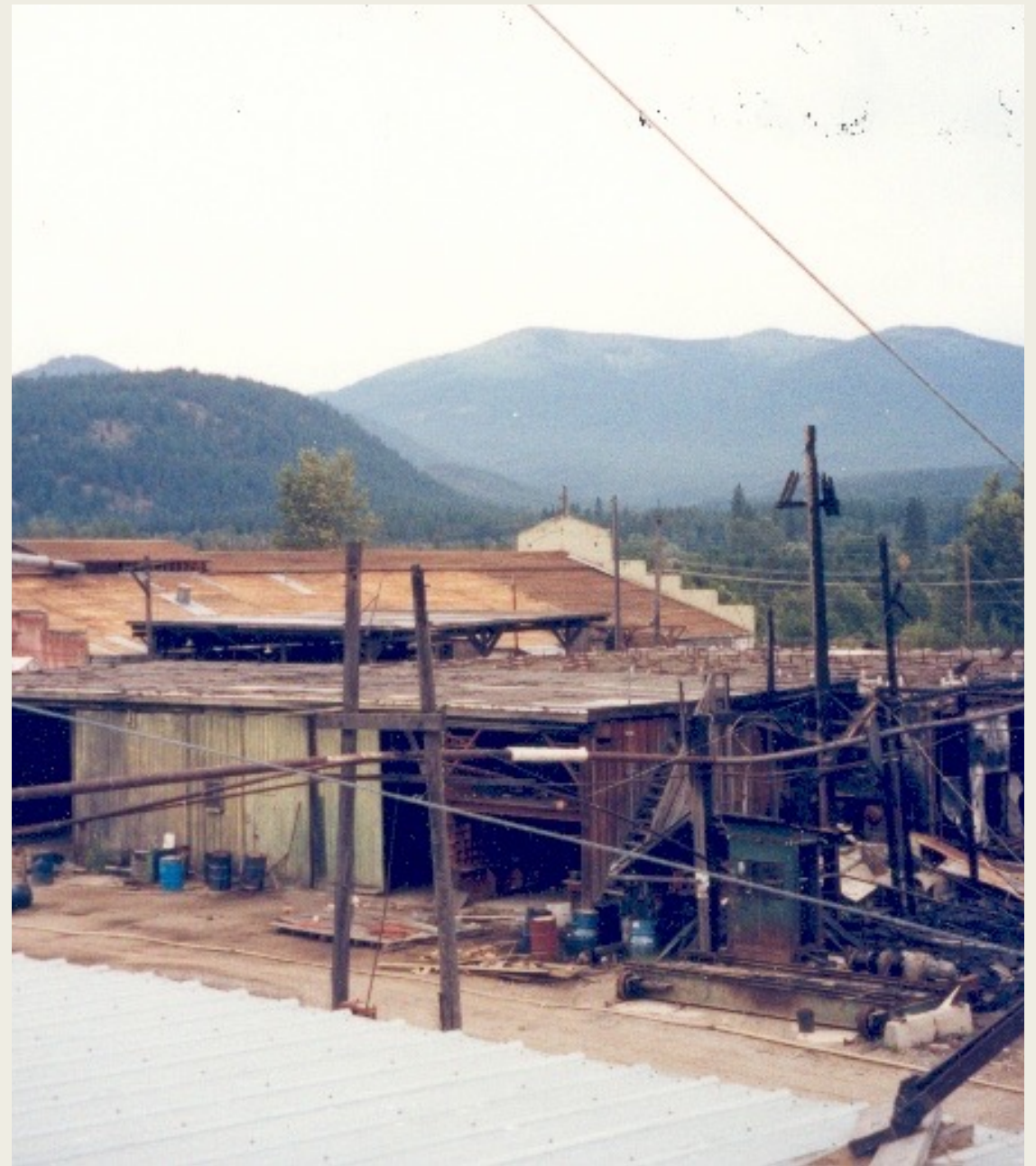
When the water did come on, residents filled bathtubs and five-gallon buckets for washing dishes and to flush the toilet. Councilwoman Maggie Becker, who runs Dover Daycare, said she was even catching rain water to dump in the toilet tanks.

