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Changing Maine, 1960-2010: Teaching Guide

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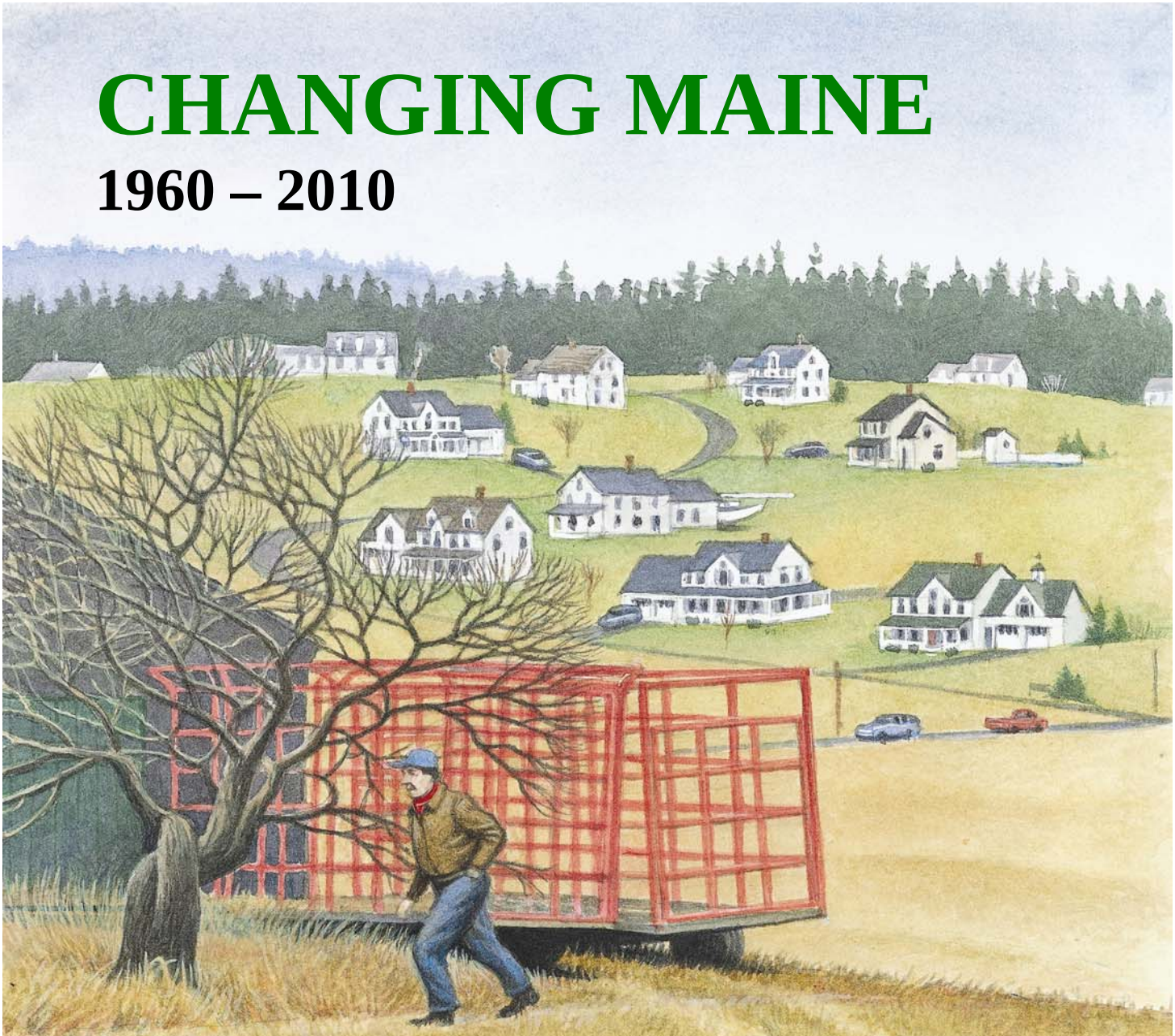
CHANGING MAINE

1960 – 2010



Teaching Guide

Edited by Richard Barringer
Illustrated by Jon Luoma

Changing Maine, 1960-2010

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With contributions by each of the authors

And a new essay by Catherine Reilly, Maine State Economist

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Contents

Preface

With all our various backgrounds and life experiences, the contributors to *Changing Maine, 1960-2010* share a number of convictions that have motivated us throughout the creation of the book, the broadcast lecture series that preceded it, and now here, in this *Teaching Guide*. These include, first,

- that the Maine we love has come into *a new political-economic era*, one that requires of us new ways of thinking, of understanding ourselves and the world about us; second,
- that *ideas make a difference* in the course of events, by shaping the ways we understand ourselves, our times, and our world, its meanings and its possibilities; and, finally,
- that, in a democracy, *civic dialogue* and penetrating discourse are among the best tests we have of the truth of these ideas.

We have created the *Teaching Guide* in the hope that it will stimulate conversation around the challenges facing Maine, and the ideas we offer in *Changing Maine, 1960-2010*. It is our fond wish that it may lead teachers and students of Maine studies and history, and leaders and members of public discussion groups, to a deep appreciation of the abiding strengths and complexities of Maine culture; to a useful understanding of the challenges and opportunities we face; and to an effective grasp of the mind-set, or "narrative," that will guide us through turbulent times.

As editor of the *Teaching Guide*, I am deeply grateful to each of the authors of *Changing Maine, 1960-2010* for their continuing contributions here; to Catherine (Kate) Reilly for her insightful, introductory essay; to Jon Luoma of Alna, for use once again of his cover drawing and fine illustrations; to Margery Niblock of Portland for the robust index she has created to the book; to actress, activist, and former student Tessy Seward for her creation of the chapter abstracts; to Tom Wood and Sam Merrill of the Muskie School of Public Service for their continuing assistance with this project; to the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency and its stalwarts, Rosemary Monahan and Diane Gould, for their financial and moral support; to colleague Richard Barnes of USM's College of Education and Human Development for his encouragement and support; and, especially, to teachers of Maine history and studies, David Cook, Stephanie Doane, Larry Dyhrberg, Margie Fahey, Brian Payne, Caitlin Ruthman, Ted Sharp, Carol Toner, and Karl Trautman., for their guidance early on. Thank you, one and all, and may you find the result worthy of your effort!

R.E.B.
July 2006

Introduction

Unlike forty years ago, none of us is now certain what the future holds for Maine – except that it *will* be different. Maine has been transformed by the events of the recent decades. We have come into a new world, a new time – a new historical era, if you will. This new era, like previous eras in Maine history, will require of us new ways of thinking, new ways of understanding, new ways of organizing ourselves as a community of people, if the values and culture we share and cherish are to endure and flourish.

The *Teaching Guide* to *Changing Maine, 1960-2010* has been created for use in advanced placement (AP) high school, community college, and college classes, and in public discussion groups. The goals of the *Teaching Guide* are three-fold:

- to encourage *civic engagement* and discourse around challenging issues for Maine's future, and the connections among them;
- to deepen *understanding* of where Maine is today, how we came to this place, and what are the choices before us as a community of people; and
- to stimulate critical thinking about the issues addressed here, and further research into their causes, effects, and cures.

Understanding differs from knowledge and skill, and requires both. *Changing Maine, 1960-2010* conveys knowledge in abundance, and requires a certain set of skills to master its content. What we seek in this *Teaching Guide* is to further the understanding that we in Maine have come to a wholly new place, one that asks much of us as a community of people; and that the best way forward is to be found in conversation about where we are, how we got here, what our choices are, and what values will guide us in making them.

We begin from the proposition that the past is an ever-present guide to our future; with re-thinking what we thought we knew and understood about Maine; and with questioning recent history in order to preserve the best in ourselves and in this place we share and love. Not that the answers we seek are clear or absolute; but that by asking the right questions, a journey will begin, and our commitment to one another will sustain the journey.

The *Teaching Guide* includes:

- a new essay on the history of economic development in Maine by State Economist Catherine (Kate) Reilly. This is followed by an abstract of her essay; a list of the "important ideas" it offers; a set of "essential questions" to probe these ideas in discussion; and a list of suggested, follow-on readings;
- similarly, for the Introduction and each chapter of *Changing Maine, 1960-2010*, an abstract of its content; a list of the "important ideas" the author believes it offers; a set of

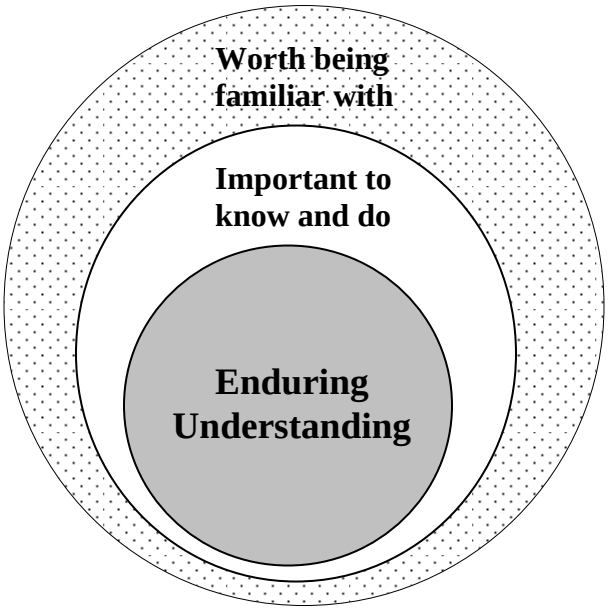
"essential questions" to probe these ideas in conversation; and a list of suggested, follow-on readings. The readings are designed both for general interest and as a basis for further research into the important ideas; and, finally,

- a robust index to *Changing Maine, 1960-2010*, created since its publication.

Following the framework for understanding offered by educators Grant Wiggins and Jay McTighe,[1] we try for each chapter to pose questions that:

- go to the heart of the matter at hand;
- raise other important questions;
- have no one "right" answer; and
- are framed to provoke and sustain interest.

In Wiggins and McTighe's terms, the understanding we seek is embedded or "nested" deep within knowledge and skills, as shown here, in their diagram:



Within the outer ring is general knowledge that is worth being familiar with – knowledge that is useful but not essential to master – as, for example, in the realm of civics, the various forms of democratic governance in practice today. In the middle ring are the important knowledge and skills needed for mastery of essential tasks and performances – as, where, when, and how to vote.

[1] See their Understanding by Design, Prentice-Hall Inc., Upper River NJ, 1998; and The Understanding by Design Handbook, Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, Alexandria VA, 1999.

The inner ring contains knowledge of the larger purposes for learning the subject matter – the "big ideas" and important understandings that will be retained after many of the details are forgotten. Again in the civic realm, this is the *why* of voting, the meaning of democracy, and the purpose and role of democratic institutions in society. Wiggins and McTighe define material worth *enduring* understanding as:

- being at the heart of the discipline,
- needing "uncoverage" through exploration, and
- being potentially engaging.

The questions that may lead to enduring understanding are what they term the *essential* questions.

For our present purposes, we recommend discussion of any or all of the questions offered by the author of each chapter, as a basis for reaching understanding of its most meaningful content. This conversation may be preceded, in the first instance, by discussion of the "rules of discourse" the discussants wish to abide, to get the greatest possible value from their effort. Recording and posting these rules will be a helpful reminder to all throughout the course of the dialogue.

In the course of discussing the questions for a chapter, it is fruitful to list the learning's that are cited and then, collectively, to assign them to Wiggins and McTighe's three categories of knowledge – that is,

- worth being familiar with,
- important to know and do, or
- of *enduring* understanding – the "big ideas," the implications of which may be discussed in greater depth and detail for their full meaning and import, and as a basis for thoughtful action.

To use the example cited above, such a discussion of the *why* of voting might lead discussants to be more deeply appreciative of the enduring power of the franchise, more passionately committed to participatory democracy, and more deeply engaged in the policy choices affecting their lives.

Comments on the *Teaching Guide* and suggestions for its improvement will be welcome at neefc@usm.maine.edu

The Economy in Motion: Maine's Emerging Future[2]

by Catherine Reilly

In March 2006, people of Maine's Katahdin region gathered for an economic summit at their new higher education center in East Millinocket. Their goal was to plan the economic future of their community in the wake of two decades of shrinking job opportunities – no simple task. I was invited to talk about the economic state of rural Maine and its prospects for the future. I began, as economists must, with people and places.

Maine is an independent state. On a map, it juts out stubbornly from the rest of the country, into Atlantic Canada. Our work ethic and natural surroundings distinguish us, too. It is tempting to think that our challenges are also unique. In reality, many of them – the decline of manufacturing, youth migration, an aging workforce – confront many other states, as well. Maine is part of a structural economic evolution that is reshaping every rural state and, indeed, the global economy.

The Past: Farming and Manufacturing Sustain Early Economies. Rural America's story since European settlement begins with agriculture and manufacturing. A century ago nearly two-thirds of American workers were employed in farming or manufacturing, and roughly the same proportion lived in rural areas. Today, less than 13% of Americans work in those industries, and about 21% live in rural places. Rural America thrived when agriculture and manufacturing ruled the national economy. Why is today's service-based economy so different? Why do urban places seem to be getting a larger piece of the pie, while many rural places get a smaller piece?

