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Monhegan: A Prescription for Resilience

Kenneth Paul Kiel Gross

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Monhegan: A Prescription for Resilience

Kenneth Paul Keil Groß

A Capstone Submitted
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Community Planning and Development
Edmund S. Muskie School of Public Service
University of Southern Maine

Capstone Advisor: Professor Yuseung Kim
May 2016

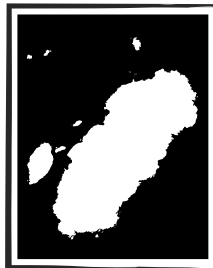


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And Monhegan. Perhaps I should enumerate the contributions of each individual, but there are far too many people to list individually. After World War II, the island of Malta was collectively awarded the George Cross for conspicuous service in the face of adversity; it is the second highest order after the Victoria Cross. If I were sovereign, I would, without hesitation, present the community of Monhegan a similar award for their willingness to speak with me and to share with me many intimate details regarding island life there. This goes far beyond formal interviews; nearly everyone I spoke to was open, honest, and genuinely helpful in the pursuit of this research. This includes the many unsung heroes whom I pestered repeatedly, even after formal interviews, who were forthright and open in their responses. This project could not be completed without the kind help and support of the entire Monhegan community, to whom I owe a great debt of gratitude. I sincerely hope that you feel that I “get it.”

Thank you to all of you.

Preface

While conducting research, many of the people that I met asked if they could read the results of my work. First and foremost, this is an academic paper, a professional treatise regarding the population issues confronting Monhegan Island. Generally speaking, academic writing is dry and in some instances dull. Although this work partially fulfills the requirements for the degree of Master of Community Planning and Development, I felt that it should also be useful to the people of Monhegan as well as any other community that seeks information regarding similar problems that they, too, face.

With this broader audience in mind, I have attempted make the writing fluid and conversational. There are times when I have explained things that an academic or a professional in this field may already understand; I ask for patience regarding while reading and to please keep this broader audience in mind. Therefore, extra detail has been added to the introductory material to help a broader audience understand what was done and why it was done that way.

For the broader audience, please remember that this is an academic paper. Because of that, I needed to follow certain conventions in the writing. You may be tempted to say, “Well, yeah. I know that already!” but remember that not everyone reading this work is familiar with your community nor the issues that you currently confront. In theory, another researcher in the future could pick this work up and use examples from this body of research and apply it to other situations.

Lastly, I sincerely hope that this work will not collect digital dust in an archive somewhere on the internet. I hope that this proves useful to the people of Monhegan and to other island communities.



MAP OF MONHEGAN



Monhegan

*Stand on the shore at Pemaquid Point and look out to the open sea, and you'll see that Monhegan is both "the ocean island" and "THE island," as in the only island you notice...
—from Notes on a Lost Flute: A Field Guide to the Wabanaki, Kerry Hardy*

Few places in Maine hold as much lore as that associated with Monhegan. First visited in 1605 by Captain George Waymouth (May) and then by Samuel de Champlain (July), and later by Jamestown's Captain John Smith (1614), the community is noted for saving the lives of the starving Pilgrims in Plymouth by supplying cod (1622), for sheltering perhaps 300 mainland refugees of King Phillip's War (1675), and for serving as a base for the pirate Black Sam Bellamy (1717).

Monhegan's martial history ended with the 1813 battle between the HMS Boxer and the USS Enterprise. The battle, located between Monhegan and Pemaquid, ended with the Boxer's destruction and the death of both commanders; they are buried side by side in Portland's Eastern Cemetery. The American victory was immortalized in Longfellow's poem, "My Lost Youth:"

*I remember the sea-fight far away,
How it thundered o'er the tide!
And the dead captains, as they lay
In their graves, o'erlooking the tranquil bay,
Where they in battle died.
And the sound of that mournful song
Goes through me with a thrill:
"A boy's will is the wind's will,
And the thoughts of youth are long, long thoughts."*

While many communities would long for a history like this, Monhegan's rich history continued to accumulate unabated. Accepting its first artists in 1878, Monhegan has hosted more than its share of painters including Rockwell Kent—well known in his time as both a painter and as an author—Edward Hopper, three generations of the Wyeth family, along with scores of unknown and lesser-known artists attracted by Monhegan's dramatic cliffs and landscapes. This annual pilgrimage of oil painters and watercolorists continues to this day.

Today, Monhegan is a thriving tourist destination, hosting hundreds of visitors each day during the summer months. Five separate ferry boats from three different ports travel to and from the island bringing people to see the quaint fishing village set amongst 400 acres of 'wild lands.' Those aware of Monhegan's heritage are also drawn to the working studios of about 20 different artists who ply their craft in an idyllic setting.

The People

The Island Institute publishes *Island Indicators* on a periodic basis which also includes population estimates. Their estimate for 2011, one year after the decennial census suggested that 60 people lived on Monhegan, and by 2015, that number had dropped to 50. (Island Indicators, 2012 and 2015) While these numbers may be more accurate than that of the *American Community Survey's* estimate, the surveys were not scientific and were based on inshore interviews with key island personnel; given the labor-intensive nature of a full enumeration, the quantity of islands that the Island Institute serves (15), and their need for only very rough estimates to conduct their work, the Institute may be forgiven for not conducting an intensive survey.

Monhegan's recent history demonstrates the volatility of its population: possessing 65 people in 1960, its population fell to just 24 during the 1960s due to a calamitous fire (McLane, 1992); it recovered slightly to 44 residents in 1970 and soared to 109 in 1980, with a steady decline since that time. (Curtis, n.d.) Nevertheless, population figures form the core of a viable town plan. (Daniels, et al, 2007) These figures form a baseline from which future planning may be built upon, determining both housing and job needs. The People

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Statement of Research Question

Monhegan, like many island communities, is threatened by the loss of population as its young adults migrate to the mainland. The purpose of this study is to develop a resilient population on Monhegan Island.

Knowing the problem is easy, as is asking the obvious question, "How do we get people to move to this area?" This is a problem that confronts not only Monhegan, but also other Maine islands and even Maine itself.

Several factors make Monhegan's future uncertain. The first is the gradual shift from commercial fishing, the mainstay of its economy, as it becomes more reliant on tourism services. In addition, seasonal vacation homes inflate the cost of housing on the island. The island—in conjunction with partners such as the Island Institute—is currently exploring options to lower the costs of housing and energy, but island living is expensive.

Therefore, to increase Monhegan's attractiveness as a place to live—not just to visit—the community needs to ask itself, How does Monhegan create an environment that attracts new

residents? What can be done to arrest the problem of affordable housing? Can local agriculture be used to mitigate the expense of islandness? Within the scope of this study, the last question is limited to impact of local agriculture on food prices and whether that will assist in the attraction of new residents.

Delimiters

This study is confined to the Plantation of Monhegan. Other Maine islands and mainland areas will be examined only for those case examples that can be applied directly to Monhegan's present conditions.

Definitions

From Away

A general Mainer term for someone born and raised outside of Maine. In some circles, one cannot be a "true Mainer" unless that person is third generation Mainer; this strong sense of identity can also apply to ideas and concepts "from away," suggesting skepticism about its efficacy in a local context.

Gentrification.

Few words in planning engender more controversy than the "G-Word." For purposes of this investigation, the Centers for Disease Control has a clear and succinct definition:

Gentrification is often defined as the transformation of neighborhoods from low value to high value. This change has the potential to cause displacement of long-time residents and businesses. Displacement happens when long-time or original neighborhood residents move from a gentrified area because of higher rents, mortgages, and property taxes. (CDC)

This definition is used because it lacks bias. As the literature will reveal, gentrification can affect any social or economic class, and this definition also lacks a qualitative description of the area being gentrified (such as run-down or slum).

Plantation

A plantation is the weakest form of local self-government within Maine, and should not be confused with large agricultural estates. Maine's towns and cities both have more comprehensive forms of government including an executive branch, which plantations lack. An assessor is a member of a three-person board that serves as a plantation's government. Because plantations lack an executive branch, the assessor charged with executing the decisions made by the board is called the first assessor.

Resilience versus Sustainability

Resilience and sustainability are often used interchangeably in popular culture. Resilience in this study refers to the ability to withstand stress and hardship, and more specifically in this study, the ability to withstand the pressures of gentrification. Sustainability is the ability to self-perpetuate a condition assuming that outside stress and hardship do not befall a particular community. Thus, resilience, as suggested here, is a stronger form of sustainability.

Year-Round Resident

According to the Island Institute, this surprisingly requires explanation because:

“...the definition of the year-round population differs from one island to another and island communities differ in how they define a “year-round” resident...The U.S. Census counts the number of people residing in each household or location as of April 1 of the Census collection year. One of the limitations of this process is that people self-report their place of residence and the process may not include people who are off-island (such as students, vacationers, or people who winter off-island).” (Island Indicators, 2015)

For purposes of establishing a sustainable community and of the scope of this research, the definition of “year-round resident” will consist of Monheganers who live on the island for 12 months of each year (allowing for short trips inshore for shopping, visiting relatives, and vacations). Monheganers who do not spend the winter (“people who winter ashore”) will not be counted as “year-round residents,” but minors attending high school and college students who

grew up on Monhegan will be considered “year-round residents” in the spirit of a Rumspringa

hope that they will return permanently.

This is not to say that a part-year resident—or seasonal resident—is not an important member of the community. Many part-year residents have important and positive roles on Monhegan; such people simply do not live there year-round.

Importance

Very little is written about the demographic plight that confronts each of Maine’s island communities. Maine’s mainland communities are well documented, but further study of the offshore island communities is needed to properly address the needs of these communities. In addition, Monhegan needs to adapt new solutions that do not rely as heavily on fishing as the mainstay of its economy, and it must adapt to the pressures that seasonal tourism places on the local economy. (McReynolds, p. 95, 2014)

Hopefully this study will find ways for the Monhegan Island community to remain a viable and resilient society throughout the 21st Century. The methods of research and prescription can hopefully be used for other island communities in Maine as well.



Literature Review

*L*iterature, *n.* The collective body of the writings of all mankind, excepting Hubert Howe Bancroft and Adair Welcker. Theirs are Illiterature.
—Ambrose Bierce, *The Devil's Dictionary*

The most common theme that runs through the literature regarding Monhegan specifically, island affordability, and island population is that not much has been written on these topics. Fortunately, enough has been written about islands specifically and rural life generally to draw analogs to the questions posed in this body of research, either through analogs of their own or through direct research. Monhegan specifically, is fertile ground for research, and since each island in the world poses a unique case, much can be learned here.

The G-Word: Gentrification

When beginning exploration of the issues confronting Monhegan, one correspondent suggested,

“I would be careful to distinguish between “gentrification” and high real estate prices on islands. The seasonal nature of much of Maine’s coast isn’t anything new – and the word gentrification would imply that, somehow, the summer housing is being redesigned and redefining the aesthetics of the islands. Although that is true in some cases, it isn’t always. It might be more accurate to say that the desirability of island life has, over time, increasingly inspired the movement of seasonal residents to islands. That has, in turn, driven up the real estate prices.” (Correspondent 1)

Is housing affordability caused by gentrification, or is it caused by another, yet unnamed, factor? The literature suggests Correspondent 1 is in error—the reason for which will be explored shortly—and that the changes transpiring on Monhegan are caused by gentrification. The problem of gentrification is fairly common in island communities, even those that are not “lower class” nor “run-down” as the classic definition might suggest.

Ruth Glass coined the term ‘gentrification’ in 1964, and in the fifty years since its introduction, its definition has remained consistent. Ruth Glass, a Marxist-inspired sociologist in London was among the first researchers to examine this issue and to define its consequences.

Clark, et al, interpreting Glass’s definition, describes gentrification as, “an area [that] is characterized by two outstanding features: a marked shift in occupancy upward in terms of class/socioeconomic position, and, reinvestment in the built environment.” (Clark, et al, 2007; Atkinson, 2003) When compared with the definition used by the CDC (q.v. [Definitions](#)), there is little functional difference in the definitions that these authors describe.

There are other methods to determine whether gentrification is transpiring, but these methods are lacking in different ways. For instance, the Philadelphia Federal Reserve Bank’s study used the change in consumer credit scores to determine gentrification (Ding, et al, 2015), but this type of data would not be appropriate in which gentrification is a result of seasonal housing. Another method tracks changes in educational attainment along with family income, house ownership, changes in poverty and race (Barton, 2016); this method would have little value in an island community where 77.5% of the community already owns their home, and racial diversity is already minimal, with 67 of 69 residents identifying themselves as White in the 2010 census. While educational attainment can be one measure of gentrification, its value is of limited use without other statistics to support its use.

Because these types of quantitative methods cannot be applied to an island community such as Monhegan, this raises the question as to whether or not the factor causing the lack of affordable housing is gentrification. In the case of Monhegan, that pressure comes in the form of second—or summer—homes. Because of the aesthetic and scenic value of a coastal place such as Monhegan, along with structural changes in the rural character in coastal Maine, “outsiders” seek picturesque residences which inevitably increases housing costs to a point that many locals

can no longer afford to live in those same places. (Paris, 2009) More specifically, he states, “there is a clear causal relationship between the growth of second home ownership and problems of affordability for lower-income households and first time [home] buyers.” In this case, “lower-income” does not refer to the poor, but rather the relationship between those able to afford the cost of a second home on the coast versus the indigenous population.

Two case studies—one examining Bruny Island, near Hobart, Tasmania (Jackson, 2006), and the other regarding Södra Skärgården, an archipelago near Göteborg, Sweden (Clark, et al, 2007)—frame the current discussion regarding island gentrification. Characterized by heated land prices, second homes, and tourism, these case studies represent close analogs to Monhegan. Like Monhegan, most of Bruny’s homes are owned by summer residents and tourism in the mainstay of the local economy. “Land prices are just crazy,” stated one interviewee on Bruny (Jackson, 2006), and the same could be said of Monhegan as well.

The case study of Södra Skärgården, an archipelago 3.6 km off of the coast of Göteborg, Sweden, reveals a history very similar to that of Monhegan’s: settled in antiquity, Södra Skärgården was a fishing and agricultural community until a spa hotel was built there in the 1850s. Gradually at first, the island culture changed throughout the twentieth century from an self-sufficient community to one focused on seasonal and holiday tourism. Clustering along the desirable shorelines, the increase in seasonal housing and residents create a burden on local services and inflate the cost of housing.

Monhegan’s history closely parallels that of Södra Skärgården: Monhegan’s agricultural base declined significantly between 1842 and 1900; both artists—often a harbinger of gentrification—and the first hotel arrived in 1878; in the twentieth century, successive subdivisions drove the number of houses up from 34 in 1910 to 174 in 2010 as the population of the island dwindled. (Jenney, 1923; McLane, 1992; ACS)

In their conclusion, Clark, et al, draws attention to other island communities worldwide that are also affected by gentrification including Peaks Island and the Maine coast without further elaboration. But their cursory observations regarding coastal Maine's gentrification is strongly supported by another study.

Using rent-gap analysis¹—another means of measuring gentrification—Thompson (2012) identifies several communities on Maine's coast affected by gentrification pressures. In his analysis, Thompson examined four communities (Eastport, Lubec, Rockland, and Port Clyde) for signs of, aspects of, and effects of gentrification. Of these communities, Port Clyde is of particular interest because it is the primary entrepôt for Monhegan. Like Monhegan, land values were never undervalued in Port Clyde,² often a precursor for urban gentrification, but the succession of 'rusticators,' artists, and so-called 'amenity migrants' have driven up housing prices over time. This pressure has resulted in the relocation of many fishermen outside of the village and competition for water access with the 'amenity migrants' who convert the docks to private uses. Thompson attributes this development pressure on Port Clyde's role as the main ferry port for Monhegan, with many of the local businesses catering to the tourism traffic that the ferry generates. Because of the close symbiotic relationship between Port Clyde and Monhegan, it is hard to imagine the pressures of gentrification affecting one end of the ferry line, but not the other.

Whether the various methods of measuring gentrification can be utilized in such a small community as Monhegan is debatable. As noted, some demographic measures cannot be applied, and land records are difficult to acquire. But there is ample circumstantial and anecdotal evidence to support the claim that Monhegan is in the process of gentrification.

¹—Rent-gap is the measure between the current value and its potential value. The term was coined by Scottish/American geographer Neil Smith in 1979. He proposed that uneven spatial development was the result of capital markets rather than social preference.

²—in essence, Thompson concedes that rent-gap analysis is a less-than-ideal means of measurement of gentrification within Port Clyde because "there was never a decrease in capitalized ground rent." Rent-gap analysis is difficult to undertake due to the amount of analysis of land records needed to perform this type of study. Because Monhegan's property records are not readily accessible, this method is not practical in this particular case.

How could Correspondent 1, a respected professional, make such a mistaken misdiagnosis? The correspondent is not mistaken; the answer to this question is that the G-Word has become a divisive and controversial term that potentially could alienate some of the people who are in a position to help alleviate the situation:

It is also important to remember that summer residents can have a meaningful, positive, and important impact on island life. On many islands, families have been visiting in the summer for generations and they take great pride in being a key part of the community in which they live seasonally. (Correspondent 1)

In the public mind, the G-Word is “an ugly word, a term of outrage.” (Davidson, 2014) Reactions to gentrification in New York City are strong, indicating the conflict between developers and ‘hipsters’ on one side and existing residents on the other. Spike Lee, a Brooklyn native, encapsulated local sentiment when he stated, “You can’t just come in when people have a culture that’s been laid down for generations and you come in and now shit gotta change because you’re here?” (Coscarelli, 2014) Long time residents have a sense of “ownership” (Tomlinson, 2016) and pride that a long-time association with a place engenders.

That conflict exists on Monhegan as well, but is not nearly as obvious as in Bushwick or in The Bronx. *National Geographic Magazine* notes that conflict in the title of its report on Monhegan, “Welcome to Monhegan Island, Maine. Now please GO AWAY.” (Newman, 2001b). In a supplement, the author explained the social hierarchy:

“In the unofficial hierarchy of Monhegan, day-trippers³ are the bottom dwellers; short-term renters rank a few notches up, superseded by the stable population of summer residents; and finally are the year-round locals, fewer than half of whom fish for lobster in winter.” (Newman, 2001a)

3— Local term referring to the hundreds of people who descend upon Monhegan on the morning ferry and leave before 6:00pm when most shops close for the evening.

People who have visited Monhegan have also commented on the ‘quirkiness’ of the year-round residents, without realizing the possible reasons why. “In hindsight, I think the unfriendliness is a something of a gimmick. Kind of like Ed Debevic’s⁴ in Chicago, scaled up to an entire island. People come there expecting to be treated rudely.” (Correspondent 2) Perhaps he should have stayed longer than a day? Given that Monhegan’s 50 men, women and children are overrun by upwards of 600 daily visitors (*Report...*, 2005), a phenomenon that causes the island to attain urban-level population densities, that ‘rudeness’ is understandable.

