Chapter 5
A New and Different People: Sociodemographic Changes in Southwest Utah*

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Introduction

The western region of the United States has demonstrated the most rapid growth of any region over the entirety of the past century, experiencing very substantial population increases during both the nonmetropolitan turnaround of the 1970s and the rural rebound of 1990s (Fuguitt 1985; Johnson 1998). These recent changes have

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dramatically reshaped the face of the American West, to the point that a discourse of the New West has arisen to describe the transformation of the region's populations, economies, and cultures. Characterized by the meeting of "Cowboys and Cappuccino" (Rengert and Lang 2001), the prototypical New West populations of college-educated yuppies and retirees stand in sharp contrast to stereotypical Old West populations of ranchers, farmers, and miners. The Old West is characterized by images of cattle drives, ranchers, and rustic settlers, while the New West imagery highlights the rise of telecommuters, fleeing urbanites, and retirees bringing a metropolitan flavor and educated interests to rural western communities.

For communities experiencing the growth side of the rural paradox, the in-migration of new and seasonal residents to many locales across the American West has shifted the foundations of rural communities, changing their identity, structure, and relationship to natural resources and public lands. As we demonstrated in Chap. 4, New West communities exhibit higher educational attainment and income levels, much higher housing values, an abundance of seasonal homes, and increasing importance of service and professional employment.

In addition, there is a clear link between New West settings and the natural environments and public lands that characterize the region. New in-migrants are increasingly motivated by non-economic, quality-of-life factors as they make their decisions about where to settle (Daniels 1999; Fuguitt 1985; Garreau 1992; Halfacree and Boyle 1998; Kasarda 1995; Smutny 2002). Data considered in Chap. 3 show that areas such as the Basin and Range physiographic province, with large expanses of public land, beautiful natural environments, and vast areas available for a variety of outdoor recreation activities, have exhibited more rapid growth than other areas of the country (Williams and Jobes 1990; Rudzitis 1999; Beyers and Nelson 2000; Jones et al. 2003; McGranahan and Beale 2002; Beale and Johnson 2002).

As these transitions have taken place, new conceptions of the region's natural resources have also emerged, with consequences that have at times been contentious. Joseph Taylor (2004: par. 3) criticizes idealized conceptions of the New West and emphasizes the controversy of the changes that characterize the phenomenon:

> Although smart people hail the New West as a place where people and nature will thrive like never before, most changes reveal persisting weaknesses in environmental and social justice. Gentrification and recreational tourism, forces that are as fractured and diffuse as they are powerfully transformative, tear the social and cultural fabric of rural communities, and primarily minority and blue-collar residents feel the pain. The emphasis on New West environmental amenities also fueled a rush of exurban settlement that accelerated consumption of natural resources and fragmentation of ecosystems.

Although critics such as Taylor claim the New West categorization is often inappropriately idealized, it is clear that real changes in western communities have occurred. Today's growing western communities combine new condominium developments with historical ranching enterprises, contemporary gourmet restaurants with traditional general stores, and a legacy of utilitarian orientations toward natural resources and landscapes with increasing support for resource protection and preservation. Meanwhile, communities unable to make the shift to non-extractive

relationships with their natural amenities have typically fallen on the losing side of the rural paradox.

The purpose of this chapter is to highlight some of the key sociodemographic changes that have occurred in one portion of the Intermountain West where the kinds of change associated with a transition from Old West to New West are especially evident. Our focus is on a five-county area situated in southwest Utah that falls within portions of both the Basin and Range and Colorado Plateaus physiographic provinces. In shifting the level of analysis to this subregion, we can more clearly illuminate the ways in which social and demographic changes are reshaping communities in the New West/Old West dichotomy and begin to address the implications those changes hold for surrounding natural resources and public lands.

Study Area

In recent decades southwest Utah has undergone significant demographic, economic, social, and related land-use change. Greatly shaped by the natural landscape and large expanses of surrounding public lands, many rural areas in this subregion exhibit the kinds of transformations that are associated with the emergence of the New West.

The Ecological Setting

Our research is focused in an area of southern Utah that is comprised of Garfield, Iron, Kane, Washington, and Wayne counties (see Fig. 5.1). This study area, encompassing a total land area of 17,351 square miles, represents a unique ecological setting in which natural landscapes and ecological characteristics have substantially shaped human settlement and activities over time. Iron and Washington counties lie within the Basin and Range physiographic province introduced in Chap. 3, while Garfield, Kane, and Wayne are part of the Colorado Plateaus province. The region is defined by distinct and highly variable physical characteristics – geology, soil, water regimes, and habitat structures – that inspired awe and wonder on the part of John Wesley Powell and other early Euro-American explorers, and continue to attract hundreds of thousands of visitors who travel through the region each year.