The answer begins with agriculture. Farming once relied on large amounts of relatively unskilled, manual labor, which spurred population growth in rural areas. From 1860 to 1910, Aroostook was Maine's fastest growing county; by 1910, it was Maine's third most populous.

Then, new technologies, transportation improvements, and the opening of farmland in the mid-west allowed Americans to produce more food using fewer people. A field that once took three people a day to harvest could now be harvested in a few hours by one person and a tractor. Advances in farming made food cheaper, permitting consumers to spend more on things like clothes, furniture, and cars. People who could no longer find work on the farm took to the mills and factories that began producing these consumer goods.

Some manufacturers located in cities, but many built in rural areas where they drew from a surplus of semi-skilled workers, inexpensive land, and abundant waterpower. So, in addition to big manufacturing centers like Lewiston-Auburn and Biddeford-Saco, smaller operations arose in Augusta, Dexter, Skowhegan, Guilford, and Wilton. Some rural towns urbanized with the expansion of manufacturing.

[2] This essay originally appeared in the Maine Sunday Telegram, Portland ME, April 23, 2006.

Then things changed again. New technology and investments allowed us to manufacture more goods with fewer people. Transportation and communication improvements expanded trade with places with large pools of cheap, low-skilled labor. These changes made goods less expensive. Now consumers had cheap food and cheap goods. They began to spend money on things like haircuts, chiropractors, and braces for their kids' teeth – what we know today as "services." Today, many people who might have worked years ago in manufacturing find service jobs.

The Present: The Rise of Services Reveals a Rural-Urban Divide. This is where rural and urban places began to have very different experiences. Agriculture and manufacturing can thrive in rural places because producers of goods and their consumers can be far apart. Potatoes can be grown in northern Maine and served in a restaurant in southern Maine. Lobsters can be caught in Washington County and eaten fresh in Miami or Los Angeles. Paper can be made in Millinocket and used around the world.

Most services are different, however; with a few exceptions, the person providing a service and the person using it must be in the same place. So, with greater consumer spending on services, the places that began to grow were those where a critical mass of people created enough demand to make services profitable.

To some people, "services" seems to be a bad word; they think only of jobs at McDonalds and Wal-Mart. This is not an accurate or a fair picture. Many Maine people do very well in service jobs. Teachers, nurses, lawyers, doctors, accountants, merchant mariners, Maine Guides – they are all service providers. Many service jobs pay well, offer good benefits, and require a good deal of skill. Others don't require a great deal of formal training or skill; these don't pay very well and generally offer few if any benefits. Service jobs that require skill tend to end up in places where there are a lot of similarly skilled people, and where customers can afford to pay for high-skill services.

Employers looking for highly skilled workers seek out places with lots of potential employees from whom they may choose; in most cases, these have been urban rather than rural places. As a rule, large companies no longer build operations in rural America that employ large numbers of technically-trained workers. The day has past when mill towns like Millinocket magically emerge from the American wilderness.Today, Aroostook is Maine's fastest shrinking county, and 51% of all Maine employees are in the labor markets surrounding Bangor, Lewiston-Auburn, and Portland (up from 47% in 1990). Increasingly, new economic activity in Maine is concentrated in urban places.

A service-based economy is not inherently worse than one based on raw commodities or manufactured goods. It *is* different, however, in that it highlights disparities in workforce skills and market size in rural versus urban areas. It is these disparities that need to be overcome in Maine, not the economic forces that reveal them.

Defying the Odds Through Comparative Advantage. Rural states like Maine must respond to this challenge on their own. As Richard Barringer has pointed out, the federal government does not have a coherent rural development strategy. Federal rural policy was once land grants, price supports, and direct farm subsidies. Today there is no well-defined national strategy to support rural areas. This contrasts with the clear endorsement of free trade that has created economic opportunities for some but hurt many rural businesses and technically-trained workers.

Meeting this challenge requires rural states like Maine to be resourceful and creative. We will have to seek out and build upon comparative advantage. Moreover, states will have to compete with one another. Like Maine, many rural states are looking for answers in the retirement industry, tourism, and value-added products. Can Maine compete? Yes. Many Maine businesses are flourishing in the new service-based economy, in one of three ways.

The first is developing a new product through a unique idea, resource, or skill – as, companies like Hinckley Yachts, building jet-powered lobster boats, and Cherry Point Products, dehydrating sea cucumbers and shipping them to Japan. Some businesses are capitalizing on unique resources: as, Hancock Lumber, selling sustainably-harvested lumber, and Maine fishermen, harvesting lobster, scallops, and bloodworms. Still others are capitalizing on a unique skill. A Denver-based company has leased the old Bass Shoe factory to make specialized shoes for people with diabetes. It chose Wilton over sites in South Carolina, New Jersey, and Massachusetts, due largely to the presence of former Bass employees with special skills in shoemaking.

A second route for rural business is providing a service that may be used long-distance. This is the call-center model, working in one place with customers in another, and the merchant mariner model, living in one place and working in another. This requires a workforce that can compete nationally and globally. Services that can be provided long-distance are open to competition from around the world – just ask anyone whose customer service call has been answered by someone in India. Maine currently competes in this arena to some degree.

In the summer of 2005, employees at the Defense Finance and Accounting Service Center in Limestone faced losing their jobs because of a Department of Defense plan to consolidate its operations. Fortunately, the federal review panel saw that Limestone employees were providing a quality of service that far surpassed other centers in the nation. The high quality of their work saved their jobs and even convinced the panel to consider hiring 300 more people in Limestone.

The third path for rural businesses is providing a service or good that cannot be used long-distance but that people are willing to travel to consume, like attractions for tourists and retirees. Maine's long history with tourism and the more recent attraction of retirees are testament to the continuing potential of this market.

The Future: Ours to Create. The common thread through all three strategies is the need for skilled people to carry them out. Maine needs people who can identify unique ideas, resources, and skills; people who can provide services at a level that is unsurpassed globally; and people with the creativity to know what services tourists and retirees want, how to provide them, and how to market them. More and more, the opportunities available in rural areas are going to be those created by local residents. Maine has many unique assets that we can draw from, and famously hard working people. Translating these into increased economic opportunities will be up to us.

At the close of their economic summit, the people of the Katahdin region affirmed their commitment to building upon the enduring comparative advantage of their region. Their unique assets of forests and waterpower have supported paper mills for over a century. Now they must support a more diverse array of manufacturing and service businesses. The people of the Katahdin region have taken a first step toward this transition. The future of rural Maine lies in similar steps toward change.

Abstract: Maine is today part of a global, structural economic evolution that is reshaping each of the nation's rural states. Agriculture and natural resource-based manufacturing once sustained Maine's rural areas, employing hundreds of thousands of workers. Technological advances, international trade, and changing consumption patterns reduced demand for these workers. As a result, many rural areas – primarily in western, northern, and eastern Maine – have lost population. Growth in today's service-based economy has concentrated in urban areas with thick consumer and labor markets. Despite the challenges, many rural businesses thrive in Maine. These focus on comparative advantage; build on unique ideas, resources, or skills; or overcome the need for physical proximity in service delivery. More and more, new economic opportunities available in Maine's rural areas will be those created by local residents themselves, through ingenuity, innovation, and market-responsiveness.

Important Ideas:

1. Comparative Advantage – Economic opportunities arise when one region can produce a good or service of higher quality or at lower cost (either absolute cost or opportunity cost) than another region.
2. Demand for Labor Follows Consumer Demand – In a market economy, growth industries are often those that anticipate and satisfy new consumer demands. Rising demand for service-industry workers reflects consumers' rising demand for services.
3. Businesses Locate Near Consumers and Workers – Businesses generally locate near concentrations of potential consumers and/or qualified employees.
4. Extraction vs. Attraction – America's rural economies were once based on the *extraction* of natural resources and the labor of local workers. Today, rural businesses succeed by *attracting* economic opportunities to themselves, often through a unique idea, resource, or skill.

Essential Questions for Discussion:

1. How has international trade affected demand for workers in manufacturing and agriculture? What other developments have affected that demand? Why haven't federal programs such as Trade Adjustment Assistance prevented the migration of workers from many rural areas?

2. What factors do businesses consider when making location decisions? What will businesses in today's growth industries (professional and business services, health care, etc.) look for in coming years?

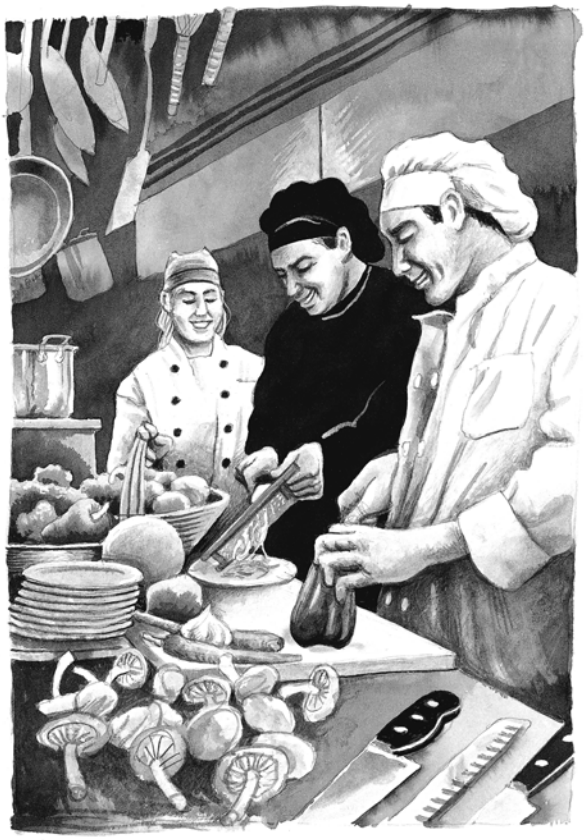
3. Some rural areas have gained population in the last decade, a few quite rapidly. What characteristics do they share? What challenges have they faced?

4. Can comparative advantage be created? How and by whom? What are Maine's current and potential areas of comparative advantage?

5. Maine's "quality of life" is one of its defining characteristics. Is it a resource that can generate new, sustainable economic opportunities? If so, how would those opportunities fit the skills and interests of workers currently in declining industries?

Follow-on Readings:

1. Economic Research Division, U.S. Dept. of Agriculture, publications on rural economies at www.ers.usda.gov/Browse/RuralEconomy/
2. Maine Rural Development Council, Entrepreneurship as a Rural Development Strategy: Defining a Policy Framework for Maine, U. of Maine Cooperative Extension, January 2001, at mrdc.umext.maine.edu/archive/Entrepreneurship.pdf
3. "Mainebiz Next List: Ten People Shaping the Future of Maine's Economy," published annually by Mainebiz Publications Inc., Portland, at www.mainebiz.biz/
4. Southern Rural Development Center, The Role of Education: Promoting the Economic and Social Vitality of Rural America, Mississippi State University and the U.S.D.A., January 2005, at srdc.msstate.edu/publications/ruraleducation.pdf
5. Whitener, Leslie A., Policy Options for a Changing Rural America, U.S. Dept. of Agriculture, April 2005, at www.ers.usda.gov/Amberwaves/April05/Features/PolicyOptions.htm



Eastern Maine Community College, Bangor

Maine Transformed: An Introduction

by Richard Barringer

Abstract: Much about Maine has changed since 1960. Today, after the demise, deregulation, and globalization of Maine's traditional industries, a once-static image of Maine life has been overtaken by events. Long-familiar, mainstay companies have vanished from the landscape, and the first substantial wave of in-migration in a century washed over Maine, with impacts in every corner and sphere of life. All this and more has literally *transformed* Maine, the Maine landscape, and Maine's prospects for the future. We have come into a new time – a new political-economic era, if you will. Like previous eras in Maine history, this will demand of us new ways of thinking, new ways of understanding, new ways of organizing ourselves as a community of people, if the values and culture we share and cherish are to endure. The challenge is nothing less than to "re-imagine" ourselves in this new era – not our values, which abide, but the outward forms and structures that give expression to them in our everyday lives. The question, then, is, "How do we re-imagine ourselves, and re-shape our lives, to assure the preservation of what we cherish most?" The choice, as we begin this new era, is ours to make.

Important Ideas:

1. Political-Economic Era**.** An extended period of time characterized by a particular organization of the means of economic production and governance of society – as, the Industrial Era, or the Ante-Bellum South.
2. Systems Thinking**.** A shift from viewing objects or entities as isolated from one another to understanding the *relationships* among them as the basis of their meaning, existence, and significance – as, that among the economy, the environment, and society.
3. Sustainable Community. An intentional community in which the economic, ecological, and social processes and activities work together, as a system, to maintain and regenerate its shared values and culture.
4. The Importance of Ideas. Not necessarily in the short run, but over the long-term ideas have great influence over events, human behavior, and history, shaping our responses to the challenges we face and their outcomes.
5. The Importance of Leadership. Liberal and conservative historians, alike, agree that democracy will rise and fall upon the quality, character, and ethics of its leadership.