The use of the G-word is a minefield that requires delicate handling. A certain amount of diplomacy and relationship building will, in the end, be the key to finding a solution to the housing problem on Monhegan.

The Expense of Islandness⁵

“Everything costs twice as much as it does on the mainland,’ one local told me after we arrived. That turned out to be an understatement. I dropped \$40 on a lunch that should have cost less than \$20.” (Elliot, 2012) While this travel writer acknowledges the cost of goods on an island is inflated due to the cost of shipping everything—rolls for sandwiches, condiments, napkins and plates—to Monhegan, he clearly did not grasp in its entirety how expensive island life can be.

McReynolds (2014) encapsulated the issue of the cost of living on all of Maine’s island communities within one study. As he pointed out, not only do most household items need to be imported to resource-poor communities, but also that island prices are heavily dependent on the costs of transportation. Suggesting that measures of the cost of living on island communities should reflect a combination of food and housing costs, McReynolds also noted that other

4—Ed Debevic’s was a restaurant in the River North section of Chicago, noted for its rude wait staff. Ironically, the restaurant closed in October, 2015 to make way for a 22-story residential high-rise; River North has gentrified to a great extent since the restaurant opened at that location in 1984. (<http://goo.gl/kOiSaz>)

5— Throughout the literature reviewed for this study, Islandness is a commonly used term (Baldaccino, 2004; Conkling, 2007; Jackson, 2006) that refers to the unique social structure that occurs on islands. This structure can manifest itself as fierce independence from outside interference, yet instills a strong sense of cooperation and interconnectedness among the community’s residences.

measures such as energy and its dependent variables of utility, heating oil, and transportation costs also be included in such a standardized measure. In particular, he noted that creating food independence through local agricultural efforts could also alleviate some of the stresses related to island living.

McReynolds indicated that his article was a preliminary study that required further investigation; some of that investigation has already been reviewed in other literature. For instance, McReynolds neglected to mention the importance of broadband internet service; while all island communities in Maine have some form of broadband service, its upgrade would have profound and positive impacts, not only as a service for tourist, but also to facilitate mundane data exchanges such as credit card purchases (Tilson, 2015). In addition, offshore businesses that rely on the internet could also be facilitated with higher-speed connections.

Regarding the other main issue that McReynolds described, sustainable food sources, very little has been written about this area of study. The Island Institute conducted a “market basket survey” in 2010 and in 2015 to gauge the cost to islanders and found that an archetypal shopping trip would cost 33% more in island communities than in adjacent inshore⁶ communities. (Island Indicators, 2012; McReynolds, 2014). Monhegan was not part of the “market basket survey,” so its exact deviation from inshore prices (Port Clyde is its corresponding port) is not known. In addition, the difference between island prices and the mainstream prices that urban centers is not known; most people in Maine live in urban centers, which may enjoy significantly lower food costs—or not, as the case may be—than both rural and island communities.

The other food option that islanders may elect is to harvest their own food. McReynolds himself posed the question, “what can islanders do to generate their own food supply through

6— Monheganers’ term for the mainland. Like many local toponyms in Maine, the origin is derived from Monhegan’s nautical heritage. Other similar names, such as Foreside and Backside, echo this origin throughout the coastal regions of the state. Depending on the context, inshore can also be called “America,” heightening the sense of isolation, separateness, and independence. “America” is also used colloquially on other islands as well.

community gardens and other local sources?” (McReynolds, 2014) Monheganers do produce at least some of their own food, however, and they operate their own Community Supported Agriculture (CSA) which provides a wide range of crops for local consumption. At its peak, the CSA “delivered as many as 25 bags of produce weekly to working winter residents, to those who lend their land to the farm, and to some elderly summer residents.” (Iannicelli, 2015)



Research Methodology

There are known knowns. There things we know we know. But we also know that there are known unknowns. That is to say we know that there are some things we do not know. But there are also unknown unknowns. The ones we don't know we don't know.

—Donald Rumsfeld, *Secretary of Defense*, 2002

Qualitative Research

How does one investigate issues and problems within a small community? Statistical methods such as census data are unreliable due to the small size of the population. In addition, many of the finer details that illustrate issues and problems become lost or are simply not collected through a larger survey. The most logical course of action was to conduct a qualitative study utilizing interviews to illustrate issues and to shed light on problems. One quality that quantitative methods are very poor at measuring are the nuanced social aspects of those issues and problems, but qualitative methods excel at this particular aspect of research.

A colleague and respected researcher asked, “Why interview residents? They’re all going to tell you the same thing?” True, but that’s the point. A single observation (or interview) could be an outlier or simply a rumor. But multiple observations from different perspectives validate the issue being studied and helps to ensure the validity of each of those independent observations. For example, the colleague’s point of view may be valid, or it could be an isolated opinion without the support of other observations from other colleagues. In truth, he may have been offering a Socratic line of questioning in order to bolster this study, but there is no supporting data to prove this opinion. In addition, those who disagree with prevailing attitudes illustrate other aspects of island life: societal fractures as well as flaws in the systems or programs within a community.

Conducting a series of interviews needs to follow a format in order to maintain a level of scientific consistency. While each interview may contain a certain amount of fluff that is not relevant to the systematic study of specific issues or problems, every interview asked specific ques-

tions related to the issues of attracting young people to Monhegan and assessing the problems

that may repel such people:

- ☛ What do you like about living on Monhegan?
- ☛ What do you miss from living inshore? (Nearly everyone lives on the mainland at some point, even if that period of time is only during high school)
- ☛ What makes living on Monhegan difficult?
- ☛ If a given person was ‘from away,’ what brought that person to Monhegan initially?

In addition to these specific questions, each interview followed either an unstructured or semistructured form based on the responses from each participant. Allowing the participants to partially direct the discussions revealed several points that might otherwise have been missed; one issue that had not been considered before conducting these surveys was that of what makes ‘a good fit’ in an island community. This particular issue had not been discussed in the literature reviewed for this project.

Community leaders also answered questions regarding their specific programs as related to this study. The programs specifically targeted were the Monhegan Island Sustainable Community Association (MISCA) and the Island Farms. The questions related to current plans, fundraising, current size of effort, problems with the administration of each program, and program successes.

Because the interviews were semi-structured, other details also surfaced during these discussion. There were, of course, many details and anecdotes about island life. But more importantly, other issues were also revealed as well. Perhaps the most important issue that was not revealed in the literature is that of seasonal moving, a condition caused by the lack of permanent winter housing which forces nearly a quarter of Monhegan’s population to move twice each year. More details on this condition will follow in the research section.

Technical Details

All told, this study utilized just under 7 hours of interviews, nearly five hours of which transpired on the island of Monhegan.⁴ Six people on Monhegan participated directly in these recorded interviews, four of whom were community leaders. All interviews took place in the participants' homes except for one, which took place at the School Teacher's House where this researcher was house sitting during the week of February 13, 2016.⁵ Four additional interviews took place on Great Cranberry Island during a visit there on March 17, 2016 and with North Haven Island (via phone).

Adjunct Surveys

The bulk of this body of research revolves around the gleaned from the interview process, but to supplement the analysis and discussion of that data, this research incorporates two additional surveys. These two surveys serve primarily one purpose: satisfying the researcher's curiosity and do not represent critical data to the body of this research. But they do inform the broader conversation of maintaining a sustainable population on Monhegan and are thus included here.

Enumeration Survey

Population figures for Monhegan depict a steady decline over the past three decades after a modern peak of 109 people in 1980; 88 people in 1990 (-19.3%); 75 in 2000 (-14.8%); 69 in 2010 (-8.0%). But the 2015 Island Indicators noted that Monhegan's population had fallen to just 49 (-29%)! Curiosity stepped in: how could that be correct? How many people really live on Monhegan year-round?

The initial survey was paper-based and collected directly from the participants. The survey itself consisted of seven questions (see Appendix A) that inquired about each household.

⁴—Should the exact amount of interview time interest the reader, the grand total amounted to 6:56:53 of which 4:47:04 was recorded on Monhegan.

⁵—This study also makes use of the informal input from at least 15 additional individuals on Monhegan, plus photographs, collected ephemera, and direct observations of island life on Monhegan with this intent of experiencing and understanding as many details of island life as possible.

In a perfect world, this would have been the only method necessary; the week during which the survey was conducted (February 12–22), however, was winter break for most of Maine’s schools. Many people were inshore during that week and an exact count was impossible, and only 12 responses were collected during that time. In order to collect better results, an online instrument was created and distributed through a private online group on Facebook popular with Monhegan residents. The online version contained two additional questions for control purposes: “Name?” and “Are you a year-round resident?”—Both fields were required to be filled in before submission, and were used to explicitly grant consent, to prevent the duplication of entries (for instance, by different members of the same household), and to weed out summer residents excited at the prospect of filling out a survey about Monhegan. The consent field was particularly important because consent on the paper survey was collected on a separate sheet of paper and not associated with a specific survey. The online survey collected an additional five households (as well as several summer residents, as expected). Knowing that several people had not answered either survey, the results were corroborated with Resident X, a long time resident who regularly conducts head-counts on the island. This last method (contacting locals) is the method used by the Island Institute for their Island Indicators (2012, 2015), and proved to be the most reliable of the three methods.

Market Basket Survey

The Market Basket Survey is an extension of previous such surveys performed by the Island Institute and published in their Island Indicators (2012 and 2015). The purpose of the original survey was to compare food prices on the islands with those in immediately adjacent ports to roughly determine how much transportation costs add to the price of food in those island communities. The Island Institute surveyed several islands where they had available staff, but Monhegan was not included as a part of the original surveys. Furthermore, McReynolds (2014), utilizing

the 2012 Island Indicators, hypothesized that growing food locally to the islands could represent

a cost savings to residents and enable them to use their savings for other needs such as housing.

Thus the inclusion of a new Market Basket Survey for Monhegan represents both an extension of existing data and an opportunity to test McReynolds's hypothesis.

To examine this hypothesis, the same Market Basket Survey items were used to establish the prices on Monhegan. Because some of the items on the Island Institute's list were not available on Monhegan (canned corn, rice), several other items were added to round out the list (cereal, premium cigarettes, ramen noodles). Organic beef and cage-free eggs were also substituted in the survey to match the stock carried by L. Brackett & Son, Monhegan's only grocery store. Several stores were then selected as comparisons for prices: the Port Clyde General Store is located in Port Clyde, Monhegan's ferry terminal; Doherty's North Freeport Store is another general store, but located far from tourism traffic; Hannaford's (Yarmouth) and Shaw's (Freeport) are the two major supermarket chains in the state of Maine. Two other sites were also surveyed, but their selection of groceries proved insufficient to provide a reasonable comparison to Monhegan: Big Apple in Yarmouth has a wide selection of beer, wine, and automobile supplies; The North Pownal General Store in Durham only carried about two-thirds of the goods in the survey, with many of those being less than equivalent in size, brand, or reasonable equivalent.



A Note on Privacy

Island life and privacy are often mutually exclusive. During one of my interviews on Great Cranberry Island, one of the residents there described an encounter with a Monhegan resident by prefacing her remarks, “I won’t name any names...and if I gave any more detail, it would totally identify them.” Unfortunately, despite the shortest of descriptions that this resident gave and the brief anecdote used to illustrate a general point about island life, the two subordinate clauses that this resident of Great Cranberry used were still enough to identify the specific Monheganer in question.

To the best of my ability, I have attempted to rigorously protect the identity of those with whom I interviewed. Each speaker has been given a plain pseudonym (Resident A, Resident B, etc.) and are assigned in the order of transcription, not by the order of recording. I have done my utmost to remove even references to gender, age, and other traces of identity. There were times that a person may have voiced a personal opinion or experience and then spoken as a leader of a particular organization; in such cases, those individuals have been assigned multiple pseudonyms so that their organizations are not associated with personal viewpoints and to provide an additional layer of privacy. In some instances where general descriptions of island life overlap, I have also included remarks from people on other islands where their stories corroborate those experiences taken from Monhegan.

Even so, there is a risk that an individual might be identified. I noticed this risk while transcribing the recording of one person because I had a much easier time understanding the nuances of speech; this person grew up in a similar area of the United States as myself and I found the “accent” much easier to understand; not just the way specific letters are pronounced, but also the cadence and even certain phrases were more familiar to me. Midwesterners, such as myself, do not say, “Yep, yep,” for instance, but is often a phrase of agreement in New England.

If I have accidentally revealed you through these descriptions, please forgive my inadvertent breach of confidentiality. Your words have been used to illustrate points rather than to embarrass you. If this is the case, I humbly apologize.



Research

In the moneth of Aprill, 1614. with two Ships from London, of a few Marchants, I chanced to arriue in New-England, a parte of Ameryca, at the Ile of Monahiggan, in 43 ½ of Northerly latitude...

—from *A Description of New England* (1616), Captaine John Smith

“This is kind of an outpost”

During the summer, Monhegan and many of the other island communities are idyllic places. Monhegan’s five daily ferries transport visitors to two coffee houses, restaurants, an art supply store, a brewery, ATMs, clear nights, and warm—but not hot—days. Although small, the island hosts some of the finest and most scenic hiking in Maine and there are plenty of opportunities to socialize, snap pictures of the numerous gardens, and to simply relax.

But the realities of living on a small island differ drastically from that idyllic setting for nine months each year. For much of the year, only two businesses remain open through the win-

ter: the post office and L. Brackett & Son, Monhegan’s lone grocery store. If the

grocery lacks certain provisions, the winter ferry schedule drops to three weekly trips, that necessitates either a taxi ride or a car ride to Rock-

land—an 18-mile drive—and at least two nights inshore. All other services—from ATMs to the

Monhegan Brewery—close before the first snow begins to fly. While the summertime connections and services can make an island seem close to ‘America,’ the change in seasons restores the insularity of island life; even the small tasks of buying lumber for



Figure 5. Sketch of cliffs at Burnt Head

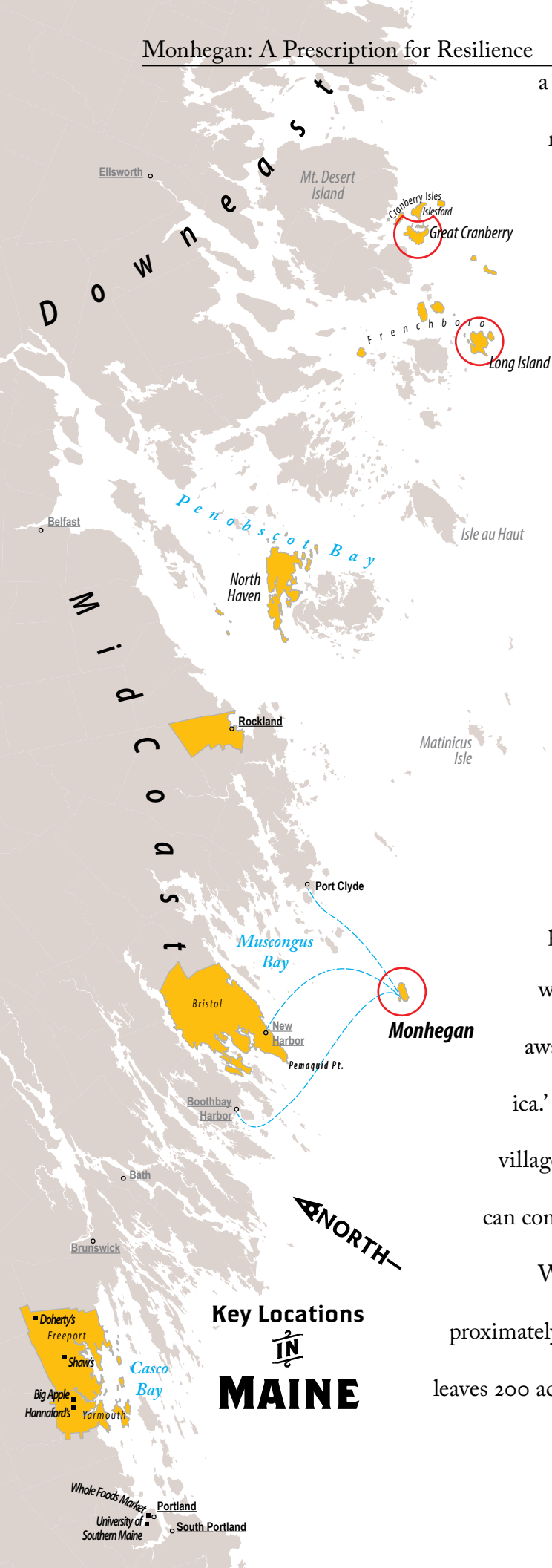
a carpentry project and the disposal of building waste requires planning, shipping, time, and money.

Some of these issues apply equally to all residents as the quirks that make island life what it is. As Resident D pointed out, “you know, we’ve found that we get used to it, too. I mean...there’s a bunch of different little tricks that you can do to make life easier, but you also have to like the feeling of being on an outpost.” Even so, some of life’s little difficulties can impact young adults and young families harder, making a transition to island life harder to bear.

The Setting

There are plenty of guide books that describe Monhegan: an artist colony; a scenic town; ‘quirky’ people; a rustic setting. But guidebooks are geared towards visitors as opposed to residents, who already are aware of the charms of living a dozen miles from ‘America.’ From its quaint cedar-shingled saltbox houses in the village to the dramatic ‘backside’ cliffs, few places in Maine can compare with Monhegan’s stunning beauty.

While Monhegan itself is roughly 600 acres in size, approximately 400 of those acres are conserved ‘wildlands,’ which leaves 200 acres for the village proper. Monhegan contains ap-



proximately 275 buildings, about one-third of which are non-residential (municipal, commercial, agricultural, maritime). That density is further enhanced when other factors are considered such as the large marsh in the center of the village—The Meadow—which furnishes the village with much of its potable water. The microwave transmitter, transfer station, water tanks and power company now ring The Ballfield; although baseball games are not as common as they once were, kites often hover lightly above this area.

Without access to town records, information on the housing stock is spotty, but a number of reasonable guesses can be made from other sources. For instance, the median age of the housing is circa 1913 and the houses fairly well maintained. (Faller, 1995) Much of the village buildings are a near uniform grey from the weathered cedar shakes that are so common in Maine's fishing communities. Some of the other houses are painted white and those that stand out are sometimes noted locally for it, such as The Red House. Although this is a rural community, the density of buildings within the village is relatively high; it could almost be mistaken for a suburban area.