The eastern and northeastern portions of the study area, comprised by Garfield, Kane, and Wayne counties, are bounded on the east by Canyonlands National Park, the Colorado River, and Lake Powell. This high-desert region, part of the Colorado Plateaus geographical province, encompasses natural landscapes that range from red rock deserts and deep slot canyons to heavily forested, snowcapped mountains. The Colorado, Green, Fremont, Sevier, and Escalante Rivers weave their way across this high-plateau country and have shaped the nature of the human activity and settlement across both prehistoric and historic time.

Western and southwestern portions of the study area are encompassed by Washington and Iron counties. Washington County, often referred to as “Utah’s

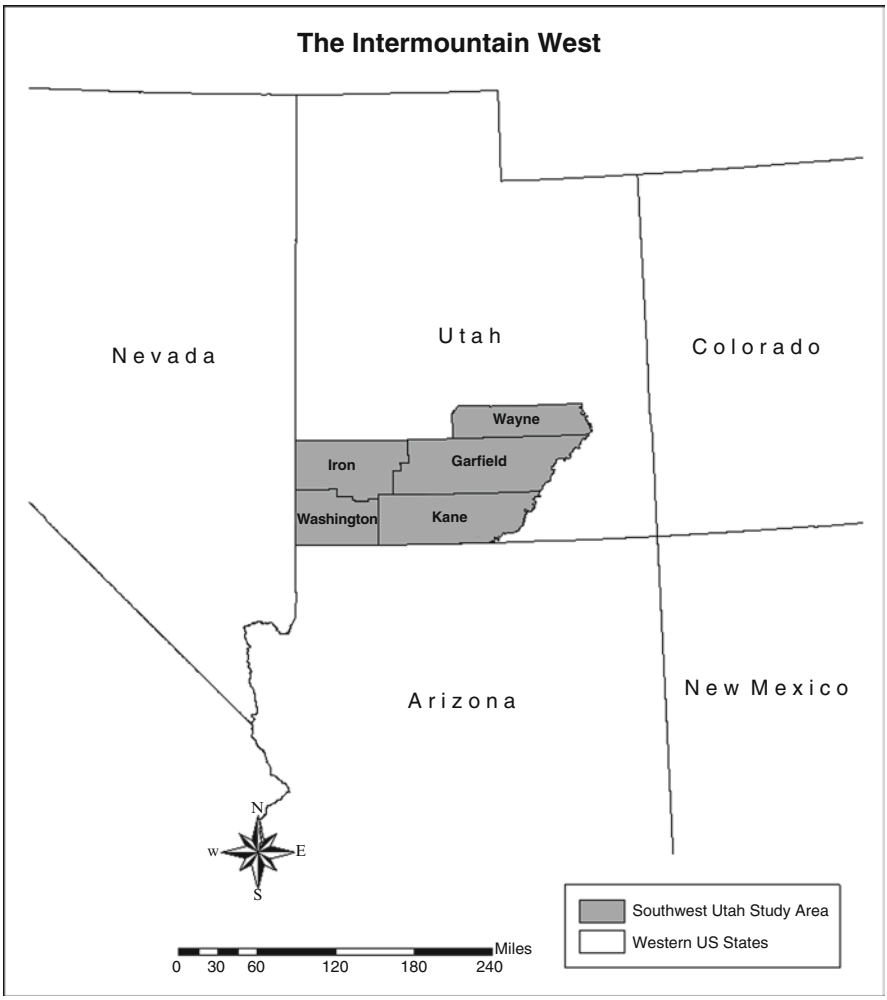

Fig. 5.1 Location of the Southwest Utah Study Area

Dixie," is located in the extreme southwestern corner of the state, straddling the boundary between the Colorado Plateaus and the Basin and Range geographic provinces.

Characterized by lower elevations and much higher aridity than other parts of the study area, Washington County is home to a rapidly growing urbanized area to the south of Zion National Park centered around St. George, a small but rapidly growing city. The Virgin River and its tributaries pass through the county before flowing on toward Lake Mead and the Colorado River, providing water resources that have been and remain crucial to human activity and settlement.