Essential Questions for Discussion:

1. Can you identify four political-economic eras in Maine history since European settlement? Which one has greatest appeal to you, personally?

2. In what ways has Maine changed since 1960? Are these changes for the better, or the worse?

3. Do ideas make a difference in life? What "big ideas" might help Maine people better meet the challenges we face today?

4. What is a "sustainable community?" Do you feel the community in which you live is on a path to sustainability? Why or why not?

5. What choices do Maine people have respecting our future? As individuals? As a community of people? How might we best go about making them?

6. What are the qualities and character of leadership needed in Maine today to help us deal with the challenges we face? What can each of us do to encourage these qualities in our leaders?

Follow-on Readings:

1. Barringer, Richard, A Maine Manifest, Tower Publishing Co., Portland ME, 1973; _____, ed., Changing Maine: The 1989 Robert R. Masterton Lectures, U. of Southern Maine, Portland ME, 1990; and _____, ed., Toward a Sustainable Maine: The Politics, Economics, and Ethics of Sustainability, U. of Southern Maine, Portland ME, 1993.
2. Judd, Richard, E. Churchill and J. Eastman, eds., Maine: The Pine Tree State from Prehistory to the Present, University of Maine Press, Orono ME 1995.
3. Lockard, Duane, New England State Politics, Princeton University Press, Princeton, N.J., 1959, Ch. 4, "Maine," pp. 79-118."
4. Pease, Allen, and Wilfred Richard, eds., Maine: Fifty Years of Change, 1940-1990, University of Maine Press, Orono ME, 1983.
5. Putnam, Robert, "The Prosperous Community: Social Capital and Public Life" and "The Strange Disappearance of Civic America," in The American Prospect, 4 (13) March 21, 1993, and 7 (24) December 1, 1996; see www.prospect.org
6. Roseland, Mark, Toward Sustainable Communities: Resources for Citizens & Their Govenments, Rev. Ed., New Society Publishers, Stony Creek CT, 2005.

Toward Greater Economic Viability

1. Demography and Maine's Destiny

by Richard Sherwood & Deirdre Mageean

Abstract: Five demographic forces critically affect Maine society today and tomorrow: the aging and passing of Maine's "baby boomers;" the changing composition of our family households; our lack of diverse populations; the trend toward low-density living arrangements; and the geographic divergence of employment opportunities. The results of these trends include heightened demand for housing despite slow population growth, a sprawling landscape, and increased concentration of the state's population along and near our shores and coast. Young people move south and leave the state in large numbers, even as retirees move in. As Maine looks to the future, the policy implications of these trends will demand the most careful consideration and energetic responses.

Important Ideas:

1. Baby-Boom Maine. The baby boomers' life course – their continuing needs and wants, their values and preferences – is seen in its effects on all of Maine's social, political, and economic institutions.
2. Sprawling Maine. The spreading out of the population across formerly rural, agricultural and forested lands changes the character of the rural landscape – with dramatic impacts on public services and local property taxes.
3. Housing Maine. The dramatic decline in the number of persons per household, and the resulting increase in the number of residences required to house Maine people, drive real estate prices and housing costs.
4. Concentrated Maine. The increasing concentration of Maine population growth along the southwest coast, especially in York and Cumberland Counties, poses economic, political, and cultural challenges to the state as a whole.
5. Vanilla Maine. The contrast between Maine's racial and ethnic homogeneity, and the U.S.'s increasing diversity, poses issues and challenges to the very fabric of our society.

Essential Questions for Discussion:

1. Auguste Comte, the founder of modern sociology, said "demography is destiny." Is this true of Maine? Will the current geographic distribution of Maine's population, its household organization, age composition, and ethnic and racial mix determine the state's

future? In what ways?

2. Is the ethnic and racial disparity between Maine and the nation likely to continue? If so, what implications does this have for Maine's place in American society? Will Maine be increasingly marginalized within the larger culture? How might Maine attract more minorities and immigrants?

3. Will Maine suffer any disadvantages in the wider American society as a result of having one of the oldest populations in the nation? Will it affect Maine's participation in the national economy? In what ways? What about Maine's influence in Washington? What about the State's contributions to general American culture? Are there any plus's in the wider society to having an old population?

4. Is the increasing concentration of population growth along the southwest coast of Maine problematic? In what ways? Should we be more concerned about the high rate of growth in a few coastal counties, or about the slow growth across the remainder of the state? What influence is this trend likely to have on Maine politics?

Follow-on Readings:

1. Clark, Jeff, "Invasion of the Boomers", Down East, January 2003, pp. 19-24.
2. Donahue, Sean, "Demographic Destiny", Mainebiz, April 18, 2005, pp. 16-19.
3. Francese, Peter, "Marriage Drain's Big Cost", American Demographics, April 2004, pp. 40-41.
4. Mageean, Deirdre M., Gillian AvRuskin, and Richard Sherwood, "Whither Maine's Population?"Maine Policy Review 9(1)pp. 28-43, University of Maine, Orono ME, 2000.
5. Heminway, Merritt T. Maine's Disappearing Youth: Implications of a Declining Youth Population, Maine Education Leadership Consortium, Augusta ME, 2002.
6. Morrow, James, "A Place for One", American Demographics, November 2003, pp. 24-29.

2. Maine's Changing Economy: The Rise of "Urban" Maine

by Charles Colgan

Abstract: In the past 50 years, Maine's economy has undergone historic change from an economy that was distinct in its high dependence on natural resources and manufacturing to one that is, in broad outline, now remarkably similar to the United States as a whole. The transition has included the loss of tens of thousands of jobs in the shoe, textiles, and apparel industries, as well declines in forest products, fisheries, and agriculture. These were offset by growth in industries such as retail trade, services, transportation, and government. These changes in industrial structure have also meant a change in the location of economic activity; and like the

rest of the U.S., Maine is becoming ever-more urban as a result. This is evidenced by the growing proportion of population and employment in Maine's urban places, and the growth in the number and size of these urban areas. This urbanization process has led to concerns about "sprawl" and its consequences. Part of sprawl is the natural expansion of urban regions, and part is the inefficient use of land in low density development. The future of Maine and the future of Maine's economy will largely be determined by *how* and *how well* the urban areas of the state grow and use land.

Important Ideas:

1. Industrial Economy. Until recent decades Maine's economy was dominated by industrial manufacturing activities, particularly those using the state's natural resources and its low-cost labor. While manufacturing is still important to Maine, it is much less so than in the past.
2. Post-Industrial Economy – one in which trade, services, finance, transportation, and government provide most of the growth.
3. Urban Region – one which has a central city and a surrounding set of interdependent communities. In the early development of urban regions, most jobs are in the central city, and people live there and in surrounding communities. Over time, jobs migrate out to the areas where people live, and create new employment and service centers throughout the region.
4. Sprawl. This is a general term that describes a variety of patterns of urban regional growth. In general, regional economists see the outward movement of jobs and housing as part of the natural evolution of urban regions, while land use planners see growth outside the central service center as the inefficient use of land.

Essential Questions for Discussion:

1. Has the transition from an industrial to a post-industrial economy made Maine better or worse off? In what ways?

2. Does the increasing concentration of economic activity in urban places mean a fundamentally different "Maine?"

3. What are the principal urban areas in Maine? How are they similar? How do they differ?

4. Is "sprawl" a major problem for Maine? In what areas is sprawl greatest? In what areas least? Which areas are dealing best with sprawl?

5. What does the increasing concentration of economic activity in urban areas mean for rural Maine? What are the opportunities and challenges for rural Maine in the post-industrial urban economy?

Follow-on Readings:

1. Barnes, William, and L. Ledebur, The New Regional Economies: The U.S. Common Market and the Global Economy, Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks CA, 1997. This is a general introduction to urban and regional economies.
2. Colgan, Charles, and Lloyd C. Irland, "The Sustainability Dilemma: Observations from Maine History," in R. Barringer, ed., Toward a Sustainable Maine: The Politics, Economics, and Ethics of Sustainability, University of Southern Maine, Portland ME, 1993.
3. Pease, Allen, and Wilfred Richard, Maine: Fifty Years of Change, 1940-1990, University of Maine Press, Orono ME, 1983.
4. For a discussion of "sprawl" from a land use perspective, see Evan Richert's Chapter 11 in this volume, "Land Use in Maine: From Production to Consumption."
5. For recent studies of the Maine economy, see the website of the Maine State Planning Office, at www.maine.gov/spo
6. For information on current economic development efforts in Maine, see the website of the Department of Economic and Community Development, at www.econdevmaine.com

3. Being Poor in Maine: Working Hard, Falling Behind

by Lisa Pohlmann

Abstract: Though less visible than in states with greater income inequality, poverty is and always has been a reality in Maine. Fewer elderly people are now poor than forty years ago, thanks to Medicare, Medicaid, and Social Security, but more working families earn incomes below the federal poverty level. The minimum wage has not kept up with inflation, the costs of housing, transportation, and childcare have risen dramatically, and federal support for anti-poverty programs has suffered drastic cuts. Public policies such as deregulation and trade liberalization have accelerated wage and income inequality in Maine. More than ever before, we understand that income inequality incurs steep social costs, including negative effects on health, children, the environment, and community life. In recent years, Maine government has taken ground-breaking steps to help reduce poverty in the state, but federal tax cuts and a slowing economy point to a future that will continue to challenge Maine's poor and policymakers.

Important Ideas:

1. Less Visible but No Less Harmful. Poverty is more easily hidden than it was 40 years ago, but remains no less isolating, stressful, and disempowering for poor families.
2. Demographics Are a Driver. Maine's rising numbers of single-person households and, especially, of single female-headed households make up a large proportion of our poor.

3. The Income Gap Grows. Slow growth in wages has been the chief factor in Maine's increasing income inequality over the past 30 years. Most poor adults are working but do not make enough to adequately support themselves and their families.
4. Federal Policies Widen the Income Gap. Trade liberalization, inadequate minimum wage increases, the weakening of the social safety net, and tax cuts for the wealthy have increased the income gap between the poor and the wealthy in Maine and the nation. Federal program cuts have shifted the safety net burden onto the states.
5. Maine Works Hard to Help the Poor. Even with limited resources, Maine has supported low- and moderate-income families by increasing postsecondary education for welfare recipients, expanding access to health care, enacting minimum wage increases, and expanding eligibility for unemployment insurance. These policies and programs always face political opposition, however.

Essential Questions for Discussion:

1. What does it mean to be among the "working poor" in Maine today? Where do the working poor live and work in your area? What do you think their lives are like?

2. What are the social impacts of rising income inequality for a community? How does income disparity between northern and southern/coastal Maine counties impact the state as a whole?

3. In what ways has the dominant attitude of federal policymakers in relation to the poor changed over the last 40 years? What are the social and economic factors that have brought about those changes?

4. What do you think the role of government should be in supporting people with low-incomes? Where would you make public investments to reduce poverty in Maine?

5. If Maine has been relatively more generous in providing support to low-income families, what could threaten that commitment in the future?

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2. Harrington, Michael, The New American Poverty, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York NY, 1984.
3. Shipler, David, The Working Poor: Invisible in America, Random House, New York NY, 2004.
4. Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, reports on federal policy proposals related to low-income families, available at www.cbpp.org
5. Center on Law and Social Policy, reports on issues of poverty and the working poor, available at www.clasp.org

6. Economic Policy Institute, reports on labor policy, particularly "State of Working America," updated biennially and available at www.epinst.org
7. Maine Center for Economic Policy, annual "State of Working Maine" report, livable wage estimates, and state tax and budget policy analysis, available at www.mecep.org

4. Housing for a Changing Maine: It's Not Working!

by Frank O'Hara

Abstract: Over the past four decades Maine's housing stock has increasingly provided decent shelter and solid financial value to our people. Especially in recent years, however, it has not been so successful in providing access to jobs and services, and in fostering community. No- and slow-growth policies have limited the construction of needed multi-family housing, and facilitated the suburbanization of land use known as "sprawl." Maine communities must re-evaluate these policies and practices, especially to meet the needs of young workers in our service centers and those of isolated older people living in suburban communities. For its part, the state must see itself as building communities, not just individual residential and commercial structures. With stronger state leadership, a more complex approach to distinguishing housing markets, and a bottom-up decision-making approach, Maine can ensure that our housing will once again foster access and community, as well as shelter and financial security.

Important Ideas:

1. The Many Functions of Housing. Housing provides several important functions for its occupants, including physical shelter, financial investment or value, access to jobs and services, and participation in community.
2. Higher Quality, Relatively Stable Cost. Over the past 50 years the quality of physical shelter in Maine has improved dramatically, while the cost of housing relative to incomes has remained stable.
3. A Diminished Federal Role. In the past the federal government provided public leadership in housing development. In the future, Maine state government will have to play this role – both because federal funding for housing has steeply declined, and the nature of housing issues has changed.
4. Regional Disparities. Because housing is a commodity that serves a limited market area (a "housing market"), cost and availability conditions vary widely across the state. In some Maine markets housing is inexpensive and available, while in others it is expensive and scarce.
5. The Diversity Challenge. The challenge is once again to build housing for Maine that supports diverse communities – for young and old, working and retired, large families and singles – and that has good access to jobs and services.

