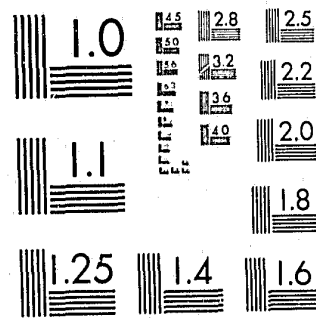


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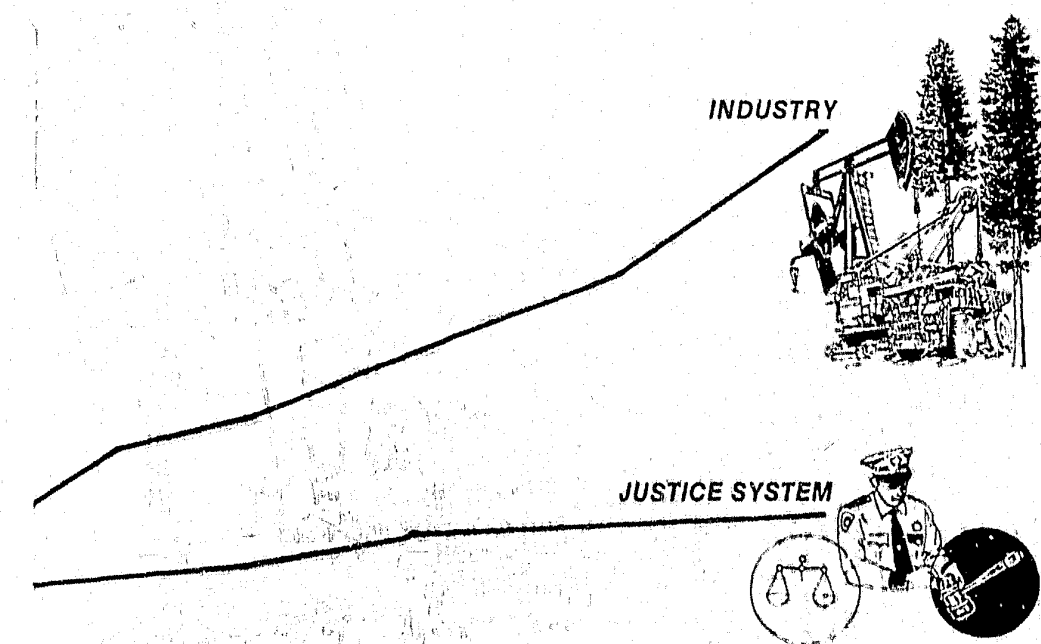
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THE IMPACT OF NATURAL RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT ON THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM

SUMMARY
REPORT

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SUMMARY
THE IMPACT OF NATURAL RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT
ON THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM

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This is a summary report of a document entitled The Impact of Natural Resource Development on the Criminal Justice System. This summary report and the original document were the result of a joint effort by the Montana Board of Crime Control and the Montana Coal Board. While individuals may take the responsibility for compiling information and reporting its content, his or her activities are assisted, corrected, and frequently challenged by the thoughtful review, questioning, and commentary of others. This project was fortunate to have the active participation and guidance of the Montana Board of Crime Control's Subcommittee on Impact Mitigation, members of the Crime Control Division, and staff from both the Coal and Hardrock Mining Boards. Special appreciation is extended to Mr. Bill Gould, Subcommittee Chairman; Ms. Carol Ferguson, Administrative Officer for the Montana Hardrock Mining Board; Mr. Mike Lavin, administrator of the Crime Control Division; and Mr. Bob Ash, Rosebud County Sheriff. Any deficiencies, errors or omissions in the report are those of the author.

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AND
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THE PROJECT

Montana's evolution is a history of the causes and consequences of natural resource development. The state was opened to habitation by the fur trapper, settled by the miner, and sustained by the farmer, cattleman, and logger.

In 1968, Western Energy, a wholly owned subsidiary of the Montana Power Company, reactivated the Rosebud Coal Mine near Colstrip, Montana. That act augured the emergence of a new period in the development of Montana's natural resources and with it, a new stage in the state's economy and a change in the lifestyle of many of its people. The reopening of the Rosebud Mine also coincided with a growing national and statewide concern with environmental protection. Cognizant of Montana's experiences with resource development in the past and wary of the specter of the state serving as a "boiler room for the nation", the state legislature enacted a series of restrictive statutes to regulate the siting and development of resource based industries in Montana to protect both the natural and human environment, and to mitigate the adverse consequences of industrialization.

During the past several years, the Montana Board of Crime Control has become increasingly concerned about reported changes in the level of criminal activity and lack of direction in criminal justice planning in communities experiencing natural resource development. In the summer of 1982 a subcommittee was appointed to examine the Board's concerns. In turn, the subcommittee retained the services of a consultant to prepare a handbook and audiovisual program. Both sets of materials were intended to train criminal justice system personnel and inform state and local government officials, legislators, social service agency personnel and the general public of the problems and needs of the criminal justice system in development situations from "boom" to "bust." The Montana Coal Board provided a grant to the Board of Crime Control to assist with the preparation and dissemination of the project materials.

Information for the handbook and audiovisual program was gathered from 1) a literature review principally of documents examining the effects of resource development, rural industrialization, and social change; 2) field observation including visits to five Montana and Idaho counties experiencing some phase of resource development; 3) personal interviews with state and local officials, knowledgeable citizens, and members of the criminal justice system; and 4) statistical reports including indicators of economic and social change, measurements of deviance, and social service and court caseloads. Whenever possible, the statistical data was collected for the period 1970 through 1982 to show long-term trends and expedite comparisons of pre- and post development periods.

MONTANA SETTLEMENT AND THE MINING FRONTIER

Until the 1860's, Montana was the province of the Indian, fur trapper, explorer, and occasional missionary. The gold rush was the impetus for settlement in Montana. Over the next forty years Montana experienced successive waves of mineral development; first silver, then copper, and finally coal to fuel the smelters processing the state's other mineral riches. Mining provided a market for agriculture, initially in the Deer Lodge, Gallatin, and Bitterroot Valleys where cattle herds were grazed to supply the miners. The timber industry grew from a demand for mine timbers and building materials in the mining camps. The first customers of the fledgling electric utilities were the mines and smelters. The railroads that opened eastern and northern Montana to the cattleman and homesteader, first served mining. "Indeed, it is not an overstatement to assert that gold is the cornerstone which underlies Montana's foundations."

The gold discovered at Bannack in 1862 had been hardly weighed at the assay office before road agents started liberating it from its rightful owners. Hurdy-Gurdy houses, saloons, and gambling casinos soon opened to entertain the off-duty miner. The reign of lawlessness was short-lived. Vigilance committees were formed in several mining camps. The Vigilantes hung two dozen road agents, among them a gang headed by Sheriff Henry Plummer, banished others from the Territory, and returned criminal justice administration to the hands of the federal courts in 1864.

Butte and Helena were the only Montana mining camps to make the transition to town and then city. Helena was sustained by commerce and government after the gold played out; Butte by the immense reserves of copper, zinc, manganese, and other base metals beneath its streets. Both cities were atypical among Montana's mining towns. Most suffered the fate of Elkhorn, Granite, Electric, Castle, and Bannack, to name a few. There, the minerals were either depleted or their extraction rendered uneconomical and the mines were closed, the workforces migrated, and the towns abandoned. In those communities, the "boom-bust" cycle was played through to its completion, in some cases within a matter of months, in others over a much longer period of time.

Perhaps because of its romantic, if not sordid history, and the visible relics in the form of ghost towns, abandoned mines and mills, the "boom-bust" cycle appears most commonly associated with mining. It shouldn't be. Historically, in Montana and elsewhere, it has been part and parcel of all resource extractive industries as well as some that are not, including tourism, manufacturing, and governmental facilities. The greatest boom and bust in Montana history did not occur in either mining or timber but agriculture. Between 1900 and 1920, the number of farms in eastern Montana increased from 7,000 to 46,000 and the

¹A combination saloon, dancehall, and brothel.

MONTANA RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT

Montana's natural resource base is immense but, in itself, the scale of available resources is insufficient to assure their development. Much of Montana's resource base consists of low-grade material, found in remote locations, difficult to extract, and generally uneconomical to develop. During the past decade and despite the attention generated by energy development, the actual production level of Montana's four major natural resources -- copper, coal, oil, and timber -- shows a mixed pattern; coal production has increased, copper and oil have declined, while the timber harvest has remained relatively stable. The prospect of continued resource development in Montana is real but it likely will proceed at a pace much slower than anticipated in the 1970s. At the same time, other Montana communities may undergo economic decline.

During the Boom

The term "boomtown" casts a powerful image. It tends to portray a scene in which small, isolated rural towns experience rapid population growth; housing is in short supply and row upon row of trailer houses shelter the newcomers; schools are overcrowded; streets are congested with traffic and deteriorating from the heavy volume of use; and inadequate sanitation, health, social, and utility services become the norm. In "boomtowns," people are reported to experience high levels of personal and social stress. The values of newcomers may conflict with those of the established residents. Uncertainty about the future increases. People, both newcomers and established residents may become disaffected, feel isolated, or bored. In turn, some turn to alcohol, others narcotics either for fun, solace, or to socialize with others. Criminal activity and the number of persons experiencing mental disorders, turn up in increasing numbers. Family life deteriorates and the incidence of divorce, family disturbances, child and spouse abuse escalate.

On the positive side, economic development expands job opportunities, can reduce local unemployment, and increase the level of community income. In turn, greater disposable income coupled with population growth stimulates the expansion and growth of the local business and professional sector. New industrial property is added to the tax base and it starts making tax payments in support of existing or expanding governmental services and may actually reduce tax levels for some jurisdictions. Social, educational, utility, and governmental services are generally upgraded through improvements to facilities and expansions in curriculum or programmatic content. The in-migrating population also adds new skills, experiences, energy, ideas, and perspectives to the community, invest in its future, and become the friends and neighbors of other newcomers and oldtimers alike.

population grew by 220,000 persons, doubling Montana's size. In 1917, the drought began. It was joined by grasshoppers, cutworms, wind, and ruin. When it was over, the wind had denuded 2 million acres and partially destroyed millions more, 11,000 farms had failed, half of the state's 428 commercial banks were closed, never to reopen, the settlers had exited, and small farm/market towns like Gilman, Wagner, and many others slowly disappeared into obscurity.

Montana's biography is rooted in resource and development. It is also a state aware of its history, conscious of the extremes it has undergone, and reluctant, if not unwilling, to repeat the experience.

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During the Bust

The social consequences of sudden and severe economic decline in a community are less well defined than is the "boomtown" situation. Historically, plant closures and related phenomena have tended to be viewed as isolated economic rather than social events. Accordingly, research has tended to emphasize topics such as labor mobility, job re-training, income effects, and economic redevelopment. A study that examined drug and alcohol abuse in seven economically depressed communities found there was no consistent trend to the patterns of abuse. A 1981 social assessment of the Anaconda Company smelter closure on Anaconda, Montana, also yielded mixed statistical evidence. Informally, individuals in the helping professions (e.g., ministers, social workers, etc.) reported increased amounts of social stress and disturbance. However, their perceptions were not fully supported by available quantitative evidence. The welfare rolls showed a substantial increase in the food stamp caseloads during the copper strike that preceded the shutdown. After the plant closure announcement, the caseload showed a sharp drop followed by a slow increase during the mid-winter. After smelter closure, calls to the police department increased an average of four percent, an increase of less than one call a day compared with the pre-closure period. Only domestic disturbances and child abuse appeared to show a significant increase, even though the actual incidence level remained low (i.e., 15 to 20 reports per month).

An immediate effect of a major plant closure is less tax base and revenue to support governmental expenditures. In Anaconda, decreased revenue lead directly to personnel reductions in several local government agencies. In turn, the workload for those who remained on the job increased even though the total caseload had not changed significantly one way or the other.

Criminal Justice and Resource Development

Despite the extensive literature on boomtowns and the compilation of statistics on crime, deviance, and other forms of social disruption, the impact of large scale resource development on the criminal justice system shows a varied picture. For example, an energy boom in Craig, Colorado, increased the rate of crime against persons but the reported pre-boom incidence rate was so low (two cases) the "real" versus "reported" increases in crime remained in doubt. The original source of the "Gillette Syndrome" concept was a 1974 paper by ElDean Kohrs which explained why drinking, divorce, suicide, and criminal activity would be likely to increase under boomtown conditions but the limited quantitative information provided with the paper gave little evidence that it actually did. In Page, Arizona, during construction of the Glen Canyon Dam, crime and population increased at roughly the same rate. In Campbell County, Wyoming (Gillette), the rate of property crime increased during a period of growth, but other indicators of disruptive

behavior did not. Data reported from an anti-ballistic missile site in North Dakota indicate that the sheriff's office dealt with an increased number of complaints, warrants, and investigations but do not show the number or types of offenses committed. A 1981 study of the impact of coal development in Rosebud County showed that while there were increases in both criminal activity and divorce, the incidence rate for both entities is comparable with the average for five adjacent counties constituting the Miles City labor market area and lower than the comparable statewide incidence rate for. An analysis of the impact of the Trans-Alaska Pipeline on Fairbanks pointed to a substantial increase in the number of complaints received by the police. Larceny theft showed the greatest numerical growth with over 800 more complaints in 1975 compared with 1973; prostitution showed a 700 percent increase (from 2 to 68 cases). Police activity involving offenses against the family, bomb threats, gambling, forgery and counterfeiting, and arson declined during the same period. In Fairbanks, despite the low reported level of incidence, prostitution and gambling were apparently quite visible and generally tolerated.

A comprehensive analysis of crime in Colorado communities by the Colorado Department of Local Affairs showed that reported rates of major felonies (Part 1 crimes) showed increases ranging from 56.9 percent to 785.5 percent in eleven energy impacted counties over a 12-year period compared with an 85.5 percent increase in the state as a whole. Rape had the highest rate of increase and burglary the lowest. Overall, crimes against persons increased faster than did the rate of crimes against property. The study also examined the personal characteristics of individual arrests in impact and non-impact counties. Offenders in impact areas were younger than their counterparts in non-impact situations and a larger percentage had alcohol treatment needs. Similarly, "bar brawls, family fights, and burglaries" are said to have doubled the Evanston, Wyoming crime rate in one year during a recent "boom" in oil exploration.

Whether rates of criminal activity increase or not, population growth of any sizable magnitude requires an increase in law enforcement personnel and facilities if adequate service is to be maintained. Law enforcement agencies have responsibilities far larger than the apprehension of alleged lawbreakers. Routine patrol, accident assistance and investigation, traffic control, domestic disputes, stray pets, processing civil actions, and a variety of other non-criminal activities constitute the largest share of a law enforcement agency's workload. In general, the volume of complaints, reports, and requests for assistance increases.