"We just don't know when the water is going to be on or for how long," she said. "We are doing the best we can."

Dover residents are used to frequent break-downs in their 75-year-old system. It was normal for the water to be off several days a month during the summer, Becker said.

What's frustrating is the system pumps water no one can drink. The city, two miles west of Sandpoint, has been under a boil water order for five years because the system pumps muddy, unfiltered and non-chlorinated water

Please see DOVER B3



OCTOBER 18, 1990

# Dover dry after water pump breaks

By BILL BULEY  
Staff writer

Oct 18-90

DOVER — Dover residents don't have much luck with water. Following many years of having

during years past, breaking down frequently.

Tuesday, thanks to a power outage, it went out all together, leaving residents without tap water.

When Pacific Power and Light Co. workers arrived Tuesday to fix the electric pump house, causing the outage, they were

frustrated by the need to borrow money to fill the tank. One resident said he had to go to stores to buy bottled water. On the east side of Dover, the water rate and water for

drinking, washing dishes and bathing.

Councilmember Craig Hofmeister spent most of Wednesday bailing some seven feet of water out of the pump house to get to the submerged motorized unit.

"I'm no plumber, but I'm doing the best I can to get things to where the city can have running water temporarily," he said.

Once the power went out, and the electric pump was no longer sending water out, Hofmeister said the unit was flooded under several feet of water.

He said Shamrock Investments, owner of the water pump, was unable to send a repairman Wednesday, and was expected to have one out today.

A back-up unit that utilizes diesel fuel located near the Pend Oreille River has been in use. Although very limited in production, Hofmeister said the unit may get Dover people enough water to last through Wednesday night and Thursday morning.

Becker, who operates "Dover Daycare," noted the situation is especially difficult for

"It's very difficult. We're having to pump diesel into the Oreille River without any of the 'boil water' work on

by fall 1990.

Becker said, however, that construction has not begun on the project. Some difficulties with land acquisitions have slowed progress on the water plant.

She added she is hopeful that Dover will go out for bids on the work in about a month.

In December 1989, Dover...

## Dover water advisory

Dover Water Co. users are advised to boil their water after coliform bacteria were discovered in the water system in samples taken June 28, a Panhandle Health District official warned Friday.

Steve Tanner, senior water quality specialist, said a count of four was discovered of the bacteria in the water samples. The state drinking water standard is less than one.

Presence of the coliform bacteria is an indication that disease-causing organisms may be present, said Tanner.

Water users are advised to bring water to a boil for five minutes, or place two drops of household bleach per quart and let it stand a half hour before using. After these precautions, the water is safe to drink, said Tanner.

He added the Dover Water Co. owners, Shamrock Investments, are investigating the problem of the bacterial presence and will submit new samples this week.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 2, 1986

The joke in Sandpoint [upstream] was, "flush your toilet, Dover needs water"

Terence MacAfee, Dover Resident

# District seeks sewer solution

By CAROLINE LOBSINGER  
Staff writer

DOVER — With few available options, members of the Rocky Point Sewer District hope a newsletter will answer questions and help resolve the issue of what to do next.

Members were told Thursday the 11-year-old system is failing and the district only has a few options left on how to provide sewer hook-ups to community residents.

The newsletter would provide background about the problem, detail work done to try and identify possible solutions and would seek community input on what the sewer district should do.

Residents said there is a deep

repair of the drain fields. With the system failing several times already, it would only be a matter of time before the system failed again.

In working with sewer districts,

Camp said systems that fail cannot be repaired to the point where there is a guarantee that it won't fail again.

Sewer district members voted down a \$500,000 revenue bond last week which would have helped obtain a Farmers Home Administration loan as well as a \$300,000 FmHA grant to build a new sewer system.

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# Dover may get grant for sewer

By CAROLINE LOBSINGER  
Staff writer

DOVER — A \$500,000 grant would go a long way toward upgrading the Rocky Point Sewer District.