Essential Questions for Discussion:

1. How would you rate your home or apartment in terms of the four functions of housing (2.5 points for each)? That is, for:
   - physical shelter
   - economic investment or value
   - access to jobs and services
   - participation in community

   What would it take to make your current housing into a perfect 10?

2. Is there a difference between building individual housing structures and building a community? How would you design a neighborhood that would do most to encourage community life? How does this compare to the place where you now live? Or,

3. The community of Celebration, Florida (see www.celebrationfl.com), is an example of recent community design also called the "new urbanism." Can you describe the techniques that the Celebration builders usd to promote community life in their design. Is this a model that could be copied in Maine? Why/why not?

4. In what ways has the automobile expanded the size of the "community" in which you live, work, play, shop, worship, etc? What are the results of this for your life? For government policymakers?

5. In what ways does a one-size-fits-all housing policy fail to take into account the realities of Maine's many housing markets? What are the effects of this? How may it be corrected?

Follow-on Readings:

1. Jacobs, Jane, The Death and Life of Great American Cities, Random House, New York, 1961. (A classic in its field, and still the best description of what is important for neighborhood life.)
2. Harvard University's Joint Center for Housing Studies produces excellent annual reports on the State of the Nation's Housing, at www.jchs.harvard.edu/
3. The Maine State Housing Authority has current data on housing in Maine, as well as several reports on Maine housing written by Frank O'Hara, including "Houses, Jobs, and Maine People," 2001; "The State of Maine's Housing," 1999; and "The State of Maine's Housing," 2002, all available at www.mainehousing.org/reports.html
4. The Maine State Planning Office is also a source of information on neighborhood design, sprawl, and affordable housing, at www.maine.gov/spo/landuse/resources/housing.php

5. Health Policy in Maine: Recurring Themes, Persistent Leadership

by Elizabeth Kilbreth

Abstract: The development of health policy in Maine over the past 50 years mirrors that of the nation at large. If it succeeds, Maine's innovative Dirigo Health Plan may lead the way for the nation in this era of needed health care reform. Research and development in medical science have combined to create a level and pace of change in health care delivery that requires skillful and innovative policymaking to address people's needs. How did a small state with a limited tax base reach the front of the pack in health policy? Maine's unique strengths include an intimate political arena where all the major players can and do interact regularly; leadership from a governor committed to universal access to health care, for both economic and humane reasons; and a strong consumer advocacy community that facilitates communications between legislators and constituents. Maine creatively pursues a time when all people will have access to quality, affordable health care.

Important Ideas:

1. The Health Policy Arena Is Complex . Like other states, Maine, must develop health policy initiatives within constraints imposed by federal health policy and private sector management of much of health care financing.
2. Unchecked Cost Growth Drives Policy. The very rapid growth of the health care industry over the past 20 years has been both a boon and a challenge for Maine. The health industry provides needed jobs: hospitals are the largest employers in many Maine cities and towns. On the other hand, rising insurance costs are a drag on the Maine economy and cause many Mainers to go without health coverage.
3. Maine Has Been a Health Policy Leader. Despite these challenges, Maine has a long history of legislative and gubernatorial activism in developing policy initiatives to expand health coverage for needy citizens. The Dirigo Reform initiative is but the latest in a long line of innovative programs.
4. Maine's Political Culture Facilitates Innovation. Strong grassroots activism and open communication among stakeholder groups (such as insurers, employers, and hospitals) contribute to policy innovation and a political culture of principled negotiation and compromise.

Essential Questions for Discussion:

1. What federal policies have had a significant impact on the health care system in Maine?

2. Who are the key stakeholders with an interest in state policy developments in the provision and oversight of health care?

3. How does the situation in Maine differ from other states in ways that might help explain Maine's activism in the health policy arena?

4. Why is it so difficult for Maine (or any other state) to devise policies to assure adequate health care for all its citizens?

Follow-on Readings

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2. Blue Ribbon Commission, The Cost of Health Care In Maine: Report of the Year 2000 Blue Ribbon Commission on Health Care, Maine Development Foundation, Augusta ME, 2001.
3. Kilbreth, Elizabeth, E. Ziller, and S. Payne, Trends in Health Service Costs and Utilization, 1995 – 2001: An Analysis of a Privately Insured Population in Maine, Institute for Health Policy, Muskie School of Public Service, University of Southern Maine, Portland ME, 2005.
4. Rooks, Douglas, Darkness to Dawn: Maine's Mental Health System, Maine Center for Economic Policy, Augusta ME, 2001.
5. Oberlander, Jonathan, "The Politics of Health Reform: Why Do Bad Things Happen to Good Plans?" Health Affairs, 2003(1) at http://content.healthaffairs.org/cgi/reprint/hlthaff.w3.391v1
6. Ziller, Erika, and E. Kilbreth, Uninsured in Maine: A Household Survey, Institute for Health Policy, Muskie School of Public Service, University of Southern Maine, Portland ME, 2003.

6. K-12 Education in Maine: Steering from a Distance

by David Silvernail

Abstract: Maine's K-12 public school system is today one of the strongest in the nation due to the dedication and hard work of educators, increased financial commitment from Maine citizens, and passage by the Maine legislature of the Sinclair Act of 1957, the Education Reform Act of 1984, and the Learning Results of 1997. In the last ten years, the cost of providing K-12 education has risen steadily, even while enrollment has decreased. Today Maine school districts face pressure to regionalize and economize, as well as strong local resistance to these ideas from citizens accustomed to a high degree of "local control." Looking to the future, Maine faces the challenges of the federally-mandated "No Child Left Behind Act," and of funding equitable and accessible education for all students.

Important Ideas:

1. Among the Best in the Nation. Maine people have invested time, resources, and legislative effort over the last 40 years to make Maine's K-12 education system recognized as one of the best in the United States.
2. Three Basic Laws. Three key pieces of legislation over the last 40 years have had a profound effect on Maine's K-12 education system; these include the Sinclair Act (1957), the Education Reform Act (1985), and the Learning Results Act (1997).
3. Shifting Locus of Control. Many of the changes that have taken place in Maine's K-12 education system in these decades have resulted in a reduction of local control over our schools.
4. Persistent High Cost. Maine's K-12 education system remains expensive, even in a time of an aging population and declining school enrollments.
5. Persistent Equity Question. Even as it has become one of the best in the nation, Maine's education system still does not ensure equity and access to equal educational opportunities for *all* Maine youth.

Essential Questions for Discussion:

1. What should Maine's schools do to ensure that *all* children, regardless of where they are born or raised in the state, have the same opportunity to achieve high academic standards?

2. How should local control of our schools be balanced with the State's constitutional responsibility to ensure equal educational opportunities for all Maine's youth?

3. Maine's Constitution states that local communities are responsible for funding their public schools. Should the State continue to contribute the majority of funding for our schools? For ineffective schools? For inefficient schools?

4. How should Maine schools be held accountable for helping all children achieve high academic standards? Should there be rewards for achieving them, and sanctions for failure?

5. The federal government places many mandates on Maine's schools, but contributes little to help finance them. What role should the federal government play in mandating what Maine's schools teach, test, and fund?

6. Maine's aging adults will require more and more economic and social resources to meet their needs, while Maine schools will require more resources to ensure equity for all Maine children. How do we balance the needs of our youth and our aging population?

Follow-on Readings:

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2. Malen, B., "Tightening the Grip? The Impact of State Activism on Local School Systems." Educational Policy, 17(2), pp. 195-216, May 2003.
3. Mathis. W.J., "No Child Left Behind: Costs and Benefits." Phi Delta Kappan, 84(9), pp. 679-86, May 2003.
4. Silvernail, David L., and W.L. Bonney, "Essential Programs and Services: The Basics for a New Approach for Funding Maine's Public Schools," Maine Policy Review, Winter 2005, University of Maine, Orono ME.
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6. Theobald, N.D., and J. Bardziel. "Balancing Local Control and State Responsibility for K-12 Education," in M.D. Theobald & B. Malen, eds., American Education Finance 2000 Yearbook, Eye on Education, Inc., Larchmont NY, 2000.
7. Zajac, E.E., "Normative Theories I: John Rawls," in E.E. Zajac, Political Economy of Fairness, MIT Press, Cambridge MA, 1995.

7. Higher Education for All: Time for Change

by Terrence MacTaggart

Abstract: For a sparsely populated state, Maine boasts an exceptional number of public and private education institutions; still, rates of higher education participation and attainment in Maine are relatively low. The costs of obtaining higher education remain prohibitive for many Maine student and their families. The structure and largely deregulated governance of higher education in Maine has demonstrated unusual stability, compared to other states. Stability has had its benefits, but it also makes higher education a continuing target for reformers and critics, as the changing economy and the decline in numbers of high school graduates put pressure on the system. For these institutions to meet the needs of Maine's citizens more effectively, the state must more closely and effectively link higher education to its overall economic development strategy, improve their operational effectiveness, and strengthen financial aid for low-income Mainers.

Important Ideas:

1. University Governance. As used in higher education, this term describes how various entities and interests – faculty, administration, politicians, the state executive branch, legislative committees, student groups, etc. – participate as stakeholders in the decision-making process.
2. Trustees. The United States is unique in the world in having its colleges and universities, and "systems" of these institutions, overseen by citizen boards of trustees rather than by

state agencies. In reality, trustees share governing authority with other groups, especially including public policy makers on the one hand and faculty on the other.

3. Coordination. Most states (though not Maine) provide some formal, overarching coordination or governing function, the purpose of which is to focus attention on public priorities and avoid unnecessary duplication of services. In Maine statewide coordination, where it exists, occurs informally and voluntarily among the leaders of two public systems and the trustees of Maine Maritime Academy.
4. Systems of Higher Education. Maine organizes its public higher education institutions into two separate systems: trustees of the University of Maine System oversee seven public universities, and a different group of citizens governs the Maine Community College System. The other public higher education institution, Maine Maritime Academy, is governed by a third board of trustees.
5. Governance Stability. Policy ideas put forward by boards of trustees, especially changes proposed for the University System, are frequently criticized and politicized in Maine; still, the underlying governance structure has remained largely unchanged for more than thirty years.

Essential Questions for Discussion:

1. Education beyond high school, once a luxury reserved for the few, is now a necessity for all. In light of this, what is the state's obligation to provide affordable, high-quality higher educational services for all its citizens?

2. What are some of the underlying reasons for the gap between the relatively large number of colleges and universities in Maine and the low levels of participation in higher education? What are some policy options for closing this gap?

3. What coordination exists among the three public entities comes about through informal, voluntary cooperation among their leaders. What are the advantages and disadvantages of this decentralized and informal approach to harnessing higher education resources in service of public needs?

4. In 2005, the trustees of the University of Maine System proposed to combine three small campuses – Fort Kent, Presque Isle, and Machias – and to join the Augusta campus with the University of Southern Maine; this was soundly rejected by the Maine legislature. What options exist for ensuring geographic access on the one hand and less costly services on the other in this large state with many small institutions of higher learning?

5. The long-term stability of governance of higher education in Maine is matched by equally long-term dissatisfaction with its costs and the effectiveness. What are the pro's and con's today of this stable governance structure? What alternatives exist to increase the effectiveness of higher education in Maine without doing damage to the organizations that deliver higher education? Does higher education in Maine require a total makeover, or is more gradual reform the way to go?

6. Several of Maine's private institutions play a major role in producing graduates for public service professions in health care, education, law enforcement, and other fields. Should the state provide greater support for these schools and their students, under the heading of using private means to supply public benefits? If so, how would you provide this additional state support?

Follow-on Readings:

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3. Libby, James D., Super U: The History and Politics of the University of Maine System, The Picton Press, Rockport ME, 2002.
4. Lindemann, Frances, "Higher Education for All Maine People," Maine Center for Economic Policy, Augusta ME, 2002, at www.mecep.org/higheredforall/
5. MacTaggart, Terrence J., Restructuring Higher Education: What Works and What Doesn't in Reorganizing Governing Systems, Jossey-Bass, San Francisco, 1996.
6. National Center for Public Policy and Higher Education, Measuring Up 2002: The State-by-State Report Card for Higher Education, San Jose CA, 2002, at http://measuringup.highereducation.org/2002/stateprofilenet
7. Silvernail, David L., "Increasing Postsecondary Enrollments in Maine," Maine Policy Review, (6)1997, University of Maine, Orono ME.
8. Trostel, Philip, "The Long-Term Effects of Declining State Support for Higher Education: Are States Shooting Themselves in the Foot?" paper and presentation at Wisconsin Center for the Advancement of Postsecondary Education, Madison WI, October, 2003.

8. Maine Tax Policy: Lessons from the Domesday Book

by Peter Mills

Abstract: During the latter half of the 20th Century, three new revenue sources – the sales tax, the income tax, and federal Medicaid – funded dramatic increases in state programs, enabling Maine (along with other states) to become a primary provider of health and social services, as well as an equal partner with the towns in paying for K-12 education. While dependency on these services continues to grow almost exponentially, supporting revenues are tapped out. Further, sales and income taxes are volatile, and tend to plummet in response to market downturns. Maine is seriously challenged to balance its growing demand for services against the limitations of its revenues. To control volatility, Maine should resist pressures to abandon its traditional taxes on wealth and property, ancient sources of revenue known for their stability.