Explanations of why boom areas experience increased crime rates usually emphasize a breakdown of informal social controls, individual stress that finds an outlet in alcohol or aggressive behavior, and changed law enforcement practices that formalize the treatment and reporting of offenders. Current evidence suggests that economic factors

do not have a simple, direct relationship to crime and delinquency, but instead interact with many other factors in a complex fashion. Likewise, economic decline and unemployment show no predictable relationship to criminal activity.

FIVE COMMUNITIES

Today, better than a decade after the passage of the National Environmental Policy Act and the initiation of the impact assessment process for resource development projects, there is no conclusive evidence that industrial development in general or that boomtowns, in particular, inevitably result in social disruption and strain the capacity of the criminal justice system. The same can be said of situations of sudden and severe economic decline. The descriptions of the boom and bust situations contained in the preceding sections are composite pictures built from a wide range of observation in a number of communities. As such, the "boom-bust" images distort and stereotype reality. No two communities are exactly alike. In development or decline situations, communities are challenged by varying degrees of social change and contain varying degrees of capacity to absorb and regulate its consequences.

Planning for resource development or economic decline needs to take the individual differences of communities into account. It needs a data base far more specific than has been offered to date by studies of boom and bust. There also remains a series of unanswered questions regarding the relationship between resource development or decline and the criminal justice system, including:

1. Who is involved in criminal activity,
2. Who are their victims,
3. How are violators treated,
4. Do law enforcement practices change,
5. Are some communities more tolerant or susceptible to crime,
6. Who provides leadership and to what extent does the public become involved in local criminal justice issues,
7. To what extent does interagency coordination exist and what effect does it appear to have on crime and the criminal justice system, and
8. What additional steps can be taken to mitigate the impact of crime and deviance and make criminal justice agencies more effective?

To help answer the questions listed above and augment existing research, the analysis conducted five case studies of communities that recently experienced large-scale resource development or a major plant closure. The case studies include:

1. Rosebud County/Colstrip, Montana. This area has experienced large-scale industrialization from the development of surface coal mining and the construction of a power plant.
2. Custer County/Challis, Idaho. This area has experienced development through construction of a major molybdenum mine.

3. Richland County/Sidney, Montana. This area experienced a boom in gas and oil exploration and production.
4. Lincoln County/Troy, Montana. This area experienced development of a large silver/copper mine. The project was not accompanied by a large-scale population shift and seemingly without changes in the pattern of social order.
5. Deer Lodge County/Anaconda, Montana. This area experienced a large scale plant closure in when the Anaconda Copper Company closed its smelter and eliminated 1,000 jobs in a community of 12,000 persons.

The case studies include comparisons between a pre-impact (1978) and impact period (1981) to show the level of change experienced by the communities. While the comparison period is relatively short, it includes dates when industrial activity was either absent or at a low level and when it had peaked. Exhibit 1 is a map of Montana and Idaho showing the location of the counties included as case studies.

Case Study #1: Rosebud County/Colstrip, Montana

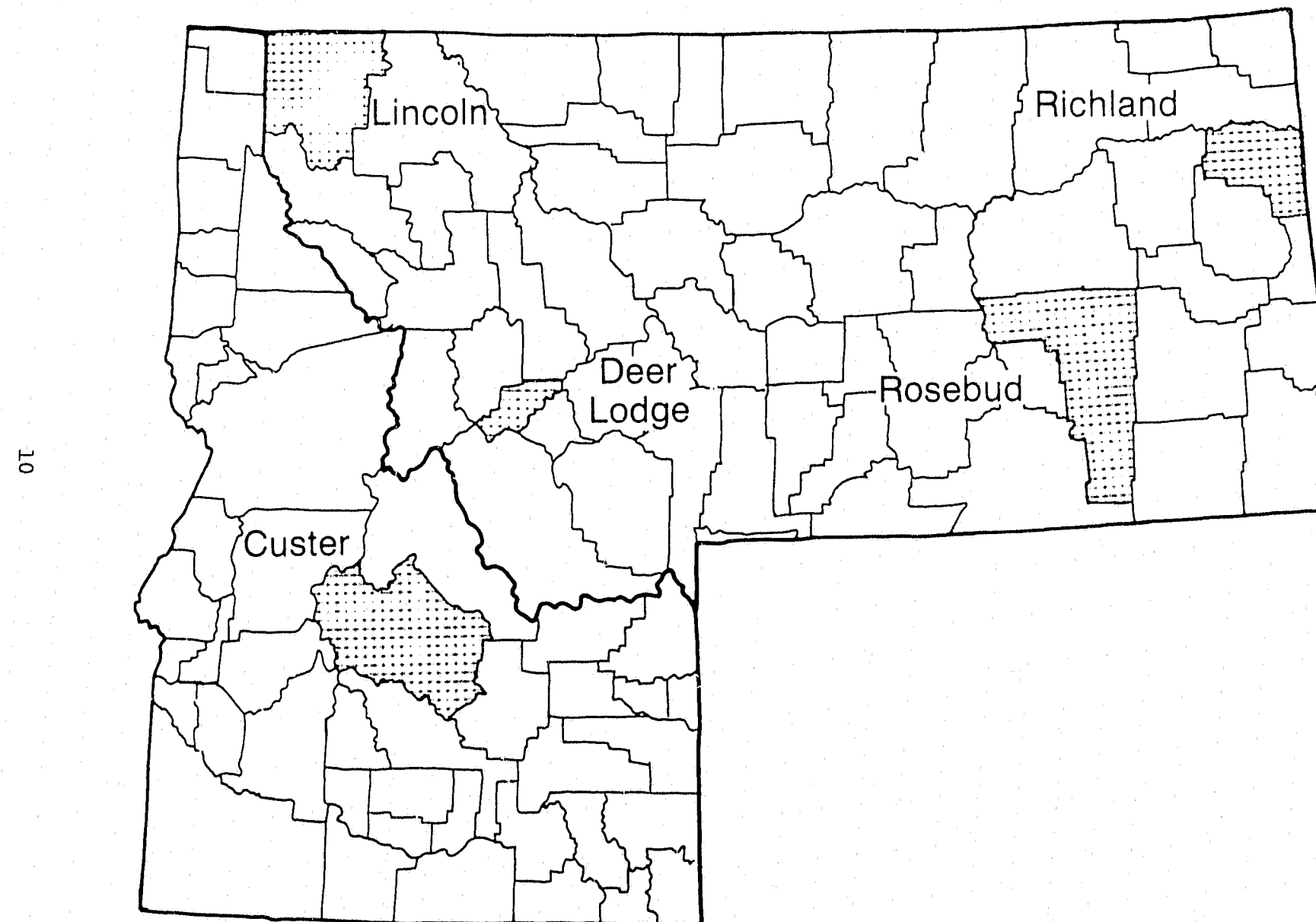
Rosebud County comprises 5,036 square miles of semi-arid rangeland in southeastern Montana. Large portions of the county are underlain with sub-bituminous coal deposits at shallow depth amenable to strip mining.

The Montana Power Company, through its subsidiary, the Western Energy Company, resumed coal strip mining in Colstrip in 1968. The Peabody Coal Company opened a mine six miles south of Colstrip the next year. In 1971, construction of two 350 megawatt, coal fired electrical generating plants was begun at Colstrip. The construction workforce peaked at 1,354 workers in 1975 and then declined to a low of 267 persons in 1978. In 1980, construction of two additional 700 megawatt coal-fired generating plants was started with the workforce expected to peak in 1982 or 1983 with about 3,200 workers. Thereafter, it will decline, and Colstrip should reach its expected permanent population level of about 4,000 residents in 1985.

Until the onset of coal development, the Rosebud County population had experienced little change. By 1975, the population increased to 8,600 and reached 9,899 in 1980, a 64 percent increase from the 1970 level of 6,032 persons. An in-migrating workforce predominantly composed of young males reduced the county's median age by a year to 25.2 years, compared with an increase of almost 2 years at the state median age to 29.0 years. In-migration also largely was responsible for a 50 percent increase in the number of children less than 15 years of age. Total employment better than doubled during the 1970s while unemployment declined. Over the past 11 years, the unemployment rate in Rosebud County averaged 4.7 percent compared with 5.5 percent in Montana as a whole. See Exhibit 2.

Exhibit 1

LOCATION OF CASE STUDY COUNTIES



Source: Western Analysis

Exhibit 3 shows the trend in criminal activity in Rosebud County from 1970 to 1981. In part, the data in the exhibit substantiates the impressions of area residents that criminal activity increased during the two development periods. Criminal activity, as measured by the rate per 100,000 population of the seven major felonies (Part 1 crimes)², averaged over 60 percent greater during the years of peak construction activity for Units 1 and 2 than in years prior to or after those years. Even so, the rate of Part 1 criminal activity was well below, generally

50 percent below, the corresponding state rate for such crimes. Since 1975, the county's crime rate has ranked between 20th and 32nd among Montana's 56 counties. The highest number of felony offenses reported to date occurred in 1976 when 298 such incidents were recorded. With the onset of construction for Units 3 and 4, the number and rate of Part 1 crime increased. In 1981, there were 100 additional felonies reported above the 1978 level.

The number and rate of lesser felonies (Part 2 offenses)³ generally tracked with the up and down cycles of construction employment in the county fluctuating from 148 to 376 incidents per year and generally exceeding the state rate during peak construction periods. County rates of simple assault and vandalism have coincided with fluctuations in construction activity. Narcotic offenses have demonstrated a steady decline, despite the impressions of officials and residents that "dope is everywhere." Narcotics investigations are difficult to establish in rural areas. Unless drugs are serendipitously discovered as part of another investigation or the police receive information from informants, narcotics investigations must rely on undercover police work. It is impossible for the police to conduct undercover investigations in sparsely populated areas where "everybody" knows them. Also, certain types of narcotics such as marijuana and cocaine are widely used and tolerated by large segments of society, especially those in the 15 to 35 year age group, and those persons are generally disinterested in enforcement of narcotic drug laws as they relate to substances used by their peers. Given the large number of young adults residing in Rosebud County, both native and immigrant workers, there is bound to be a significant amount of narcotic drug use in the county, at least in comparison with adjacent rural counties whose populations are both smaller and older.

²Seven major felonies include: murder, rape, robbery, aggravated assault, larceny/theft, burglary, and theft.

³Part 2 offenses include simple assault, forgery/counterfeiting, fraud embezzlement, stolen property, vandalism, weapons, prostitution, sex offenses, narcotics, gambling, and offenses against the family and children.

Exhibit 2.