But during the winter, Monhegan is anything but suburban. None of the roads are paved, so most of the half-dozen pickup trucks out there sport chains to help them climb the icy hills—hills which double as sled runs. The summer crowds are gone, leaving only about forty people living on the island year-round; but on any given day, the actual number of people can easily be half that figure. Its possible to walk from Lobster Cove in the south to Pebble Beach in the north and not run into another person during the winter, making the village seem like a ghost town at times. But if you look carefully, there are signs of life everywhere. A shiny white pickup truck loaded with lumber; a paper note taped to door of the grocery store urging residents to attend the upcoming Democratic caucus⁶; Chaco barking to defend his turf or Hootie ambling up to investigate the casual pedestrian—two of the local dogs. Other characteristics also give away the fact

6—Republican caucuses in Maine are not held in each town as Democratic caucuses are. Instead, they are held at the county or regional level, necessitating a trip inshore to attend. "That's ok. There's only two Republicans out here."

that this is not a mere suburban subdivision: the numbers on houses—1784 or 1824, for example—refer to the year of construction rather than the actual address; most houses, in fact, lack numbers and if they are identified at all, it is with a name: Gull Shores; Little Frost; Lower Lights; Uncle Henry's. Even streets lack signs to direct visitors, although these names sometimes vary between year-round residents and summer residents: Main Street or Monhegan Avenue? Ice Pond Road or Mucky Lane? Alfred's Way or Stanley Lane? Only a day-tripper would think that a sign indicating the directions of the "B.S. Cottage" meant anything but Boynton-Specterman. Therein lies the real charm of Monhegan. Its organic lack of standardization, idiosyncratic ways make this a real village in an old-world sense, rather than a planned suburban community.

The People

If a place makes a person, who are the people of Monhegan? The modern progenitor of Monhegan was Henry Trefethren, who purchased the island for £300 in 1777; the earliest part of Monhegan's history becomes a little bit murky, but three of his children settled on the island around 1781, forming the first generation of Monheganers: Henry, Jr.; Mary, who married Josiah Starling; Sarah, who married Thomas Horn. While the Trefethren name disappeared after a couple of generations, the Starlings (later Sterlings) and the Horns (also changing to Orne) stayed on for a few generations longer and lent their names to some of the features on the landscape: Horn's Hill, where the Horn farm was located, as well as Sterling Cove—locally called Arnie's Beach. These three families represent a sort of nobility in Monhegan society; the ability to state, "I'm an eighth- or ninth-generation Monheganer descended from the..." Starling, Horn, or Trefethren families is a source of pride. If one cannot be a true Mainer without living here for three generations, being a true Monheganer requires a bit more commitment.

Even so, many people are accepted into the Monhegan community without such deep roots. That acceptance is predicated on hard work and commitment to the community itself.

There is also a deep and uncanny knowledge about the community itself: while this researcher house-sat at the School Teacher’s House, one resident related that his father had built the house. “You know that tiny bedroom on the second floor? That’s where me and my brothers slept. All of us in that tiny room!” Tiny it was, at just 8’x12’. It’s an intimacy with houses, places, and culture that a newcomer can only hope to fathom.

How many people live on Monhegan?

Based on the three surveys conducted, there are 44 people living year-round on Monhegan. As mentioned in the Research Methodology section, the best method of surveying the population there is by contacting locals who regularly conduct head counts. These head counts are generally conducted on a weekly basis by making a mental note of who leaves the island and counting up those that are left. The reasons for the regular head count are unclear, but within a few hours, everyone on the island is informed through the grapevine as to how many people are there.

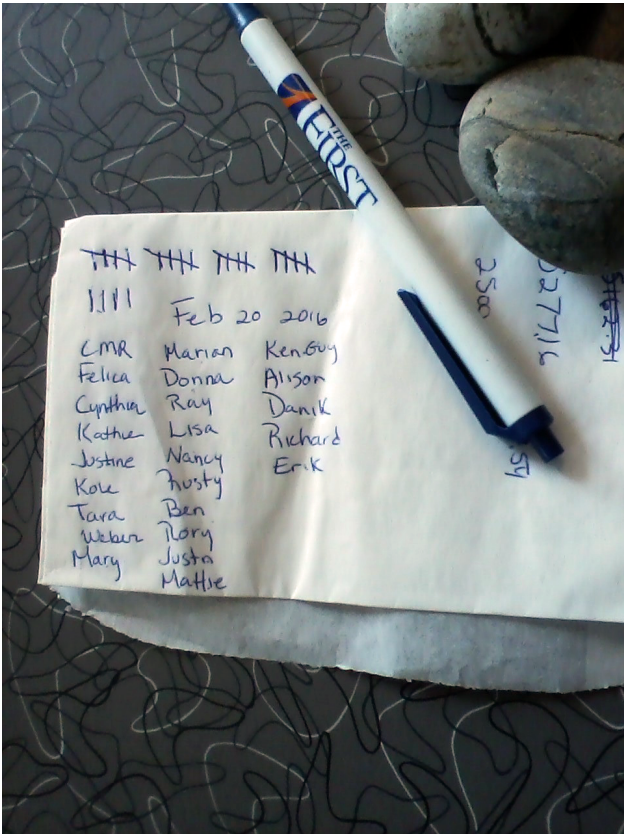


Table 1: Household Enumeration Survey

Total People	44
Average Houhold Size	1.875
Living Alone	9
Average Age	35.1
Children	9
Households with Children	5

With only 44 people today, why did the population drop by 15 people since 2010? Based on informal discussions with island residents

Figure 5. Whether because of tradition or because of curiosity, Monhegan residents routinely conduct a head count of everyone on the island. It is possible that this practice started as a way to keep track of neighbors in times of need. Note the sobriquet given to the only outsider when this head count was conducted.

and subsequent readings, the main factor is outmigration. For instance, when Chris Cash injured herself and could no longer lobster fish, she and her family moved inshore to earn a living. Other fishermen have retired—or otherwise slowed down—such as “Shermie” Stanley and his family who now spends the winter in Virginia. Jack Brackett grew up and left for college and started a career in Portland. And Dustin Delano left partly because of housing issues, partly for personal reasons. These examples plus a few others not listed—but gleaned through casual research methods—indicate that many of its residents simply moved away or only live on the island part-year (less than ten months), especially after those residents retire—or simply slow down. This migration accounts for at least ten people lost in the past few years.

Git'r Done

There are no jobs, *per se*, on Monhegan. Without formal companies or similar organizations, one does not show up, punch a clock, do one's job, and go home. Instead, there is a less formal concept called “work,” of which there is plenty to go around. “There's always too much work. And, you know, they're booked five years in advance, something like that.” (Resident C) The key is making oneself available to those in charge of projects, usually carpenters or fishermen, and working whenever that project leader needs help, which is fairly often. This interconnectedness helps demonstrate the need for new residents to be a good fit. Although jobs do exist for year-round residents, these tend to be part-time, so an informal network of people with work hire those who desire it.

Entrepreneurship also plays a critical role in island life. Even if a particular carpenter or artist does not refer to themselves as an ‘entrepreneur,’ that spirit of providing a good or service based on self-motivation and determination closely parallels the drive that propels self-described entrepreneurs. The key to successfully living on an island requires the ambition to seek out opportunities where ever they may exist.

Another aspect of island life is the unwritten requirement to work several jobs. Although the expense of living on Monhegan could, in theory, be a factor in this need, in reality, much of the work on Monhegan is seasonal. “The fishermen, they’re really busy in the fall and then the wintertime they’re not busy. And then summertime comes around, some of them do carpentry work and that’s busy again and then...so its this constant cycle. Its like, what to do in the middle of winter out here. Cause things kind of have a standstill and that would be great for young people who are artists and people that want to fish or are artists and will fish.” (Resident C) Not everyone works as a carpenter or as a fisherman, however. Many people also work in support of the tourism sector, whether as bakers or as hospitality staff. There are, of course, several artists as well who live on Monhegan full time.

Table 2: Workforce Composition

Workforce Composition		
Occupation Categories	Total employed	Percentage
Artists	4	7.02%
Entrepreneurs	5	8.77%
Government	12	21.05%
Housing trades	11	19.30%
Natural resource production	10	17.54%
Tourism services	6	10.53%
Other	9	15.79%
Total Jobs	57	
Jobs per adult	2.04	(28 adults surveyed)

The enumeration survey (paper and online versions only) counted 28 adults on Monheganers who worked, on average, 2.04 jobs. This number is most likely higher when one counts all of the little jobs that people do in addition to those that allow them to make ends meet. For instance, no one claimed in the survey that they plow the roads after each snow. Yet the roads are cleared, probably by one of the carpenters. All of the boards and committees, from the school and the library to MISCA, Monhegan Associates, and the Monhegan Museum all require fundraisers, adminis-

tration, and programs, but often pay little or nothing at all. Even so, these are jobs that islanders work out of necessity and in reality, there is a shortage of labor on Monhegan.

For such a small workforce, Monhegan has a surprisingly diverse labor market; bear in mind that specific jobs—a total of 41 different positions—were combined into broad categories for the sake of privacy. Some of these categories should be self-explanatory (artists) while others require explanation (natural resource production): ‘Government’ workers are those who are paid through tax revenues and may be local, state or federal workers; ‘Housing trades’ include carpenters and caretakers; ‘Natural resource production’ includes farmers, fishermen, and other trades that utilize the soil or the sea for a livelihood; ‘Tourism services’ include hotel workers, cooks, and other related professions that directly assist tourists, although some of these people may have also been categorized as ‘Entrepreneurs’ as seemed appropriate. Another point to remember is that this survey is based on the self-identification of most of the adults on Monhegan, therefore the percentages are only approximate. Even so, the island has a dynamic economy that suggests that any new residents that the island attracts would have an easier time making a living than if the economy relied on a smaller number of professions.

Shortage of Labor

Because of the seasonality of the labor market, how do we know that there is a labor shortage? It is hard to quantitatively measure a lack of labor other than if the unemployment rate is zero. On Monhegan, that is the case, but here the best way to measure this shortage is through the people themselves:

“The need for more people out here is across the board. We need more people in the school. We need more people for the fire department. We need more people to do some of these civic duties. We need more people on MISCA. We need people for any number of reasons. We need, the fishing fleet needs more boats. The carpenters have straight-out all the time. You know, we could have another year-round gang of carpenters probably going full-bore. (Resident H)

“You end up feeling like you’re not doing anything well. And it is...[the] whole community, the health and well-being, mentally and the growth of it is a whole community endeavor or problem, not just to fall on the shoulders of a few.” (Resident E)

“There’s always too much work. And, you know, they’re booked five years in advance, something like that. So...you know, and I’m already looking at the next two years to have, pretty much, you know, work the whole entire time depending on how fast I go.” (Resident C)

“You got a couple of guys fishing and...no, there’s just not enough people.” (Resident F)

When four of the six people interviewed for a project related to housing and expenses bring up the issue of labor shortages without prompting, it is an issue of significance. The issue, of course, is not the shortage of labor, for that is merely a symptom of the larger problem. It’s not a problem of attracting new residents; as the summer season demonstrates, plenty of workers come to work in the hotels and stores. The problem is that once summer has ended, there is no wintertime housing for those workers who wish to stay longer.

The tight labor market has serious repercussions in many aspects of community life. Several residents noted that they did not feel that they did an adequate job in some of the services that they provide to the island because they have each taken on too many responsibilities. These residents, in taking on numerous responsibilities, are beginning to burn out from overwork. In other instances, “people...take on jobs that [they] are totally unqualified [to do] and I would just say don’t have any motivation to do the job properly. And if they’re willing to do it and no one else is, you take what you get. So, sometimes things suffer because of that.” (Resident D)

The Housing Situation

Before examining the details of the affordable housing issues and problems on Monhegan, a quick review of the 2010 Census should quickly illustrate the overall situation:

Table 3: Housing Characteristics

Housing Occupancy	No. 2010	% 2010	No. 2000	% 2000
Total housing units	164	100.0%	177	100.0%
Occupied housing units	40	24.4%	46	26.0%
Vacant housing units	124	75.6%	131	74.0%
For rent	18	11.0%		
Rented, not occupied	0	0.0%		
For sale only	1	0.6%		
Sold, not occupied	0	0.0%		
For seasonal, recreational, or occasional use	105	64.0%	121	68.4%
All other vacants	0	0.0%		
Homeowner vacancy rate (percent) [8]		3.1%		3.1%
Rental vacancy rate (percent) [9]		66.7%		31.8%
Housing Tenure				
Occupied housing units	40	100.0%	46	100.0%
Owner-occupied housing units	31	77.5%	31	67.4%
Population in owner occupied housing units	56			
Average household size of owner occupied units	1.81		1.87	
Renter occupied housing units	9	22.5%	15	32.6%
Population in renter occupied housing units	13			
Average household size of renter-occupied units	1.44		1.13	

What do these numbers tell us? First of all, there are 164 dwelling units—including apartments—on Monhegan. 105 of these units are only used during the summer, and 40 are year-round residences. Please bear in mind that these figures are already six years old and they

have most likely changed since that time: for instance, at least one seasonal house is now being used year-round; several year-round houses may have been purchased by summer-residents and may now be off limits to year-round rental as a result; at the time of the census, in fact, one house was available for sale. Another important figure in this study is the percentage of rental units on Monhegan: about 22% of the housing is available for rent while 78% is “owner-occupied,” meaning that the owner lives in that residence. What this tells us is that less than one-quarter of all of the available housing units may be rented; renting is typically the first point of entry for new residents in a community, and the availability of rental units (only nine in 2010) was already scarce. This is particularly important when comparing the figures to those in 2000. The “Occupied Housing Units” declined from 46 to 40, indicating a shift that removed homes that might have been available for winter or year-round rentals from the available pool of dwellings. The statistics, in other words, start painting the picture of a housing shortage.

The last number that is important in a housing study is the size of each household. Owner-occupied homes only have 1.81 people on average while rental units (both rented houses and apartments) only have 1.44 people. What this means is that a fairly large number proportion of Monhegan’s residents live alone; while in a vibrant city this could mean that there are many young single adults, in this case (when looking at other tables in the census) reinforces the fact that Monhegan’s population is aging and above child-bearing age. In 2010, Monhegan’s median age was 45.8 years old, about the age when children leave the nest.

In many cases, Census data is a useful tool for planning purposes, especially when the variation of local circumstances is relatively constant. For instance, a larger city like Portland, Maine may rely on census data because out of x-thousands of rental units, the relative situation will most likely be constant: some units may “go condo” as other units come onto the market. Using a bean-counter analogy, a few beans this way or that in Portland will not greatly change

the overall picture. But on Monhegan, there are only 164 total beans; each bean counted in one pile or another represents a significant shift in available housing because the total pot is so much smaller.

Seasonal moving

An important aspect of island living regarding housing is seasonal moving. Alien to most communities, seasonal moving is a condition where people must move semiannually because the rents changed for a season—usually summer in seaside communities—is greatly inflated from what the market would bear during normal (or winter) conditions. Seasonal moving is not unique to island communities; Old Orchard Beach follows similar market approaches to housing, whereby seasonal residents (fall, winter, and spring) will live in a home while during the summer that home is often rented on a weekly basis or will serve as a summer residence by the owner.

Inshore, college students often make up the seasonal residency, while people from away will occupy each unit during the summer. From personal experience in Old Orchard Beach, my \$800 monthly rent during the winter easily became \$1200 per week during the summer. While this pattern works well for a community such as Old Orchard Beach, for an island community such as Monhegan, the consequences are detrimental. Why?

“I would guess that between 8 to 12 people are displaced seasonally on Monhegan. Some are lucky to find a place and some are sadly displaced right off the island. This, of course, varies year to year.” (Resident D) Assuming the 2010 population recorded by the census, that represents almost 15% of the year-round population; however, the head-count that I conducted indicates that there are only 44 year-round residents on Monhegan, the true percentage is nearly 23% of year-round residents, or between one-fifth and one-quarter of all of Monhegan’s residents must seek shelter on a semi-annual basis. If one is, say 20 years old, that might be a fun prospect. But for a young couple ready to start a family, “they’re probably sick of moving. And out here, it seems like

the first few years, you have to move. In the spring, you have to move out of your winter house and in the fall, you have to move out of your summer dorm room...that gets old too. We've all done it, but...everyone that lives here has done that for some amount of time." (Resident D) Another person commented, "Every fall, we got to call, make phone calls to find a house. Then we got to argue with people... 'Oh, well, we had that house last year. We were supposed to get it this year.'" (Resident G) This represents a serious impediment to settling on the island permanently. "Just the fact that there's not a lot of winter housing. Or if you do have winter housing, you have to move in six months. It's not like you can just have a place and live there year round. You can't rent a place year round, necessarily. Or there's very few places where you can because people can make a killing in the summertime out here renting out their cottages." (Resident C)

Therein lies the problem that needs to be addressed: there are plenty of houses to live in if 'people' were willing to let them out year-round. "Unfortunately there's some sacrifices involved with that for people that have houses that rent them out in the summer. And...they'd rather be greedy than to see the island succeed and continue on." (Resident C) Perhaps 'greedy' is too strong an adjective, something this resident quickly corrected, but "there's just no year-round rentals, its hard enough to find a winter rental. And there are a bunch of people that own, I'm not going to get bitter, but the fact is there are a bunch of people that own houses out here that only come in the summer. And these houses are winterized and have been lived in recently in the winters. And they love Monhegan more than you could ever imagine loving something, but when it comes time to help out in some way, like, say, renting your house out in the winter, they couldn't possibly do that." (Resident D) Perhaps there are more diplomatic ways to describe the problem, but clearly greater cooperation between the owners—whether summer residents or even year-round residents with multiple properties—is needed to ensure that there are people there in the community to ensure that Monhegan remains a viable tourist draw. Greedy—followed by "I

didn't mean that." Not bitter? These are the words of frustration, frustration at the consequences of gentrification.

Time to cue evil villain music? Not quite. Summer residents in particular are not only aware of this issue, but also have a hand in helping the situation, often because of the multigenerational association with Monhegan. This became evident during a dinner conversation at the Trailing Yew; the topic of this research was initially uncomfortable for some at the dinner table, but at least one of the summer residents expressed a clear understanding of the growing imbalance of the housing situation. This viewpoint differs from that of so-called short-term residents (those that stay a week or so); the conversation at the next table revolved around the fantastic real estate deals to be found in Portland and South Portland, two other communities dealing with their own affordable housing issues. In contrast, many of the summer residents "have money and have a love for Monhegan...we've had a lot of individual donors that have been extremely generous" in their support of MISCA. (Resident H)

MISCA

The Monhegan Island Sustainable Community Association, or MISCA is the primary means for the community to address the issue of affordable housing. Using the community land trust model, MISCA purchases residential properties and then sells or rents the building and its rights to residents while keeping the land—the more expensive asset in a situation such as Monhegan's. This model has been successfully used throughout the United States and Canada since the late 1960s.