Important Ideas:

1. Revenue Shifts. During the last half of the 20th century, Maine's traditional reliance on property and "sin" taxes shifted to three new and greatly expanded sources: the sales tax, the income tax, and federal Medicaid.
2. New Services. At the same time and as a direct result, state government's mid-century focus on spending for transportation was rapidly superseded by increased spending on medical and social services and the funding of K-12 education, thus redefining and expanding the role of state government in our society.
3. Revenue Adequacy. Eve- increasing demands for health and education services have run up against limits in the revenue systems that were invented and expanded to support them.
4. Volatility. The state's two major sources of tax revenue – sales and income – are notoriously volatile and create political upheaval when they fail to support the state's persistently growing demand for health and education services.

Essential Questions for Discussion:

1. If Maine's revenues are no longer sufficient to meet escalating demand for health and education services, what are the long range policy options for Maine and other states?

2. To what extent does the economic "race to the bottom" among states (that is, the competition to cut revenues, to attract and retain businesses) constrain state revenue and service options? How may states like Maine best respond?

3. Should Maine be less ambitious in the level of services it provides? How might that be accomplished?

4. How might Maine induce its political subdivisions to spend less, through consolidating and regionalizing local services?

5. Are there potential sources of revenue that Maine is overlooking?

6. Each Maine municipality has discretion to raise only one tax, the two-digit number that sets its property tax mill rate. Should towns be given power to raise money by other means?

Follow-on Readings:

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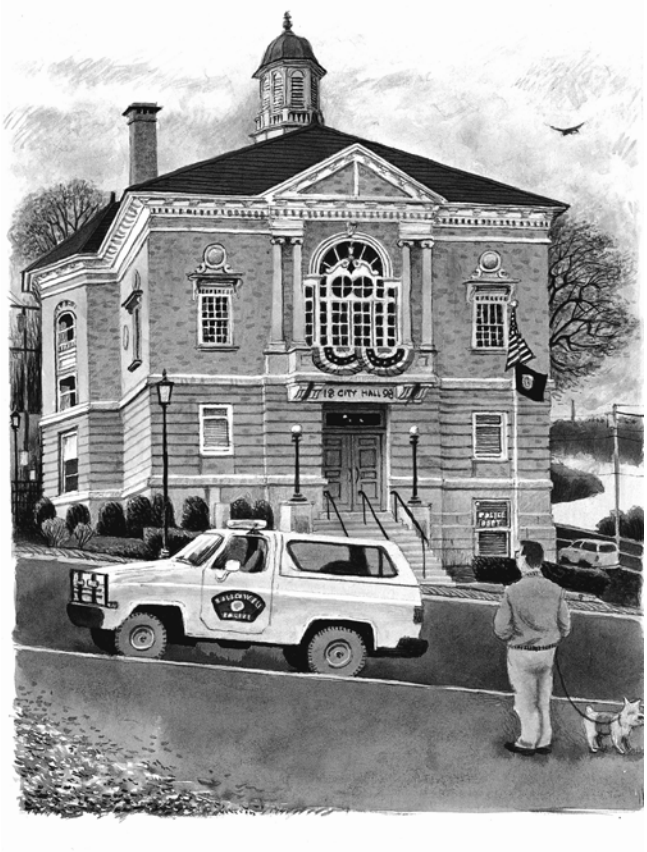
5. Office of Fiscal and Program Review, Maine Legislature, Compendium of State Fiscal Information, Augusta ME, annually. Summarizes the recent history of all major sources of operating revenue and expenditures, plus debt obligations and per capita comparisons with other states.
6. Office of Fiscal and Program Review, Maine Legislature, Summary of Major State Funding Disbursed to Municipalities and Counties, Augusta ME, annually. Summarizes the recent history of all state support flowing to Maine's municipalities.
7. Treasurer, State of Maine, Official Statement, Augusta ME, annually. Provides in narrative, tabular, and graphic form an analysis of the state's fiscal condition, as a guide to investors and bond rating agencies.



City Hall, Hallowell

Toward Greater Community Vitality

9. Governing Maine: Tensions in the System

by Kenneth Palmer

Abstract: Maine's state and local governments have long struggled with a values clash that may be described as "citizen participation vs. government professionalism." As the executive and judicial branches have moved toward professionalism, the legislature has been impeded in that journey by citizen attempts to retain control through the establishment of term limits and the increased use of citizen-initiated referenda. At the local level, similar battles are waged as municipalities struggle to balance the advantages of small size (participation) with the demands of modern governmental functions (professionalism). Maine's consensus-driven political culture and willingness to innovate will be key factors in determining the state's ability to bridge the divide between the two competing values.

Important Ideas:

1. A Participatory Political Culture. Maine has long had high citizen participation in public affairs. More people vote in our elections than in most other states. People not only elect their public officials, they have long helped directly manage the affairs of their communities through arrangements like annual town meetings.
2. The Need for Professional Expertise. Beginning in the 1960s, Maine began to employ large numbers of professionally-trained persons to manage and direct government agencies: state government created a governor's cabinet, full-time judges took over the management of Maine's trial courts, and the number of town and city managers grew in even greater proportion.
3. Participation v. Professionalism. A major disruption occurred in Maine's citizen legislature in the early 1990s. Some voters believed too many legislators were becoming career politicians, and sought to remove them. In a 1992 referendum, they imposed term limits on state lawmakers and some constitutional officers, which became effective in 1996.
4. Our Richness of Local Governments. Maine has approximately 800 units of local government, including nearly 500 municipalities and 285 school districts. The effort to maintain all these units has caused Maine to more than double its number of full-time local government employees in the past forty years. That growth has, in turn, helped make Maine a state with one of the highest levels of taxes and spending in the country.

5. A New Concern for Reform. Maine has long been an innovator in the processes of governance. Currently, worry over the soaring costs of local governments has led officials and citizens to consider reforming their structure. One idea is a reduction in the number of school districts to about 35; another is the creation of municipal service districts, which would combine certain functions of towns.

Essential Questions for Discussion:

1. Maine has one of the highest levels of voter turnout in elections of any state. Why does Maine have a political culture in which people are encouraged to take a very active part in their government? What factors are involved?

2. How might Maine best deal with the necessity of experts in government and still maintain active citizen participation? Can the two goals be reconciled?

3. Maine currently limits its legislators to no more than four consecutive terms in office in the same chamber. Are term limits a good idea? Should the term limits law be abolished? Or perhaps modified to extend the permissible number of terms?

4. What reforms would be most effective in reducing the costs of local government? Should the number of school districts be reduced? Should towns find ways to consolidate services among them? To consolidate governance regionally?

5. What should be the proper balance between state and local government in Maine public affairs? What kinds of municipal services should the state support financially? Should the state in turn regulate the way localities spend state funds?

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10. Maine's Civil Society: An Enduring Strength

by Mark Lapping

Abstract: Maine has a rich tradition of civic organizations at the heart of our community life, where community members have gathered regularly and built a store of "social capital" that may be drawn down to address community needs. Recent developments across the nation have also affected Maine, contributing to a shift away from this kind of citizen-driven organization to professional third-parties, private and public. Sprawl has isolated people from their neighbors, and two-income families and longer commuting times have discouraged participation in civic organizations of all kinds, including local government. The "Two Maine's" hypothesis serves further to widen the gap between Maine citizens in addressing state-wide issues that require cooperation and sharing of responsibilities. If Maine is to leverage social capital to strengthen communities as in the past, civic duty must be redefined for these times and emphasized in schools and today's community organizations.

Important Ideas:

1. Social Capital. This refers to the norms of trust, reciprocity, and concern for mutual well-being that facilitate, even lubricate social, economic, and political exchange.
2. Civil Society. This is the realm of activity between the private market and the public sector that is inhabited by all who engage in voluntary associations to advance the common agenda or public good, where we seek a balance between the private and the public, the rights and responsibilities of a free people.
3. Narrative – the continuing story of how we do and can live together as members of a human community.
4. Associational Life. Alexis de Tocqueville found this "turn to one another" to address common problems to be the essential ingredient of civil society, and the essence of New England town life and government.
5. Sprawl. This is the hallmark of change in land use in Maine since the 1960s, in which the physical elements of the community have moved away from each other in low-density development powered by the automobile and old, anti-urban sentiments.

Essential Questions for Discussion:

1. Should schools require students to participate in voluntary community projects? Why, or why not?

2. The American philosopher John Dewey once observed that "schools are the laboratories of democracy." Can you explain and defend the proposition that schools should be run as democratic institutions. How might schools function more democratically, and what would a democratic school look like?

3. What civic organizations do you or other members of your family belong to, and in what ways do these organizations contribute to the "common good" of your community?

4. What did Rabbi Hillel mean when he wrote: "If I am not for myself, who will be for me? And if I am only for myself, what am I"? Does this generations-old precept have meaning for us in Maine today? Why, or why not?

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11. Land Use in Maine: From Production to Consumption

by Evan Richert

Abstract: The last 50 years have set into motion a basic change in the landscape of Maine's settled territory, from one organized for production – what we know as "rural" – to one organized for consumption – what we recognize as "suburban." Urban land is a tiny fraction of the state's land base, and expanded only modestly over the last half-century to about 1.5% of the total; but it accommodates more than 40% of our population, about 525,000 people. Rural land still dominates statewide, but in the southern seven counties it has shrunk to about two-thirds of the total. In between the urban and the rural is a rapidly expanding suburban land mass, which by 2000 had grown to 6% of the statewide total land area and close to a third of the land area of the southern seven counties, with a population of about 600,000. The suburban growth has been at the expense of primarily rural lands, driven both by market preferences and the mandates of local government. A counter-attack on the suburban erosion of both urban centers and rural lands has begun to take form, but its success is far from assured.

Important Ideas:

1. Rural Land Is Distinctly Different from Suburban Land. Rural land is organized for production (of food, fiber, wildlife, raw materials, energy). Suburban land, including low-density suburban land, is organized for consumption (the buying and selling of house

lots, and the consumption of privacy and a lifestyle). Rural land cannot compete with suburban land in the market place.

2. Public Policy, Including State Subsidies and Local Zoning, Enable and Even Mandate a Suburban Pattern of Development. From the point of view of local government officials, zoning for low-density suburbs is an apparently rational act, even as it erodes the productive and environmental functions of rural lands, and weakens urban centers as hubs of population and economic activity.
3. A Nascent Movement Has Evolved to Check the Costly Effects of Suburbanization. This movement has found expression in official state land use policy, but implementation has been weak and ineffectual. The rise of organizations such as land trusts and service center coalitions is having more immediate effect.
4. Mandatory Low-Density Zoning Deprives a Large Segment of the Market of the Kinds of Neighborhoods They Would Prefer. A significant part of the market – as much as a third – prefers traditional neighborhood and village settings; but most suburban zoning bans this pattern of development through overly large lot size and restrictive density and use requirements. Many municipalities still equate traditional neighborhood development with overcrowding and environmental problems.
5. The Appeal and Political Power of the Low-Density Suburb Make Sprawl an Enduring Part of the Landscape. A new set of fiscal, regional planning, zoning, and housing policies will be required to contain this pattern of development, which is synonymous with sprawl, and to allow reasonable opportunity for the more traditional, village and neighborhood patterns to re-establish themselves.

Essential Questions for Discussion:

1. How do urban, suburban, and rural lands differ in the way they are organized and in the purposes they serve?

2. Does your town have a comprehensive plan that states its wish to preserve the town's "rural character?" When citizens and local governments say they want to preserve the rural character of their towns, what do they mean?

3. Why is the low-density suburban pattern of development so attractive? Does it pose problems for "sustainable" communities and environment? If it satisfies the desires of a large part of the market, why should it be constrained?

4. How many blocks of land with at least 100 undeveloped acres remain in your town? What percentage of homes in your town are within ¼ mile of at least a few stores, services, school, or places of worship? Given that the answer to the first question represents "rural" lands in your town, and the answer to the second represents village or neighborhood lands, how much of your town is now a low-density suburb?

5. Do local mandates for low-density suburban zoning deprive citizens and the market of other desirable lifestyle choices? What lot sizes are required in your town? How does

this protect rural character? How does it take away from the traditional functions of rural lands?

6. What large-scale shifts in public policy are necessary to bring better balance to the patterns of development that Maine has witnessed in the last half century? How do tax policy, planning policy, workforce housing policy, and land use regulation relate to sprawl? What are the large-scale obstacles that stand in the way of changes in public policy?