To the north of Washington County lies Iron County. Western portions of the county encompass the Escalante Desert, an expanse of low-elevation arid lands

where sparse native vegetation gives way in some places to extensive green fields of irrigated alfalfa. Eastern portions of the county include the high-elevation landscapes of the Markagunt Plateau, including Cedar Breaks National Monument, the Brian Head ski resort, vast tracts of forested lands within the Dixie National Forest, and alpine peaks approaching 10,000 ft in elevation.

The flora and fauna of the study area are as varied as its landscapes. Sandy, nutrient-limited soils combined with sparse precipitation throughout much of the subregion support limited vegetative cover in many lower-elevation areas, with extensive expanses of arid and semi-arid rangelands covered by sagebrush, bitterbrush, rabbitbrush, native grasses, and other native plants as well as invasive vegetation such as cheatgrass. Pinion-juniper forests along with sagebrush-grassland vegetation characterize middle-elevation areas. Higher-elevation areas receiving more precipitation are characterized by a patchwork of pine and fir forests, deciduous forests dominated by aspen, and alpine grasslands. Large outwash plains at the base of mountainous areas contain native sagebrush-grassland communities interspersed with areas of irrigated pasture and agricultural lands.

Mule deer and elk abound in large numbers in higher-elevation habitats, while pronghorn antelope are prevalent in more localized, lower-elevation areas. Smaller populations of desert bighorn sheep occupy portions of the high desert and canyon lands, and a small population of free-roaming bison populates a mixture of high desert and alpine landscapes within and surrounding Capitol Reef National Park. A diversity of smaller mammal species, birds, and reptiles frequent the region, including several threatened and endangered species such as the desert tortoise, Utah prairie dog, and Mexican spotted owl.

Social Setting

The five counties selected for in-depth analysis were chosen because of the presence of extensive federal lands and high levels of natural resource amenities, factors that have influenced both long-term development trends and recent population growth patterns. As we highlighted at the end of Chap. 4, there are places scattered across this portion of the Intermountain West that represent the full spectrum of New West and Old West contexts. In addition to substantial growth in the numbers of year-round residents, portions of the study area have attracted large numbers of part-time residents occupying seasonal and vacation homes. Many in-migrants as well as seasonal residents originate from major metropolitan centers in the surrounding region, in particular Salt Lake City, Las Vegas, and portions of southern California. Culturally, the study area is included in what has been referred to as the "Mormon Culture Region" (Yorgasen 2003). With over three-fourths of the Utah population identified as Latter-day Saints (Grammich 2004) and with the heritage of Mormon settlement and ideology contributing to a climate of social and political conservatism, the social context of the study area presents a setting in which the consequences of amenity-driven growth and change

have considerable potential to generate the sort of "culture clash" others have suggested may accompany the arrival of new populations with differing values, beliefs, and behavior patterns.

Wayne County, located in the northern-most portion of the Southwestern Utah study area, is home to parts of the Dixie and Fishlake National Forests, Capitol Reef National Park, and Glen Canyon National Recreation Area. Almost 86% of the county's land area is in federal ownership. The county's relatively small population (2,509 total residents in 2000) is concentrated in a cluster of small towns scattered east-to-west along an approximately 15 mile-long segment of State Highway 24 in the western portion of the county. The county seat of Loa, located in the western portion of this corridor, was the largest population center in the county in 2000 with only 525 residents. Like Loa, the nearby small towns of Fremont, Lyman, and Bicknell retain much of their historical character associated with a heritage of small-scale farming, ranching, and logging on surrounding public lands. Farther east are the towns of Torrey and Teasdale, "gateway" communities on the western edge of Capitol Reef National Park where substantial development of seasonal homes and increased evidence of tourism-oriented businesses and services are transforming the character of both the human community and surrounding landscapes. For Wayne County as a whole, employment in 2000 was dominated by the "other services" (including educational, health, social, and recreation) category (44%); followed by agriculture, forestry, fishing, and mining (16%); construction (11.5%); retail trade (8.4%); and public administration (7.4%). The county is heavily Mormon, with an estimated 86% of the population identified as members of the LDS church in 1990 (http://www.adherents.com/largecom/com_lds.html).