Money from the Idaho Community Development Block Grant would go toward construction of a new treatment facility to replace the sewer district's drain field. The district also is seeking a \$850,000 low-interest loan from the Farmers Home

# Judge rules for city in Dover d

By DAVE TURNER  
Staff writer

SANDPOINT — 1st District Judge Gary Haman says the City of Dover paid enough for a sewer system easement inside a proposed high-end residential development along the shores of the Pend Oreille River.

The City and Spokane-based developers Dover Enterprises had entered into a stipulated agreement following an eminent domain proceeding that would give the city two parcels — one about 12 1/2 acres for a sewage treatment plant, the second, a 30-by-700-foot strip for access.

First, the city offered \$85,000 for both parcels, the court filing said.

Complaining that the plant would have an adverse impact on the remain-

der of the property, the developer sought \$1,358,000 for the parcels.

But the land was zoned for agriculture and developers needed a residential classification, so on Christmas Eve 1996, the two sides reaches an agreement that for the deposit of \$86,700 with the court's trust fund, the city could take possession of the property — so long as rezoning efforts began.

Four months later, the City rezoned the property.

But when the City began to seek funds from the federal government to develop the sewage system, it was discovered that about 180 acres of the proposed development would be below the 100-year floodplain, meaning it would reduce the potential number of homes by half to 300.

Developers argued the City accep-



—Photo by MIKE McLEAN

A few Dover residents, above, head back to their homes after lending their help and garden hoses to keep wind-blown flames from reaching the house of a neighbor. Eric Lund, right, helps knock down a fire in a small shack Friday at Dover Mill.

(Continued on pg)

order. "Neither is there a that the stipulation was e inadvertently, in advisedly dently. Rather, it appears quent to the stipulation ... i regarding development of th erty because of regulation the project."



# Blaze ravages Dover Mill

BONNER COUNTY DAILY BEE Saturday, May 9, 1992



—Photo by MARLISA

City of Sandpoint employee Rick Larson helps put out a fire in a stack of lumber Friday at Dover Mill.



—Photo by MIKE McLEAN

A few Dover residents, above, head back to their homes after lending their help and garden hoses to keep wind-blown flames from reaching the house of a neighbor. Eric Lund, right, helps knock down a fire in a small shack Friday at Dover Mill.

(Continued on Pg)



Photo by CAROLINE LOBSINGER

Bill Roeder and Keith Johnson check the water pressure on the Dover water system. The system could be put on line in as little as two weeks.

## After six years, Dover sees clean water at end of tunnel

By CAROLINE LOBSINGER  
Staff writer

DOVER — By the end of the month, Dover residents will be able to do something they haven't been able to do for six years — go to the sink and get a drink of water, without having to boil it first.

System engineer Robert Tate and city workers have spent the past several days testing the pressure on the system. The next step is to send samples of the system's water off to the state for testing.

If the samples come back clean, indicating good water quality, the system will be put on line. That could come within two weeks, Tate said.

The system will have 85

hookups and will put out about 100 gallons of water per minute. In addition, there will be a 75,000-gallon reservoir, giving Dover a fire flow rate of 1,000 gallons per minute.

The water quality samples will be taken once the testing on the system's pressure is completed.

"We have plenty of water pressure," Tate said.

Crews already have the distribution line disinfected and the filter plant ready when the water is turned on.

The new water system has been designed to pass Environmental Protection Agency standards for the next 10 years, Dover City Council member Maggie Becker said.

While the city's water system has been plagued with bad water pressure for the past

six years, it seems Dover has had bad water "since the dawn of time," Becker said.

The city has been under a boil water notice for the past six years. Before that, pressure in the system was inadequate.

"The system was dying a slow, miserable death," she said.

Work on the system is on schedule and under budget, Tate said.

"Even though the budget for the project was set in 1988, we're still under the project's \$762,800 budget," he said.

The news that the system is nearing completion is good news for Dover residents, Becker said.

"We can see the light at the end of the tunnel," she added. "Everything's looking great."