Follow-on Readings

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2. Levine, Jonathan, Zoned Out: Regulation, Markets, and Choices in Transportation and Metropolitan Land Use, Resources for the Future, Washington DC, 2006.
3. O'Hara, Frank, The Cost of Sprawl, Maine State Planning Office, Augusta ME, May 1997, at http://www.maine.gov/spo/landuse/pubs/
4. Nelessen, Anton Clarence, Vision for a New American Dream, American Planning Association, Chicago IL, 1994.
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12. Maine Arts and Culture: The Emergence of a New Force

by Alden Wilson

Abstract: Maine has a long standing reputation as an inspirational setting for artistic creation, beginning with the rich artisan tradition of Maine's Native Americans. As a state of artists, craftspeople, and institutions that support them, Maine has nurtured writers, visual artists, performing artists, musicians, and artisans in communities all across the State**.** In the last one-third of the 20th century, growth in the state's arts community was stimulated by the creation of the National Endowments for the Arts and the Humanities under President Lyndon B. Johnson. The Maine Arts Commission, created in 1965, channeled state and federal resources into support for arts organizations in Maine's communities. The result is a strong, statewide arts and culture infrastructure, one that positions Maine communities to take advantage of the emerging national focus on the "creative economy." Support for the arts translates into dollars, and trends indicate that Maine's economic future will be closely tied to continuing investment in the state's artistic and cultural heritage.

Important Ideas:

1. Maine's Abiding Arts & Culture. The arts and culture in Maine are abiding resources, with deep roots in Native American traditions and 17th through 21st century expressions

in all art forms. Maine arts and culture are recognized internationally for their quality and historic significance.

2. Maine Culture & Environment. There is a strong interrelationship between Maine's cultural and environmental interests, both of which are considered assets not as prevalent or highly developed elsewhere. Both domains are supported by a cross section of Maine citizens and enjoy significant bi-partisan political support.
3. Maine Creative Economy Policy. The developing creative economy in Maine is now a formal part of the state's economic development policy, which distinguishes Maine's creative economy initiative from most other states; Vermont and Montana have similar state-level initiatives.

Essential Questions for Discussion:

1. In what ways do Maine's arts and culture resources differ from those in other parts of the nation? What are the historical roots of the differences?

2. Which art forms and cultural interests are predominant in Maine? What is the impact of this predominance within our local communities, and on our sense of place?

3. Why are Maine's arts and cultural resources the foundation for the state's creative economy movement? In terms of developing the creative economy, what is the necessary or desired relationship among the cultural non-profit organizations, for-profit businesses and business groups, and individual artists and creative entrepreneurs?

4. How does Maine's creative economy initiative compare with similar initiatives in the U.S. and other countries?

5. What strategies might Maine state government employ to support and enhance Maine's creative economy? What is the private sector's role?

6. Should the relationship between Maine's cultural and environmental interests be strengthened? Why, and how?

Follow-on Readings:

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2. Beem, Edgar Allen, Maine Art Now, The Dog Ear Press, Gardiner ME, 1990.
3. Carpenter, James, et al., Maine and Its Role in American Art, The Viking Press, New York NY, 1963.
4. Cassidy, Donna, Marsden Hartley: Race, Region, and Nation, University Press of New England, Durham NH, 2005.
5. Gussow, Alan, A Sense of Place: The Artist and the American Land, Friends of Earth, San Francisco CA, 1971.

6. Little, Carl, Paintings of Maine: A New Collection, Down East Books, Camden ME, 2006.
7. For concepts, strategies and scholarly papers on the "creative economy," see www.nasaa-arts.org/artworks/creativeeconomy_resources.html

13. Maine's New "Third Sector": The Emerging Nonprofit Landscape

by Dahlia Lynn

Abstract: In recent decades, nonprofit organizations have become an indispensable part of our communities' well-being all across the nation. These "third sector" organizations provide a wide range of social services, artistic and cultural productions, political advocacy, and environmental protection activities. As a rural state with a land conservation ethic, artistic and creative traditions, and an increasing demand for social services, Maine has the 4th highest number of nonprofit organizations per capita in the nation. While nonprofits have become an integral part of Maine life, they face a number of challenges that threaten their viability, including slow growth in private charitable giving, limited support for nonprofit capacity building, and the lack of comprehensive data on their nature and operation. These challenges require attention to the Maine nonprofit sector and, by extension, to Maine communities if they are to thrive in coming years.

Important Ideas:

1. Traditions Run Deep. Maine's history is deeply and inexorably linked to its charitable and voluntary associations at both the local and state levels.
2. The Nonprofit Sector as Economic Driver. The third sector is an employer of significance throughout Maine, with concentrations in its service centers.
3. As a Reflection of the Social Environment. The nonprofit sector embodies the tradition of Maine's citizens as self-reliant and independent.
4. The Limitations of Capacity. Maine's nonprofits are increasingly faced with the challenges of limited resources and capacities, and increasing demands for services.

Essential Questions for Discussion:

1. What role does "geography" play in understanding the importance of Maine's nonprofit sector? Will population shifts within the state create even more dependence on the third sector for essential services and programs?

2. Do the notions of "independence" and "self reliance" help to explain the historical importance of the nonprofit sector in Maine? If so, how?

3. Why do you think the nonprofit sector's contributions as employers of significance in Maine have received so little attention and recognition? Does this lack of awareness limit the sector's ability to generate resources and capacity?

4. What are some of the reasons that nonprofit and private sector organizations have not developed a long history of collaboration in addressing community needs?

5. Contributions by the nonprofit sector are often hard to quantify. Does the lack of measurable data on the contributions of Maine's nonprofit sector affect its long term sustainability?

Follow-on Readings:

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2. Lord, Susan A., Wealth and Social Responsibility: A Study of Philanthropy in Southern New Hampshire and Southern Maine, Master's Thesis, University of New Hampshire, Durham NH, 2004.
3. Lord, Michael C., Cultural Resources of Androscoggin County Maine: Starting a Non-profit Corporation in Maine, Androscoggin Historical Society, Auburn ME, 2001.
4. Salamon, Lester M., and Stephanie Lessans Geller, Maine Nonprofit Employment, Johns Hopkins Center for Civil Society Studies, Baltimore MD, 2003.
5. Trotter, Bill, "Event Shines Light on Role of Nonprofits," Bangor Daily News, Bangor ME, May 24, 2005, pp. 5.
6. Turkel, Tux, "Nonprofits: An Employment Engine," Portland Press Herald, Portland ME, October 9, 2003, pp. 7B.
7. Turkel, Tux, "Nonprofits Poised to Fill Growing Economic Role," Portland Press Herald, Portland ME, November 6, 2005, pp.1.
8. Wagner, Davis, What's Love Got To Do With It? A Critical Look at American Charity, New York Press, New York NY, 2000.

14. Maine Women's Changing Roles: Hard Work and Some Progress

by Marli Weiner

Abstract: Their employment opportunities were listed in the "Help Wanted: Women" section of the newspaper; they earned about 59 cents for every dollar earned by men; domestic violence was not recognized as a crime; birth control pills were rarely prescribed for unmarried women; and abortions were illegal, expensive, and often dangerous. The world inhabited by Maine women in the early 1960s is practically unrecognizable to young women today, thanks to changes brought about by the women's movement and the dedicated, persistent efforts of women

in Maine and the rest of the nation. Maine organizations like the Mabel Wadsworth Women's Health Center, the Maine Coalition to End Domestic Violence, and The Maine Women's Lobby have worked for three decades to improve the quality of life and equality of opportunity for women in Maine. While significant discrimination still exists, a great deal of positive change has transpired since 1960. By fully understanding the magnitude and the history of the changes that have taken place, today's women may more successfully address the inequities that continue to plague Maine society today.

Important Ideas:

1. Unequal Opportunity. Women and men in Maine and the nation did not have equal social, political, economic, or sexual opportunities in 1960.
2. Women Making Change. Between 1960 and today, women experienced significant change in all these regards, mostly as a result of their own individual and collective efforts.
3. Continuing Challenges, Uncertain Outcome. Women now have redress for many overt forms of discrimination, but more subtle forms remain and the direction of change today is unclear.

Essential Questions for Discussion:

1. What might a society look like in which women and men were truly equal in every sense?

2. How is society different from that today? Why?

3. What keeps women from enjoying a full glass in terms of rights, opportunities, and self-determination?

4. In what ways are women working together today to overcome the challenges they face?

Follow-on Readings:

1. Coontz, Stephanie, The Way We Never Were: American Families and the Nostalgia Trap, Basic Books, New York NY, 1992.
2. Rosen, Ruth, The World Split Open: How the Modern Women's Movement Changed America, Penguin, New York NY, 2000.
3. Wandersee, Winifred, On the Move: American Women in the 1970s, Twayne, Boston MA, 1988.
4. Weiner, Marli F., ed., Of Place and Gender: Women in Maine History, University of Maine Press, Orono ME, 2005.

15. Native American in Maine: Toward a New Relationship

by Barry Dana

Abstract: From treaties established with the government of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts in 1796 and 1818, former Penobscot Nation Chief Barry Dana argues that Maine's Indian tribes at statehood owned fully two-thirds of the land now called Maine. In 1975 the federal government sued the State of Maine on behalf of the tribes, and the resulting Settlement Act of 1980 has shaped life over the past quarter-century for members of the Penobscot, Passamaquoddy, MicMac, and Maliseet tribes living within Maine's borders. While the Settlement Act recognized the tribes as a defined "sovereign," legitimizing tribal government, Maine State government has often refused to recognize the tribes' sovereign status and treated them instead as a minor political subdivision of the State of Maine. Chief Dana shares his personal memories of growing up as a Native American in Maine; and discusses from the Native American perspective the 1980 Settlement Act, Maine's ongoing casino debate, and Indian development prospects.

Important Ideas:

1. Tribal Government as its own Sovereign. Sovereignty means the right to exercise supreme authority within a limited sphere defined by constitutional and negotiated agreements. This concept, for example, drives the Tribal Government's relationship with Federal and State agencies in regard to Penobscot River pollution discharges.
2. Divergent Perspectives. Tribal and State government perspectives on the 1980 Settlement Act continue to drive a wedge between Native and non-Native American communities and their governments.
3. Persistent Myths. Contemporary myths continue to plague non-Native America, including those surrounding Columbus' "discovery" of America, the celebration of Thanksgiving, etc.
4. Why Gaming? The issue of Tribal economic development centered in recent years around the question of gaming, raising troubling issues of opportunity, morality, and possible hypocrisy and discrimination.
5. Living in Two Worlds. Native Americans are asked to be Indian and, at the same time, non-Indian. Talk about a heavy burden: create housing, create economic development, and educate our children – and, at the same time – retain our culture. We work hard in *two* worlds!

Essential Questions for Discussion:

1. How did the Tribe come to sue the State for illegal land transfers?

2. What is the Tribe's view of the 1980 Settlement Act? If you were a Tribal member in 1980, would you have voted for the Settlement Act?

3. How is sovereignty to be defined (that is, inherent sovereignty v. Federal recognition of Tribal sovereignty)?

4. Why does the State of Maine refuse to recognize Tribal sovereignty in, for example, the continuing disputes over pollution permits in tribal waters, positions on municipality status, and Maine's Freedom of Access law?

5. What are current views held by non-Native Americans in regard to prevalent stereotypes such as Columbus, Thanksgiving, taxation, and "red-skin?" How does the Tribal view differ from non-Natives?

6. The question of morality was used to defeat the casino referendum in 2002. Why did this same morality question not defeat the ensuing "racino" effort? Is it moral to impose your morality on others?

Follow-on Readings:

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2. Rolde, Neil, Unsettled Past, Unsettled Future: The Story of Maine Indians, Tilbury House, Gardiner ME, 2004.
3. "Barry Dana and the People of the White Rocks, Maine Times, Portland ME, March 29, 2001.
4. "Barry Dana," The Boston Globe Magazine, Boston MA, February 20, 2000.
5. "Crossing Over to Indian Island," The Bath-Brunswick Times-Record, Brunswick ME, October 10, 2001.
6. Chavaree, Mark, Penobscot Indian Nation attorney, "Tribal Sovereignty," at www.ptla.org/wabanaki/sovereign.htm
7. For a portrait of Native American communities struggling to preserve their cultural integrity and environmental stewardship in the face of ongoing governmental and corporate power, see Homeland: Four Portraits of Native Action, Bullfrog Films, Oley PA, 2005, available at www.katahdin.org
8. The archives of the Bangor Daily News (www.bangordailynews.com) and Portland Press Herald (www.pressherald.com) contain continuing stories on issues of tribal rights, sovereignty, water pollution control, and the gaming question.

16. Electoral Politics in Maine: Recent Trends, Enduring Archetypes

by Christian Potholm

Abstract: Maine's political tradition offers a great deal to be proud of, including a preference for feisty, independent-minded legislators with a national view; a culture of political honesty, moderation, and civility; and a political system that remains remarkably open to talent and malleable. In the past 50 years Maine has produced such national leaders as Margaret Chase Smith, Edmund S. Muskie, William Cohen, and George Mitchell; elected two independent governors; and sent more women to the U.S. Senate than any other state. All the while, rising standards and increasing professionalism have made Maine elections more competitive, if more costly. The future of Maine electoral politics is being shaped by national trends in campaigning, especially the identification and targeting of "psychographics" and the enormous cost-driver of television advertising.