Garfield County, located in central southern Utah, is home to a portion of the Grand Staircase-Escalante National Monument as well as portions of the Dixie National Forest, Capitol Reef National Park, Bryce Canyon National Park, and Glen Canyon National Recreation Area. In combination, public land holdings comprise 90% of the county's total land base. The area was originally occupied by prehistoric Sevier, Fremont, and Anasazi Indian populations, and subsequently by Southern Paiute and Ute Indians who were quickly displaced following the initiation of white settlement during the 1860s and 1870s. The county had only 4,735 residents in 2000, with the largest population located in the county seat of Panguitch (population 1,623). Other areas of population concentration include the small towns of Escalante and Boulder, both located in areas encompassed by the Grand Staircase-Escalante National Monument, and the towns of Tropic, Henrieville, and Cannonville near Bryce Canyon National Park. Although cattle ranching and lumber production have historically been the two most important industries in Garfield County, those economic sectors exhibited substantial declines in recent decades. At the same time, employment in the services sector, fueled in large part by an expansion of tourism and recreation-based businesses, has exhibited substantial growth, comprising nearly one-half (48%) of employment among Garfield county residents in 2000. Approximately 86% of county residents were members of the LDS church in 1990 (http://www.adherents.com/largecom/com_lds.html).

Kane County is located in southernmost Utah, bordered on the south by Arizona. The county encompasses a majority of the Grand Staircase-Escalante National Monument, a substantial portion of Glen Canyon National Recreation Area and Lake Powell, as well as smaller portions of the Dixie National Forest and Zion National Park. In total, 85% of the county's land area is federally owned and managed. Some early Euro-American settlements were established but later abandoned in the 1860s, followed by permanent settlement of Kanab, the county seat, in 1870. With a 2000 population of 3,564, the city of Kanab represents the primary population center in Kane County, accounting for approximately 59% of the county's 6,046 residents in that year. Other smaller areas of population concentration include the towns of Glendale, Orderville, and Mt. Carmel, all located north of Kanab along U.S. Highway 89, once the major north-south travel route through Utah prior to the construction of Interstate 15. Bigwater, a small residential enclave initially established in the 1950s during the construction of Glen Canyon Dam, is located to the east of Kanab. Historically, farming and ranching have dominated Kane County's economy, although as early as the 1920s and 1930s Kanab began to emerge as a tourist center for visitors to nearby national parks such as Bryce, Zion, and Grand Canyon. Kanab is also home to the regional office of the Bureau of Land Management, which has management responsibilities for vast tracts of public land that attract recreational visitors to the area, including the Grand Staircase-Escalante National Monument. As with other counties in the study area, Kane County's economy has come to be increasingly dominated by the educational, health, social, and recreational service categories, with the "other services" sector that encompasses these categories comprising over 43% of resident employment in 2000. Kane County has the highest proportion of LDS members in the study area, with approximately 89% of residents identified as members of the Mormon Church in 1990 (http://www.adherents.com/largecom/com_lds.html).

Iron County, named for iron ore deposits in the area, is situated in the western portion of southern Utah, bordering Nevada on its western edge. First occupied by Euro-Americans when Mormon settlers arrived in 1851, the county is home to a large portion of the Dixie National Forest, as well as the Brian Head ski resort and Cedar Breaks National Monument. Public lands administered primarily by the USDA Forest Service, the Bureau of Land Management, and the National Park Service comprise approximately 57% of the county's total land area. In 2000, the county had a population of 33,779 residents, a majority of whom lived in Cedar City (population 20,257) or in nearby small towns such as Parowan (the county seat), Paragonah, Enoch, and Kanarraville, all located north and south of Cedar City along the Interstate 15 highway corridor. Locational advantages associated with this interstate highway corridor along with a concentration of employment and economic activity in Cedar City (home to the Dixie National Forest supervisor's office and Southern Utah State University) have produced a more diversified economy than is typical in much of southern Utah. In recent decades, traditional employment concentrations in agriculture, forestry, and mining have given way to a wider distribution of employment, with some concentrations in educational, health, social, recreational, and other services; professional services; retail trade;

and manufacturing. Like the rest of the study area, LDS culture is still dominant in the county; approximately 77% of Iron County residents were members of the LDS church in 1990 (http://www.adherents.com/largecom/com_lds.html).