ROSEBUD COUNTY

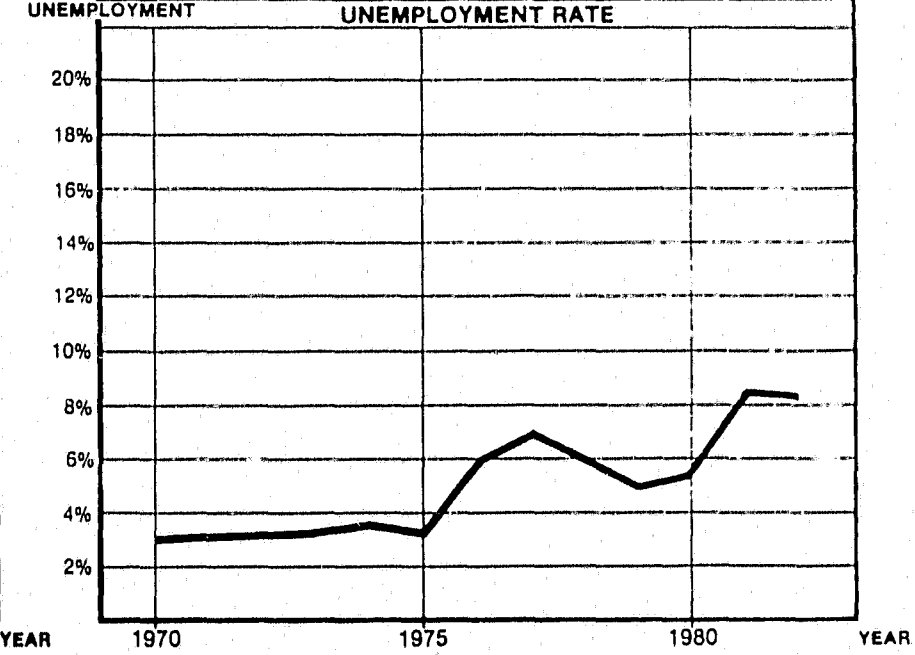
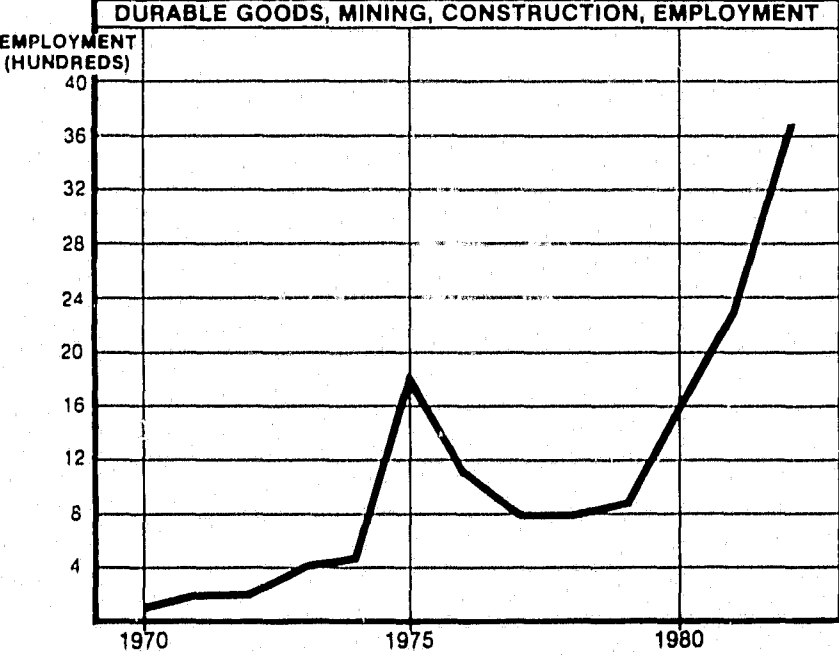
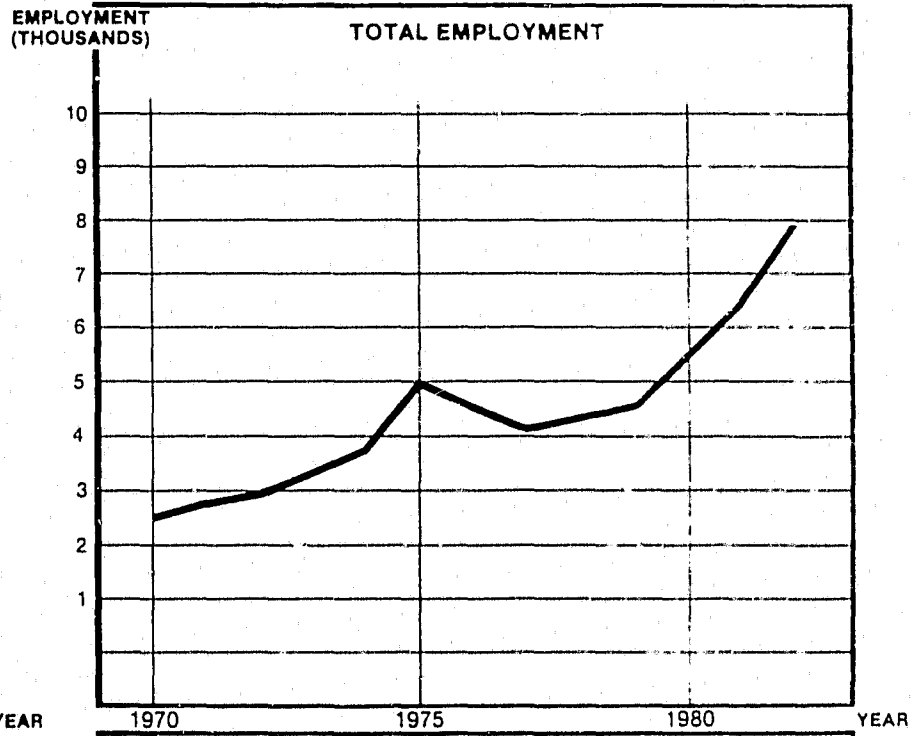
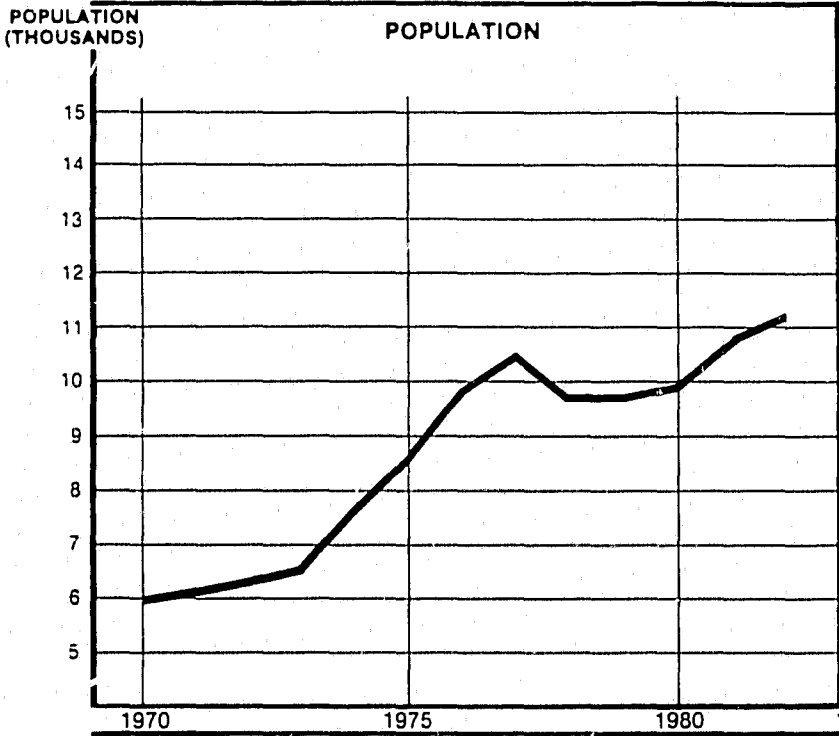
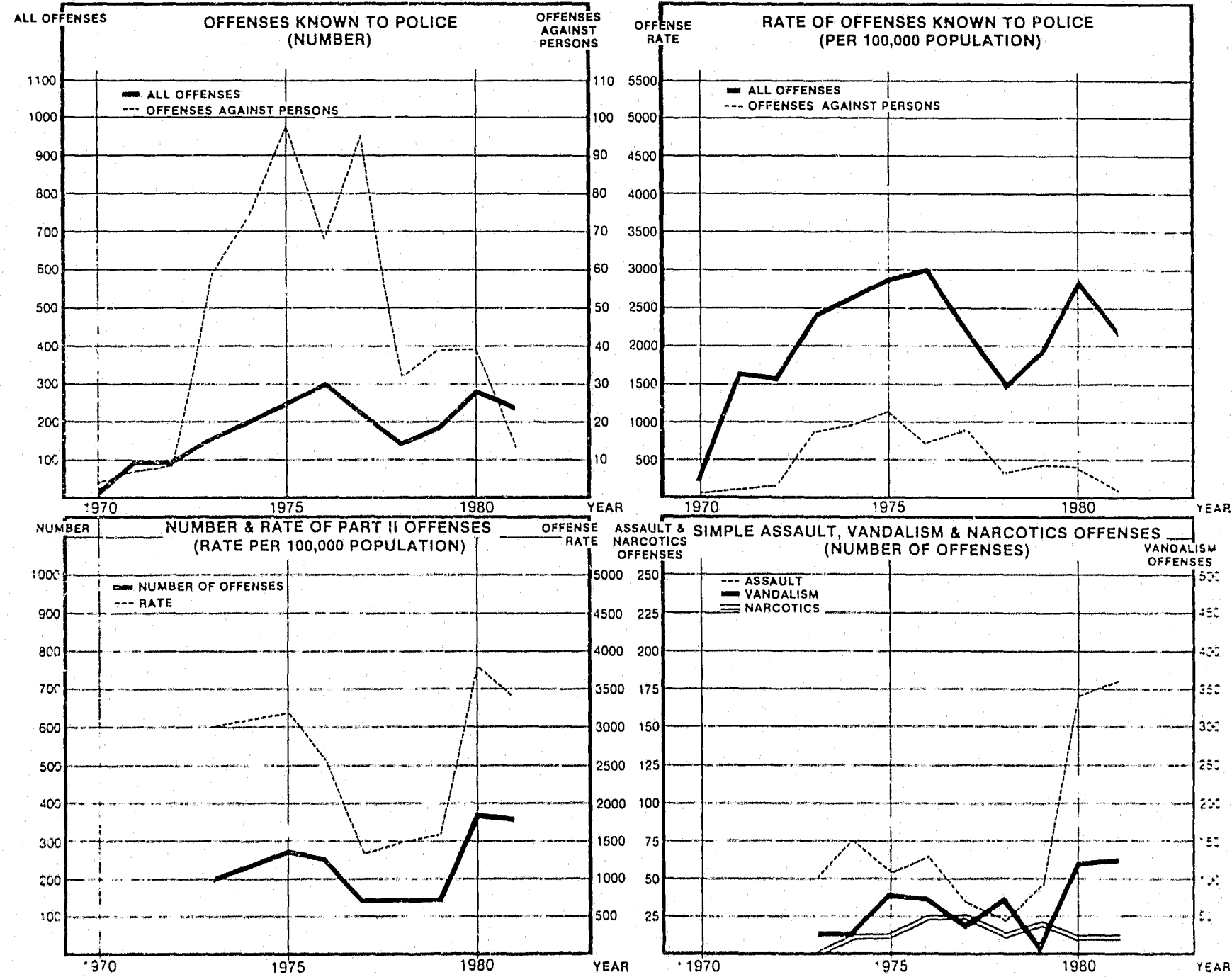


Exhibit 3.

ROSEBUD COUNTY



Part 2 crime or "lesser felony offenses" should not be construed to mean unimportant. The Part 2 crimes are largely property offenses but the degree of damage experienced by a victim can be as great or greater than the costs of a major felony. More importantly, the police and courts must perform much of the same type of work with Part 2 crimes and even misdemeanors as they do with major felony offenses. For example, an investigation must be conducted, reports prepared, complaints filed, charges developed, a prosecution conducted, and the like. As one Rosebud County law enforcement official explained:

"Its not the big crime that hurts in a boomtown. The biggest problems are the small calls -- the family feuds, drunks, bar fights, stolen property, accidents . . . They're all calls and they have to be checked out. You get a bar fight and you've got two officers over there for half an hour. Nobody may have been hurt and nobody wants to press charges, but you're working. It is not a crime, not even a complaint, but it is a call."

Law enforcement, court, and agency officials uniformly stated that alcohol related crimes are the most common type of criminal activity in the area. Those to whom most criminal activity is attributed are the "construction boomers with no roots, lots of money, no concern for the area and nowhere to go." Those area residents who occupy stable and long-term jobs in the development area were described as a stabilizing influence.

Per capita alcohol sales in Rosebud County have generally followed the state trend, but at a much higher level. From 1970 to 1976, and in 1981 - 1982, per capita alcohol sales in the county exceeded the state norm. The high rate of alcohol sales coincides with a high rate of persons receiving alcohol treatment. In 1978, the county treatment rate was four times the state rate. Since then, alcohol caseloads have dropped (from 252 to 129) and the 1981 rate is just twice the state average.

Agency and law enforcement officials in Rosebud County have noted that the "Colstrip experience" places a great strain on marriages. Reports of spouse abuse and child neglect or abuse are common but there is no reliable caseload data to prove it. Family disturbances are difficult matters for the criminal justice system to handle. Police officers seem to be universally frustrated by such calls. As one officer put it,

"The guy is half drunk and mad. She's been slapped around and she's either crying or cussing. You break up the battle and try to calm things down . . . There's no use arresting anybody. She won't file a complaint cause she knows when he gets out of jail he's going to be really mad and beat her worse. So what can you do."

The rate of marital dissolutions in Rosebud County has been and remains well below the corresponding state rate although the divorce rate did

increase coincident with peaks in construction activity. Marital dissolution is an imperfect measure of social disruption. A given county's divorce rate may be influenced by a series of factors that have little to do with conditions in the family unit such as the perceived attitude of the local judge toward divorce, the availability of attorneys, family mobility, and so forth. Divorce is usually a process that extends over a long period of family and marital disintegration. If living conditions in a rapidly growing community such as Colstrip actually contribute to family instability and divorce, it may not show up in the county's statistics.

Highway traffic in Rosebud County has increased markedly since coal development was initiated. In part, the increase in traffic volume is related to commuting to the Colstrip construction site by residents of Forsyth and surrounding areas. An estimated 200 to 300 people commute to Colstrip from Miles City and Billings on a daily basis. Rosebud County's vehicle accident rate exceeded the corresponding state rates only in 1973 and 1974, despite the increase in traffic density.

Based upon records maintained by the district judge, district court case filings have increased substantially, although the average number of case filings per judge (695 cases) in the Sixteenth Judicial District that includes Rosebud County was significantly lower than the average of 979 case filings per judge statewide. Reportedly, caseloads in justice courts also have risen sharply, but there is no body of statistical information available to measure the change or compare it with other areas of the state. Rosebud County Justices-of-the-Peace indicated that the largest source of their caseloads were traffic offenses, DWI charges, and other alcohol related crimes among the short-term construction workers. Juvenile probation caseloads do not show a significant change during the 1978 to 1981 period for which there is data. Starting in 1978, the caseload went from 84, to 105, 84, and 90 cases in each year, respectively. The probation caseload rate substantially exceeded the state rate during that period. Youth workers consistently pointed to differences in values between the newcomer youth and the established population. The local population was described as conservative, inner-directed, and self-reliant. In contrast, the newcomers were typified as hardworking, hard playing, living from day-to-day, placing an emphasis on material things, distrustful, and more demanding of formal institutions and services. The variation in the type of case has also affected service delivery in several ways, including:

1. The transient history of many of the youth make it difficult to obtain social history information.
2. Whereas local youth tend to accept punishment, the in-coming youth's parents are more rights oriented, more guarded about the system and not as willing to take responsibility for their child's behavior. The latter problem is aggravated by the greater frequency of "unconventional" family arrangements including many single parent families with live-in mates.

3. Given the mobile, less supportive family structure, youth treatment strategies shifted toward the use of short-term, concrete objectives (e.g., no truancy), less use of informal controls and a greater reliance upon formal reporting and court adjudication.

In addition to the changes in criminal activity, law enforcement agencies report a large increase in other work activities such as nuisance pets and civil process actions. For example, Sheriff's Department records show a steady increase in the number of civil actions beginning at 195 cases in 1970 and peaking at 1,354 in 1981, almost a 600 percent increase in 12 years. One law enforcement official described nuisance pets as "the absolutely worst problem we have." Rural areas and Rosebud County was no exception, typically lack animal control ordinances, facilities such as dog pounds, and the services of animal control officers. Rosebud County's large land area and its sparse population distribution is also problematic. There are almost 1,700 miles of road in the county. Simple patrol of the area, responding to police calls, or serving civil papers extracts a high cost in time, equipment wear and tear, and funds.

Rosebud County law enforcement officials stated that the constant turnover of population creates substantial problems of law enforcement. Short-term residents have no roots or investment in the area and intend to develop none. For this reason, they reportedly are less apt to obey the law or other social conventions and also may be more difficult to handle. The increase in police calls, mostly for misdemeanor offenses, has resulted in a conscious but, unwritten policy to handle disorders with "street justice" -- giving offenders warnings, breaking up disturbances, taking juvenile offenders home, and so forth. As one law enforcement official put it:

"You're always playing catch-up. There is so much work to do it's impossible to make arrests for all the things that go on and keep up with the paper work. Anyway, most of these things (e.g., fights, disturbances) aren't that bad and the courts would only slap their wrists or the charges would be dropped."

Finally, local officials noted that the more open informal mode of interaction between the public and law enforcement officials has disappeared in the coal development area and is less prevalent elsewhere in the county. Part of this change is attributed to the turnover in the Sheriff's staff -- "mine work pays much more than law work" -- and part is accounted for by "these are new times . . . the old days are gone."

Per capita expenditures for law enforcement and city/county court systems have increased markedly in the past decade. Rosebud County's expenditures for law enforcement were substantially higher than comparable statewide expenditures in 1978 and 1981. In those years, citizens of Rosebud County spent \$94 and \$135 for law enforcement compared with \$50 and \$83 by citizens in 22 other cities and counties

surveyed. A similar situation prevails in the court system. In 1978, actual expenses for court services were \$15 per person, an amount that increased to \$24 in 1982. Citizens elsewhere in Montana spent considerably less, \$12 in 1978 and \$20 in 1982.

The high rate of expenditure for criminal justice services poses no hardship for Rosebud County residents. The large increase in taxable value from oil and coal royalties and the plant and equipment from Colstrip Units 1 and 2 have made Rosebud County among, if not, the wealthiest county in the state in terms of fiscal capacity. In 1970, the county had a taxable value of \$10.6 million. An amount that had increased to \$118.3 million by 1982. The current taxable value adds up to \$10,559 per person compared with the state average of \$2,501 per capita. The high level of tax base has allowed the county to levy an extremely low 214 mills for all purposes in 1982. Statewide, taxpayers living in comparably sized cities and counties were paying 294 mills or 35 percent more. The City of Forsyth and Forsyth school districts are the major governmental entities in the area whose fiscal capacity has not swelled with tax wealth from Colstrip. For example, the taxable value of Forsyth increased about \$900,000 from \$1.3 million in 1970 to \$2.2 million in 1982.