At the present time, MISCA owns seven parcels on which there are four houses and the MISCA Building. Two of the parcels are vacant lots and on two of the built lots there are also two stand-alone businesses: L. Brackett & Son, the local general store and the Monhegan Brewery, built by Matt and Mary Weber behind their home. Between the MISCA Building and

L. Brackett & Son, the commercial heart of Monhegan is entirely on MISCA properties. The MISCA Building has a particularly interesting history. Originally built in 1916 as the Monhegan Store, it—along with six other buildings—burned down in November 1963 after a blaze started in the basement of the store. Rebuilt in 1964, today it houses a café and gift shop, the Plantation Office, the Post Office, a laundromat, and two apartments. The other commercial pillar of Monhegan is its general store. When Monhegan's Carina general store closed in 2013 after losing its lease, MISCA stepped in to facilitate the purchase of the current store in a partnership with resident Lisa Brackett and several fundraisers. But the heroic effort was not without a price: because of the disruption that the closure potentially posed, MISCA missed out on an opportunity to apply for a state grant for two new houses because of the lack of staff resources.

Even so, MISCA continues to actively seek opportunities to stabilize the housing situation on Monhegan. The organization is currently negotiating the transfer of two more houses into its portfolio⁷,

“but its not a gain of winter rentals or year-round houses, its just making sure that the people that were in them, now they own them. Which is great, but its not a gain. And... every time I think we can raise money and build one of these [new] houses over there and rent it out year-round, you know, for someone to try it out for a year or two. Another year-round rental, the owner decides its time for me to sell this....it'd be crazy for us not to buy it.” (Resident H)

But as the speaker noted, because these two houses are already being rented during the winter, thus MISCA is still unable to get ahead of the curve despite its best efforts to do so.

“We're so busy trying to get people that have been here for years and been renting for years—years! I mean ten years or longer—we're so busy trying to get them into their own places that we haven't been able to do anything new.” (Resident H)

⁷—Once the summer of 2016 is over, MISCA will have seven houses, two apartments, and two buildable lots. In addition, another house is currently (May, 2016) under construction as a so-called 'assessory dwelling.' Under the rules of the state Land Use Planning Commission, this house is technically an addition to an existing house, but functions as a separate home. This additional house is being built by the current residents themselves and is not a MISCA project.

Shortcomings

While MISCA has had many great successes since its inception in 2002, it has also had a few setbacks. The most crucial problem—as with other programs in the community—is the lack of staffing. Managing a nonprofit organization, on top of the jobs that each resident performs plus any other responsibilities, is a burden, and MISCA is not an exception. “I don’t feel like I have the time to adequately do my job on MISCA. And what’s more is that I’ve been involved, deeply involved, long enough that I’m about worn out with it.” (Resident H) Until more people move to Monhegan, burn out and fatigue will be a common problem in many island organizations. A personnel shortage means that when multiple situations arise (as with the closing of Carina general store at the same time as a unique grant opportunity), only one can currently be addressed. It also means that future plans, goals, and strategies cannot be adequately developed when other priorities demand attention. “We don’t have a long-term plan written out. Maybe we should, but we don’t.” (Resident H) The labor shortage also means that developing new solutions such as alternative funding mechanisms or carrying out plans to build on the two available lots is a lot more difficult to achieve.

Of potential concern is MISCA’s reputation for acquiring good homes. “A lot of people have complained that MISCA bought Allison that house and then reduced the price to sell it to her without fixing up any of the things that have gone wrong with it. It needs a new septic system, it needs insulation, a new water system, new kitchen, a new roof, blah blah blah. And... MISCA didn’t fix any of that before they sold it to her. They just reduced the price by half, basically. And...some people that’s good enough for and some people think that’s not good enough... Who’s to say who’s right?” (Resident H) This concern could just be an outlier—MISCA has purchased several homes seemingly without issue. Although this may be sexist to state, sometimes people feel protective of single women such as Alison, and some people may feel that she

has been taken advantage of in this case. In its present state, MISCA is more of a reactive rather than proactive organization. “The way it really works is that when a property, when an existing house comes up for sale, it there’s a likely candidate on island—someone who would qualify for the program and expresses interest in that property—then MISCA does everything possible to buy that property at whatever its listed at. And then, in turn, we turn around and sell that at an affordable price to someone that’s in the program. So generally...MISCA buys a \$600,000 house, then they would turn around and sell it for \$150,000 or \$200,000 or whatever the person could afford.” (Resident H) This suggests that caveat emptor strongly applies to the candidate, but without further information or the input from Alison Hill—her cistern was empty in February and was relying on water from her neighbors, the Webers—strong conclusions regarding the manner in which this particular transaction cannot be made. But the reactive quality of MISCA suggests that the organization acted in good faith and that the house was simply a lemon; this particular transaction had a few mistakes.

L. Brackett & Son

To offset the high costs of shipping food to the islands, McReynolds conjectured that locally grown food and CSAs (Community Supported Agriculture) could reduce those costs. (McReynolds, 2014) In order to test this hypothesis, an examination of both the local general store and the local agricultural program are required.

L. Brackett & Son is a small general store on Main Street, freshly resingled, serving as a meeting place for village residents: not only people grab coffee and food there, but the Democratic presidential caucus was also held within the store. If the reader has never visited a general store in Maine, imagine standing in front of the double doors that are plastered with various announcements. When entering, a cooler on the right contains vegetables, pop, and beer; on the left is the cash register and sales counter. If the store is empty, residents are expected to sign a

notebook detailing their purchases to be settled later; short-term residents leave a note and cash.

Between the cooler and counter is a stand containing fresh fruits and vegetables. The back half of the store is similarly arranged in three rows—from left to right are two rows of shelves with everything a resident might need in a pinch and on the right is the food and coffee counter—complete with stools and coffee mugs. The cookies are simply delicious. Along the back wall is a selection of fine wines. Beyond this area is a small kitchen and a restroom. The entire enterprise occupies perhaps a thousand square feet in total, if that. Along with the post office, this is the place where all of the action and conversation takes place in town.

Lisa Bracket, the store's proprietor, is a wealth of knowledge about the happenings in town. She is a quintessential Monheganer—eighth generation—her son is a cook at a respected Portland restaurant. Perhaps the store's name suggests a hopeful optimism once he matures. If he returns. Like many Monheganers, not only does she operate the store, but she also works in a half-dozen different positions within town government and is a lobster boat sternman, now retired. In her words, the store is operated as a service; prices are kept as low as possible so that residents are able to have access to goods ranging from batteries—Monhegan lacks streetlights so flashlights are a necessity—to candy bars. Most towns in Maine have a general store and Monhegan is no exception.

Extending the Market Basket

Each of the Island Institute's Island Indicators contains a comparison of grocery prices between a particular island and its adjacent ferry port. In each of the Market Basket surveys, as they are called, Monhegan is not included, and while the comparison of prices provides a good approximation of shipping costs added onto islanders' food bills, the survey does not accurately portray even what a mainlander might pay for groceries. Mainlanders always have the

option to drive to the nearest supermarket where prices are invariably cheaper than those offered in a small-town general store.

Table 4: Market Basket Survey Results

Item	Size	Brand	Brackett's	Port Clyde	Doherty's	Han-naford's	Shaw's	Notes
Bananas	\$/lb.	—	\$1.25	\$1.29	\$1.23	\$0.79	\$0.59	Bananas each weigh about 6.5 oz
Beef	\$/lb.	Wiggins ground	\$6.75		\$5.99	\$5.99	\$9.99	Small butcher shop in Rockland. Used local organic/grass fed meats for comparison.
Beer	6-pack	Bubweiser	\$9.23	\$8.50	\$8.82	\$8.50	\$8.50	
Bread (Wheat)	1 lb.	Country Kitchen 12-grain	\$5.49	\$4.79	\$2.99*	\$4.79	\$4.79	*—Generic Brand
Cat Food (dry)	50 oz.	Purina Complete	\$8.43	\$8.77		\$5.16	\$5.26	
Cereal	8.5 oz	Cheerios	\$6.99	\$5.69	\$3.99	\$2.79	\$2.99	
Cereal	8.5 oz	Rice Crispies	\$5.99	\$4.99	\$3.99	\$2.59	\$3.49	
Cigarettes	pack	American Spirit	\$11.00	\$0.45	\$9.00	\$8.73		
Cigarettes	pack	Marlboro	\$10.00	\$8.42	\$8.00	\$7.89	\$7.94	
Crackers	box	Triscuits	\$5.69	\$4.59	\$3.99	\$2.50	\$3.29	
Diapers	34 ct.	Luvs (purple)	\$10.33	\$12.12	\$8.43	\$8.22	\$9.88	
Eggs	dozen	Bowden's	\$4.99	\$4.99	\$4.00	\$3.99	\$3.49	Free-range, cage free. Used closest analog.
Flour	1 lb.	Gold Medal	\$2.79	\$0.86†	\$0.80†	\$1.39	\$1.79	†—5# bag; price adjusted x 0.2
Lettuce	1 head	—	\$3.25	\$2.59	\$1.29	\$0.99	\$1.79	
Milk	gallon	Oakhurst	\$5.95	\$5.29	\$4.85	\$4.25	\$4.19	
Oatmeal	box	Quaker Oats	\$4.79	\$5.89	\$3.99	\$2.49	\$2.99	
Orange Juice	1/2 gallon	Oakhurst	\$3.75	\$4.30	\$3.90	\$3.04	\$3.34	
Ramen Noodles	pack	Maruchan	\$0.99		\$0.30	\$0.25	\$0.33	
Soda	6-pack	Coca Cola	\$5.80	\$5.66**	\$3.76**	\$3.75	\$4.07	**—12-pack price; Adjusted ÷2
Sugar	4 lbs.	generic	\$4.49	\$2.60††	\$3.99	\$2.19	\$2.69	††—Differing size; price adjusted x 0.8
Toilet Paper	roll (single)	generic	\$1.31	\$1.57	\$1.57	\$0.73	\$1.06	
			Totals:	\$119.26	\$93.36	\$84.88	\$81.02	\$82.47
Raw Savings:				\$25.90	\$34.38	\$38.24	\$36.79	
Raw Percent less than Monhegan:				21.72%	28.83%	32.06%	30.85%	
				Prices include taxes, deposits, etc.				

	Differences should reflect transportation costs. BUT if that were the case, then Port Clyde should be similar to Doherty's	Standard general store prices.	Assumption: Values are fairly consistent between different stores within each chain.	
Mean price:	\$5.68	\$4.91	\$4.24	\$3.86 \$4.12
Percent less than Monhegan:		13.5%	25.3%	32.1% 27.4%

Price data on Monhegan collected week of February 14, 2016; all others collected week of February 21, 2016.

All things being equal, the prices charged at Port Clyde should be approximately equal to those at Doherty's. But they are not. Why? This is pure conjecture, but the Port Clyde General Store is owned by Linda Bean's Perfect Maine. Linda Bean's is not intentionally overcharging the locals, however. In addition to the General Store, the same building also houses Linda Bean's Wyeth Art Gallery, and within Port Clyde, Linda Bean's also owns three restaurants, 13 inns, cottages and beds and breakfast, a lobster pound, and guided offshore cruises. What this means is that Port Clyde is a tourist destination, and the prices there reflect the cost of convenience offered to visitors from away. As already noted by Thompson (2012), Port Clyde has already undergone the process of gentrification, a fact further demonstrated by the lack of packaged ramen noodles.

With this in mind, the cost of transporting food to Monhegan is probably about 25% the total cost charged on the island. Brackett's claims to make a minimal profit on its sales, a refrain also heard at the Cranberry General Store on Great Cranberry Island as well as in the Island Indicators report; assuming this to be true, that would suggest that the cost of shipping to Monhegan could be higher than the 25% of the total prices charged.

Island Farms

In the second part of examining McReynolds' hypothesis that locally grown food and CSAs (Community Supported Agriculture) could reduce food costs, (McReynolds, 2014) a brief overview of the existing agriculture program on Monhegan is needed to complete the research necessary to test his hypothesis.

Island Farms is the organization with the self-appointed task of bringing locally-grown produce to Monhegan. On the cusp of beginning its eighth growing season, Island Farms is a relatively mature organization that has experimented with several different delivery options, numerous types of crops, and has found ways to expand its total acreage of cultivated land. Over the past seven years, the ‘Committed Farmers’—as they call themselves—has increased from one to three, annually hosts an intern, and receives volunteer help from several people. Although not a organized structure as a company nor as a non-profit in any formal sense, Island Farms continues to thrive producing greater harvests year-over-year.

A brainchild of Kathie Iannicelli, the earliest inception of Island Farms began as a gardening business that operated for over 20 years. Starting with a \$600 loan from the Monhegan Community Church, Kathie launched the Island Farms as a way of providing a diverse produce to both year-round and summer residents. Today, Island Farms boasts 13 separate fields covering a

Figure 5: Kathie Iannicelli, one of Monhegan’s ‘Committed Farmers, tends to one of the 13 plots that Island Farms maintains.



total of 2 acres; it hosts a weekly farmers market (with other producers of eggs and baked goods); has a greenhouse to start sprouts and for winter greens; provides a CSA program even through the winter months. Or to phrase it more succinctly, it has proven to be a tremendous success and an asset to the Monhegan community since its inception in 2007.

Like Polyface Farm in Virginia, a well-known farm in sustainability literature, Island Farms utilizes organic and permaculture practices to the greatest extent possible without actually having USDA Organic certification. Much of its land has been reclaimed from the removal of invasive plant species (barberry, multiflora rose, and bamboo) around the margins of The Meadow and in underutilized yards scattered throughout the village. The weekly Farmers Market is not only a venue for the distribution of produce, but also a educational forum for the purpose of educating passersby on the issues of sustainability, best practices, and organic gardening.

As with L. Brackett & Son, an examination of prices is needed to determine if locally grown food can have an impact on overall island costs. Because Island Farms sells produce primarily during the summer growing season, a direct comparison with the local general store is not possible due to seasonal variation. But relative prices compared with mainland retailers is possible. In order to do this accurately, the units sold last summer need to be converted into the standard units in a typical grocery store; having done that, the relative prices may be compared with reasonable accuracy. As with L. Brackett & Son, a direct comparison of similar products is necessary, and in each case, organic foods were researched at the mainland grocery. For instance, Island Farms sells ½ pound bags of beans; this equals 0.5 pounds in a typical store where beans are sold by the pound; to buy one pound of fresh beans would therefore cost \$9.00 on Monhegan while at Whole Foods, the similar item would cost \$1.99.

Table 5: Organic Food Pricing⁸

Product	Price	Island Farms' Units	In Standard Units		Cost per standard unit	Whole Foods Prices	Shaw's Prices
beans	\$4.50	½ lb. bag	0.50	pounds	\$9.00	\$1.99	\$5.32
beets	\$3.00	bunch	1.00	2# bunch	\$3.00	\$2.99	\$2.99
broccoli	\$4.00	head	1.25	pounds to a head	\$3.20	\$2.99	\$3.49
carrots	\$3.00	bunch	1.00	pound	\$3.00	\$2.69	\$1.50
chard	\$3.50	bunch	1.00	bunch	\$3.50	\$3.49	\$1.99
collards	\$3.50	bunch	1.00	pound	\$3.50	\$2.99	\$3.49
cucumbers	\$1.00	each	0.69	pound	\$1.45	\$1.99	\$2.99
garlic	\$0.75	each	0.17	pound	\$4.50	\$3.99	\$2.99
kale	\$3.50	bunch	0.41	pound	\$8.62	\$2.99	\$2.49
lettuces	\$3.50	head	1.00	head	\$3.50	\$2.99	\$2.49
peppers, hot	\$1.00	3	0.05	to a pound	\$21.00	\$4.99	—
peppers, sweet	\$1.75	each	0.38	pound	\$4.64	\$4.99	\$3.99
potatoes	\$6.00	box	1.00	5# bag	\$6.00	\$5.99	\$6.65
tomatoes, cherry	\$4.50	box	1.00	pound	\$4.50	\$4.25	\$3.49
tomatoes, heirloom	\$4.00	each	1.50	pound	\$2.67	\$4.99	\$3.99
tomatoes, small	\$0.50	each	0.20	pound	\$2.49	\$2.99	\$3.99
Total	\$48.00				\$84.57	\$57.30	\$51.85

Unfortunately, Island Farms prices at the Farmers Market are generally higher than Whole Foods, a store with a reputation both for organically-grown food and for high prices. Island Farms prices are undoubtedly cheaper through the CSA deliveries, but an accurate gauge of the contents of each weekly share (or half-share) without researching those items and pricing each out in a similar manner as depicted in Table 4. But each delivery only costs between \$10 and \$20 each week, and payment plans are available to year-round residents; while many CSAs bill for the season upfront before planting, April and May tend to be financially lean months for islanders as

⁸—These grocery chains were selected because of the variety of produce that each carried that was specifically labeled “organic.” Small groceries and the Hannaford’s surveyed do not carry most of the produce that is grown on Monhegan.

the change from winter work transitions to summer work. (Resident B) While Resident F noted that it is cheaper to shop for groceries in Rockland, Monheganers supports its own, and Island Farms serves about 85% of the community's households. (Resident B). Resident F is also among those subscribers.

Island Farms is a loosely organized institution, without formal incorporation, management, or structure. Because of the lack of direct management, record keeping is often haphazard. Even planting records are informal, "We don't label everything that we plant. And we don't write down where we planted what. So this year, we're going to try and keep those records. I mean, we do...I say, 'yes, there are carrots at Cameron's.' But which carrots got put there? And when did they get planted? ...We have a book that says...what plants we started, how many we started—but we don't have records—sometimes somebody'll write down in the lefthand side of the booklet what seeds got planted and where they got planted. But most of the time, not." (Resident B) As it stands now, it is a system that works well enough, but with the stated goal of incorporation as a non-profit organization for the purposes of obtaining grants, this lack of records and management is a hindrance to future development. But as with so many other projects on Monhegan, it is another example of too few people attempting to do too much—another victim of the ongoing labor shortage.

Case Examples: Great Cranberry and North Haven

In the course of this research, two other island communities were also contacted. Those communities were Great Cranberry Island, one of the five Cranberry Isles and North Haven. As island communities, there are many similarities with Monhegan; as individual communities, there are also many differences, some of them substantial. For instance, unlike Monhegan, both Great Cranberry and Islesford are serviced by a daily ferry—even through the winter—and with easy automobile access, both islands also have several miles of paved roads, street lights, and a

stronger connection with the mainland. Another feature that distinguishes Monhegan from these two islands is that most of the land on Mohegan is held in conservation trust, a condition that enhances both the quality of life, but also diminishes the available land for development. In this regard, Monhegan is more like Frenchboro and Isle au Haut. But Great Cranberry and North Haven are also as different from each other as they are from Monhegan.

A recommendation from the Island Institute led specifically to these two communities. According to the institute, both had had recent successes addressing the problems of affordable housing, that lessons could be learned from each of these two examples. Both communities also had a web presence—a web site, Facebook page, news articles—that trumpeted their successes and offered a means of communicating with the respective community land trusts; other islands in the vicinity of Monhegan do not have as strong of a presence, making measures of success difficult to determine and making initial contact difficult to discern.