BONNER COUNTY DAILY BEE Friday, Sept. 3, 1993

## District seeks sewer solution

By CAROLINE LOBSINGER  
Staff writer

DOVER — With few available options, members of the Rocky Point Sewer District hope a newsletter will answer questions and help resolve the issue of what to do next.

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In working with sewer districts,

Camp said systems that fail cannot be repaired to the point where there is a guarantee that it won't fail again.

Sewer district members voted down a \$500,000 revenue bond last week which would have helped obtain a Farmers Home Administration loan as well as a \$300,000 FmHA grant to build a

new sewer system.

Rocky Point Sewer District officials approached Sandpoint officials last year in an attempt to buy 250 sewer hook-ups and connect its system to the city's. However, Sandpoint officials voted against extending city services outside city limits.

## Judge rules for city in Dover development flap

By DAVE TURNER  
Staff writer

SANDPOINT — 1st District Judge Gary Haman says the City of Dover paid enough for a sewer system easement inside a proposed high-end residential development along the shores of the Pend Oreille River.

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Four months later, the City rezoned the property.

But when the City began to seek funds from the federal government to develop the sewage system, it was discovered that about 180 acres of the proposed development would be below the 100-year floodplain, meaning it would reduce the potential number of homes by half to 300.

Developers argued the City accep-

stance of federal money created a breach of the stipulation to eventually build 600 homes in the area, and asked for a trial for more money.

During subsequent hearings, Haman found that because the city had offered to assist the developers with planned unit developments, which would allow a greater density than normal residential zoning.

"There is no evidence or fraud, mistake or misunderstanding at the time of the stipulation," Haman wrote in his order. "Neither is there any evidence that the stipulation was entered into inadvertently, in advisedly or improvidently. Rather, it appears that subsequent to the stipulation ... issues arose regarding development of the real property because of regulations financing the project."

## Dover may get grant for sewer

By CAROLINE LOBSINGER  
Staff writer

DOVER — A \$500,000 grant would go a long way toward upgrading the Rocky Point Sewer District.

Money from the Idaho Community Development Block Grant would go toward construction of a new treatment facility to replace the sewer district's drain field. The district also is seeking a \$850,000 low-interest loan from the Farmers Home Administration, said district chairman Ward Tift.

The drain system failed in 1991 and the sewer district is required to replace the system under an Environmental Protection Agency consent order.



### Step 3:

The exhaustion of resources within the landscape of capitalism then requires a spatial fix, or the creation of “openings for fresh accumulation in new spaces and territories”

pect our timber resource to last forever, but just long enough to give us a start in other directions, and it is coming in mighty handy, because the wherewithal important and speedily Last, but uated on a tined to be for summer scenery, its shore line can not be excelled, and Sandpoint is situated where the best views of Pend d'