The relatively small share of tax wealth added to Forsyth compared with growth in the county and Colstrip School District is symptomatic of a common mismatch between the costs and benefits of resource development. It is not uncommon to find population growth and costly demands for services in one political jurisdiction while the newly created industrial complex or mine adds to the tax base and collections of another governmental entity.

Many rural Montana communities have developed a relatively informal and unstructured social system. Many residents of such communities have lived there all their lives or for long periods of time. Often, such communities are sustained by agriculture and retail services. This background often results in a slow-paced and intensely personal lifestyle characterized by conservatism, frugality, a concern for and respect of others, a sense of independence, responsibility, and strong ties to the community. Because their communities are small and change slowly, the norms of acceptable behavior are known by most if not all residents. The established residents of these communities are likely to perceive themselves as a community of equals. In such circumstances, people are apt to be tolerant of one another, if not always accepting. Because community life is so important to residents, pains are taken to avoid conflict and to resolve it through informal and, hence, personally controllable means. Communities of this sort are especially vulnerable to an influx of outsiders who do not know the community, their values or their norms of behavior. The long-term residents of the Colstrip and Forsyth areas of Rosebud County were unable to comprehend the behavior and lifestyles of many of the newcomers who, conversely, appear to have had an equally difficult time coping with the natives. The newcomers'

differences and their weight of numbers changed the original social community of Colstrip. That area now exists as an urban, industrial island in the midst of rural, agricultural Rosebud County where community and social life have changed to a lesser degree. Under these circumstances, the potential for social conflict increases. Additional workloads are placed upon formal channels of conflict resolution precisely because informal channels no longer work as well. Part of the workload increase experienced by criminal justice agencies includes not only growth in the number of criminal cases but also a need to develop and institute strictly professional and impartial procedures within the criminal justice system.

Newcomers and old-timers also have differing definitions of community crime and differing expectations toward the criminal justice system. The long-established residents of Rosebud County are not used to living in an environment where criminal activity or moral turpitude are either common or tolerated. In a development situation where such activity is apt to become more common and, even if the actual incidence level is small, the local population is likely to feel threatened by what they see as a decline in the degree of order, safety, or morality in their community. Under such circumstances, the police are viewed as community protectors. On the other hand, the newcomers, many of whom have urban backgrounds and who are young and without the influence of families and property, tend to have a more sanguine view of criminal activity. The newcomer is not any more apt to appreciate having his living quarters burglarized than is the established resident, but is more likely to accept it as a malicious act rather than as a representation of a change or decline in social order. For those individuals, the criminal justice system functions more in a service, problem solving capacity.

In summary, Rosebud County experienced increased criminal activity coincident with the increases in employment and population at Colstrip, but the actual amount of change, however, has been relatively modest. The county's rate of major felony crimes has never approached the state rate for such incidents. The lesser felonies generally have followed the employment cycle relatively closely and exceeded the state norm during the two years when construction employment was the highest. While county alcohol sales have always been high, alcohol sales increased with the level of construction activity. Vehicle traffic has increased substantially in the area, but traffic accidents are currently much less frequent than they are in the state as a whole. Rosebud County spends much more on law enforcement than do most cities and counties, but has the financial capacity to do so.

Case Study #2: Custer County/Challis, Idaho

Custer County is a large (4,929 square miles), thinly populated (1980 population = 3,385) county located in central Idaho. Challis is the largest community (1980 population = 758) and county seat.

In the fall of 1980, the Cyprus Mines Corporation, a wholly owned subsidiary of Standard Oil of Indiana, started construction of a large open pit molybdenum mine and concentrator along Thompson Creek about 30 miles southeast of Challis. When fully operational, the mine will produce 25,000 tons of ore per day yielding 15-20 million pounds of molybdenum disulfide and employ a workforce of 550 persons. To offset the anticipated adverse socioeconomic impacts of development, Cyprus Mines implemented a six-point impact mitigation program:

1. Socioeconomic monitoring. The company retained the services of a socioeconomic consultant to periodically meet with the people of Custer County on an informal and anonymous basis to understand their concerns and assist Cyprus adapt accordingly.
2. Housing. Cyprus Mines offered to construct company housing for construction workers and permanent housing for the mine workers. The citizens were given the choice of having the population concentrated at Challis, or having a work camp/company town built near the mine. Over 260 permanent homes were erected in Challis and a temporary work camp for about 200 construction workers was built near the mine.
3. Pre-payment of Taxes. Cyprus Mines in conjunction with local area legislators successfully lobbied HB 522 through the 1980-1981 Idaho Legislature to establish a tax prepayment mechanism to finance the front end costs of new facilities in communities experiencing rapid development.
4. Miscellaneous Grants. In addition to its prepayment of taxes, the mining company provided miscellaneous grants to the community for services such as architectural design work for a new school.
5. Transportation. The company started and operates a bus service between Challis and the mine for its own employees and those of contractors building the facility.
6. Hiring Preference. Cyprus Mines committed itself to hiring Idaho residents for positions on its permanent work force.

During the 1970s, the population and economy of Custer County was very stable. Total population increased 418 persons and total employment grew through the addition of 200 jobs. Custer County's population is relatively old, representing a stable economy, little employment growth, and few opportunities for young people. In 1980, the median age was 31.7 years, down slightly from 1970. Since 1980, with the addition of the Cyprus Mine Project, the county added an estimated 400 persons to its population and 600 jobs to its employment base, 12.3 percent and 40.0 percent increases respectively, during a two year period. An average of 56 percent of the jobs went to residents of Custer and immediately adjacent Lemhi County. From 1970 to 1980, the

county's unemployment rate of 6.7 percent was above the state average of 6.1 percent. With the onset of the Cyprus project, unemployment fell to a level 40 percent of the state rate. See Exhibit 4.

Exhibit 5 contains four graphs portraying trends in criminal activity over the last four to nine years for which data are available. Throughout the 1970s, Custer County experienced a low number of felony offenses (less than 80 per year) and its crime rate per 100,000 population was about one-half of the rate experienced in Idaho as a whole. In 1978, the county reported 79 felony offenses of which five were crimes against persons. In 1981, while the mine was under construction, reported felonies almost doubled and crime against persons, particularly aggravated assault, went up five-fold to 24 incidents. In 1981, the Custer County crime rate for the seven major felonies paralleled the state average for the first time in history. During the same four-year period, the number of Part 2 (lesser felony offenses) about tripled from 34 to 106 incidents while the rate per 100,000 population went up 1.7 times, to a level 71.5 percent above the state rate. The largest single category of reported Part 2 crimes was vandalism which increased from 15 cases in 1978 to 78 incidents in 1981.

Local officials uniformly described 1981 as a problem year for crime in Challis when the local area was flooded with job seekers. A city official described 1981 as:

"A big influx of unemployed and more problems than we had at any other time. We had a lot of hanger's-on through the summer. We had people living out of cars, and camper trailers, along the streets, back roads and anywhere there was a wide spot in the road."

By winter, the transients had pretty well departed. In 1982, Cyprus Mines circulated press releases indicating that it was not hiring and reportedly the number of transients seeking jobs was very low. By the fall of 1982, there appeared to be general agreement that "things had settled down" and "the worst was past."

The Cyprus Mine employees were generally well regarded and not viewed as the source of the increased criminal activity in the area. One citizen commented,

"All of the mining people for the most part are good family people . . . we always had a few robberies. We've had more vandalism lately but that seems to be caused by people passing through."

An officer of the court stated,

"Criminal filings have gone up tremendously . . . I don't think any of them (charged) worked for the mine but they all said they were here looking for work."

Exhibit 4.

CUSTER COUNTY, IDAHO

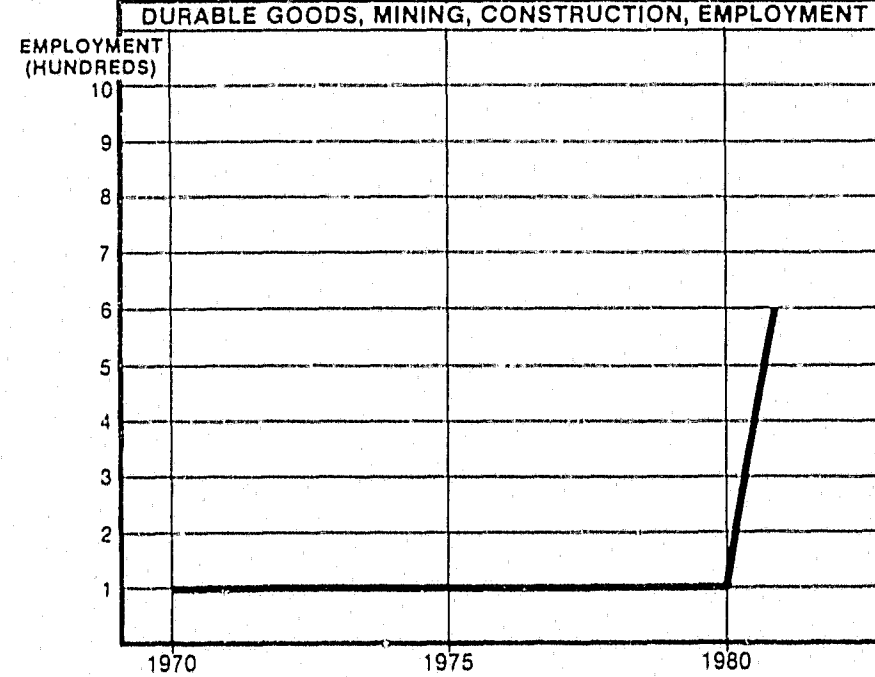
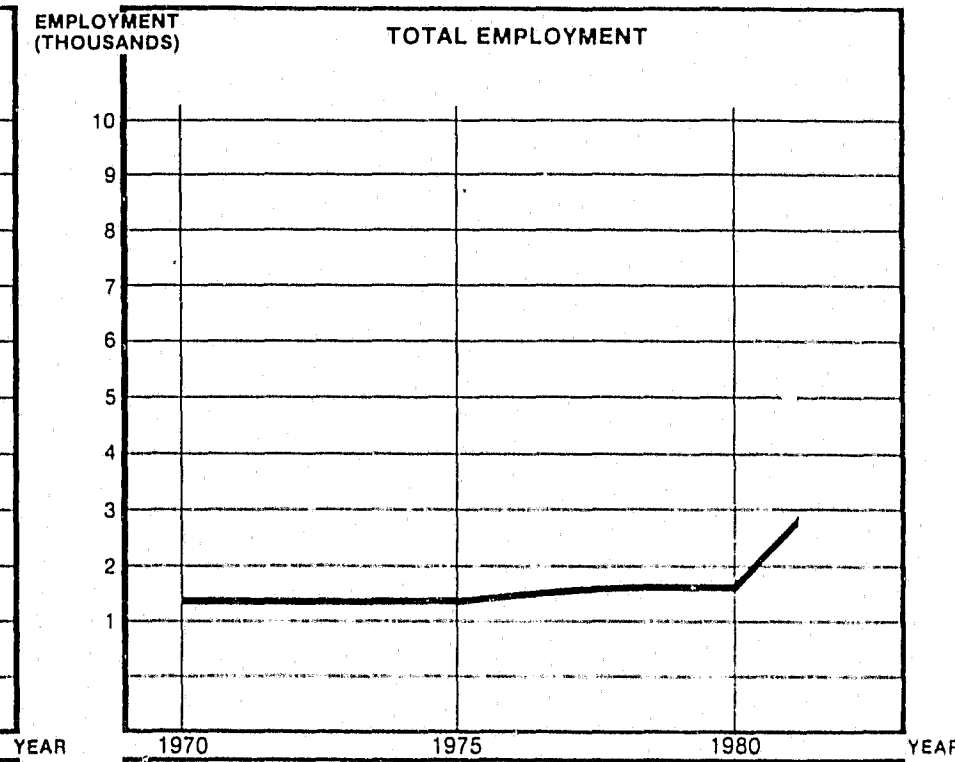
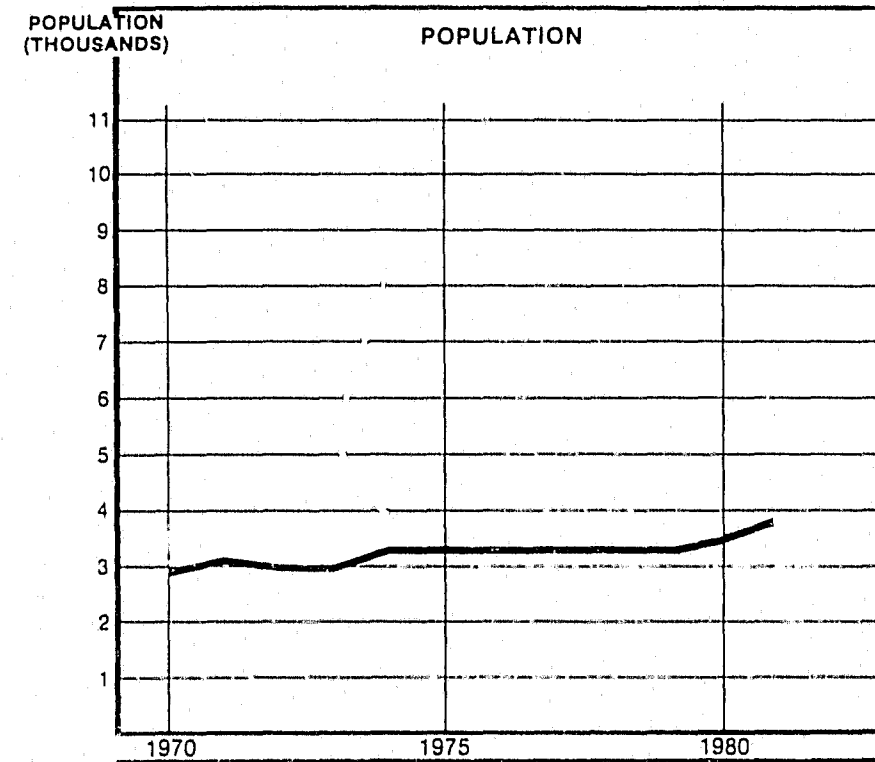
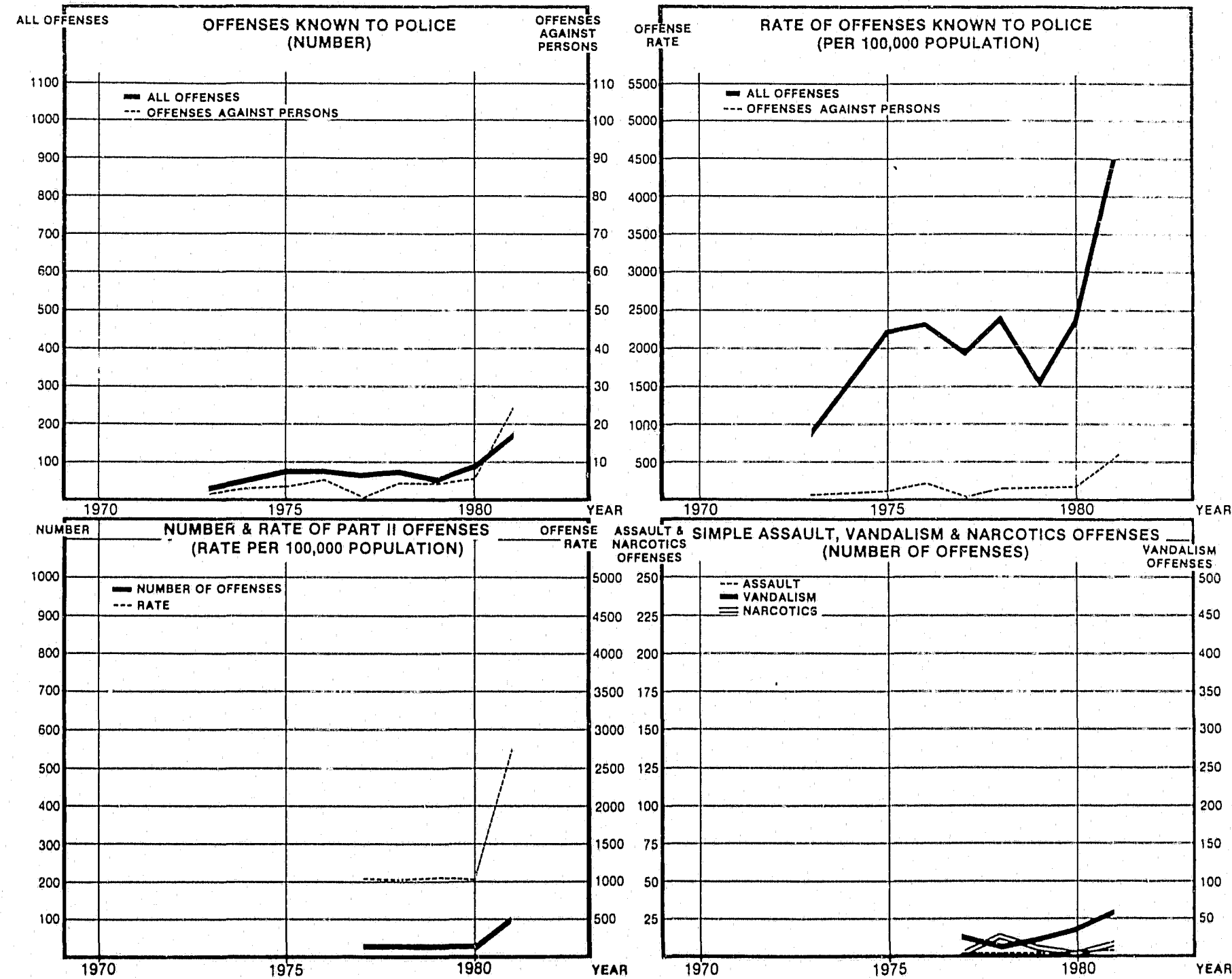