Cranberry Isles Realty Trust

At roughly 1050 acres and Great Cranberry Isle approaches twice the size of Monhegan; at its closest point, it is a scant $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile from Mount Desert Island—home of Acadia National Park and bridged to the mainland—and a short $2\frac{1}{2}$ mile ferry ride to port. In stark contrast to Monhegan's gabbroic hills and cliffs, Great Cranberry's gentle, level terrain would make it a perfect landscape for agriculture; in fact, for much of its history, it was an agricultural outpost, and its agricultural history is currently being documented by Jessi Duma, an Island Institute Fellow. Shaped roughly like a crescent moon, its two-mile paved road runs meridionally along the length of the island. Now boasting 67 people, it had but 37 as recently as 2001, (CIRT) which illustrates the primary factor that makes this community a compelling case example.

The Cranberry Isles Realty Trust (CIRT) began around 1996 as a means of retaining year-round residents in the archipelago. Through its first 14 years, CIRT had a few notable successes—

the acquisition of three houses (one on Islesford⁹) and the assistance to a couple on Islesford to purchase a fourth, non-CIRT, house—as well as a number of mistakes due to inexperience and experimentation. The three houses that CIRT owned were—and still are—operated as rental properties. During this period, the condition of the houses declined and the quality of the tenants were sometimes less than perfect; CIRT was sometimes unable to collect rents and was unable to adequately manage its properties. As a result, the organization began to lose money.

Vision and Action

This period ended around 2011 when two new members were appointed to the board of directors: Bruce Komuson and Phil Whitney. Both were then active in another project together called the Cranberry House, which will be discussed shortly. But is important in this specific context is that these two individuals brought with them two critical qualities: vision and action.

“We learned that the state had a bonding package that had been passed by the voters that the money was specifically designated for islands who wanted to build affordable housing. And the requirement was that you’d have to build two houses and the money that was designated for that would be about \$355,000. So we approached the CIRT board at that time—neither of us were members of CIRT—and they jumped on it, very eagerly. And we wound up both becoming members of CIRT.” (CIRT)

Ideas without action lead to naught; Bruce donated land to build the houses and both Bruce and Phil dedicated “thousands of hours...on this. It took us about three years to go from the initial contacts with the state to actually begin construction,” largely due to state requirements, reporting and meetings as well as site planning, project management, and additional fundraising. (CIRT) Both houses were completed in 2014 and have been occupied by long-term tenants ever since.

⁹— Islesford is the local name for one of the two primary islands. Some sources also call it Little Cranberry Island.

Board composition is important to this story. Each board member has skills that are applicable to the organization as a whole, skills such as writing, management, construction, fundraising, and so on. Some of the tenants also serve on the board, providing input from the client perspective as well. The composition also reflects year-round residents, summer residents, and even a few mainland members with an interest in the eventual fate of the Cranberry Isles. This diversity, the individual members dedication to purpose, and a willingness to cooperate are reflected in CIRT's current success story.

Program

In its entirety, CIRT owns five houses, four of which are on Great Cranberry Island. If the efforts to recruit a new minister to the church are included, Phil¹⁰ and CIRT have enticed five families that include 10 adults and 11 children to live on Great Cranberry. Each of the houses that CIRT maintains is a rental property with the intent of a try-before-you-buy scenario: "The idea being that they wouldn't make it a permanent rental situation, that they would after a few years hopefully be able to survive economically and be able to perhaps go out, buy a piece of land, build their own house." (CIRT)

CIRT: Intangibles

The Cranberry House is the engine that set many things in motion on Great Cranberry, and was the project that initially engaged both Bruce and Phil prior to their involvement with CIRT. As a historic structure, it serves as the local historical society and archives, but its size lends itself to many other important uses. The first floor also houses Hitty's Café—named for a doll who was the primary character in the children's book, *Hitty, Her First Hundred Years*, that won the Newberry Award in 1930. Complete with an outdoor deck, it serves as a meeting place that serves typical fare for the Maine coast, including lobster rolls. More importantly is the sec-

¹⁰— Phil will tell you that that this is incorrect; everyone was recruited through the efforts of various boards. It just happens to be the case that Phil serves on each of those boards and is often the executive in charge.

ond floor that serves as a community space. As a single large room, the second floor is the location for classes, activities, and even movies. The classes include guitar lessons for children while the activities frequently include exercise programs such as yoga and zumba; all of these programs are specifically geared towards year-round residents, creating a social and recreational space for them in both summer and winter. (CIRT)

Agriculture on Great Cranberry is in the early stages of development after a long hiatus. Currently, there are three independent efforts at development: the Sumner family, summer resident Janice Murch, and the Island Ecology Project. The Island Ecology Project most closely resembles Monhegan's own efforts in that it currently consists of three widely scattered raised beds (a fourth is planned for 2016) and it operates strictly on a CSA model with half of the produce going to the individual landowners. The project also maintains a sophisticated compost and mulching operation at a fifth location. (Duma) Janice Murch's project is much larger, consisting of several acres of cleared woodland now dedicated to cider apple orchards and sheep grazing. Murch's goals are unclear, but through the agricultural project, she has provided a significant benefit to the community by bringing in a steady stream of young employees—one of whom is Jessi Duma. These employees, through the type of work that they are engaged in, are strongly vested in the project's success and many not only return each season, but also remain year-round. (Duma)

The Sumner family farm may be the most ambitious of the efforts, and equally important, it is an effort by one of CIRT's tenants. Prior to their move to Great Cranberry in 2015, they had operated a farm in Southwestern Virginia. They currently raise goats and vegetables, and plan to cultivate additional land owned by the Whitney Family Trust with the addition of draft horses and possibly cows. The Sumners bring to Great Cranberry a level of professional skills that potentially could add more jobs and new sources of income for the community. They are the

type of people that Great Cranberry is actively seeking to populate its affordable housing units.

(CIRT)

CIRT: Concluding Thoughts

Because of Great Cranberry's relatively diverse economy—tourism, carpentry, care taking, boat building, and most recently formal agriculture—and because of its locational advantages that permit commuting, Great Cranberry is in a strong position to maintain its community over, say, the next twenty years. Because conservation lands occupy less space on the island, there is a great deal of property that could be developed in the future for additional affordable housing units. When Phil Whitney retired to Great Cranberry, there were no school-aged children on that island. The school was closed and each new family had to send their children to Islesford for school—especially after 2014 when the new houses were completed. Paradoxically, the school on Great Cranberry today is undergoing renovations in preparation for reopening in the Fall, 2016; at the same time, Islesford's population has dropped from over 60 to around 40 and is now facing many of the same challenges its sister island faced a decade ago. Moving forward, CIRT expects to place an emphasis on Islesford, assuming the level of cooperation is as significant as it has been on Great Cranberry.

There are several issues, however, that have not been addressed. One factor observed there during the very brief research visit is the risk of to dividing the community between newcomers and long-term residents. Cliques are nothing new in island society, nor is the fear of newcomers in general: "you don't want to have people moving to an island and taking away jobs from those who are already here because it's a very thin economy as it is. Especially in the winter months." (CIRT) CIRT attempts to address the issue of "taking away jobs" through its screening process, but divisions may still erupt. Many of the newcomers are active in the events held at the Cranberry House; Great Cranberry, however, has long had another social organization called the

Ladies' Aide Society that could be displaced by the Cranberry House. This division runs more or less between long-time resident and new arrivals. Is this a real problem? Only time, observation, and further research will be able to make that determination.

The other concern involves the stated goal of short-term rental solutions. What happens in five or ten years if the same people are still renting CIRT homes? If the objective is to encourage those families to purchase their own homes eventually, will CIRT act as a traditional community land trust and assist with those purchases of homes and property that will assuredly still be beyond the reach of most working-class people? This is an issue that CIRT should ask itself over the coming years.

North Haven Sustainable Housing

In contrast with its smaller siblings discussed in this research, North Haven in larger in every conceivable way. Approximately 12 square miles—more than twelve times larger than Monhegan—and a year-round population of 355 (2010), North Haven is fortunate to have both three daily ferries and twice-daily air service via Penobscot Island Air. North Haven could easily be considered a town that happens to be on an island. Like Great Cranberry, it is much more level than Monhegan and it also has a much more diverse economy that also includes boat yards as well. Its gentle terrain makes it an ideal location for farms, at least three of which graze livestock of various types. There is even enough open land to grow grains in addition to the standard vegetable gardens typically found on the islands. These agricultural efforts are large enough to not only offer Farmers Markets and CSAs, but also sell their produce in local stores, and the Turner Farm sells ⅓ of their produce to the Nebo Lodge restaurant, both of which are owned and managed by the Pingree family.

But North Haven's size has not insulated it from the same insular problems of housing shortages and seasonal moving. "We have teachers who are moving from a winter rental into

a yurt¹¹ for the summer. They literally just found the yurt on eBay and found some woods they could put it in where the landowner is okay with it.” (NHSH) As a result, North Haven Sustainable Housing is primarily focused on providing housing to end the cycles of seasonal moving rather than expressly attempting to attract new residents.

Fueled by a recent ten-acre donation, NHSH has a plan to build five houses within 5–7 years. The plan is bolstered in part by a needs assessment conducted in the Fall, 2015, and both documents are useful for securing grants and donations. Among the partners that NHSH has worked with are the Jane’s Trust, a grant-making institution in Boston that regularly funds projects in Maine, and the Genesis Fund, an affordable housing lender and consultancy that focuses on housing affordability issues from their offices in Brunswick, Maine. (NHSH) North Haven also benefited from the same Maine Housing Grant that enabled Great Cranberry to build their two most recent houses, which has brought the total number of houses under NHSH’s management to four, a significant accomplishment in only 11 years. Through another land donation, NHSH has partnered with another non-profit to develop an elder-care facility on North Haven, as well. In all cases, fundraising is supplemented by intense volunteer contributions primarily through free labor. This has greatly assisted each effort to build and renovate buildings and houses throughout the island.

Among the assets that NHSH lists as critical to their successes are the local school and the town’s community center. Both institutions help create a sense of permanency and place for the community. As with most island communities, North Haven is particularly protective of its school, and NHSH “just scrambled and bought a house that happened to come up on the market because this huge family doesn’t have a place to live and the school really didn’t want to lose the kids in school.” (NHSH) That transaction is expected to be completed early this summer—bring-

¹¹— A yurt (or ger) is a semipermanent traditional Mongolian tent that can be quickly torn down, moved, and rebuilt in a matter of hours.

ing the total number of rental houses to five—but in general NHSH prefers “a more big-picture look and do a more aggressive project and we hope to develop four to five houses for sale or rent that would be new construction,” and eshewing a more piecemeal or a case-by-case approach. (NHSH) Until the shorter term goal of addressing seasonal moving is resolved, attracting new residents will be left for the next generation of housing advocates.

Frenchboro

Late in the research phase, the NHSH representative offhandedly remarked, “Frenchboro...really developed housing and then advertised in the world saying, ‘Hey! Move to our island!’ to try to attract more young families.” (NHSH) Attempts to reach people on Frenchboro, however, were not acknowledged. But the phrase “advertising in the world” was intriguing and warranted a bit more research, especially since Frenchboro had not been mentioned in any of the literature up to this point.

The quest to attract young families to the islands is hardly a new problem. Monhegan itself struggled with the issue in the 1970s when it experimented with low-interest loans to enable families to purchase homes.¹² (Bernard, 2010) In the late 1980s, Frenchboro tried a novel solution to attract new residents to Long Island¹³: applicants were required to write an essay detailing why they wanted to live there and how they each planned on earning a living. The winners received a house lot as well as assistance to build a new home. (Higgins, 1988)

As a publicity stunt, the program was a tremendous success. Newspapers as distant as the Los Angeles Times picked up the story, and over 300 applicants vied for 10 housing slots. Frenchboro’s population had dropped from 97 people in 1950 to only 43 in 1980, the census im-

12— As a reminder, mortgage interest rates skyrocketed to unprecedented levels in the 1970s and 1980s. Interest rates rose from about 7.5% in February, 1973 to an all-time high of 18.45% for a 30-year mortgage in October, 1981. Those rates did not drop below 10% again until 1990.

13— Not to be confused with Long Island town in Casco Bay, formerly a part of Portland. The island in Frenchboro has also been called Outer Long Island.

mediately prior to this contest. With such strong national interest in Frenchboro's fate, the 2000 census, a dozen years after the contest, revealed a population of 38.

What happened? Frenchboro serves as a cautionary tale; an oft-heard phrase "a good fit" was repeated by several people on different islands, and it appears that Frenchboro did not adequately screen its applicants prior to settlement. Walter Pietrowski, a welder from Norwich, CT serves as an adequate poster child for what went wrong in Frenchboro. After purchasing a lobster boat and trying his hand full time at lobstering (NY Times, 1988), scallop fishing, and odd jobs, he and his family ended up moving back to Connecticut after a couple of years. The attempt at island life had left his family \$15,000 in debt and consisted of a life of just scraping by. (Matza, 1994). Many of the people brought in were simply ill-prepared for island life, or as numerous islanders have called it, these people were not "a good fit." Even though this particular experiment was a flop, something took root that warrants further investigation: in 2010, Frenchboro's population had spiked to 61 people.

That Frenchboro was unable to return calls is hardly surprising. On April 1, Frenchboro has lost its mail service due to a dispute between a private carrier and the postal service. Since that time, residents have had their mail service dropped from six days each week to just two, and the town has been doggedly attempting to rectify the situation. Nor is Frenchboro the only island community facing uncertainties; Cranberry Isles, which includes Great Cranberry Island, is having its own issues with its winter ferry service. Beal & Bunker's owner has announced his retirement; service was to end November 1, 2015, but has since been extended to at least October 10, 2016. "the islands are very fragile economically and politically and socially and things can happen rapidly that can make everything go downhill." (CIRT)

A Good Fit

“Whether or not they’re year-round rentals or someone buys the land and builds their own house, in my opinion, doesn’t matter as long as the people are a good fit for the island. Which is tricky. Who is to say if you’re a good fit or not? You know? Pretty subjective.” (Resident D) ‘A good fit’ is a phrase not only heard on Monhegan, but in other island communities as well. It can be an elusive term unless one asks enough questions as to what it means to them. Curiously, the need to ‘fit in’ to an island community is not well documented in the literature. Marshall (1999) described some of the problems of social adjustment to island life in the context of mainland wives who married island men on Grand Manan, New Brunswick. She expanded on the issues of ‘insiders,’ ‘outsiders,’ ‘belonging,’ ‘unbelonging,’ and exclusion in her later work, *Tides of Change* (2009), but like so many island communities, the dynamics on Grand Manan are very different from those on Monhegan. While cliques exist on Maine’s island communities, the rigid social structures that Marshall described do not, possibly due to the much smaller populations on Maine’s islands. Smaller communities rely heavily on cooperation and interconnectedness, regardless of which clique a person may belong.¹⁴

The most obvious trait any new resident must have is the ability to adapt to an island environment. A trip to the grocery store during the winter really is a ‘trip’ that requires at least two nights inshore. Many of the services and activities that one becomes accustomed to inshore rarely happen in an island setting, if ever. This aspect is hardly unique to Monhegan; Great Cranberry Island can seem equally far under the right circumstances:

“Some people can’t handle the isolation once they get here. That body of water that’s only three miles wide is a huge psychological factor to a lot of people. And in the summer, when it’s dead calm and you’re, you know, blue sky and the birds are flying around and you’re having a good time, you don’t think much about it. But on a January night, when you might have a medical problem, and it’s a gale wind out there and you’re not going to

¹⁴—Incidentally, Marshall noted that the rigidity of Grand Manan’s social structure was beginning to relax around 2006. Unfortunately, she passed away in 2013, thus a follow-up examination of this phenomenon may not be forthcoming for a while.

get off the island to the hospital. People don't think about that until sometimes its, you know, too late! And it's a big change from summer to winter. Its more like living on the frontier out here. Some people get a little offended when I say that, but its true! You're on the edge of the world out here. There's nothing between you and the northwest coast of Africa. And even though you're only three miles from the mainland, from the National Park and from the towns, in the wintertime, it can be a big three miles when its gale winds and a blizzard." (CIRT)

This isolation can be particularly hard on younger residents living on the island for the first time. "Initially, I really missed going to the movies and...the nightlife. ...Going out to a club or a bar or just being in a room where I didn't know everybody. And just being kind of anonymous in that way." (Resident E) Movies, music, and social gathering spots are an important part of life for people under 30 years old. "Its all about the environment and, like, having a beer on tap." (Resident C) The summertime is full of activities—lectures, kite flying, music, the Monhegan Brewing Company—but another resident noted that its hard to give up movies, barbecues, Trader Joe's, "and their, you know, beer-on-tap...during the winter." (Resident A)

New residents often detect ennui from the year-round community. Its hard to be accepted into Monhegan society in part because many people do have a hard time fitting in and year-round island residents are protective of the special status accorded to such residency. For instance, one first-time winter-resident was discouraged from filling out the enumeration survey conducted

Figure 6: Monhegan during the mid-morning is a quiet place. In the background, inshore is ten miles distant across Muscongus Bay. In the foreground, the Red House and the Rope Shed have both been recently resingled, indicating the quiet signs of life during the winter.



as a part of this research by an established year-round resident because of the lack of tenured residency. “Some of those reasons are just that some people who have come here it hasn’t worked out very well. So...its almost like the community is waiting, there’s like a waiting period and, like. seeing what’s going to happen and getting an idea of who you are as a person and how you’re going to integrate into the community. Where you’re going to fall in...I think in general, acceptance into the community, that was within...a year of living here.” (Resident E) In other words, new residents need to prove themselves not only that they can be productive members of the community, but also that they’ll stick it out no matter what adversities may crop up. Commitment is a two-way street, so to speak. That ‘fitting in’ includes one’s industriousness; one summer intern “just not as willing a worker and also an odd fit for the island. For some reason, you know, some people fit right in, some can’t find an in.” (Resident B)

The most important aspect to “a good fit” is common decency. The Monhegan community needs mature, responsible people who have their act together. Monhegan does not have a police force and therefore is ill-equipped to intervene in cases of disorderly conduct, domestic disputes, and drunken rowdiness. In a community where labor resources are scarce, residents are expected to behave with common sense and self-restraint. Regardless of how one behaves, “sometimes drama crops up around you and you’re kind of like, ‘What the hell?’ ...the rumor mill is very, you know, its usually on high, especially around March...But...if you take that all with a grain of salt, it doesn’t matter.” (Resident C) Like any small rural community, everyone will quickly know everything about a new resident, both good and bad. “You’re in a fishbowl. And everybody is looking at you and wanting to know about you and knowing about you or thinking they do. Rumors are everywhere and some people can’t handle that kind of closeness. Likewise, you know about everybody else’s business. You may not want to, you know, so it’s a two-way

street.” (CIRT) While this level of scrutiny can be difficult for any newcomer, it can become

unbearable for anyone who does not conform to the community norm.