Washington County, located in the extreme southwestern corner of Utah, is bordered by Nevada to the west and Arizona to the south. Three-fourths of the county's land area is in federal ownership, including substantial portions of the Dixie National Forest, virtually all of Zion National Park, and vast tracts administered by the Bureau of Land Management. Mormon settlers first occupied St. George, the county seat, in 1861. The county has experienced explosive population growth since the 1960s, much of it spurred by retirement-age in-migration. The majority of this growth has centered in urbanized areas in and surrounding St. George. By 2000, the Washington County population had grown to over 90,000 residents (90,345), concentrated primarily in St. George (49,663 residents) and nearby smaller cities such as Santa Clara and Washington. An additional area of more modest population concentration occurs northeast of St. George along the Virgin River corridor, where the small towns of Hurricane, La Verkin, Virgin, Rockville, and the "gateway" town of Springdale are scattered along State Highway 9 leading toward and into Zion National Park. An area of substantial seasonal home development is located north of St. George in portions of the Pine Valley area, where private lands are interspersed within parts of the Dixie National Forest. Although agriculture formed the economic backbone of Washington County in its early years, the metropolitan area centered on St. George has developed a highly diversified economy in recent decades. Major areas of employment concentration now include the educational, health, social, and recreational services (37% of employment in 2000), retail trade (17%); construction (13%); and transportation/warehouse facilities (9%). In 1990, approximately 78% of Washington County residents were members of the Mormon Church (http://www.adherents.com/largecom/com_lds.html).

Data and Analytic Approach

In order to describe New West qualities in southwest Utah, we analyze U.S. Decennial Census data for the five study area counties using an approach that parallels the strategies used in Chap. 3 to assess regional-level change patterns. We begin by examining sociodemographic changes that occurred between 1970 and 2000 at the county level. Next, we compare characteristics of recent in-migrants (people who moved into the five-county region from another county between 1995 and 2000) to longer-term residents.

We look at changing demographics at the county level, because county boundaries are stable over time and historical data are readily available. Here, we examine changes in population and housing, migration patterns, and socioeconomic characteristics of populations. Data are drawn from Summary File 1 (100% sample) of the U.S. Decennial Census 1970–2000 to describe population change and housing

development. In addition, we look at net-migration patterns from 1950 to 2000, to explore migration's impact on population change. The migration data we use are derived in a working paper by Paul Voss et al. (2004) using the formula:

Starting Census Population + Births – Deaths = "Expected" End Population

Net Migration = Census End Population – "Expected" End Population

The input data for this formula come from a combination of adjusted Census data from each decade and from birth and death data from the National Center for Health Statistics (NCHS). Finally, we use Decennial Census data from 1990 to 2000 (Summary File 1 and Summary File 3) to examine changes in seasonal housing, industry of employment, and housing values. Specifically, we describe the percent of all housing units that are for seasonal or recreational use, the percent of all workers aged 16 and over employed in specific industries, and the median value of specified owner-occupied housing units.

To compare characteristics of recent in-migrants to those of longer-term residents, we use data from Census 2000 County-to-County Migration Files. Recent in-migrants moved into one of the southwest Utah counties between 1995 and 2000 from another county, another state, or from abroad. Longer-term residents lived in the same county in 1995 as they did in 2000. We compare these two groups in terms of age structure, median household income, percent of people aged 25 or older with a 4-year college degree, and industry of employment.

Analysis Results

The Five-County Sociodemographic Landscape

The southwest Utah study area grew substantially in population during the period 1970–2000, with the population of the combined five-county area increasing from 32,907 to 137,423 residents, an increase of nearly 318%. Although each of the five counties contributed to this overall growth, Washington and Iron counties experienced the most growth over this time period. Indeed, by 2000 these two counties accounted for over 90% of the study area population.

There are a number of noteworthy spatial variations with respect to social, demographic, and ecological conditions as we look from east to west across the study area. Among those differences are substantial variations in growth rates across time. The most rapid rates of population increase have occurred in the two western counties; during the 1990s the populations of Washington County and Iron County increased by 86% and 62%, respectively. Those increases are roughly three to four times the rate of increase observed in Kane (17%), Garfield (19%), and Wayne (15%) counties, all located in the eastern section of our study area and in the Colorado Plateaus physiographic province. By comparison, the statewide population of Utah grew by 30% over the same time period (Table 5.1).