Exhibit 5.

CUSTER COUNTY, IDAHO



While law enforcement officials described the change in criminal activity experienced by the county as partially a function of the "job seekers and camp followers," they also readily acknowledged the role of local, long-term residents. A police officer reported,

"Fifty percent (of the felonious activity) is caused by local people. The times (the boom situation) just gave them a chance to howl."

Another law enforcement officer observed,

"The old-timers say we never had problems like this before but most of the disturbances have been caused by locals. They have to see how many miners they can strap-on. They make fun of people with long hair in the bars and generally ask for trouble."

There was also general agreement that the crime increase was largely confined to petty crime, vandalism, and other property offenses, although the community also experienced a particularly vicious sexual assault, a murder, and several assaults involving firearms where no one was injured. The violent offenses caught the public's attention, but constituted a small percentage of the overall level of criminal activity. As one citizen observed,

"Last year the town got a little excited about rape. A (self-defense) rape seminar was held and the information was good but the basis for the whole thing was exaggerated . . . the sheriff only knew of two (rape) cases."

A court official noted,

"The caseload has doubled since Cyprus (came to town) but it's minor traffic offenses, DWIs, disturbing the peace . . ."

Finally, what actually happened in Challis/Custer County was far under people's expectations. One person probably summarized it best,

"People kind of expected a hard drinking, rabble rousing bunch that would wreck the town, a bunch of na'er-do-wells that would bring a red light district with it. It never happened."

A local law enforcement officer described the area as "hard drinking, with the highest per capita alcohol consumption in the state." Historically, per capita liquor sales in Custer County have been about twice the state rate; a trend that continued throughout the development period. In 1981, Custer County residents were purchasing liquor at a rate of \$98.59 per person compared with a \$45.00 rate in Idaho generally. During the 1978-1981 development period, per capita liquor expenditures increased \$11.00 compared with a \$4.00 decline in Idaho when adjusted for inflation.

Divorce is a relatively uncommon event in Custer County and its pattern is extremely erratic. There were 19 marital dissolutions in the county during 1981 compared with eleven in pre-development 1978. The Custer County marital dissolution rate has always been significantly lower than Idaho's and that remained true in the development period as well.

Traffic accidents showed a large numerical and rate increase in Custer County between 1978 and 1981. Accidents increased from 118 to 166 and the 1981 rate of 4,368 accidents per 100,000 population was over twice the state accident rate. Historically, Custer County's accident rate has ranged from 20 to 100 percent above the state as a whole. The number of accidents in Custer County is partially a function of the highway system. All highways are two lane and, in many areas, have a large number of curves. Vehicle traffic increased in the county, particularly near Challis, although the number of vehicles counted on any single road is still small (i.e. less than 1,500 per day). In addition to the change in traffic and accident levels, law enforcement agencies also reported large workload increases with animal nuisances, civil process actions, and court appearances. For example, the Sheriff's department reported a 396 percent increase in civil process actions, from 221 to 1,097 actions in one year, 1980 to 1981.

Court filings increased dramatically in the magistrate (justice) courts. From 1978 to 1981, the Magistrate court filings increased from 932 to 1,589 filings. The largest category of offense was traffic violations, which constituted about three-quarters of the total number of filings in both years. The number of district court case filings in Custer County has been and remains relatively small (under 80 filings per year since 1973) and its pattern erratic. Custer County's juvenile probation caseload historically has been small and it remains that way. Caseloads have fluctuated from 7 to 39 cases with the peak registered in 1976. The juvenile probation caseload rate per 100,000 population has generally been two-thirds to three-quarters of that for Idaho as a whole and it remained that way during the Cyprus mine development.

The major problems facing the law enforcement agencies are budget constraints, staff turnover, and an inadequate jail. Idaho's tax and spending limitation, passed in the wake of California's Proposition 13, has severely restricted local government spending. Property taxes are limited to one percent of the market value of the property. Expenditure increases are limited to five percent of the 1978 budget or the amount of revenue that can be raised from 50 percent of the new valuation added to the tax rolls, whichever is greater.

Employee turnover has affected both the Sheriff's office and Challis Police Department. One officer claimed (unsubstantiated) the Sheriff's Department experienced 125-150 percent and the city 75 percent turnover during 1981. Officials in both departments claim they cannot compete with the salaries offered at the mine. There, hourly wages

range between \$7.25 and \$14.00 compared with \$5.94 for a deputy sheriff. Recruiting untrained personnel has not been a problem, but it has been hard to attract experienced officers. One law enforcement official commented,

"I had a good man lined-up for a job. He was an experienced officer from Florida. Wanted out of the big city. He came here, saw the high rent, and figured he couldn't make a go of it."

Another officer commented that the lack of experience made "policing" potentially more volatile than it should be,

"When you have a young crowd, you need a guy that's mellow, been around. You don't need a young guy that want's to jump right in . . ."

The lack of adequate detention facilities in the county has driven-up the costs of law enforcement since offenders frequently must be transported to other communities for custody. Of necessity, it has resulted in a "citation-release" program in all but the most serious crimes and particularly so for female and juvenile offenders.

The problem of "finding people" for the purpose of delivering emergency messages or serving civil papers was described as especially acute in the Challis area. Apparently, the local telephone cooperative had difficulty installing phones at the rate demanded by the incoming population. In turn, local law enforcement agencies became the repository of "emergency" messages from back home with the task of locating the appropriate parties.

To slow the process of people taking up residence in temporary camps throughout the county where they were difficult to police, locate, or service, Custer County created a campground (Camp Run-Amuck) at the Challis airport on the outskirts of town. The campground provided a place to park and basic sanitary services for several weeks during the summer and fall of 1981 when the community experienced an in-rush of people seeking employment at the Cyprus Mine.

Leadership in community planning and impact mitigation was headed by Cyprus Mines and the Challis City Council. The predominant thrust of their efforts was toward land use regulation, housing, and the provision of service facilities (e.g., water supply and schools). The City Council terminated its service agreement with the Custer County Sheriff's office and formed the city Police Department to increase police protection within the city limits.

By virtually every indicator used to measure changing criminal justice conditions in Custer County, the development period showed elevated incidence levels and rates. Crime increased, but the number of "new" crimes was relatively small (less than 100 felony incidents,

largely larceny/theft). Most of the increase in workload for the law enforcement system had to do with petty crimes, mischief, civil process actions, animal nuisances, and vehicle traffic. Court filings increased substantially, but again, the increase was related to minor violations and not major crimes. The period of disruption was limited to 1981, largely the summer months, and there is a general agreement that "things have settled down."

Case Study #3: Richland County/Sidney, Montana

Sidney, Montana (1980 population = 5,726) is the county seat of Richland County. The county is located in the northeastern corner of Montana bounded on the east by North Dakota. The county comprises 2,385 square miles of high plains cut by the Missouri and the Yellowstone Rivers. The Williston Basin oil field located in Montana and North Dakota covers a large share of the county and oil exploration and oil well service occupations have long been a part of Richland County's economy.

In the mid-1970s, the increasing price of petroleum rejuvenated interest in oil exploration in the Williston Basin and the number of oil wells being drilled expanded, only to turn downward in 1982 with the national recession. The increase in oil-related activity was reflected by substantial increases in employment and population in the county, especially during the late 1970s. Unlike other development situations, Richland County was confronted by a plethora of development interests instead of one or two major developers. This circumstance made it difficult for local interests to gain a clear picture of the extent and nature of change that development activities would engender.

Richland County has shown steady population growth since 1970. Most of the growth occurred late in the decade coincident with the increase in oil exploration. Between 1976 and 1981, the population grew 21.4 percent, over 2,000 people. Like other areas experiencing energy development, Richland County also experienced a demographic shift in the composition of its population. The median age of county residents dropped by a year to 26.9 years compared with a 2-year increase for the state as a whole (29.0 years). After 1975, total employment and employment in heavy industry (i.e., oil exploration and construction) showed a strong increase. Overall, there were four times as many individuals working in the oil and construction crafts in 1981 (i.e., 800) as in 1970. Historically, Richland County's unemployment rate has been low and generally only 50 to 75 percent of the comparable state rate. Between 1978 and 1981 unemployment rates were stable, shifting less than one percent per year and averaging 2.4 percent for the period. See Exhibit 6.

From 1970 to 1979, the number of major felony offenses grew slowly, from 87 to 208 incidents. During the period, the county crime rate was

Exhibit 6.