Important Ideas:

1. The Center Holds. Maine's is a "moderate" political culture and moderate candidates and ideas tend to prevail in Maine elections.
2. The Importance of Ethnicity. Ethnicity remains important in Maine politics; and of all our ethnic groups, the most important for electoral purposes is the Franco-American.
3. The Importance of Primordial Archetypes – in particular, the "independent" national figure from Maine who often opposes the president of her or his own political party.
4. The Rise of Psychographics – that is, of voters' social values, lifestyles, and psychological characteristics as campaign tools and weapons.

Essential Questions for Discussion:

1. In what ways does Maine politics seem to follow similar patterns from decade to decade? Which of these patterns do you think is the most important for understanding our state's politics?

2. What role does ethnicity – national background or heritage, especially that of Franco Americans – play in the political life Maine? What other ethnic groups are important to the outcome of Maine elections?

3. What are some of the reasons Maine voters have chosen two independent governors, when the major political parties have such a wide range of capable candidates?

4. What differences and similarities do you see in the political lives, philosophies and national roles of Maine's three women senators – Margaret Chase Smith, Olympia Snow, and Susan Collins?

5. Why do you think Maine has produced so many important national figures such as those three senators plus Senators Ed Muskie, Bill Cohen, and George Mitchell? Do you think Maine people expect their representatives to play an important role on the national scene? Why, or why not?

6. What are the positive and negative impacts on free speech and political discourse that television station managers can have as determiners of what may be said in political ads? Should there be some higher body to which candidates and causes might take their grievances with local station managers?

Follow-on Readings:

1. Cole, John, In Maine, Islandport Press, Lunt Harbor ME, 2001.
2. Connolly, Michael, They Change Their Sky: The Irish in Maine, University of Maine Press, Orono, 2004.
3. Judd, Richard, Edwin Churchill, and Joel Eastman, eds., Maine: The Pine Tree State from Prehistory to the Present, University of Maine Press Orono, 1995.
4. Maisel, Sandy, and Elizabeth Ivry, "If You Don't Like Our Politics, Wait a Minute: Party Politics in Maine at Century's End," in Jerome Mileur, ed., Parties and Politics in the New England States, Polity Publications, Amherst MA, 1997, pp. 15-35.
5. Palmer, Kenneth T., G. Thomas Taylor, and Marcus LiBrizzi, Maine Politics and Government, University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln NE, 1992.
6. Potholm, Christian P., This Splendid Game: Maine Campaigns and Elections, 1940-2002, Lexington Books, Lanham MD, 2003.
7. Tapley, Lance, "Cheap News," The Portland Phoenix, Portland ME, August 23, 2002, pp. 1, 13-14.

Little Spencer Mountain, East Middlesex Canal Grant

Toward Greater Ecological Integrity

17. The Law and Maine's Environment: Toward a New Ethic

by Orlando Delogu

Abstract: Maine's current approach to environmental protection developed over the last four decades in a remarkable display of public leadership, grassroots organization and efforts, and bi-partisan political action. Forty years ago the Androscoggin River was identified as one of the ten most polluted rivers in the nation. Today, Maine boasts pioneering environmental legislation in water pollution control, land use and preservation, shoreland zoning, and solid waste reduction. While the condition of Maine's environment is surely much improved since 1960, the State still faces the daunting problems of Maine Yankee's low level nuclear waste, poor air quality, and land-use sprawl. To address this "second generation" of environmental challenges, new approaches will be needed that go beyond governmental "command and control" and recognize personal responsibility. Maine must also develop and hew to an environmentally acceptable energy policy to ensure that the state is prepared to weather the inevitable future energy crises.

Important Ideas:

1. Environmental Constants and Change. Water and air pollution control, and the need to use land resources prudently require continuing attention; but as events in the larger world impact Maine, matters of energy alternatives, transportation, recycling, waste handling, the scale of new developments, and shortages of essential goods will rise and fall in their need to be attended,
2. The Non-Partisan Environment. We are all in this together: the ambient environment, public health, and the quality of life in Maine affect all of us – liberal or conservative, Republican or Democrat, rich or poor, young or old. We will continue to need intelligent policy responses fashioned in a bipartisan manner.
3. Expect the Environmentally Unexpected. New technologies arise, disasters occur (from avian flu to the speed of global warming), geo-political realities change over time. Our environmental strategies must learn to bend and adapt to these largely unforeseen conditions and phenomena.
4. Environment Without End. Environmental concerns and issues never go away, they are never completely solved. The issues change, evolve over time, are impacted by events in the larger world; but they will require the attention of our best minds indefinitely.

Essential Questions for Discussion:

1. Can one person make a difference with respect to any environmental issue? Can you cite evidence to this effect?

2. In the global scheme of things – that is, of war, genocide, and the threat of nuclear proliferation – where do environmental issues stand? Are they as threatening to the survival, length, and quality of life on earth as are these headline events?

3. Given the nature of environmental systems, will Maine – by virtue of its small population, relative isolation, and large land area – be able to weather whatever environmental cataclysms may occur in the future?

4. Are environmental issues best addressed at the international, national, state, or local level of government?

5. Given their multiple dimensions, what training or field of study will best equip you to deal effectively with environmental issues?

Follow-on Readings:

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3. Meadows, Donella H. et al., The Limits to Growth, Universe Books, New York NY, 1972.
4. McPhee, John A., Encounters With the Archdruid, Farrar Straus & Geroux, New York NY,1971.
5. McPhee, John A., The Control of Nature, Farrar Straus & Geroux, New York NY, 1989.

18. Maine Energy Policy: More Like the Nation

by Cheryl Harrington

Abstract: Maine is more energy-dependent than many states due to its colder climate and more dispersed pattern of human settlement. Modern Maine has moved from reliance on locally-based natural energy sources to full integration into (and dependence upon) the New England regional electricity grid and national oil and gas markets. In the past forty years, reaction to outside influences and events has shaped Maine's energy policy far more than any pro-active planning efforts. As a result, the state has failed to achieve a long-term, sustainable energy policy. Like the rest of the nation, we react to short-term price increases by finding greater efficiencies and diversifying sources, then neglect or abandon these efforts when prices fall. We fail to recognize the true costs of energy consumption, costs that are paid in environmental damage, increasing

health problems, and threats to national security and to industries that depend on healthy natural ecosystems. Maine's natural beauty is one of the state's greatest assets; to protect this resource and create a sustainable energy policy, Maine must increase energy conservation and efficiency, and diversify energy sources.

Important Ideas:

1. Thinking about Energy. There are a variety of ways to think about energy, each of which reveals part of its complexity: the sources and technologies we use to produce it; its end uses and their efficiency; its cost and price and other economic impacts; its environmental costs and impacts; and its control by markets v. regulation.
2. Alternatives to Fossil Fuels. Maine people, like the nation and the rest of the world, live in the age of fossil fuels dependency. Maine has no indigenous fossil fuels but does have several renewable and potentially important energy resources – solar, wind, biomass, hydro, and tidal.
3. Reaction, not Policy. Maine has not had a long-term, consistent energy policy; rather, it tends to waiver reactively between reliance on market forces and effective use of its regulatory authority.
4. Economically Embedded. The major drivers of energy economics in Maine have increasingly become regional, national, and global in origin.
5. Environmental Considerations. The environmental impacts of energy development, distribution, and use have come to play an increasingly important but inconsistent role in Maine energy policy.

Essential Questions for Discussion:

1. What are the different ways we may think about energy? How do these different points of view affect the development of energy policy?

2. How have cultural and economic changes in Maine affected energy policy, production, and use in Maine? What has caused these cultural and economic shifts?

3. In what ways do energy policy issues repeat themselves? What is the right role for the markets and what is the right role for the regulators in setting Maine energy policy? Is Maine today, once again, "repeating" our energy experiences/mistakes of the past?

4. How might Maine balance our concerns for the environment and our need for energy?

Follow-on Readings:

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2. Lovins, Amory B., "Energy Strategy: The Road Not Taken," Foreign Affairs, Council on Foreign Relations, New York NY, October 1976.

3. Brennan, Timothy, K. Palmer, and S.Martinez, Alternating Currents: Electricity Markets and Public Policy, Resources for the Future, Washington DC, 2002.

19. Maine's Forest Industry: From One Era to Another

by Lloyd Irland

Abstract: The ways in which we use Maine's forests have changed significantly since 1960, with dramatic implications for employment and community vitality in much of the state. In the 1960s, "lumber and wood products" was a labor-intensive industry with growing markets that were largely insulated from foreign competition. Saw, woodworking, and paper mills were to be found in nearly every city and town across the state, providing stable, well-paid employment for generations of Mainers. The forty years since have brought the environmental movement, increased mechanization, global economics, and land-use sprawl. Together, these developments have forced enormous changes in Maine's forest-based industries. While forest management practices have been honed and developed, large-scale mill employment may well be gone for good. Maine communities and business leaders must find new ways to leverage our forest resources to yield a living in a new economic setting.

Important Ideas:

1. Continuing Importance of Manufacturing to Maine. Despite the decline in recent decades in natural resource-based manufacturing jobs, Maine still relies more heavily on manufacturing jobs than the US as a whole.
2. The Productivity Dilemma. Between the 1960's and 90's, Maine's production of lumber and paper rose steadily, leveled off, and declined a bit in the late 90's. Employment was stable throughout, however, then contracted from the mid 90's under the effects of competitively-driven mechanization, automation, computerization, and increased worker productivity.
3. Continuing Dependence on Forest-based Jobs. Wood products plants and paper mills remain critical to many small rural communities and to all larger mill towns.
4. Altered Community Prospects. The paper mill towns see an aging population, as a shrinking job base leaves younger workers with fewer opportunities; small southern and western Maine towns shift to service centers and bedroom communities; some smaller, more remote communities lose population.
5. Collective Decisions Come Harder. A more contentious and polarized political culture makes it more difficult today to reach compromise and resolve conflicts over forest uses, practices, and policies.

Essential Questions for Discussion:

1. Consider some recent stories in the newspaper or on television about Maine's forest products industry. How does any these events illustrate the lessons of this chapter?

(Examples include the State's acquisition of Katahdin Lake, the Plum Creek proposal around Moosehead Lake, the proposed Maine Woods National Park, and the threatened shutdown of the Old Town pulp mill.)

2. Consider the chapters on Maine agriculture (S. Smith), fisheries (J. Wilson), and tourism (D. Vail). Do you see any common features among these three resource-based industries and the forest sector? What are they?

3. Think of a town you are familiar with. How do the themes described in these chapters relate to that town?

4. Do you think the future of Maine's forest is important to people who do not live in Maine? Why?

5. Maine has the least public forest ownership of any forested state. Some people believe that one solution to rural job losses is for the government to own a much larger part of Maine's forest. Do you agree?

Follow-on Readings:

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2. Governor's Steering Committee on Natural Resource Based Industries, Second Annual Report and Scorecard, Augusta ME, Nov. 2005, at www.maine.gov/spo/natural/gov/
3. Irland, Lloyd C., "US Forest Ownership: Historic and Global Perspectives," Maine Policy Review 14(1)2005. www.umaine.edu/mcsc/mpr/vol14no1/mpr3irlandlr.pdf
4. Irland, Lloyd C., "Maine's Forest Products Sector and Regional Disparities," in L. Pohlmann and D. Vail, eds., Spreading Prosperity to the "Other Maines," Augusta, Maine Center for Economic Policy, Augusta, 2005, pp. 99-112, at www.mecep.org/report-prosperity/
5. Maine Department of Conservation, Maine's Future Forest Economy Project, Augusta, 2005. An executive summary and contents are at www.maine.gov/doc/mfs/fpm/ffe/
6. Maine State Planning Office, Report of the Governor's Council on Sustainability of the Forest Industry, Augusta ME, 2005, at www.maine.gov/spo/natural/gov/docs/SustainabilityForestProductsIndustry.pdf

20. Maine Agriculture: Adapting to a More Complex Setting

by Stewart Smith

Abstract: Recent reports in the mainstream press portray a Maine agriculture in steady decline, as dairy and potato farmers struggle to compete with large commodity growers elsewhere in the

nation. These reports mask a new and emerging trend which offers great promise for Maine agriculture if it is nurtured and developed effectively. Industrialization has deeply impacted agricultural economies all across the nation and, as a result, farm size has grown while the number of farmers has declined precipitously. The news may sound bleak, but emerging evidence suggests that since the 1970s Maine's agricultural sector has steadily moved in a different direction from the rest of the country. A "dual agricultural structure" is emerging in Maine, with more diversified, small scale farms producing for local consumption. Through more sophisticated techniques of production and marketing, these farms are establishing themselves as a new if more complex model for agriculture in Maine.. While the commodity system will continue to expand and comprise a large portion of the state's agricultural production, "local agriculture" offers new promise for farmers and new options for consumers.

Important Ideas:

1. Industrial Agriculture. The industrialization of Maine agriculture has shifted significant economic activities and returns from the farming to the non-farming sectors of the agricultural system, eliminating the need for many farmers.
2. Crop Monoculture and Specialization. Synthetic fertilizers and pesticides, the use of which became prevalent after World War II, allowed Maine farmers to adopt monoculture practices and to specialize in commodity production.
3. Economies of Scale. Except in a few areas, Maine lacks the land resource base that allows farmers to remain competitive in the commodity markets by expanding farm size and capturing economies of scale.
4. Resurgence of a Local Agriculture. Maine today is enjoying a resurgence in agriculture, as new farmers – using more diversified, complex, and smaller systems – offset the continuing loss of commodity farm numbers.
5. Marketing Margins. Most newer, smaller, more complex farms rely on capturing marketing margins by selling directly or closer to the final consumer.