Table 5.1 Population and migration trends in the southwest Utah study area

	Population						Projected population	
	1970	1980	1990	2000	2003	2005	2010	2020
Garfield County	3,157	3,673	3,980	4,735	4,532	4,869	5,332	6,196
Iron County	12,177	17,349	20,789	33,779	36,310	36,457	40,696	48,954
Kane County	2,421	4,024	5,169	6,046	5,937	6,907	8,272	13,628
Washington County	13,669	26,065	48,560	90,354	105,702	109,776	131,880	177,354
Wayne County	1,483	1,911	2,177	2,509	2,487	2,819	3,256	4,286
State of Utah	1,059,273	1,461,037	1,722,850	2,233,169	2,385,358	2,464,633	2,787,670	3,371,071
	Absolute change (1990–2000)	% change (1990–2000)	Absolute change (2000–2003)	% change (2000–2003)	Net migration (2000–2003)	Projected change (2005–2010)	% change (2005–2010)	Projected change (2010–2020)
Garfield County	755	19.00	(231.00)	–4.80	–196	463	9.50	864
Iron County	12,990	62.50	2231.00	6.50	1,054	4,239	11.60	8,258
Kane County	877	17.00	(100.00)	–1.70	–243	1,365	19.80	5,356
Washington County	41,794	86.10	14598.00	16.00	12,791	22,104	20.10	45,474
Wayne County	332	15.30	(28.00)	–1.10	–90	437	15.50	1,030
State of Utah	510,319	29.60	152189.00	6.20	50,067	323,037	13.10	583,401

Population count data are from U.S. Census Bureau (2000)
Projected population data are from the Utah Governor's Office of Planning and Budget, Demographic and Economic Analysis

In addition to this variation in overall population growth experienced across the five-county study area, the nature and composition of the growth have also varied considerably. The three eastern counties experienced a loss of population in the 20–30 age group during this time period, while attracting in-migrants primarily in the working age and retirement age categories. In contrast, Iron County and Washington County are marked by an in-migration of young adults, no doubt reflecting in large part the presence of state-supported colleges in Cedar City and St. George. Both also experienced in-migration that was fairly evenly distributed across the working age categories. At the same time, Washington County's in-migration favored the 60 and older age category, reflecting the popularity of "Utah's Dixie" as a retirement destination.

As we noted in Chap. 4 housing stock and associated housing development, especially new construction, are among the indicators of social change associated with amenity-rich rural regions and with the emergence of the New West. Across the southwest Utah study area new construction and new residential developments dot the countryside. Data reported in Table 5.2 depict housing development trends and changes in the five counties from 1960 to 2000. The three eastern counties experienced the smallest percentage of new construction during the period but reported substantial new construction from 1990 to 2000, with increases ranging between 11% and 25%. Nevertheless the western portion of the study area remained the magnet for housing growth, with total housing units increasing by approximately 60% in Iron County and nearly 87% in Washington County during that single decade.

Like the Basin and Range and Colorado Plateaus provinces generally, growth in the number of seasonal homes in the study area has been also been dramatic. Since 1990, the number of seasonal homes has increased by over 41% in the five-county area, with Washington, Wayne, and Iron counties experiencing the most seasonal housing growth (61%, 50% and 30%, respectively). Garfield and Kane counties also witnessed growth in seasonal housing during this period, although total percentage gains were considerably smaller (see Table 5.3). These new dwellings are usually larger and more elaborate than previous local construction. New migrants come to the country with more money to invest in housing, and seasonal residents typically prefer upscale living and modern conveniences in their vacation properties. While both new housing construction and growth in the number of seasonal homes occurred most extensively in the two counties located in the western portion of the study area during the 1990s, all counties saw their median housing value increase by 66–80% in that decade (see Table 5.3).

Net in-migration of new residents to southwest Utah is only part of the story. Not only are more people moving into the area and expanding the population, these new residents are changing the sociodemographic composition and character of communities throughout the area. The population is not just growing; it is changing in important ways. Tourism-related employment in the arts, entertainment, recreation, and accommodation and food service industries is an important component of how the composition of the social composition in these counties is changing. In addition, it is important to note that employment in extractive industries such as agriculture,

Table 5.2 Housing unit growth in the southwest Utah study area, 1960–2002

	Housing units					
	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	2002
Garfield County	1,336	1,216	1,770	2,488	2,767	2,896
Iron County	3,269	3,728	6,248	8,499	13,618	14,461
Kane County	940	1,026	2,186	3,237	3,767	3,967
Washington County	3,299	4,387	9,723	19,523	36,478	40,148
Wayne County	591	556	848	1,061	1,329	1,360
State of Utah	262,670	315,765	490,006	598,388	768,594	808,593
	Absolute change (1970–2000)	% change (1970–2000)	Absolute change (1990–2000)	% change (1990–2000)	Absolute change (2000–2002)	% change (2000–2002)
Garfield County	1,551	127.50	279	11.20	129	4.70
Iron County	9,890	265.30	5,119	60.20	843	6.20
Kane County	2,741	267.20	530	16.40	200	5.30
Washington County	32,091	731.50	16,955	86.80	3,670	10.10
Wayne County	773	139.00	268	25.30	31	2.30
State of Utah	452,829	143.40	170,206	28.40	39,999	5.20