“So, we talk with a lot of people and I think we’ve learned over the years how to identify people who might be good candidates. You never know until they arrive and they’re settled in. But you’re looking for certain qualities and a big part of it, as I said, is the ability to make a living without taking a living from somebody else and being rather self-sufficient. You don’t want somebody coming out here who, you know, a light bulb goes out and they’re calling up needing assistance to fix it. You see what I mean? And some people can be that way.” (CIRT)



Monhegan: A Prescription for Resilience

Resilience is all about being able to overcome the unexpected. Sustainability is about survival. The goal of resilience is to thrive.

—*Jamais Cascio*

Monhegan—like many places in the United States—is in danger of being loved to death. Any prescription, like those at Yosemite National Park¹⁵ that limit the number of cars and tourists for the sake of preserving the beloved landscape, is often difficult to comprehend or endure unless the problems associated with those prescriptions are clearly understood. While many people love Monhegan, the excessive expression of that love is in danger of capsizing this boat. Because of the sheer number of summer residences, a viable year-round population is crucial to the summer residents; without them, those summer residences will succumb to the harsh elements of winter and the dangers of fire, leakage, and freezing without the caretakers living in situ.

Of the three questions posed in this research, one hardly needs an in-depth explanation: How does Monhegan attract young people to live there? Monhegan already attracts young people every year through its summer season; this winter, three people spent their first winter on Monhegan and two of them will most likely be back for a second winter. All three of these people are under 30 years old, the key demographic that the community seeks. Monhegan currently has work—carpentry and care taking—and the community has potential opportunities in the form of unused lobster fishing licenses. It is also an environment where the right type of entrepreneur can also thrive, one who finds a niche providing a good or service to the summer residents and visitors.

¹⁵—Yosemite, Arches, Canyonlands, Rocky Mountain, and Zion National Parks have either implemented or are in the process of implementing Traffic Congestion Management Plans due in part to the destruction that automobiles cause to the scenic beauty and environmental integrity of those areas. In addition to the impact that such traffic has on the natural setting of these parks, the infrastructure in these remote areas was never designed to handle the millions of annual visitors. Islands are similarly crushed by visitors who do not pay for the water they use, the litter they produce, and the general level of services that they expect.

In addition, Monhegan's quality of life is very high. Throughout the research process, people consistently described the community as beautiful, no crime, a good school, a close community, and good hiking. Although Monheganers already know these qualities as truths, these are also keywords that can be used to attract additional residents in the future. Even during the wintertime, Monhegan sells itself as a great place to live.

The real problem, therefore, is where does Monhegan house people who want to live there? Unfortunately, this not only applies to new residents, but to nearly one quarter of the community's permanent population. As revealed in the research, 8–12 people are forced to move every few months due to the phenomenon called seasonal moving. On average, this represents 22.7% of the community's population. There is simply not enough housing to address this village's current needs.

What can MISCA do?

As previously discussed, the Monhegan Island Sustainable Community Association is the primary vehicle for turning around the housing problems within the community. In order to fulfill that role, MISCA needs to better enunciate its vision, goals and plans to achieve its vision and goals. What follows is a plan; whether this is *the* plan that MISCA's board and co-presidents adopt or if modifications are necessary is up to them, but hopefully this will serve as a starting point for future discussions and future successes.

MISCA's mission is "to sustain the year-round community. So that's the number one goal, and of course we do it with houses." (Resident H) This is the guiding principle that motivates MISCA, and the eventual goal of the organization. Every plan needs a mission statement to remind everyone who reads the plan what the organization is all about; those readers could be board members, donors, or grant-making foundations.

What does MISCA hope to achieve? What is its vision for the future and what does that look like? A vision statement expresses more immediate goals for an organization or for a specific program. An appropriate vision in this case is, 'To provide enough housing within five years to end the problem of seasonal moving by purchasing existing structures suitable for this endeavor or to build homes as necessary to accomplish this goal.' The vision statement is a more refined and specific iteration of the mission statement.

Needs Assessment

A plan requires specific goals that serve as benchmarks through the process of achieving both the vision and the mission of MISCA. In order to permanently house as many people as possible, the research indicates that MISCA needs to acquire approximately ten additional housing units as soon as possible. This goal is based on the fact that eight to twelve people are displaced each fall and spring due to the seasonal cycles inherent in the current housing environment, representing approximately 22% of the total year-round population of Monhegan. In order to provide such housing, MISCA needs to alter its previous strategy of exclusively purchasing existing homes for candidates on its waiting list to a more proactive approach by purchasing rental properties. Over the long term, this is a temporary measure simply to help stabilize the current population and to prevent any further loss of population when residents are forced 'inshore' to find seasonal housing.

A formal needs assessment, a fairly easy survey to conduct, is recommended to determine the exact number of dwelling units needed before committing to any purchase. The Vermont Housing Finance Agency has an easy step-by-step guide available online (http://www.housing-data.org/download/assessment_guide.pdf). In addition, a very simply survey form may be downloaded from http://www.housingpolicy.org/assets/MA/Rental_Need_Template.pdf. Although this survey may seem daunting at first—it is 17 pages long—it can easily be filled out in an after-

noon while sipping a few Deadman's Cove Black IPAs at Monhegan Brewing: the demographic data needed to fill in this survey is already contained within this report (see Appendix D); a copy of Ruth Grant Faller's *Monhegan: Her Houses and Her People*—available in the Monhegan Library—lists nearly every house in the community along with their ages; the caretakers and carpenters should have a good idea of the conditions of each house.

Goals and Actions

With the objective of maximizing housing units in the shortest amount of time, this researcher proposes that MISCA purchase the Inn at Fish and Maine building at a fair market price from the Murdock family with the intent of winterizing this building and then leasing the space out to residents in need of permanent housing. Why this building? There are few 'apartment buildings' on Monhegan and all of them one serious defect: none of them are winterized. While there are several other such buildings that qualify as apartment buildings, some—such as the Novelty—were designed as dormitories for hotel employees and utilize communal toilet facilities; others, such as Kendall Apartments are simply too small—Kendall has two units. The Fish and Maine building has four units, each with a private kitchen and bath, making them habitable except for the issue of winterization. In addition, the ground floor space could be used as a community center (movies, small concerts, socials), rented out to a business for additional income for MISCA, or simply be converted into additional rental units. If this building proves unfeasible or if a transaction cannot be agreed upon, adjust the priority of the next several steps; building an apartment building from scratch is a very expensive undertaking, therefore exploring existing options is highly desirable.

The next goal is to develop the two existing properties that MISCA currently owns. Each property will contain a single-family dwelling of approximately 1500 square feet. These homes should be constructed from an appropriate modular plan (see Appendix F) for the best price that

MISCA is able to negotiate. Once built, these two new homes must be offered either as rental units or for purchase under the classic community land trust model that retains the land ownership to MISCA, but reserving building rights to the homeowner. To avoid any stigma that might be associated with an “affordable home,” an effort will be made to make sure that each house is attractive and that it complements existing homes within its location and within the community. By adopting a two-prong strategy, these homes will be occupied even if the tenant is not yet willing or able to make a full commitment to purchasing a home at that time. In addition, by acquiring an apartment building near the center of the village, it can be more closely observed to ensure that tenants behave appropriately within community standards.

These two efforts would bring the total housing units to six—or more if the first floor of the Inn at Fish and Maine was to be repurposed as additional apartments. The needs assessment will determine if this is adequate for the current needs or not.

Long Term Plan

Once the current housing situation is stabilized or the short term plan above is completed, MISCA needs to consider what options are available to expand its efforts. What the board needs to decide, with community input, is how many new people it would like to attract to live on Monhegan. An emphasis should be placed on attracting young families and couples—between 25 and 35 years of age—to help sustain the school and with the hope that natural increase will help grow the population of the community.

Where will these new residents live? There are two options: purchasing homes on the open market and building new homes on donated (preferred) or purchased land. MISCA currently purchases homes that are already on the market; it needs to do so preemptively, before a resident requests a specific home. For instance, the Miller House (see Appendix E) is on the market for \$500,000, and its MLS description indicates that it is winterized already—although the

quality of that process may be questionable. Purchase the house; if a resident cannot be found to buy it from MISCA, that house can still be leased to help alleviate the overall housing shortage, and if a buyer seeks it later, determine the best way to handle that sale at that time in the future.

The other option is to obtain vacant lands suitable for building. Many of the summer residences have, by Monhegan standards, huge lots. If the current landowner can be persuaded to part with a buildable portion of their lots, more houses could be built by MISCA (see Appendix F for builders) for current or future needs. Although further study to determine which lots are buildable is needed, a cursory examination using GIS to compare parcel bounds with 2' contours reveals at least nine potentially buildable areas:

- 📍 On Ocean Avenue north of Goldsmith House.
- 📍 On Ocean Avenue east of Goldsmith House. (At the bend in the road.)
- 📍 East end of large lot north of Richardson Cottage.
- 📍 North side of Horns Hill Road between Hilltop Lane and the Bogdanove House.
- 📍 South side of Horns Hill Road across street from Bogdanove House.
- 📍 Lots between MISCA Building and Inn at Fish and Maine
- 📍 Lot between Wharf Hill Road and Main Street, across from Elva's.
- 📍 Lighthouse Hill Road between cemetery and Dolan Cottage.
- 📍 Lighthouse Hill Road west of Burton Cottage.

Local knowledge always trumps map analysis, and ground-truthing—the process of verifying that which is on the map matches the realities in the field—is a mandatory step: a site could be steeper than anticipated or a site could be an unbuildable wetland, for instance. Other potentially buildable lots probably exist, and need to be scouted out and visually surveyed¹⁶ during the off-season.

¹⁶—As opposed to a formal survey utilizing professional equipment.

A sincere effort needs to be made to purchase every available home that is on the open market, whether or not an approved applicant is willing to purchase that house. Not every attempt will be successful, but doing so has several benefits. It will make current owners more aware of the seriousness of MISCA and its mission. If a suitable buyer cannot be found, then such houses can always be used for rentals, thus fulfilling the vision of providing a permanent roof over everyone's head. In a worst-case scenario—no one locally wishes to live in a particular house—that house could always be let out for summer rentals, thereby increasing MISCA's revenue streams.

Fundraising

When compared with the other islands surveyed in this study, MISCA is a powerhouse fundraiser in a league of its own. North Haven, a much larger island community, has raised \$250-\$300,000 over the course of the past eleven years. Monhegan's annual fundraising of approximately \$100,000 dwarfs all other efforts, and is testament to the affection that Monhegan's summer residents have towards the community.

Even so, there are ways to increase funding and to make MISCA's current funds stretch further. For example, the Aimone family of artists plan to hold a fundraising event on Monhegan on May 28, 2016 at Carina. A continuation of this even will take place in Rockland from June 30th to July 10th. Called the 2016 Monhegan Island Photo Festival, 25% of gross receipts will be donated to MISCA¹⁷. In the future, what possibilities exist for hosting a benefit of this nature in a location such as New York City or in Boston, places where potential donors routinely attend art exhibits?

MISCA could also establish partnerships with organizations that routinely make donations through purchases. Amazon's Smile program donates 0.5% of eligible purchases to

¹⁷— For more information, see https://www.indiegogo.com/projects/monhegan-island-photo-festival-in-augural#/ and <http://thecarinahouse.visura.co/monhegan-events-may-2016>.

non-profits of the customer's choice. If MISCA has not yet investigated this route, it will find at least a couple of dollars in its account. (See <https://org.amazon.com/>) Some credit card companies offer similar programs and partnerships with inshore art galleries and businesses can also yield results.

Another way to engage donors is through “sustaining contributions.” Most listeners of the Maine Public Broadcasting Network (MPBN) have heard of the term ‘evergreen friends,’ donors who sign up for automatic credit card payments each month in the amount of their choosing; the minimum amount needs to be at least \$5 each month per credit card rules, but there is no upper limit on the amount. Other creative forms of fundraising are listed on the MPBN website (<http://news.mpbn.net/topic/ways-support#stream/o>).

What the plantation can do

Although a plantation form of government is very weak—it cannot enact laws and ordinances, for instance—it still has powers related to acquiring money. The most obvious example is through the local property tax. A one-mill levy, for instance, would raise the property tax on a \$100,000 home—typical for MISCA—by \$100 per year. Citizens are understandably reluctant to pay higher taxes, but consider a few points:

☛ Monhegan has the fourth-lowest property tax rate in Maine.

☛ For 2016, the state's homestead exemption increased from \$10,000 to \$15,000, effectively lowering property taxes for homeowners; that exemption will increase to \$20,000 in the 2017 tax year.

Thus, although the rate would increase percentage-wise, the effective tax rate would actually decrease for ‘permanent residents’ of Monhegan. If a direct subsidy to MISCA is not acceptable to the citizens of Monhegan, then perhaps a “sustainability fund” could be implemented by the plantation for use in all manner of projects related to sustainability and resilience, including

MISCA. Other projects could include invasive species removal, solar power for homes, or other projects related to sustainability in addition to providing funds for MISCA.

Should a property tax prove unpalatable, other forms of generating revenue may also exist. For instance, perhaps it is within the power of the Harbor Master to impose a \$5 per passenger landing fee, to be collected by the ferry service. Such a fee could be earmarked not only for the types of projects already listed as part of the proposed sustainability fund, but also for providing free public toilets, a source of irritation among some visitors to Monhegan.

But taxation is not the only form of money that local governments may raise. Grants are an important part of funding specific projects, and while state moneys have dried up under the current administration, many opportunities still exist at the federal level. Community Block Development Grants may, for instance, be used to acquire affordable housing, and other grant opportunities exist at [grants.gov](https://www.grants.gov).

Advertising Makes it Happen

A few months ago, MISCA solicited email addresses through their Facebook page ostensibly for a regular email newsletter. A great plan that needs to be acted upon, even if the newsletter is but a paragraph long. Advertising in all of its various forms presents the issues of affordable housing in sharp focus to those who care about it most. It is a constant reminder that the problem has not been fixed yet, but it can also serve to demonstrate progress towards the goals that the donors are supporting. But it is also worth mentioning that MISCA maintains an active and effective campaign via Facebook. Updates are usually made at least weekly, if not more often and those posts describe specific building and fundraising efforts.

Set up donation jars in every business establishment on the island. Each jar will raise awareness among casual day-trippers, and even if the total donations only average \$10 each day,

over the course of a season, at least \$1000 could easily be raised. Including a brochure may help remind such casual visitors of the need once they get home.

Monhegan is not alone regarding housing affordability nor seasonal moving. Issue press releases and communication with outside news agencies such as MPBN, the Portland Press-Herald, and with agencies in Boston and New York. Repeated efforts at communication may eventually prompt a reporter to ask questions and, in essence, advertise MISCA accomplishments and, equally important, hurdles.

The last point regarding fundraising is to always remember that MISCA is a non-profit organization. Always find out if a discount for materials is available. Ask if home purchases may be made at a discount from the fair market price—it could result in a substantial tax benefit for the seller. No individual is begging for handouts in this case; MISCA is promoting a community benefit that helps ensure that future generations of year-round and summer residents can continue to fully enjoy this island.

Transparency

Is transparency an issue for MISCA? Whether it is an issue or not, MISCA needs to be a pillar of integrity within the community, but two minor incidents demonstrate that MISCA always needs to work to uphold its image. A good way to avoid the perception of selling ‘[lemons](#),’ could offer as a service to inspect each home prior to purchase and to present a report following the inspection.

The process of becoming a housing inspector is not difficult. If MISCA believes that this is a worthwhile investment, it should send a non-carpenter—to avoid any the appearance of a conflict of interest—to the National Association of Home Inspectors Training Institute. (<http://www.nahi.org/training-institute/>) The cost is reasonable (\$2500 for an 80-hour course) and could be useful for a retired or semi-retired year-round resident. The person that attends the institute

will gain a valuable skill and certification. That skill can be used as a value-added service for all homes sold on Monhegan—and elsewhere if the inspector is willing to travel—including summer residents and could potentially alert homeowners to unseen but needed repairs, increasing the demand for more carpentry work. Inspectors can expect to earn between \$500 and \$1000 for each inspection (<https://www.angieslist.com/articles/how-much-does-home-inspection-cost.htm>), but if MISCA is willing to pay for the training, perhaps an arrangement could be made for a discount on MISCA homes.

Another area of concern is the level of transparency regarding the conditions and order of the candidate wait list for housing. During the course of research, one complaint was raised about the fairness of the process. Because it is only one complaint, it could be an outlier—perhaps sour grapes over a transaction that fell through or simply confusion regarding the way the process works. Nevertheless, the process needs to be carefully explained to each candidate, and that explanation needs to be repeated from time to time. A possible solution would be to have each candidate sign a disclosure statement that outlines the process.

Hire a General Manager

This segment of the prescription has largely been a long to-do list. Given the current labor shortage on Monhegan, additional duties and responsibilities are probably the last thing that a board member of MISCA wants to take on for themselves. Even so, one of the most difficult decisions that anyone in business can make is the decision that they can't do everything themselves. MISCA needs to hire a general manger who will report to both the board and to the co-presidents. A manager is an executive, one who executes the decisions made by the board, finding the most reasonable ways to accomplish goals, and to carry out full-time tasks for a board that should only be composed of part-time members.

A general manager is responsible for the day-to-day operations of the organization.

Among the duties expected of such a manager include: property management; grant writing; project management (for new construction or renovations); fundraising and development; communications and marketing; networking with other island organizations; networking with other agencies such as the Genesis Fund—for technical assistance; any daily administrative work and record keeping.

This position should be a new hire from inshore and one that is a paid position. There simply are not enough people on Monhegan to ensure that this is properly attended to in an efficient manner. The person hired needs to be fully cognizant of what island life entails—especially in the winter—and needs to listen to the community and an to keep open mind with the community at large. With the community's survival at stake, a half-baked solution or an unqualified person is simply not adequate.

Hiring a person to manage should not be considered unusual or a luxury. Cranberry Isles Realty Trust plans on hiring Jessi Duma after her term as an Island Fellow expires in September. Hannah Pingree shifted from the board of North Haven Sustainable Housing to serve as Capital Campaign Director following the acquisition of the eldercare property donation. Having a person responsible for the day-to-day management of the organization is a good way to ensure that its needs and those of the community are met.