RICHLAND COUNTY

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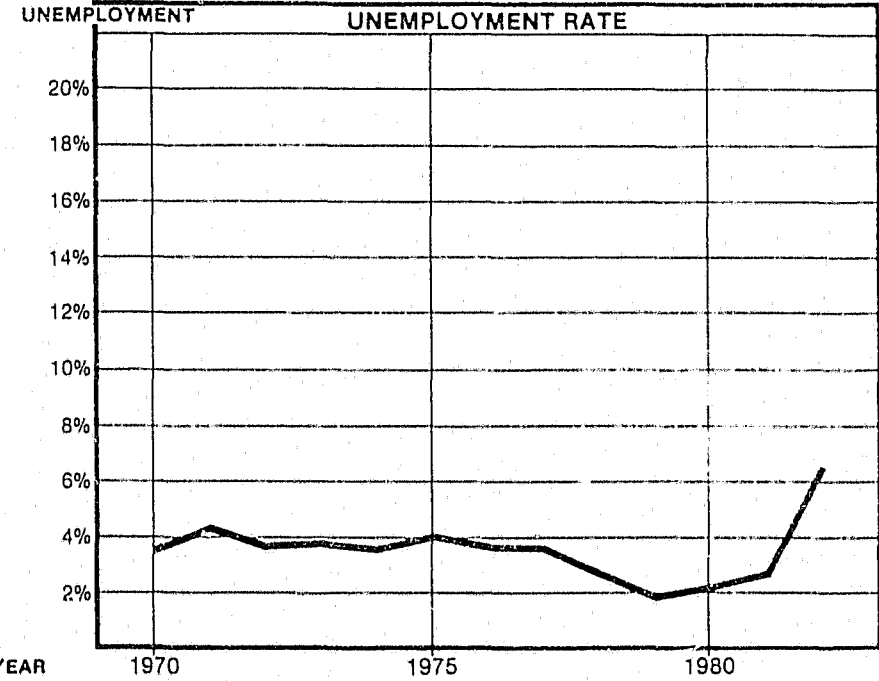
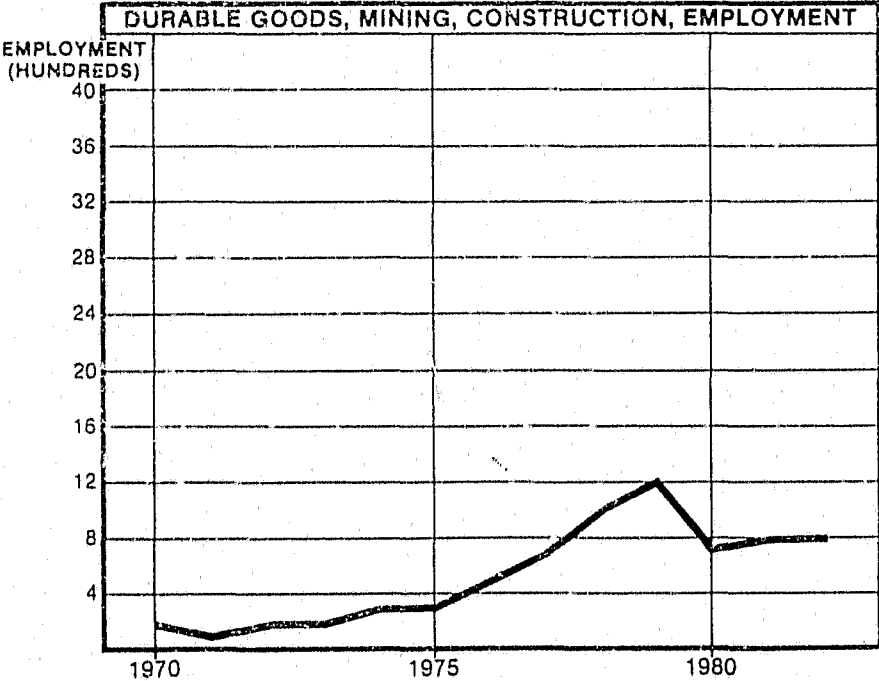
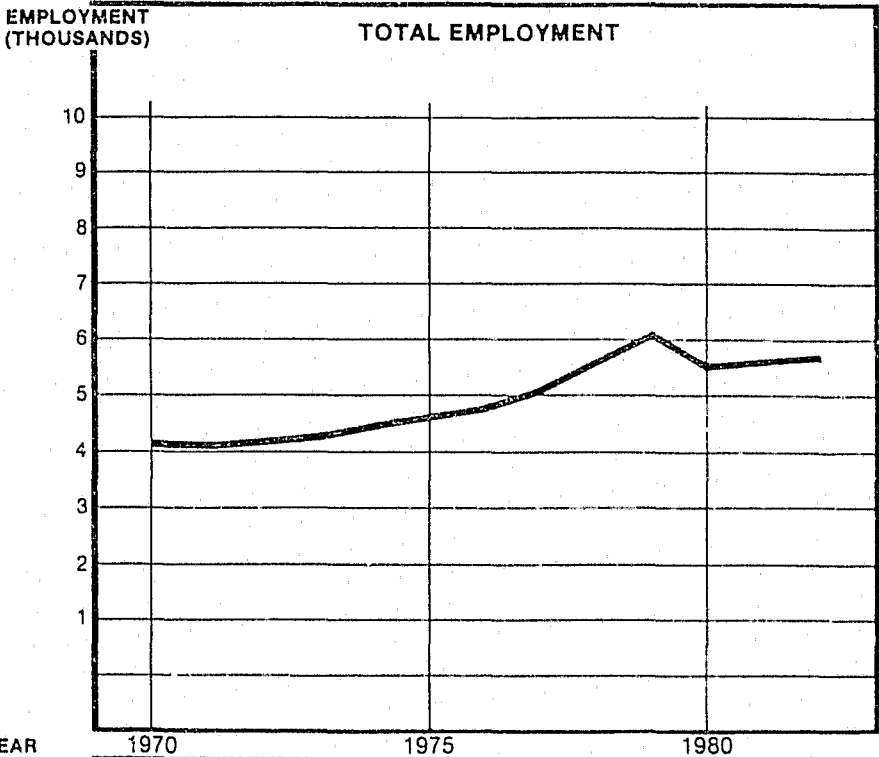
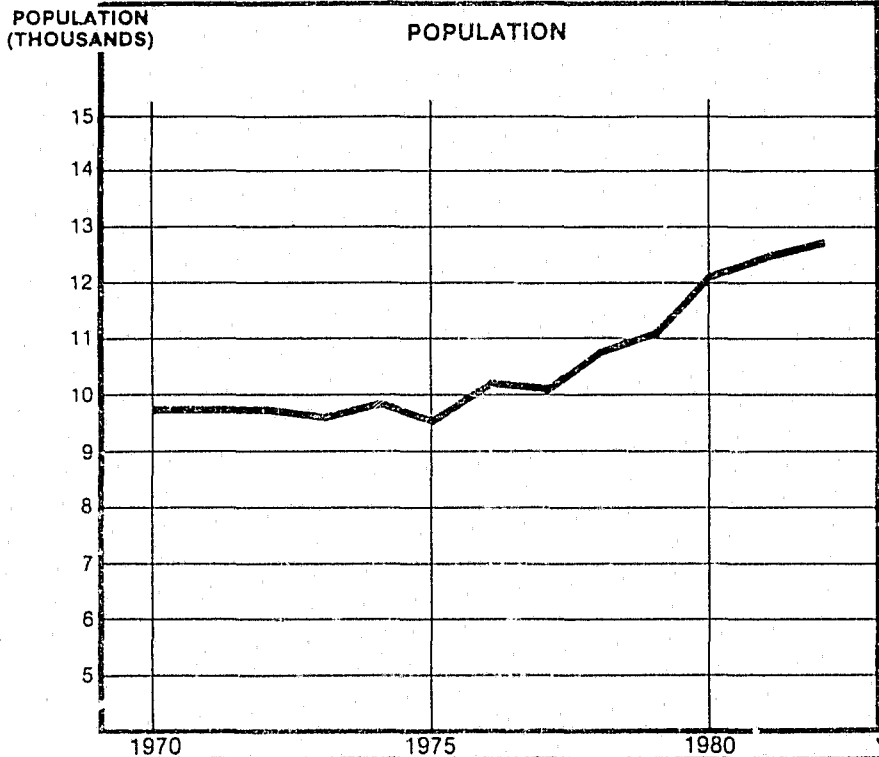
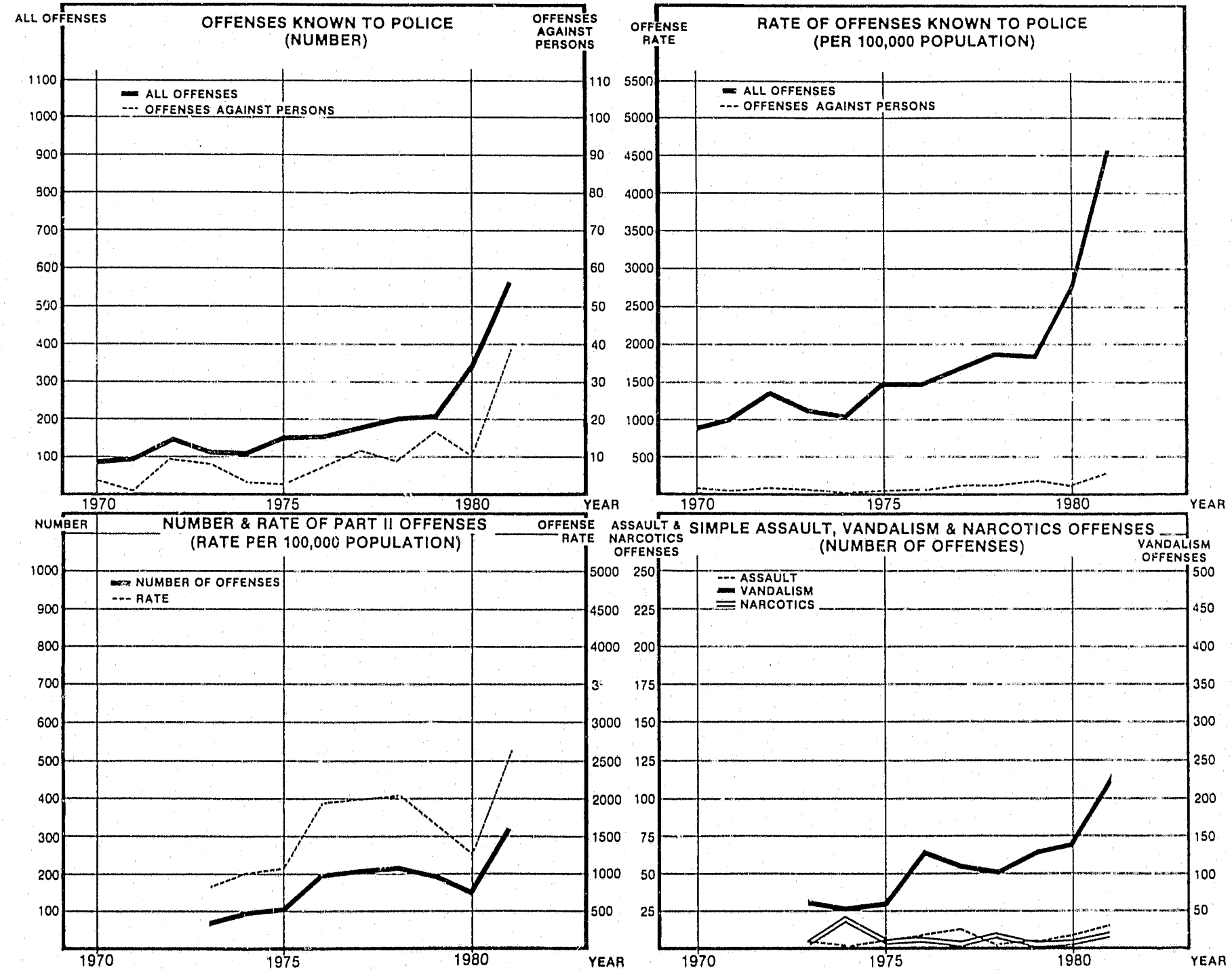


Exhibit 7.

RICHLAND COUNTY



consistently one-third to one-half of the state rate. Starting in 1980, both the number and rate of offenses jumped substantially. There were 569 offenses, of which 38 were crimes against persons in 1981 and Richland County's crime rate of 4,552 crimes per 100,000 population almost exactly matched the state rate. The largest increase in crime was in the area of larceny/theft. Violent crime has been comparatively uncommon in the county and only in 1981 did it exceed the state average. See Exhibit 7. Part 2 crimes increased along with oil related employment in the mid-1970s, dipped in 1978 and 1979 and went back up again in 1981. Since 1973, the number of Part 2 crimes has fluctuated between 81 and 326 occurrences, the latter number achieved in 1981. Except for 1981, the rate of Part 2 crime has been lower, sometimes as much as 50 percent lower than the corresponding state rate. Vandalism is the largest single category of Part 2 crime. Between 1978 and 1981, the number of vandalism cases better than doubled from 103 to 230 incidents. Despite law enforcement perceptions that disturbances and fighting had greatly increased and that "narcotics were epidemic," the reported level of simple assaults and narcotics was low, only 14 assaults and 10 narcotic offenses reported in 1981, the peak year.

Law enforcement and court officials uniformly stated that alcohol related crimes (family disturbances, disturbing the peace, DWI) have accounted for most of the area's increase in criminal activity, although thefts also were said to have increased dramatically. The group with whom officials have had the most trouble was described as "the 19-35 age group with lots of money, no roots, and nothing to do." Local officials also stated that no particular groups could be identified as victims of the increased incidence of crime, "its pretty much spread out over everybody."

Law enforcement and court officials consider alcohol related crimes to have become epidemic in the area. Until 1981, the county rate of alcohol treatment paralleled that for Montana, then it doubled. Local officials also mentioned that the incidence of family disturbance had increased in the area. The county has experienced an increase in both the number and rate of divorce but both are long-term trends. During the period 1978 to 1981, Richland County's divorce rate remained from 20 to 40 percent lower than the state rate.

Traffic counts reported by the Montana Highway Department indicated that vehicular traffic in Richland County increased over fifteen percent per year from 1974 to 1981. Prior to that, traffic volumes varied, on the average, less than one percent per year. The county's rate of vehicle accidents better than tripled between the years 1978 and 1981, from 260 to 601 accidents. By 1981, the accident rate was almost double the state rate.

District court filings better than doubled during the oil boom period in Richland County. A Sidney Justice-of-the-Peace stated that his caseload has increased two to three hundred percent in the past two years, but did not provide a statistical profile. Reportedly, the

largest increases have been experienced in the area of small claims and civil dockets. This official also noted that poaching violations have increased as has the incidence of requests for jury totals, particularly for DWI and driving without a current driver's license. Reported juvenile probation caseloads have not increased significantly during the three years for which data was available, but juvenile authorities indicated that their programs had previously experienced a large caseload increase in 1977 to 1978 before the advent of the statewide Juvenile Probation Information System. Like juvenile officials in Rosebud County, youth workers in Richland County emphasized the changing nature of their caseloads incorporating a more difficult, hard-to-supervise individual rather than increased numbers of children in treatment. Accordingly, treatment strategies have been geared around short-term, concrete objectives, less use of informal and family control, and a greater reliance on formal reporting and the courts.

By 1981, the Sidney resident was spending \$113 per year for law enforcement compared to \$42 in 1978 and \$20 in 1970. On an inflation adjusted basis, per capita law enforcement expenditures have just better than doubled since 1970. Except for the jail renovation, expenditure increases can be attributed primarily to the addition of law enforcement staff and inflation. Court expenditures per person have quadrupled since 1970, from \$3 to \$15 annually; when adjusted for inflation they doubled.

The increase in governmental expenditures pose no particular hardship on the residents of Richland County. The county has one of the lowest tax rates in the state. From 1970 to 1981, the taxable value of the county increased from \$16.5 to \$106.3 million. The county's 1982 per capita taxable value was \$8,306 compared with \$2,501 statewide, or 232 percent greater. The recent increase in taxable value is almost entirely due to oil and gas production. In 1982, the total tax mill levy for a Sidney resident was 219 mills compared with a statewide average of 293 mills. The county's large increase in taxable value was not shared by the city of Sidney. From 1978 to 1982, the city taxable value increased \$2 million (i.e., 42 percent) but, the mill levy also increased from 52 to 79 mills to cover cost increases in both operating and capital construction expenditures. It is quite possible for a government to have extremely limited financial capacity while surrounded by potentially enormous tax wealth in the county as the circumstances in both Sidney and Forsyth attest.

The Sidney City Police Department and the Richland County Sheriff's office share the same facilities, files, dispatch, and communications but maintain their separate management structures and jurisdictions. The working relationship between the two offices was uniformly described as positive and effective. The present county law enforcement facility was renovated in 1976-1977.

The major problems reported by law enforcement officials was a general lack of manpower to handle the increased workload created by the

population influx. Within that general need, two areas stood out. The Sheriff's office reported an extremely large increase in civil process actions and, the geographical expansion of residential and commercial areas both in and outside the city increased the number of areas that needed to be patrolled. Richland County has added two prosecuting attorneys to the County Attorneys staff since 1980. The district court "has been simply overwhelmed" according to local sources.

In summary, the Richland County oil boom rapidly increased the industrial workforce and population of the county. In turn, the area experienced increased levels of crime, court caseloads, alcohol consumption, vehicle accidents and traffic, and civil process duties. Youth services officials reported a changed type of caseload, one requiring more intensive and formal intervention, although the number of cases remained relatively steady.

Case Study #4: Lincoln County/Libby, Montana

Lincoln County is located in the extreme northwestern corner of Montana. Most of its 3,714 square miles of land area is mountainous and heavily forested. Libby, (1980 population = 2,748) is the largest city and county seat. Troy, 18 miles west of Libby (1980 population = 1,089) is also an incorporated municipality. In 1979 ASARCO, Inc. began the three year construction phase of its Troy unit, an underground copper-silver mine on Mount Vernon, about 15 miles south of Troy. During 1980 at the peak of construction, 200-250 construction workers and 200 employees of ASARCO, Inc. were on the job. When fully operational the permanent workforce will be 340 persons.