Data are from U.S. Census Bureau (2000)

Table 5.3 Socioeconomic characteristics of populations in the southwest Utah study area, 1990–2000

	Seasonal housing		Migrant from diff. MSA (%)		Median income ($)		Median housing value ($)	
	1990	2000	1985–1990	1995–2000	1990	2000	1990	2000
Garfield County	923	965	9.60	10.70	21,160	35,180	50,400	90,500
Iron County	1,533	1,986	18.30	21.70	23,185	33,114	63,300	112,000
Kane County	1,214	1,256	11.90	12.90	21,134	34,247	62,600	103,900
Washington County	2,708	4,364	22.60	24.40	24,602	37,212	78,300	139,800
Wayne County	207	309	9.60	15.20	20,000	32,000	53,700	97,600
State of Utah	21,023	29,685	10.80	13.30	29,470	45,726	68,700	146,100

	% with 4-year college degree		Extractive industry (%)		Tourism[a] industry (%)		Tourism (2)[a] industry (%)	Housing cost burden (%)
	1990	2000	1990	2000	1990	2000	2000	2000
Garfield County	15.00	20.30	11.40	9.70	0.30	4.30	25.60	15.20
Iron County	21.90	23.80	7.50	4.30	0.60	1.30	10.40	25.30
Kane County	11.80	21.10	6.10	5.60	0.30	5.10	18.90	17.00
Washington Co.	17.70	21.00	4.60	1.10	1.10	2.70	12.90	23.10
Wayne County	20.00	20.90	22.30	16.00	0.10	3.50	15.30	17.40
State of Utah	22.30	26.10	3.70	1.90	1.50	1.50	8.00	19.10

[a]The Census Bureau calculated tourism industry components differently in 1990 and 2000. The "Tourism Industry" numbers presented here represent the percentage of all employed persons age 16 and older who worked in Arts, Entertainment and Recreation Services. The data presented in the column labeled "Tourism (2) Industry" for 2000 include employment in that sector as well as employment in the Accommodations and Food Services sector

forestry, and mining declined in all five counties during the period 1990–2000, continuing a longstanding transformation leaving even areas that retain many Old West characteristics less and less economically reliant on these traditional commodity-production activities. During the same period, employment in the tourism and service sector increased substantially in each of the study area counties. However, there is once again evidence of considerable spatial variation across the study area with respect to such change. When we include employment in the accommodations and food services sector as a component of overall tourism-related employment (Tourism (2) in Table 5.3), it is clear that the three counties located in eastern portions of the study area had the highest percentage of workers in this category in 2000.

Along with changing employment patterns, the five counties have also experienced increasing wealth among residents, and growth in the number of residents with a college education. Between 1990 and 2000 the median income in all five counties rose, on average, by 50%, though median incomes of residents in 2000 did not vary widely across the five counties. The percent of the population with a 4-year college education increased in all five counties from 1990 to 2000, with particularly substantial change occurring in Garfield and Kane counties (see Table 5.3). Taken as a whole, these significant changes in the social, economic, and demographic character of the five study area counties reflect the patterns of change seen in other amenity-rich areas of the Intermountain West discussed in previous chapters.

New Migrants and Longer-Term Residents

To what extent are these patterns of community change occurring as a result of new residents moving to the study area? Are new residents dramatically different from those who have lived in the area longer? To better understand the changing nature of the people and places in southwest Utah, we compared recent in-migrants (1995–2000) to longer-term residents on a number of personal sociodemographic characteristics (Table 5.4).

Across all five counties, the average age of new in-migrants was younger than that of longer-term residents. The average age of the new in-migrants to Garfield and Wayne County was 35 years, compared to 38 years in Kane and Washington counties. In-migrants to Iron County were considerably younger, with a mean age of just 28 years, a reflection of the influence of student populations attending the state university located in Cedar City. In all counties the average age of longer-term residents was older than that of new in-migrants. New in-migrants were also much more likely to be college educated than longer-term residents, especially in the three rural counties located in the eastern portion of the study area. In Garfield County, for example, 30% of recent in-migrants had a college education, compared to just 18% of longer-term residents. The differences were even greater in Wayne County, where 36% of new in-migrants had a college education compared to only 16% of longer-term residents.