Food Sovereignty

With the best of intentions, this research hoped to prove McReynolds correct: that local agriculture would be a means of reducing food costs so that the savings could be applied in other areas such as housing. Unfortunately, that is not the case. Small-scale farms inherently have higher costs per unit than large-scale farms, and the overall cost of producing food locally on an island is roughly the same as that of importing it. While some food prices could be possibly

reduced by Island Farms, the resultant savings to consumers would be minimal and would not pose a significant impact on the overall expense of island life. “The people that are out here aren’t starving. They’re not worrying about, ‘Oh, my god! Where am I going to get my next meal?’” (Resident F) True food sovereignty—genuine food self-sufficiency—is a worthy, but elusive goal.

At the moment, two acres are currently planted with crops and a greenhouse does provide greens throughout the winter, but in order for Monhegan to produce enough vegetables alone would probably require the tearing down of some of its houses in order to create larger agricultural fields. In addition, there is not enough land to grow grains or to raise livestock—except in small numbers for perhaps artisanal milk products.

As a corollary to this line of research, Monhegan does not have the resources to adequately build their own community supported fishery; local waters have already been overfished with many species almost non-existent today. Sea urchins are one example species that was once plentiful in Monhegan Harbor, but are rarely seen today.

“There was a craze around here for sea urchins. The Japanese wanted the sea urchins roe. So you would look out into the harbor...and there would be boats gathering sea urchins and there was a place over by Manana—between Smuttynose and Manana. If you were in a skiff, you could look down. It was solid sea urchins. People, the fishermen brought up lobster traps and they would be full of sea urchins.” (Resident B)

Today, only one fisherman on Monhegan has the capacity to do the type of deep sea fishing required for ground and other similar fish. Lobster is still a viable fishery, but profits are greater when those catches are sold inshore. Monhegan simply does not have enough fishermen to create a reliable fishery for local consumption. “We’re losing them like flies. I mean, the fleets cut in half since I’ve been here. [2012]” (Resident F) At the same time, this presents an opportunity to entice new residents who wish to fish Monhegan’s exclusive waters. “We have so many

licenses associated with Monhegan. I think its 20? 18 or 20. And I think there's only nine fishermen right now. So we have all of these available fishing licenses. So that's...that would be great if, some more people were coming out here to fish." (Resident E)

This is not to say that these are foolish pursuits; Island Farms has a good business model, it plans realistic expansion in the future, and it is able to successfully supply some of the food needed on the island. Some fish are landed (including lobster) and consumed locally as well. But these efforts will not fully replace foodstuffs imported from 'America.' But the effort is at least sufficient to reduce total dependence on inshore sources. And while Monhegan's size precludes it from entirely breaking free from inshore grocery stores, other larger islands may be able to make a sizable dent in the level of their imports.

Nevertheless, local production of food does provide several benefits beyond pure economics. Sure, buying locally does provide a benefit economically by keeping dollars within the community. But the variety of produce that Island Farms provides is also of critical importance as well. While a small grocer might provide the basics—lettuce, tomatoes, potatoes, and mushrooms—locally produced agriculture also provides beets, beans, and broccoli. This local variety should not be undervalued.

As far as comparisons go, Monhegan would find itself somewhere in the middle. Agricultural efforts are only just beginning on Great Cranberry while on North Haven, those enterprises are quite mature and robust. For Island Farms to develop a stronger model, it needs better management of its records and a clear path forward. Will it be a fantastic money-making operation? Probably not. But as a non-profit service to the community, better management could make it more responsive to local needs and desires. For instance, squash turned out to be a poor investment because local residents did not buy squash. What carrots do best in a given soil? Better record-keeping would help their efforts. Given the scale of the farming operation, an intern—one

versed in business or non-profit management—would be the best manager of such an operation.

Setting up a valid process of maintaining records, management, and eventual incorporation could easily be done by a college student looking for that type of experience.



Conclusion

Consistent with the Island Institute's findings, the population of Monhegan has continued to drop. As the population drops, there are fewer people to take on the same number of jobs and the same amount of work that keeps a community functioning.

Monhegan's housing woes are a form of gentrification. This is demonstrated by the closing of Carina—the island's grocery store in 2013—as well as by the number of winterized homes that are taken out of the pool of available homes for year-round residents. Along with the crush of annual tourists, this has left many Monheganers feeling overworked and frustrated with the lack of easy solutions.

McReynold's hypothesis that local agriculture could serve as a means of offsetting island expenses proved incorrect. This is a big disappointment, and asks the question, 'what other assumptions that researchers put forth are invalid?' Or perhaps the question is more accurate to posit, 'Do all of Maine's islands share Monhegan's shortcomings regarding local agriculture?'

In 1900, there were about 300 unbridged island communities in Maine. Today, there are but 15, and their future is uncertain. Whether it is how to preserve these communities, or what makes each one unique from each other—and different from the mainland—island research is critically important. The big lesson to be learned from this research is just how fragile these communities are under the pressure of gentrification and the lure of a better life within the mass of American society twelve miles inshore. While each island ultimately does not represent a microcosm of mainland society, many lessons regarding social hierarchy and democratic process are more prevalent in an isolated community such as Monhegan that bears additional study.

Hopefully, this research has opened a window on these and other processes. Islands present a means of examining how people get along with each other and how collective decisions are made. As an example, Monhegan is currently confronted with a difficult situation regarding

energy independence: new wind turbines could end an era in which Monhegan has some of the highest electricity prices in the US, but the introduction of wind turbines will despoil some of its pristine viewsheds. How it confronts this issue along with others could prove pivotal in how other isolated and island communities reconcile modern convenience with traditional values. Neither side is absolutely correct in their opinions, and how a small community reaches consensus could hold valuable lessons for other communities, island or mainland.

Limits of research?

The enumeration survey, while able to capture the number of year-round residents, was weakened by its design and by its focus on households, rather than on individuals.

The interviews were limited to just a few winter residents. The input of summer residents may have proven useful; how aware are they of the housing crises? How many are oblivious or simply insouciant about it? These attitudes are important; the summer residents are the main source of fundraising for all of the organizations on the island, from MISCA and Island Farms—both discussed in this research—to the library, museum, and as the backbone of its economy through carpentry and care taking.

In addition to the lack of input from summer residents, absentee landowners were not contacted, nor were their holdings researched in the Plantation land records. Most of the summer residents most likely live along the eastern seaboard—also not researched—but the level of engagement of Californian landowners—if any—have also not been taken into account. Absentee landowners do have a role to play, for they hold some of the houses that could be used to shelter year-round residents, but are only rented out during the summer for sources of income and investment.

The market basket survey did not take into account the prices at Walmart, which is where many Monheganers shop for groceries due to its relatively convenient location on US Route

near the northern terminus of Route 131 in Thomaston. While it is doubtful that Walmart's inclusion would significantly alter the results of the price comparisons, it would represent the best comparable example in those price differences.

There are probably more gaps in the academic record regarding Maine's island communities that this research barely scratched or even considered. Only further research can hope to uncover such gems.

As revealed by the literature review, Maine's islands, academically speaking, are a mystery. Using just Monhegan as an example, the lack of study is, frankly, appalling. Since 1923, a comprehensive narrative history of Monhegan nor the other island communities has been attempted. McLean has probably produced the most complete version of island histories, but many gaps remain.

Little, if any research has been conducted regarding the social organization of each island community in Maine. Based on this research, each island possesses its own 'personality,' outlooks and perceptions different from the other island communities. How are cliques formed? What constitutes island 'elders?' How is consensus arrived? How are priorities decided? Given that no literature even described what 'a good fit' might mean suggests that these communities are understudied as a whole. The study of Maine's year-round islands are a fertile ground for further research, no matter the area of expertise.

Closing Remarks

Monhegan finds itself in a difficult position as it faces an uncertain future. But Monhegan has at its disposal numerous tools and a conscientious and engaged citizenry, qualities that can ensure the community's survival in the long run. As this research should demonstrate, the key, above all else, is to ask questions, to uncover nuggets of truth. Statistical inquiry, for instance, would not have revealed the concept of 'a good fit,' a quality that all islanders need to

consider as they attempt to attract new people. Nor will the answers be found elsewhere, for well-meaning academics and professionals who are unwilling or unable to study communities up close and in the field will invariably become misled by logical, but inappropriate conclusions.

Early in the process of research, concepts such as ‘nissology,’ ‘islandness,’ and ‘studying islands on their own terms’ were abstract terms that held little meaning without field work. Each island represents not a microcosm, but individual and unique places that share common qualities, but express those qualities in different ways. Like Darwin’s finches in the Galapagos Islands, each island community needs to be studied and understood for its own particular qualities before drawing conclusions.



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Appendix A: Enumeration Survey**Enumeration Survey Questions**

At each home, ask the following of any one adult present:

1. How many people live in this household?
2. What are their ages?
3. What are their genders?
4. What are their primary occupations?
5. What other ways do you make ends meet (including subsistence living)?
6. Where is each person from originally?
 - a. If from Monhegan, how many generations?
 - b. If from elsewhere, reason for relocating to Monhegan?
7. How many people do you think live on Monhegan year-round?

Enumeration Survey

What you need to know, the short version:

1. This is a voluntary survey. You do not need to answer any of these questions.
2. I am administering this survey to gain knowledge about the community of Monhegan as a whole.
3. I hope that every YEAR-ROUND household on Monhegan will participate.
4. There are no risks or benefits to you if you take this survey.
5. There is no cost of any sort to you except your time.
6. This survey is designed to be anonymous. All reasonable attempts will be made to keep your responses secret, but if you're the only lion tamer on Monhegan, there's a chance that someone might be able to pick your information out.
7. You may skip or refuse any question (except the first granting consent) for any reason. You are not even required to participate at all. All I can do is ask nicely and say, "Please."
8. Questions? Please contact me (Ken Gross, 207.320.5318 or Kenneth.k.gross [at] maine.edu) or my academic advisor (Yuseung Kim, 207.228.8152 or Yuseung.Kim [at] maine.edu).
9. If you have any questions or concerns about your rights as a research subject, please call the USM Human Protections Administrator (207.228.8434) or email usmirb [at] maine.edu.

* Required

1. **Typed consent (your name just for consent purposes) ***

.....

2. **Do you live on Monhegan Year-Round?**

Mark only one oval.

☐ Yes

☐ No

3. **How many people live in your household?**

.....

4. **What are their ages? (separate each with a comma, please)**

.....

5. **What are their genders? (separate each with a comma, please)**

.....

6. **What are their primary occupations? (separate each with a comma, please)**

.....

7. **What other ways do each of you make ends meet (including subsistence living)? (separate each with a comma, please)**

.....

8. **Where is each person from originally? (separate each with a comma, please)**

.....

9. **IF from Monhegan, how many generations?**

.....

10. **IF from elsewhere, reason for relocating to Monhegan?**

.....

11. **How many people do you think live on Monhegan?**

.....

Powered by



Appendix B: General Consent for Interviews**Consent for Participation in Research**

Project Title: Working Title: Monhegan, Towards a Resilient Population

Principal Investigator(s):

Ken Gross, student

Muskie School of Public Service

University of Southern Maine

207/320-5318 or Kenneth.k.gross@maine.edu

Advisor:

Dr. Yuseung Kim

Muskie School of Public Service

University of Southern Maine

207/228-8152 or ykim@usm.maine.edu

Introduction:***General requirement language:***

Please read this form, you may also request that the form is read to you. The purpose of this form is to provide you with information about this research study, and if you choose to participate, document your decision.

You are encouraged to ask any questions that you may have about this study, now, during or after the project is complete. You can take as much time as you need to decide whether or not you want to participate. Your participation is voluntary.

Why is this study being done?

The purpose of this study is to help island communities like Monhegan find ways to attract year-round residents and to find ways of making it cheaper for all year-residents to live on the islands.

I will not profit from this research financially or in any other material way, although I hope that what you share with me will help your community and other island communities remain viable over the next several decades. You will, however, be helping me with my educational experience.

Who will be in this study?

My goal is to speak with as many people who live on Monhegan as is possible. It is because you are a year-round resident that I am seeking your opinions.

What will I be asked to do?

I would like to have a conversation with you regarding your observations and your opinions on island life.

What are the possible risks of taking part in this study?

There are no foreseeable risks associated with participation in this study.

What are the possible benefits of taking part in this study?

I am required to tell you that there are no personal benefits to taking this survey. I hope to help the Monhegan community, but you won't become rich or famous by helping me with this research.

What will it cost me?

Nothing except for a few minutes of your time.

How will my privacy be protected?

Because my research is part of my capstone project, a requirement for graduation from USM's Muskie School for Public Service, you must assume that my final report will be published in some form or another. At the very least, this project will enter the University's "Digital Commons," a kind of online library. It is also possible that this material could be published in a professional or an academic journal.

How will my data be kept confidential?

These recordings will be stored on my computer, which is password protected, until this project is completed. These recordings will not identify you specifically because I need your open and honest opinions and observations. I will be the only person listening to these recordings, and I will adhere to what is called Business Sensitive Data standards. I will be the only person who will be able to connect your words with you.

Please note that the Institutional Review Board may review the research records. This is for your protection: the IRB ensures that I am adhering to high standards of conduct.

A copy of your signed consent form will be maintained by the principal investigator for at least 3 years after the project is complete before it is destroyed. The consent forms will be stored in a secure location that only members of the research team will have access to and will not be affiliated with any data obtained during the project.

If, at any time, you would like a copy of the original recordings or of the transcript from those recordings, I can make those available to you. Beyond yourself, these materials will not be made available to anyone else except as quotes attributed to a pseudonym (an alias or a fake name).

What are my rights as a research participant?

Your participation is voluntary. You may even tell me to go away and ask that I not bother you, although I hope you will not say this.

You may skip or refuse to answer any question for any reason.

If you choose not to participate there is no penalty to you and you will not lose any benefits that you are otherwise entitled to receive. You are free to withdraw from this research study at any time, for any reason. If you choose to withdraw from the research there will be no penalty to you and you will not lose any benefits that you are otherwise entitled to receive.

What other options do I have?

You may choose not to participate.

Whom may I contact with questions?

The researcher conducting this study is Ken Gross. For questions or more information concerning this research you may contact me (Ken Gross) at 207/320-5318 or Kenneth.k.gross@maine.edu.

You may also contact my advisor, Yuseung Kim, at 207/228-8152 or ykim@usm.maine.edu.

If you have any questions or concerns about your rights as a research subject, you may call the USM Human Protections Administrator at (207) 228-8434 and/or email usmirb@usm.maine.edu.

Will I receive a copy of this consent form?

Yes, you may keep a copy of this consent form if you would like one.

Participant's Statement

I understand the above description of this research and the risks and benefits associated with my participation as a research subject. I agree to take part in the research and do so voluntarily.

Participant's signature Date

Printed name

Researcher's Statement

The participant named above had sufficient time to consider the information, had an opportunity to ask questions, and voluntarily agreed to be in this study.

Researcher's signature Date

Printed name

Appendix C: Enumeration Consent**Consent for Participation in Research**

Project Title: Working Title: Monhegan, Towards a Resilient Population

Principal Investigator(s):

Ken Gross, student

Muskie School of Public Service

University of Southern Maine

207/320-5318 or Kenneth.k.gross@maine.edu

Advisor:

Dr. Yuseung Kim

Muskie School of Public Service

University of Southern Maine

207/228-8152 or ykim@usm.maine.edu

Introduction:

I am sorry to intrude upon your time and to insinuate myself into your household. I am a student conducting research, and in the long run I hope to help the Monhegan community.

Please read this form. Your participation is voluntary.

Why is this study being done?

The purpose of this study is to help island communities like Monhegan find ways to attract year-round residents and to find ways of making it cheaper for all year-residents to live on the islands.

I will not profit from this research financially or in any other material way, although I hope that what you share with me will help your community and other island communities remain viable over the next several decades. You will, however, be helping me with my educational experience.

Who will be in this study?

This interview today is part of a complete survey of Monhegan. Much like the US Census conducted every ten years, it is my hope to speak with every household to find out how many people live on Monhegan all year.

What will I be asked to do?

I would like to ask you a total of eight questions. These questions will ask how old you are, how many people live with you, their ages and genders, and their occupations. Two questions are more for fun than for serious scientific research. This should only take about five or ten minutes. Tops!

What are the possible risks of taking part in this study?

There are no risks with taking this survey.

What are the possible benefits of taking part in this study?

I am required to tell you that there are no personal benefits to taking this survey. I hope to help the Monhegan community, but you won't become rich or famous by helping me with this research.

What will it cost me?

Nothing except for a few minutes of your time. You might spend more time reading this consent form than filling out the actual survey!

How will my privacy be protected?

This survey is designed to be anonymous, please do not include any information anywhere on the survey that may individually identify you or anyone else. Neither your name nor your address will be collected as part of this survey.

Although all reasonable attempts are being made to keep your identity secret, if there is something unique about your basic demographic information (for instance, if you are the only lion tamer on Monhegan), disclosure to me may reveal who you are in the final study. Please consider this before signing this consent form and before answering the survey questions.

What are my rights as a research participant?

You may skip or refuse to answer any question for any reason.

What other options do I have?

If you wish, you may choose not to participate. Because this research seeks to determine how many people live on Monhegan, I (Ken Gross, principal researcher) may opt to ask other people in the community general facts about your household.

Whom may I contact with questions?

The researcher conducting this study is Ken Gross. For questions or more information concerning this research you may contact me (Ken Gross) at 207/320-5318 or Kenneth.k.gross@maine.edu.

You may also contact my advisor, Yuseung Kim, at 207/228-8152 or ykim@usm.maine.edu.

If you have any questions or concerns about your rights as a research subject, you may call the USM Human Protections Administrator at (207) 228-8434 and/or email usmirb@usm.maine.edu.

Will I receive a copy of this consent form?

Yes, you may keep a copy of this consent form if you would like one.

Participant's Statement

I understand the above description of this research and the risks and benefits associated with my participation as a research subject. I agree to take part in the research and do so voluntarily.

Participant's signature Date

Printed name

Researcher's Statement

The participant named above had sufficient time to consider the information, had an opportunity to ask questions, and voluntarily agreed to be in this study.