Construction and operation of the mine did not lead to a large scale population influx. The construction workforce largely was attracted from northwestern Montana and adjacent areas. Few of the construction workers relocated their families. Instead, they resided in local trailer courts or housekeeping motels throughout the Libby-Troy area and commuted home on the weekends. ASARCO adopted a policy of hiring and training local people for its permanent workforce. Lincoln County has traditionally had a very high rate of unemployment. The development of the ASARCO mine took place coincident with a period of very poor economic conditions in the local wood products industry and ASARCO found a large, industrially skilled labor pool available and actively seeking work at the mine. Eleven percent of ASARCO's employees, 39 workers, mainly senior management and engineering personnel were immigrants to the area. The total population increase was 123 persons. As a consequence, school enrollments did not change perceptibly. The expected demand for housing and other social services did not materialize and little public concern was evident regarding social disruption and public safety.

Lincoln County started the 1970s in a "boom" with the construction of the Libby Dam and entered the 1980s in the worst recession it has ever experienced. The local economy is dominated by the woods products industry. During the last two years, the demand for lumber has been low and, in 1981, unemployment averaged 25 percent of the workforce. See Exhibit 8. Lincoln County has a high reported rate of crime consistently near or above the state rate and similar to that of the larger urban counties. Since 1975, the county's crime rate (seven major felonies) has ranked from 4th to 12th highest among Montana's 56 counties. Overall, Lincoln has a higher rate of offenses against persons and lower level of crime against property than does Montana as a whole. Lincoln County's crime incidence level is high as well. Since 1970, the number of reported Part 1 crimes has ranged between 401 (in 1971) and 985 (in 1974) with a general diminishing trend. While the ASARCO mine was being constructed, the total amount and rate of crime decreased 8 percent (74 fewer incidents) although the number of crimes against persons about doubled, from 34 to 67 reported cases. See Exhibit 9. Since the approximate middle of the decade, the incidence and rate of lesser (Part 2) felony offenses has remained relatively stable. Between 1973 and 1979 the number of reported narcotics offenses grew about 20 percent per year from 28 to 62 cases. Thereafter, the rate of increase jumped to 115 percent per year from 62 to 203 incidents. The reported level of narcotics offenses is astronomically high for a county its size and even exceeds levels reported in many of the larger urban counties of the state. The changes in crime level and rate reported in Lincoln do not closely track with the construction or early operational phase of the ASARCO Troy Mine. Law enforcement officers noted some change in the types of persons (i.e., construction workers) involved in criminal activity but no major shift in crime level. One law enforcement official said,

"We had some trouble during construction . . . the major change was in theft (misdemeanor), vandalism, and bar fights. After it was over (construction phase), it calmed right down."

Another officer indicated ASARCO's positive impact on crime levels.

"As far as I can see, the mine's impact was positive. It gave a lot people around here jobs . . . the economy is the source of our problem . . . most of the trouble is caused by unemployed 'cedar breeders' and loggers."

A Libby law enforcement official attributed the increase in reports of narcotic offenses and subsequent increase in narcotics arrests to an active narcotic investigation program by the county sheriff's office, search and seizure activities of the U.S. Border Patrol at the Port of Roosville near Eureka, and members of the mine construction workforce. A police officer in Troy offered an alternative view:

"Drugs are a problem but not a big problem. Marijuana is three-quarters of it and almost all of it is homegrown. (We) see

Exhibit 8.

LINCOLN COUNTY

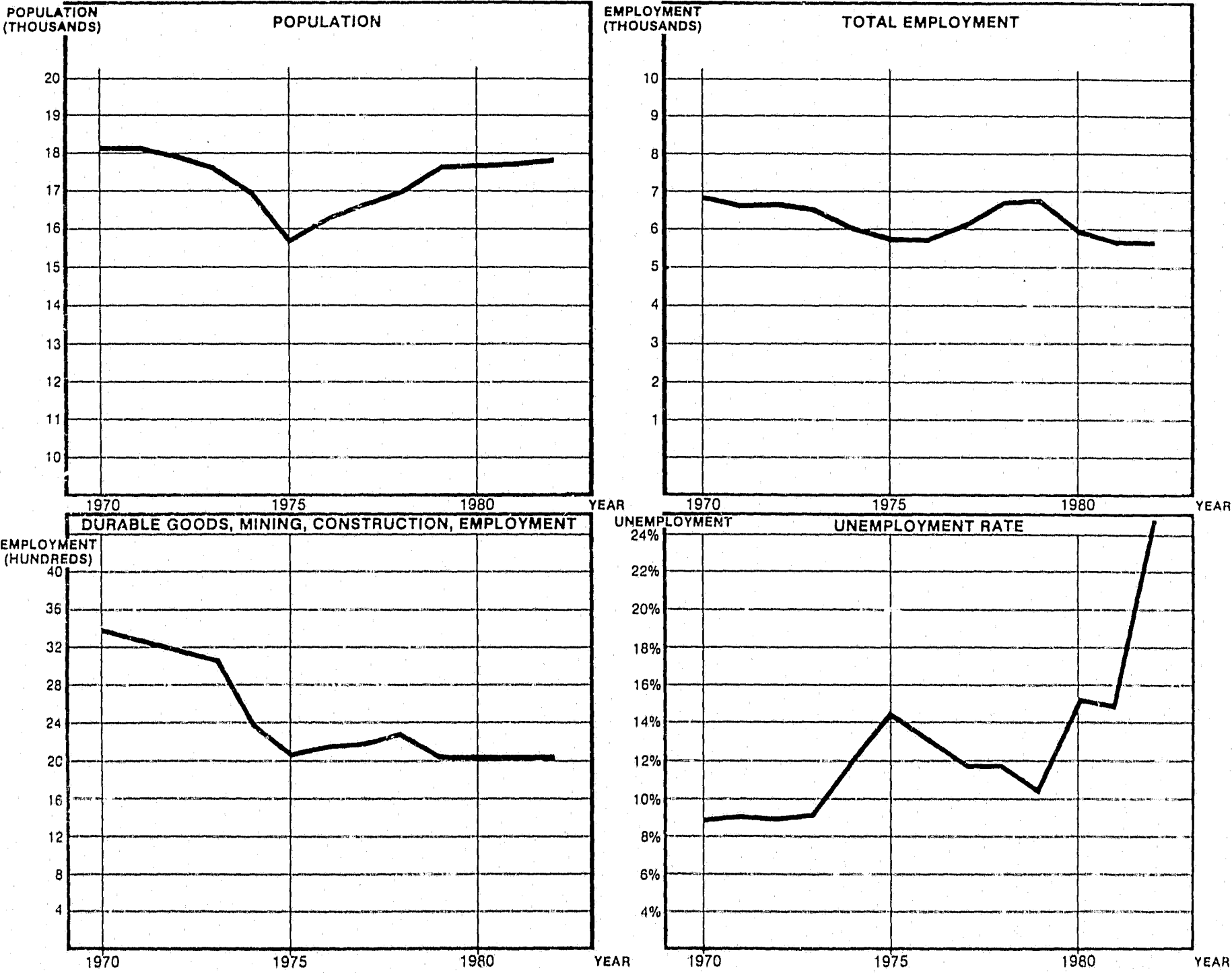
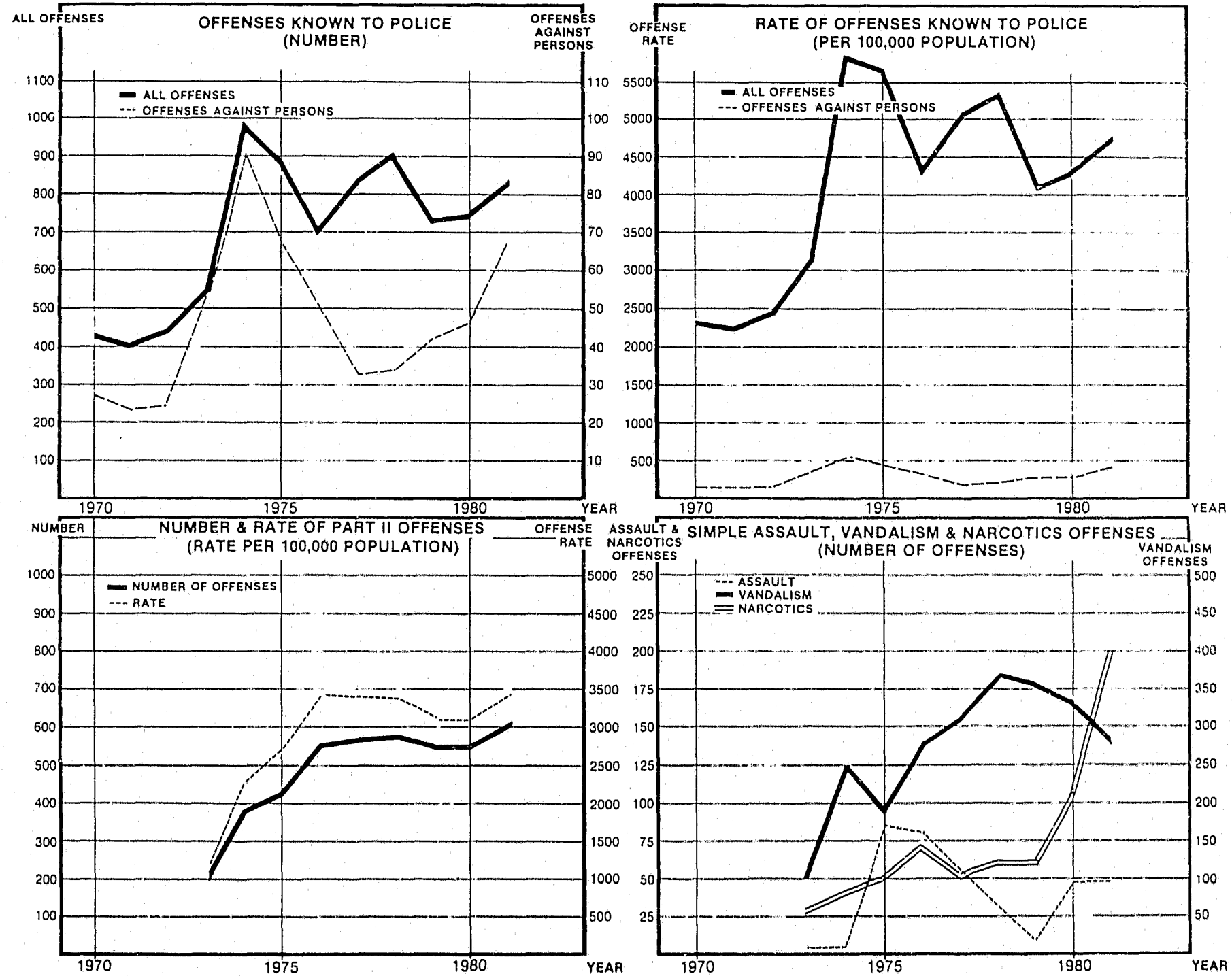


Exhibit 9.

LINCOLN COUNTY



some pills but no heavy stuff . . . (There) is some local perception that the problem has been imported from the outside but length of residence in the community is no factor in who uses drugs."

In 1980, Lincoln County ranked 39th among Montana's 56 counties for per capita liquor sales. Per capita sales remained stable during the ASARCO mine construction period. Lincoln County's rate of marital dissolution has fluctuated throughout the decade with an upward trend. The county's marital dissolution rate is above the state average and has been so throughout the 1970s. During the ASARCO mine construction phase, the number of vehicle accidents reported in Lincoln County declined, even though the amount of vehicle traffic increased. The county's accident rate is similar to the state average although Lincoln County tends to experience a lower rate of fatalities and has a large share of its accidents on city streets and county roads. Vehicle counts west of Libby and near Troy showed an annual increase on the order of 70-170 vehicles per day compared with annual increases of 25-60 vehicles earlier in the decade. Law enforcement officials cited increased vehicle traffic as one of, if not the, most noticeable changes during the ASARCO construction phase.

During the four year comparison period, district court case filings increased from 611 to 680 cases in the county but the rate of change closely paralleled the experience in Montana as a whole; the county case filing rate remained below the state average. The juvenile probation caseload fluctuated substantially on a yearly basis from 1978 to 1981 ranging between 97 and 144 cases, but youth services officials did not attribute changes in the probation caseload to the ASARCO project.

Law enforcement expenditures increased 300 percent for Libby residents between 1970 and 1982, rising from \$26.00 to \$104.00 per capita. Through the 1978-1982 period, Lincoln County's per capita expenditure for law enforcement ranges from 20 to 43 percent above the average of other surveyed communities. During the 1970's, the increased cost of law enforcement and other governmental expenditures was primarily due to inflation. Correcting for inflation, only 15.5 percent of the total growth in expenditures in Lincoln County went for "real" growth such as an expansion or improvement in service levels. Court expenditures showed a similar pattern with local taxpayers spending three dollars per capita in 1970, \$17 in 1978 and \$26 in 1982. Lincoln County court expenditures exceeded the average in 22 other Montana communities by an average of 34 percent or \$5.50 per person.

Lincoln County's fiscal condition is mixed. Its fiscal capacity as measured by the level of taxable valuation is 30 percent lower than the state average. In 1982 the county's per capita taxable valuation was \$1,738 per person, compared with the state average of \$2,501. Nevertheless, receipt of federal timber funds, a form of in-lieu-of-tax payment, is a sufficiently large revenue source to allow the county to

hold its tax levy down. In 1982, the Libby taxpayer paid taxes at a rate of 284 mills compared with 294 mills in other comparably sized cities. Over the past decade, the tax rate has generally held close to the state average.

There are three features of the social structure in Lincoln County that appear to influence the county's level of crime: urbanism, labor mobility, and the masculine nature of work and recreation. By Montana standards Lincoln County is urban and in a sociological sense, Libby is sufficiently large that mechanisms of informal social control are not as effective as they are in small towns.

The local woods products industry is highly cyclical and competitive. Logging is also an itinerant occupation, whose requirements subject Lincoln County to a constant stream of transient workmen either outsiders moving through the area or local workmen kept away from their homes, families, and the supervision of their children for long periods. A variety of strangers is a routine part of community life. The lumber business, both in the forest and mill, is hard, dangerous work. It's a business with a decidedly masculine image that places a premium on strength and self-sufficiency. "They (loggers and sawmill workers) work hard and play hard too." Alcohol use is a major part of social and recreational activities. There is a preference for settling disputes "man-to-man." Under the circumstances, the community at large is generally tolerant of drunkenness, DWI, teenage alcohol use, fighting, and barroom brawls.

Sheriff's Department officials reported a low level of staff turnover although a couple of deputies resigned their positions to work at the ASARCO mine. The department is committed to staff training and regularly cycles officers through schools provided by the Montana Law Enforcement Academy. The major problem identified by the department is inadequate radio communications caused by the mountainous terrain and frequent inclement weather. A second concern are the logistical problems of policing and providing emergency services over a large area with extremely rugged terrain. As one official commented,

"When you've got somebody in the Yaak Valley, who's sick and needs to get out to the hospital in the winter, you might be there half the day with four or five men and two or three vehicles just getting into the place."