Table 5.4 Selected sociodemographic characteristics of recent in-migrants vs. longer-term residents

	Recent in-migrants							
	Demographics			Socioeconomics			Industry	
	No. of in-migrants	% of population	Average age	% college	% low income	% high income	% extractive	% professional
Garfield County	948	21.90	35.2	29.60	15.10	25.60	7.90	4.70
Iron County	10,805	35.30	28.4	23.70	9.00	38.00	4.00	12.60
Kane County	1,695	30.10	38.0	26.40	8.40	23.50	3.80	4.90
Washington County	26,656	32.50	38.7	23.60	16.10	24.10	0.80	8.50
Wayne County	570	24.80	35.5	36.00	19.30	28.10	9.00	2.90
Southwest Utah	40,674	32.50	35.8	24.10	27.80	14.00	2.20	9.40
	Longer-term residents							
	Demographics			Socioeconomics			Industry	
	No. of longer-term	% of population	Average age	% college	% low income	% high income	% extractive	% professional
Garfield County	3337	77.10	39.5	17.60	13.90	21.10	10.20	1.90
Iron County	19,326	63.20	35.8	23.60	18.30	22.60	4.40	6.60
Kane County	3,883	68.90	42.3	18.00	13.70	25.60	6.50	3.30
Washington County	54,180	66.00	39.0	19.60	20.00	19.60	1.20	5.90
Wayne County	1,717	74.70	39.8	15.90	10.90	29.30	18.90	1.60
Southwest Utah	82,443	66.00	38.4	20.30	20.80	18.90	3.10	5.70

Data are from U.S. Census Bureau (2000)

While extractive occupations continued to attract a few new workers, the proportion of longer-term residents employed in the extractive industries was considerably higher than the proportion of new in-migrants employed in that sector across all five of the study area counties. This difference was most substantial in Wayne County, where the percentage of longer-term residents employed in the extractive sector was more than double the percentage among new in-migrants. In addition, the proportion of new in-migrants employed in professional occupations exceeded the proportion of longer-term residents in similar occupations in each of the counties. Overall, these comparisons indicate that as a group new in-migrants are significantly different from their longer-term neighbors: they are younger, more highly educated, and more likely to be engaged in professional occupations than longer-term residents of southwest Utah. In light of these differences there can be little doubt that the ongoing arrival of substantial numbers of new residents to these counties is transforming the social landscape of this amenity-rich area.

Conclusions

In this chapter we narrowed our focus to examine social and demographic change in one five-county area of southwest Utah. We have examined population, housing, employment, and educational changes across the five-county area, and compared key social characteristics (such as age, industry of employment, and education) between new in-migrants and longer-term residents. Our results illustrate the significant demographic changes that have occurred in this area, and the important differences that have emerged between recently arrived and longer-term residents. Like the Intermountain West region generally, the southwest Utah study area has experienced dramatic demographic changes and the emergence of a new population base. New in-migrants to the area tend to be younger, and they are more highly educated, have higher incomes, and are more likely to be employed in professional occupations than their longer-term counterparts. These important differences between groups of residents have the potential to lead to increasing social tensions and shifting patterns of community engagement as status differentials and social polarization become increasingly likely. These same problems can be exacerbated by growth in the numbers of seasonal residents, who are likely to exhibit characteristics more similar to those of newer residents than to longer-term residents, and who may also exhibit fewer and weaker ties and obligations to their neighbors or the local community. These circumstances are certainly not unique to the five-county study area. Indeed, they are indicative of phenomena being experienced in rural areas throughout the United States (Salamon 2003) and especially in some areas of the Intermountain West (Smith and Krannich 2000). These issues will be addressed in greater detail in Chap. 7.

Because these communities are so closely tied to surrounding public lands and the natural landscapes and resources those lands contain, the implications of these change patterns extend well beyond the social structures of rural towns and small

communities. Public land managers, including park and forest supervisors and game wardens, can no longer hope to manage the resources in their care simply by concentrating decision making and policy solely with regard to the natural resources situated within the boundaries of a particular monument, park, forest, or refuge. Social and ecological change at the landscape level in which a protected area exists may provide clues as to imminent change in the protected area itself. As we will detail in Chap. 6, the rapid growth and dramatic changes occurring across southwestern Utah can significantly impact the ways in which public lands are used and valued by area residents, with important implications for resource conditions and for resource management practices.