Researcher's signature Date Printed name

Appendix D: 2010 Census

Raw census data available from:

http://factfinder.census.gov/bkmk/table/1.0/en/DEC/10_DP/DPDP1/0600000US2301546335

**DP-1-Geography-Monhegan plantation, Lincoln County, Maine:
Profile of General Population and Housing Characteristics: 2010**

Subject	Number	Percent
SEX AND AGE		
Total population	69	100.0
Under 5 years	3	4.3
5 to 9 years	1	1.4
10 to 14 years	5	7.2
15 to 19 years	1	1.4
20 to 24 years	2	2.9
25 to 29 years	1	1.4
30 to 34 years	6	8.7
35 to 39 years	8	11.6
40 to 44 years	5	7.2
45 to 49 years	9	13.0
50 to 54 years	5	7.2
55 to 59 years	2	2.9
60 to 64 years	12	17.4
65 to 69 years	4	5.8
70 to 74 years	2	2.9
75 to 79 years	1	1.4
80 to 84 years	2	2.9
85 years and over	0	0.0
Median age (years)	45.8	(X)
16 years and over	59	85.5
18 years and over	59	85.5
21 years and over	59	85.5
62 years and over	17	24.6
65 years and over	9	13.0
Male population	37	53.6
Under 5 years	1	1.4
5 to 9 years	1	1.4
10 to 14 years	5	7.2

15 to 19 years	1	1.4
20 to 24 years	0	0.0
25 to 29 years	1	1.4
30 to 34 years	3	4.3
35 to 39 years	3	4.3
40 to 44 years	5	7.2
45 to 49 years	3	4.3
50 to 54 years	2	2.9
55 to 59 years	0	0.0
60 to 64 years	6	8.7
65 to 69 years	2	2.9
70 to 74 years	2	2.9
75 to 79 years	1	1.4
80 to 84 years	1	1.4
85 years and over	0	0.0
Median age (years)	41.8	(X)
16 years and over	29	42.0
18 years and over	29	42.0
21 years and over	29	42.0
62 years and over	12	17.4
65 years and over	6	8.7
Female population	32	46.4
Under 5 years	2	2.9
5 to 9 years	0	0.0
10 to 14 years	0	0.0
15 to 19 years	0	0.0
20 to 24 years	2	2.9
25 to 29 years	0	0.0
30 to 34 years	3	4.3
35 to 39 years	5	7.2
40 to 44 years	0	0.0
45 to 49 years	6	8.7
50 to 54 years	3	4.3
55 to 59 years	2	2.9
60 to 64 years	6	8.7
65 to 69 years	2	2.9
70 to 74 years	0	0.0

75 to 79 years	0	0.0
80 to 84 years	1	1.4
85 years and over	0	0.0
Median age (years)	48.0	(X)
16 years and over	30	43.5
18 years and over	30	43.5
21 years and over	30	43.5
62 years and over	5	7.2
65 years and over	3	4.3
RACE		
Total population	69	100.0
One Race	67	97.1
White	67	97.1
Black or African American	0	0.0
Two or More Races	2	2.9
White; American Indian and Alaska Native [3]	1	1.4
White; Asian [3]	0	0.0
White; Black or African American [3]	1	1.4
White; Some Other Race [3]	0	0.0
Race alone or in combination with one or more other races: [4]		
White	69	100.0
Black or African American	1	1.4
American Indian and Alaska Native	1	1.4
RELATIONSHIP		
Total population	69	100.0
In households	69	100.0
Householder	40	58.0
Spouse [6]	14	20.3
Child	9	13.0
Own child under 18 years	8	11.6
Other relatives	2	2.9
Under 18 years	1	1.4
65 years and over	0	0.0

Nonrelatives	4	5.8
Under 18 years	1	1.4
65 years and over	0	0.0
Unmarried partner	3	4.3
In group quarters	0	0.0
Institutionalized population	0	0.0
Male	0	0.0
Female	0	0.0
Noninstitutionalized population	0	0.0
Male	0	0.0
Female	0	0.0
HOUSEHOLDS BY TYPE		
Total households	40	100.0
Family households (families) [7]	15	37.5
With own children under 18 years	6	15.0
Husband-wife family	14	35.0
With own children under 18 years	5	12.5
Male householder, no wife present	0	0.0
With own children under 18 years	0	0.0
Female householder, no husband present	1	2.5
With own children under 18 years	1	2.5
Nonfamily households [7]	25	62.5
Householder living alone	23	57.5
Male	11	27.5
65 years and over	4	10.0
Female	12	30.0
65 years and over	1	2.5
Households with individuals under 18 years	7	17.5
Households with individuals 65 years and over	8	20.0
Average household size	1.73	(X)
Average family size [7]	2.67	(X)
HOUSING OCCUPANCY		
Total housing units	164	100.0
Occupied housing units	40	24.4

Vacant housing units	124	75.6
For rent	18	11.0
Rented, not occupied	0	0.0
For sale only	1	0.6
Sold, not occupied	0	0.0
For seasonal, recreational, or occasional use	105	64.0
All other vacants	0	0.0
Homeowner vacancy rate (percent) [8]	3.1	(X)
Rental vacancy rate (percent) [9]	66.7	(X)
HOUSING TENURE		
Occupied housing units	40	100.0
Owner-occupied housing units	31	77.5
Population in owner-occupied housing units	56	(X)
Average household size of owner-occupied units	1.81	(X)
Renter-occupied housing units	9	22.5
Population in renter-occupied housing units	13	(X)
Average household size of renter-occupied units	1.44	(X)

KEY

X Not applicable.

[1] Other Asian alone, or two or more Asian categories.

[2] Other Pacific Islander alone, or two or more Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander categories.

[3] One of the four most commonly reported multiple-race combinations nationwide in Census 2000.

[4] In combination with one or more of the other races listed. The six numbers may add to more than the total population, and the six percentages may add to more than 100 percent because individuals may report more than one race.

[5] This category is composed of people whose origins are from the Dominican Republic, Spain, and Spanish-speaking Central or South American countries. It also includes general origin responses such as "Latino" or "Hispanic."

[6] "Spouse" represents spouse of the householder. It does not reflect all spouses in a household. Responses of "same-sex spouse" were edited during processing to "unmarried partner."

[7] "Family households" consist of a householder and one or more other people related to the householder by birth, marriage, or adoption. They do not include same-sex married couples even if the marriage was performed in a state issuing marriage certificates for same-sex couples. Same-sex couple households are included in the family households category if there is at least one additional person related to the householder by birth or adoption. Same-sex couple households with no relatives of the householder present are tabulated in nonfamily households. "Nonfamily households" consist of people living alone and households which do not have any members related to the householder.

[8] The homeowner vacancy rate is the proportion of the homeowner inventory that is vacant "for sale." It is computed by dividing the total number of vacant units "for sale only" by the sum of owner-occupied units, vacant units that are "for sale only," and vacant units that have been sold but not yet occupied; and then multiplying by 100.

[9] The rental vacancy rate is the proportion of the rental inventory that is vacant “for rent.” It is computed by dividing the total number of vacant units “for rent” by the sum of the renter-occupied units, vacant units that are “for rent,” and vacant units that have been rented but not yet occupied; and then multiplying by 100.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 Census.

2016 Enumeration Survey

During the week of February 14th and in consultation Resident X on March 10^h, 2016, the population of Monhegan was found to contain 44 people in total. Of these, 35 were adults, 9 were children.

Appendix E: Recent Homes for Sale**H-91 Hill Rd OFC HORN, Monhegan Island Plt, ME 04852**

H-91 Hill Rd OFC HORN, Monhegan Island Plt, ME 04852

3 beds · 2 baths · 1,260 sqft**FOR SALE
\$550,000**Est. Mortgage
\$2,051/moListed by:
Sotheby's
INTERNATIONAL REALTY

Live the dream! This is the island home of renowned New Yorker cover artist Charles Martin, and the subject of a Jamie Wyeth painting. A very well maintained three bedroom, one-and-a-half bath home, it is tucked behind the Monhegan House with views across the Meadow to the island's Dock. A rare opportunity!

FACTS

- Baths: 1 full, 1 half
- Lot: 0.63 acres
- Single Family
- Built in 1918
- 83 days on Zillow
- Views since listing: 883
- All time views: 2,014
- 4 shoppers saved this home
- Cooling: None
- Price/sqft: \$437
- MLS #: 1226693

FEATURES

- Flooring: Hardwood
- Porch

ADDITIONAL FEATURES

- Views: Scenic
- Area Amenities: Outdoor Activities
- Area Amenities: Aquatic Activities
- Age: Over 50 Years Old
- Area Amenities: Boating
- Area Amenities: Area Fishing
- Bath Tub and Shower
- Exterior: Storage Shed
- Area Amenities: Area Boat Ramp
- Cooling: C
- Special Market: Second Home
- Location: Island
- Area Description: Rock Beach
- Area Description: Sand Beach
- Area Description: Other Beach
- Location: Off Water
- Area Amenities: Area Boat Dock
- Exterior: Out Building

APPLIANCES INCLUDED

- Range / Oven
- Refrigerator
- Washer

CONSTRUCTION

- Roof type: Asphalt
- Stories: 0
- Structure type: Other

OTHER

- Floor size: 1,260 sqft
- Heating: Gas
- Laundry: In Unit
- Zillow Home ID: 2106477943

Zestimate Details

Zestimate ?

\$489,320

\$391K

\$548K

Zestimate range

-\$1,116

Last 30 days

Rent Zestimate ?

\$1,800/mo

\$1.1K

\$3.4K

Zestimate range

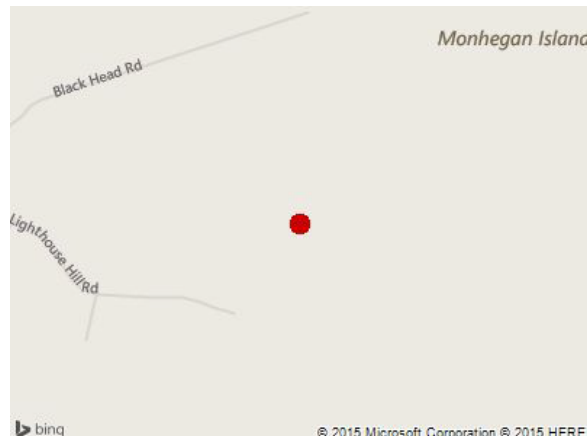
+\$185

Last 30 days



Price History

DATE	EVENT	PRICE	\$/SQFT	SOURCE
08/24/15	Listed for sale	\$550,000 -7.6%	\$436	Legacy Propert...
05/06/15	Listing removed	\$595,000	\$472	The Swan Agenc...
04/29/15	Listed for sale	\$595,000	\$472	The Swan Agenc...

**1 Lighthouse Rd, Monhegan Island Plt, ME 04852**

1 Lighthouse Rd,
Monhegan Island Plt, ME 04852

4 beds · 3 baths · 1,490 sqft

FOR SALE
\$500,000

Est. Mortgage
\$1,865/mo

Listed by:



Historic home of Dr. Alta Ashley and guest house in one property with 6 bedrooms and a sleeping loft and scenic views over the village to the water. Multiple decks create secluded outdoor spaces with beautiful views. Great opportunity for summer or year-round living, quiet location at the edge of the village. Lots of options - enjoy island living, use as rental property, or a combination.

FACTS

- Baths: 2 full, 1 half
- Lot: 0.25 acres
- Single Family
- Built in 1926
- 83 days on Zillow
- Views since listing: 643
- All time views: 978
- 3 shoppers saved this home
- Price/sqft: \$336
- MLS #: 1233286

ADDITIONAL FEATURES

- Age: Over 50 Years Old

CONSTRUCTION

- Roof type: Other
- Stories: 0
- Structure type: Other

OTHER

- Floor size: 1,490 sqft
- Last remodel year: 1926
- Zillow Home ID: 2103208615

Zestimate Details

Zestimate ?

\$381K

\$564K

\$482,137

Zestimate range

+\$0

Last 30 days

Rent Zestimate ?

\$1.6K

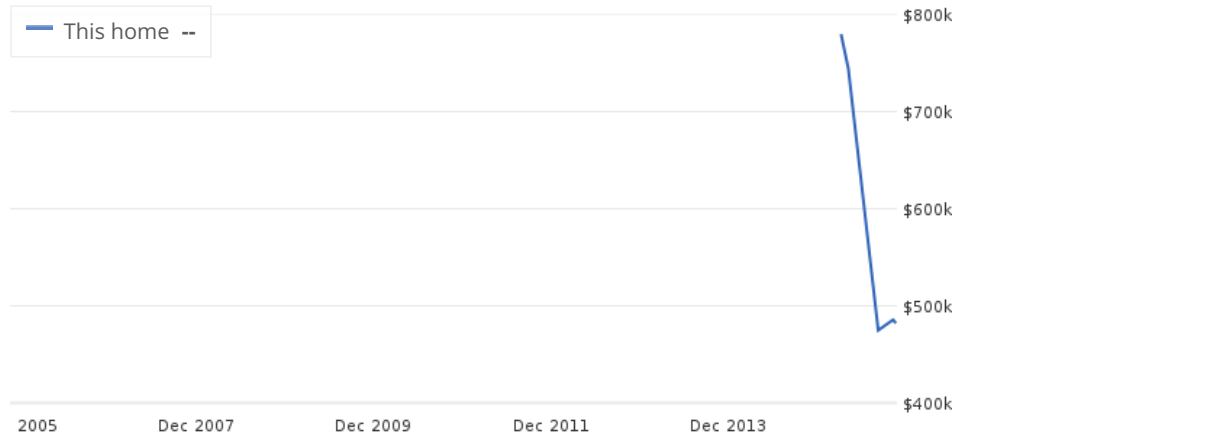
\$5.2K

\$2,950/mo

Zestimate range

+\$0

Last 30 days



Price History

DATE	EVENT	PRICE	\$/SQFT	SOURCE
08/24/15	Listed for sale	\$500,000 -39.4%	\$335	Better Homes &...
05/06/15	Listing removed	\$825,000	\$553	Legacy Propert...

Popularity on Zillow

643 views since listing
978 all-time ()

3 shoppers saved
this home to their list of favorites

Mortgages

HOME PRICE	DOWN PAYMENT	CREDIT SCORE	
\$500,000	\$100,000 20%	720-739	

★★★★☆ 4.6/5

1,710 Reviews

NMLS #66247

30 year fixed

3.875% APR

3.875% Rate · \$1,881/mo · \$1 in fees

Lowest APR & Fees (30yr)

[View details](#)

★★★★☆ 4.53/5

1,743 Reviews

NMLS #1071

30 year fixed

3.875% APR

3.875% Rate · \$1,881/mo · \$1 in fees

[View details](#)

★★★★★ 4.87/5

30 year fixed

3,536 Reviews

NMLS #409631

4.000% APR

4.000% Rate · \$1,910/mo · \$1 in fees

View details

[See all of your results](#)

Neighborhood: 04852

NEARBY [Walk Score®](#) **6** (Car-Dependent)

[Homes](#) [Map](#)

<

OFF MARKET

\$745,608

4 bds · 2.5 b...
0 day on Zillow · 5 Ice Pond Ln, Wisc...

35 photos

FOR SALE BY OWNER

4 bds · 1 ba · 1.2k sqft
0 day on Zillow · 111 Monhegan Ave...

See more nearby homes

>

Nearby Schools in Monhegan

SCHOOL RATING		GRADES		DISTANCE
NR	Monhegan Island School (assigned)	K, 6, 8	0.6 mi	
	<div>6</div> Friendship Village School	K-6	13.7 mi	out of 10
	<div>8</div> Boothbay Region High	9-12	20.9 mi	out of 10

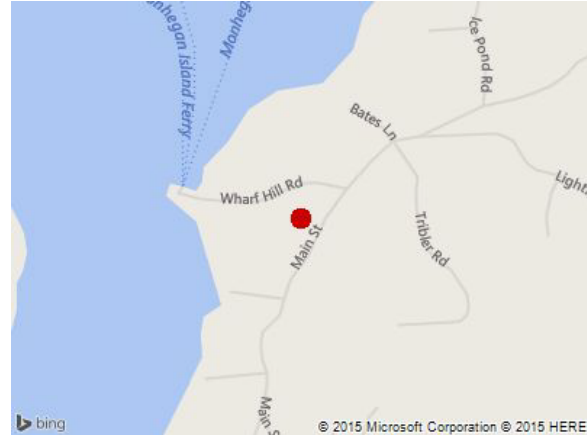
Data by [GreatSchools.org](#) ⓘ

Listing Provided by

Penney Read, [Better Homes and Gardens Real Estate The Masi](#), (207) 236-4777, Source: Better Homes and Gardens Real Estate



111 Monhegan Ave, Monhegan, ME 04852



111 Monhegan Ave,
Monhegan, ME 04852

4 beds • 1 bath • 1,152 sqft

FOR SALE BY OWNER

\$425,000

Zestimate®: \$436,588

Est. Mortgage

\$1,585/mo

A four bedroom, 1 bath, winterized single family home on Monhegan Island! This cozy 1152 sqft house with huge 22'x7' three season porch is located between the main dock and the center of town with views of the meadow and the historic Monhegan Light house. The 4700 sqft lot includes a shed, greenhouse, and chicken coop.

You will love the light in this house. High ceilings and plenty of windows give every room a feeling of spaciousness. This house is as solid as the rock it is built on....

FACTS

- Lot: 4,751 sqft
- Single Family
- Built in 1922
- 161 days on Zillow
- Views since listing: 5,591
- All time views: 5,592
- 30 shoppers saved this home
- Cooling: None
- Heating: Stove
- Price/sqft: \$369
- MLS #: 2572207

FEATURES

- Attic
- Double Pane/Storm Windows
- Flooring: Hardwood
- Greenhouse
- Parking: None
- Porch
- Unfinished basement, 576 sqft

ADDITIONAL FEATURES

- Meadow View
- Built in China Cabinet
- Handmade Sea Glass Shower
- Detached 10'x15' shed
- Detached 12'x12' greenhouse

APPLIANCES INCLUDED

- Range / Oven
- Refrigerator

ROOM TYPES

- Dining room
- Family room

Appendix F: Modular Home Builders

I have compiled a short list of modular or prefab housing builders. Each of these builders was selected because they offered attractive ‘green’ houses, a trait desired by MISCA. This list is not comprehensive nor does a builder’s inclusion on this list constitute an endorsement; this list is merely intended as a starting point for research and planning purposes.

Kezar Homes are ecofriendly and utilize passive solar for heating. Although small, the modular design permits later expansion. A reasonably-sized starter home can easily be built for less than \$100,000. Although based in Pennsylvania, the company states that manufacturing is subcontracted to a manufacturer closer to the build site. <http://www.kezarhomes.com/>

Deltec Homes designs some interesting looking houses, many of which are octagonal. <http://www.deltechomes.com/tiny-homes-diy/augusta/>

Shelter-Kit makes conventional houses in nearby New Hampshire. A 1500-square foot house would cost approximately \$57,000. <http://www.shelter-kit.com/>

GO Logic, based in Belfast, offers prefab green homes. Their prices are more expensive than most, but further investigation is probably worthwhile given their proximity. <http://www.gologic.us/>

BrightBuilt is based in Portland, and specializes in designing and building net-zero homes. The styles depicted tend to more conventional designs that are typically found in suburban areas. <http://brightbuilthome.com/>

Shelter + 7, inc., based in West Gardiner, was recently written up in the Kennebec Journal (<http://www.centralmaine.com/2016/04/15/inventor-launches-building-prototype-in-west-gardiner/>). Given the isolated locations of MISCA’s two lots, a pair of quonset huts could be a viable option. <http://www.archtypestructures.com/>