Essential Questions for discussion:

1. How does the industrialization of agriculture diminish the role of farmers in the agricultural system? What are the implications for farm employment?

2. How did the so-called chemical revolution in agriculture affect cropping choices in Maine, and what were its effects on regional production patterns?

3. What are some similarities and differences between Cochrane's *technology treadmill* and *farm cannibalism*, and Goodman et al.'s *appropriationism* and *substitutionism*?

4. How does Maine's land base influence the ability of Maine farmer's to capture economies of scale? What effect does this have in a competitive market place?

5. What are some differences between Maine commodity farms and local agriculture farms? How do their production patterns differ? How do their marketing patterns differ? What are the connections between them?

6. What are the differences between the policy needs of Maine's commodity agriculture and those of local agriculture? Is it better for Maine citizens that these differences are highlighted or diminished?

Follow-on Readings:

1. Cochrane, Willard.. The Development of American Agriculture: A Historical Analysis, U. of Minn. Press, Minneapolis MN, 1979.
2. Goodman, David, Bernardo Sorj, and John Wilkinson. From Farming to Biotechnology: A Theory of Agro-Industrial Development, Basil Blackwell, New York NY, 1987
3. Smith, Stewart, Pam Bell, and Andrew Files, Understanding the Dichotomy between Industrial Agriculture and Sustainable Agriculture: Types and Characteristics of Maine Farms, NESARE, University of Vermont, Burlington VT, 2004, at www.umaine.edu/mafes/elec_pubs/ sare/SARE_Final_Report_Oct04.pdf
4. A new national initiative seeks to renew what is being called the "agriculture-of-the-middle," that is, of mid-scale farms and related enterprises that are unable to market bulk commodities or sell food directly to consumers; at http://www.agofthemiddle.org/

21. Maine's Fisheries: Learning to Govern Effectively

by James Wilson

Abstract: Since the 1970s, Maine's fishing industry has been marked by erratic booms and busts. Poor management, unenforceable or un-enforced regulations, and inadequate understanding of and attention to marine ecosystems have contributed to unchecked over-fishing and rapid stock depletions, leading to a "tragedy of the commons." The notable exception to this is the lobster fishery, where fishermen have developed a collective ethic of self-regulated conservation and strictly enforced it. Other fisheries can learn from this example. Successful management of a sustainable fishery requires effective social, not just technical solutions, as well as decentralization of authority and shared decision-making at the local, regional, state, and federal levels.

Important Ideas:

1. A Commons Problem. Managing ocean fisheries is a social, not an individual problem. Fish and most other things in the ocean move at some time in their lives. As a result, it is not possible to create property boundaries as we do on land; we have instead to manage fisheries as a social endeavor.
2. Conservation Requires Mutual Restraint. Unless there are enforceable agreements to restrain fishing, competition drives people to harvest with little care for the resource, as fast and as much as possible. So long as there is a market, this almost always leads to overfishing and depletion of stocks.

3. Finding the Right Rules for Mutual Restraint Is Not Easy. The ecology of the ocean is very complex, so learning what kinds of rules will conserve the resource is neither easy nor obvious. Even if everyone realizes we are overfishing, there is remains the practical problem of finding an effective and fair way to conserve.
4. No Scientific Silver Bullets. Good conservation is not simply a scientific or technical problem; scientific and social approaches must be meshed for effective conservation.
5. A New Approach. Maine's lobster fishery is pioneering a new approach to democratic management of fisheries. Lobstermen along Maine's coast have strong incentives to conserve the resource at their doorstep. Local harbor groups have created territories that restrain fishing, and the state has formalized this traditional approach with a system of lobster zones, each with an elected council and the power to change fishing rules whose principal impact is at the local level.

Essential Questions for Discussion:

1. Why does unrestrained competition lead to overfishing? What incentives drive each individual fisherman? Are there fisheries, or species, where this doesn't happen? Why?

2. Look further into the history of the herring fishery or a fishery that is important to your town or family. Did it follow the broad pattern of overfishing we have observed in so many of our fisheries? If not, why not?

3. Why are lobster zones an important experiment in ocean conservation? What makes them different from other ways of managing fisheries? Why do you suppose this approach to fisheries management arose in Maine and not elsewhere?

4. Lobster zone decision-makers can implement rules whose impact is mostly local. Why can't they change other rules?

Follow-on Readings:

1. Acheson, James, Capturing the Commons: Devising Institutions to Manage the Maine Lobster Industry, University Press of New England, Durham NH, 2003.
2. Acheson, James, Terry Stockwell, and James A. Wilson, "Evolution of the Maine Lobster Co-Management Law," Maine Policy Review, Fall 2000, pp. 52-63, University of Maine, Orono ME.
3. Ames, E. P., 1997. "Cod and Haddock Spawning Grounds of the Gulf of Maine from Grand Manan to Ipswich Bay," in NRAES, The Implications of Localized Fish Stocks, Ithaca NY, 1997, pp. 55-64.
4. Ames, E. P., "Atlantic Cod Stock Structure in the Gulf of Maine," Fisheries, 29:1, 2004.
5. Baird, S., U.S. Commissioner of Fish and Fisheries Report of 1883, Washington DC, 1883. pp. xi-xiv
6. O'Leary, W. M., Maine Sea Fisheries: The Rise and Fall of a Native Industry, 1830-1890, Northeastern University Press, Boston MA, 1996.
7. Rich, W. H., Fishing Grounds of the Gulf of Maine, U.S. Commissioner of Fisheries, Washington, D.C., 1929.

8. Wilson, James A., "Maine's Fisheries," in Barringer, Richard, and Richard Davies, Report of the Blaine House Conference on Maine's Natural Resource-based Industries, Augusta ME, 2004, www.maine.gov/spo/natural/gov/confreport.php
9. Wilson, James A., 2006. "Matching Social and Ecological Systems in Complex Ocean Fisheries," in Ecology and Society 11(1)9, 2006, at www.ecologyandsociety.org/vol11/iss1/art9/

22. Tourism in Maine's Expanding Service Economy

by David Vail

Abstract: Tourism revenues in Maine have grown five-fold since the early 1970s, making tourism now the second largest sector of Maine's economy, generating $5.4 billion annually. Because Maine tourism relies critically upon our renewable natural and cultural resources, it offers great potential for sustainable economic development. Still, Mainers have historically remained lukewarm toward tourism, due to such negative side-effects as summer traffic congestion, soaring waterfront real estate prices, frequently low-wage jobs, and sprawling land development. For Maine to benefit more substantially from tourism, greater investment is necessary in its planning and development, and in education, research, and extension efforts. If Maine is able to shape its tourism growth in ways that realize its potential benefits, tourism may emerge as a powerful and welcome economic driver for *all* regions of the state.

Important Ideas:

1. The Concentration of Tourism Dollars. Maine tourism consists of a broad array of services, from whitewater rafting to whale watching; however, nearly ninety percent of tourist spending is concentrated in *four areas*: shopping, dining, lodging, and transportation.
2. The Concentration of Tourists. Tourism has spread to every corner of the state and all seasons of the year; however, the majority of tourists – more than 20 million annually – are concentrated in *coastal Maine in the summer months*.
3. The Challenge Varies by Region. Coastal Maine faces a major challenge in managing the flood of summer tourists, while the major challenge facing the Northern Forest and Downeast regions is to shape destinations that will attract more "experiential tourists" to offset declines in hunting, fishing, and camping.
4. The Challenge of a "Livable" Wage. Tourism has grown to become Maine's largest source of employment, but a large proportion of tourism jobs are "low end services" that do not by themselves pay a livable wage.
5. The Challenge of Sustainable Tourism. Tourism growth may be viewed either as exploiting places until they are depleted, or as carefully planning and managing growth so that tourism assets are sustained for the indefinite future.

Essential Questions for Discussion:

1. Tourism affects Maine's economy, host communities, and residents in many ways. What are tourism's most important positive contributions? What do you view as its costs or downsides?

2. Over the past few decades, what major changes have occurred in Maine tourism? Why?

3. What forces and trends *outside Maine's control* have shaped and are reshaping tourists' travel patterns?

4. What is your personal favorite Maine destination as a tourist? How has it changed since you first visited? Would more tourists create a danger of "loving it to death"?

5. Why do most jobs in tourism services pay less than a 'livable wage'? What state policies might help create more high quality careers in tourism?

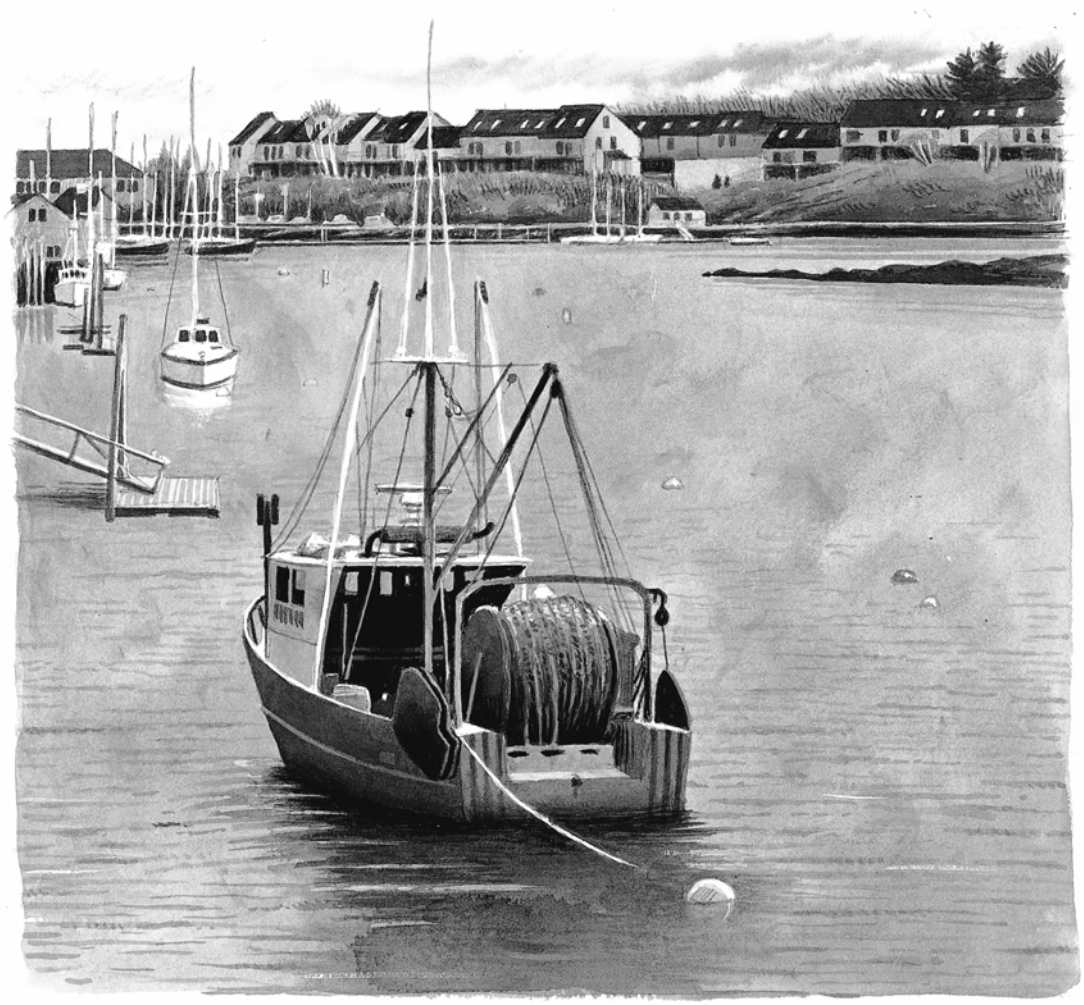
6. What will it take to see that tourism growth will not diminish the resources and qualities that make Maine special and your home region attractive to tourists?

Follow-on Readings:

1. Brown, Dona, Inventing New England: Regional Tourism in the Nineteenth Century, Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington DC, 1995.
2. Honey, Martha, Ecotourism and Sustainable Development: Who Owns Paradise? Island Press, New York, 1999.
3. Howe, J., E.McMahon, and L. Propst, Balancing Nature and Commerce in Gateway Communities, Island Press, New York NY, 1997.
4. Maine Department of Economic and Community Development., Strategic Plan for Implementing the Maine Nature Tourism Initiative, prepared by Fermata, Inc., Augusta ME, 2005.
5. Vail, David, et al., "Tourism and Maine's Future," Maine Center for Economic Policy, Augusta ME, 1998.

Index to *Changing Maine, 1960-2010*[3]

[3] Note: The index was created by Margery Niblock of Portland ME. Italic page numbers indicate graphs, tables, and figures.



York Harbor