## *Dover & Dover Bay, Idaho*

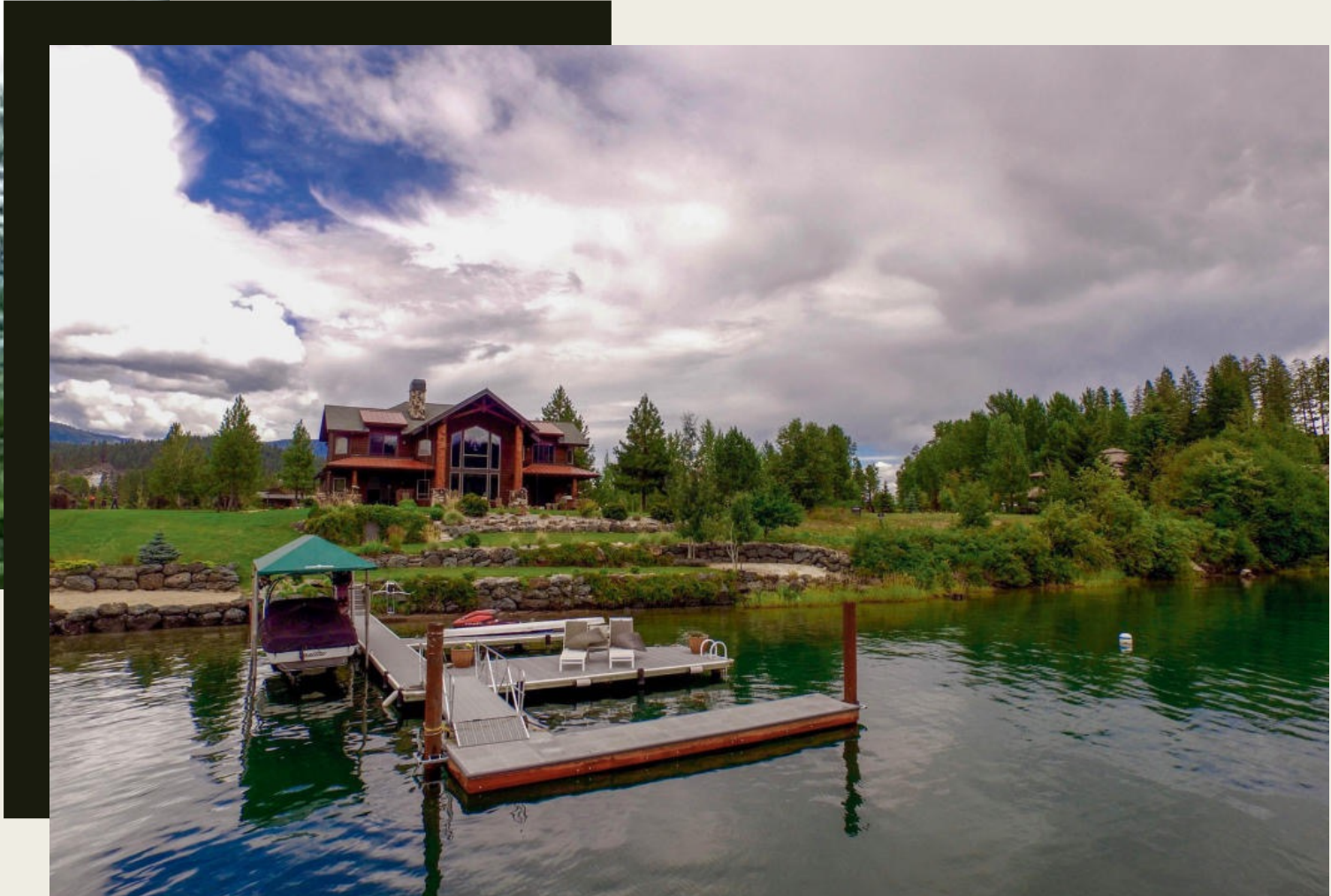


### **Dover & Dover Bay, Idaho Luxury Real Estate on Lake Pend Oreille**

Dover Bay is a luxurious waterfront community with high-end private homes, waterfront condos and upscale bungalows all located on Lake Pend Oreille. Dover Bay has a Marina, a Store and Restaurant as well as boat dock for mooring your boats. Dover has year-round beauty with lots to look at like mountain views, wildlife and stunning sunsets. Many high-end buyers seek out Dover, Idaho for their next real estate investment.

[City of Dover, Idaho](#) | [Dover, Idaho Information](#) | [Map of Dover, Idaho](#) | [Photos of Dover, Idaho](#)

*Luxury Property Available in Dover, Idaho*





Old Dover Beach—Community Hall



New Dover—City Hall



Old Dover Beach—Private Property



New Dover Beach: “Goose Shit Beach” 32













*...More housing developments go up  
Named after the things they replace*



# CONCLUSION







# SPECIAL THANKS

- UNIVERISTY OF IDAHO, COLLEGE LETTERS ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCE, KURT OLSSON GRANT FOR EARLY CAREER RESEARCH
- BONNER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY, CAMERON MURRAY
- KALISPEL TRIBE OF INDIANS, KEVIN LYONS
- THE MANY WONDERFUL PEOPLE WHO HAVE HAD ME INTO THEIR HOMES, BUSINESSES, AND COMMUNITY. THANK YOU FOR FEEDING ME, AND ENTERTAINING ME, AND MOST IMPORTANTLY ALLOWING ME TO INTERVIEW YOU