Troy has a two-man Police Department. The department's major problem is its budget. The city tax base is very small and its growth has not kept up with the increasing cost of services. The ASARCO mine is located outside the city limits and, while it has made a sizeable, positive impact on the taxable value of the Troy School District and Lincoln County, it has not had the same corresponding effect on Troy.

In summary, construction of the ASARCO mine in Lincoln County was accomplished with minimal, if any, social disruption. Crime levels

actually decreased during the construction period for some categories of offenses and criminal justice system participants generally agreed that changes in their workloads during the construction period was principally related to vehicle traffic and occasional disturbance incidents, petty theft, and the like. The low level of social disruption can probably be attributed to two sources. First, despite the size of the project, there was no major population movement to the area which, in turn, reduced both the size of the potential pool of troublemakers and victims. Second, the Libby/Troy area had the capacity to absorb a construction influx. Its capacity is both physical and social. In the first case, it had a relatively large, well organized and equipped criminal justice system in place to deal with problems if they occurred. Second, the people of the area are used to transients and strangers in their midst and tolerate, if not accept, various forms of criminal activity (i.e., assault, brawls, drunkenness) without fear or the belief that social order is disintegrating around them.

Case Study #5: Deer Lodge County/Anaconda, Montana

Anaconda/Deer Lodge County is located in the southwestern portion of Montana. Anaconda (1980 population = 10,403) is the only major settlement in the area. Over 90 percent of the county's 12,518 citizens live in or within five miles of Anaconda. A city-county consolidated government was formed during the mid-1970s.

Montana historian K. Ross Toole (1959) described Anaconda's beginning as a shock,

"In 1880, Nate Levengood's meadow, where Anaconda now stands, was a lush and quiet place. As far as the eye could see in all directions, there was nothing but the valley, the swelling foothills, and the mountain ramparts.

Four years later the meadow was gone, blighted by arsenic fumes from the largest copper smelter in the world. There had been no gradual encroachment of civilization, no creeping in of small farms, and little stores. There was no village. First there was nothing and then all of a sudden there was the world's largest smelter and around it, a raw new town."

Just as suddenly on September 29th, 1980, ninety-six years later, the Anaconda Copper Company announced that the smelter would be closed. The closure eliminated 1,000 jobs and threatened the loss of another 1,100 positions in community businesses and support industries. The Montana Department of Labor estimated that the smelter directly or indirectly supported 78 percent of all jobs and 82 percent of the total personal income in Deer Lodge County.

Following the closure announcement, the community was granted assistance from the Anaconda Copper Company in the form of a \$3.0 million grant for economic redevelopment, a donation of 57 acres of land on the city's eastside for an industrial park, and miscellaneous grants of equipment to local governmental and charitable organizations. The community also formed two task forces. The Redevelopment Task Force, in conjunction with the Local Redevelopment Corporation, oversaw economic planning and redevelopment including disbursement of the \$3.0 million redevelopment fund in the form of low interest loans to businesses that would locate in the community and create jobs. The Community Service Cooperative, an association of social service, religious, and law enforcement agencies, formed to mitigate potential adverse social impact from the smelter closure.

Deer Lodge County has been in economic decline for well over a decade. The graphs contained in Exhibit 10 show a long, step-by-step process of employment loss and population decrease. In the past, the local economy had two main sources of support, the Anaconda Company smelter and the state mental and pulmonary hospitals, located at Warm Springs and Galen. In the 1970's, both were declining industries. Between 1975 and 1981, over 400 staff positions were eliminated at Warm Springs State Hospital. Since 1970, employment at the Anaconda Smelter shrank by almost 1,600 jobs.

The gradual economic decline of the Anaconda area largely eliminated job opportunities for young people. Between 1970 and 1980, Deer Lodge County's net out-migration was 4,464 people. The county's median age of 33.2 years is well above the state average. During the last decade while the number of households was expanding by 30 percent statewide, Deer Lodge County experienced an actual decline of 160 households. In 1980 and 1981, the county's unemployment rate was almost double the state norm.

Deer Lodge County shows an erratic pattern of criminal activity, with an overall declining number and rate of felonious incidents. See Exhibit 11. In part, the erratic pattern of crime is due to inconsistent reporting by the county.⁴ Between 1978 and the present, the local law enforcement agencies went through a consolidation and series of management changes (three different police chiefs in four years) that appear to have adversely affected crime reporting. In general, the level and rate of Part 1 offenses is low. Since 1975, the county has ranked between 15th and 42nd among Montana's 56 counties for crime rate. Throughout the 1970's the county crime rate was

⁴There was considerable disparity between the state reports and locally collected crime statistics in Deer Lodge County. The state reports show a low level of criminal activity in the county particularly in the Part 1 category. Local statistics show higher and increasing levels of felonious activity.

Exhibit 10.

DEER LODGE COUNTY

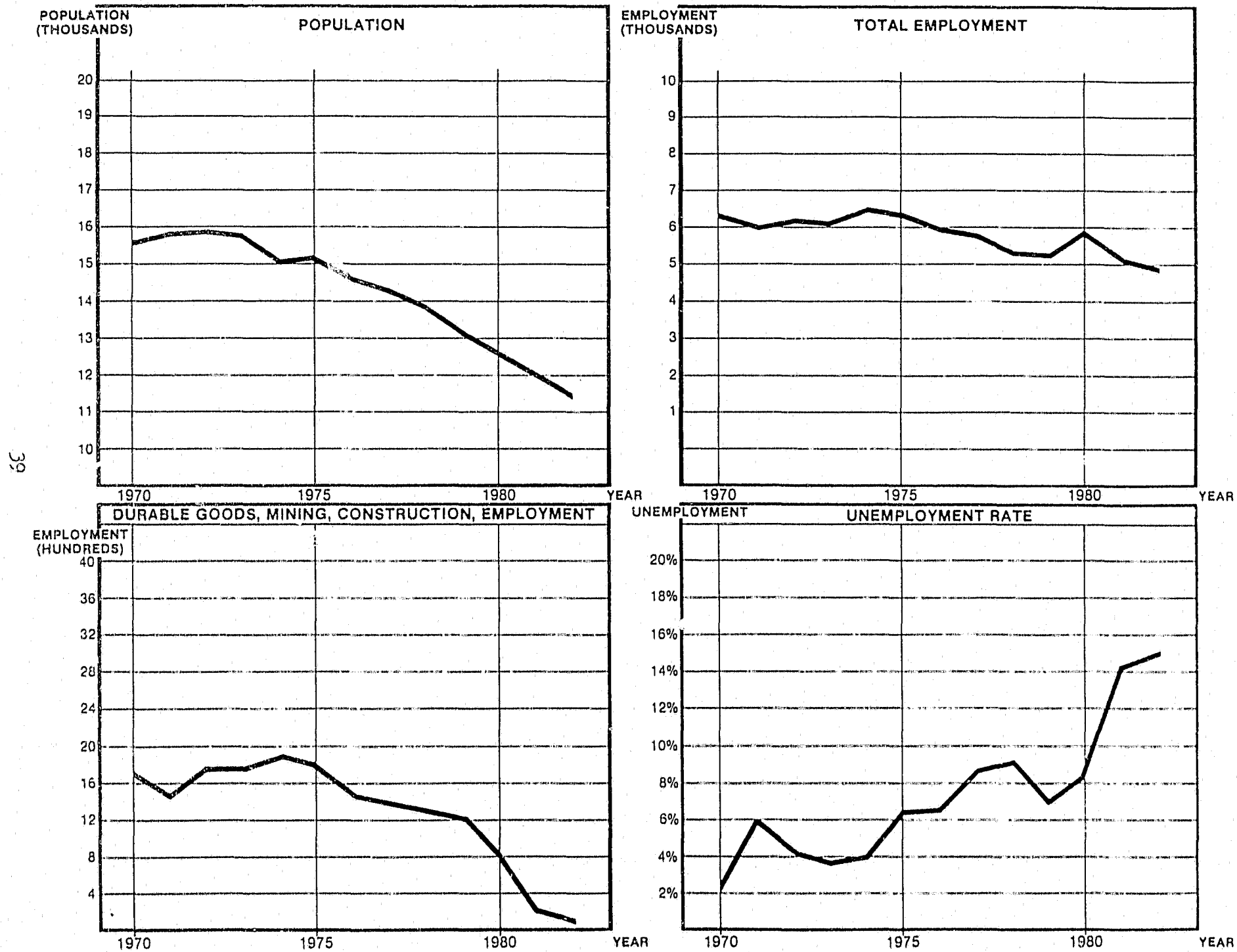
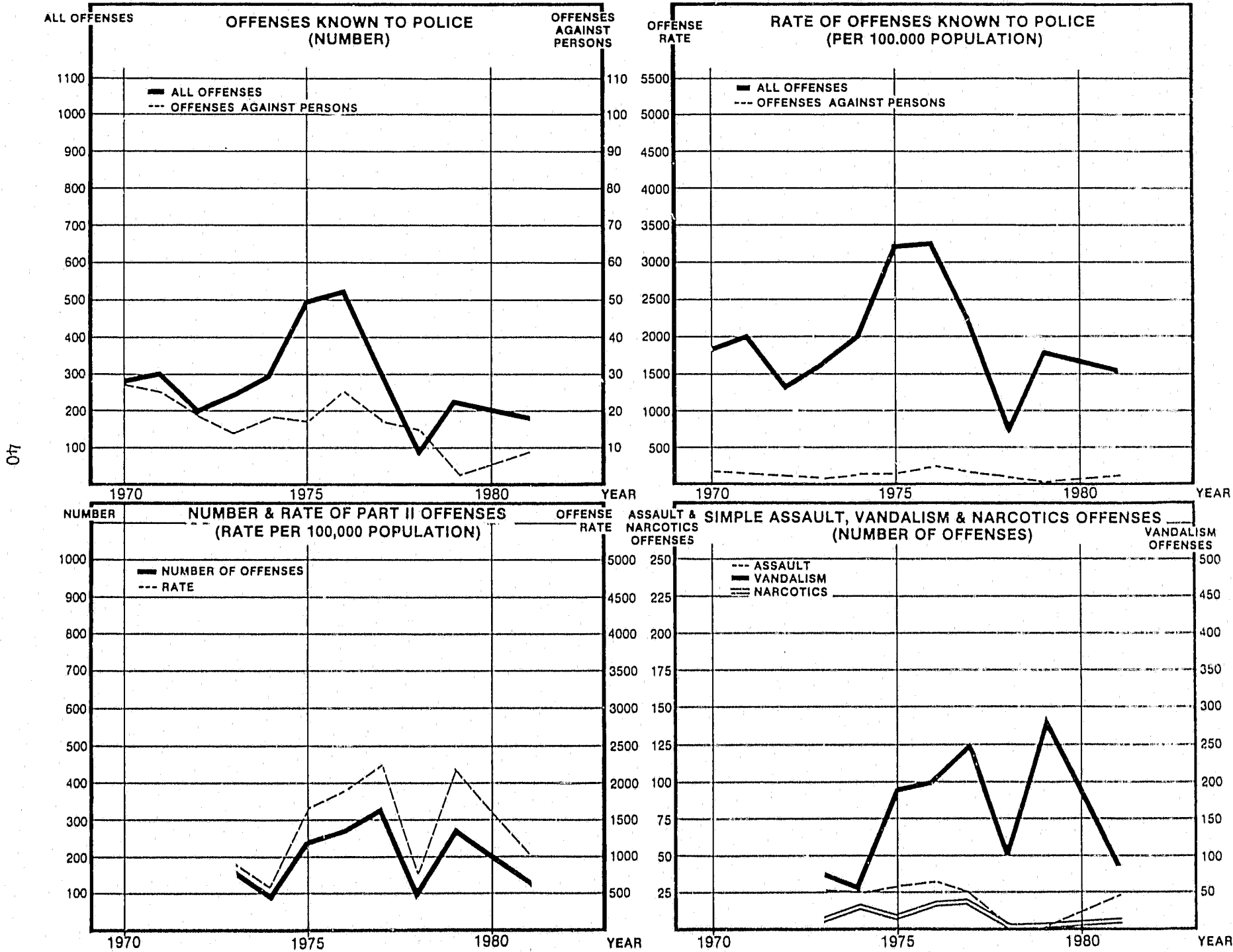


Exhibit 11.

DEER LODGE COUNTY



consistently one-third to three-quarters of the state rate. Since the smelter closure, both the number and rate of Part 1 and Part 2 felonies has decreased. In general, the reported level of criminal activity has either stayed constant or decreased since the smelter closure.

The decrease in reported serious felonious activity in Deer Lodge County took place concurrently with a general increase in police calls. The number of calls received by the police increased from an average of 474 calls per month in early 1979 to 540 calls during the same period of 1981, after the smelter closure. Since then, the average monthly rate has fluctuated between 540 and 748 calls per month. Reports of disturbances (except family) shows a widely fluctuating but general upward trend. Reports of juvenile problems are also extremely erratic but declining in number. Family disturbance and child abuse/neglect cases showed a 40 to 50 percent increase right after the smelter closure and have remained relatively stable at 15 to 20 incidents per month since then.

Law enforcement officials noted an increase in petty thefts, the occurrence of more family disturbances, and alcohol related problems (i.e., DWI, juvenile possession) since the smelter closure. No specific cause could be identified to account for the long-term upward trend in calls to the police. One official suggested that some police activity was stimulated by the absence of many adult males from the community seeking employment elsewhere while the family remained in Anaconda. He commented,

"There are a lot of men working down in Colstrip and the wife and kids are here. Sometimes she can't handle it alone and the kids are running loose."

A social service provider tied part of the change in police activity to,

"The guys who are out-of-work, drinking too much, and going home to bat the old lady around."

A third assessment was offered by a law enforcement officer,

"We seem to get calls for things and we can't find anything wrong, like with prowlers. They hear something strange and they call the police . . . Its either that or they just want company . . . seems like a lot of calls like that are from older folks, usually ladies."

While the actual dollar volume of alcohol sales is increasing, on an inflation adjusted basis, Deer Lodge County mirrors the state trend of an overall decrease in liquor consumption. In 1991, liquor sales were \$73.82, a level close to the county average for 1979-1980 (\$72.47) immediately preceding the smelter closure. In 1980, Deer Lodge County ranked 12th among Montana's 56 counties for alcohol sales per person. Following the smelter closure, the alcohol treatment caseload increased

by an average of 14 cases per month, to 45 cases. Since then (1981), the average caseload has fallen 16 percent to 38 cases. Following the smelter closure, alcohol treatment was the one indicator of social disruption that appeared to have been impacted by the shutdown.

Deer Lodge's rate of marital dissolutions has decreased since the early 1970s, although there was an upward turn in 1981. The total number of divorces per year is small and the divorce rate is generally half to two-thirds of the state rate. While social service personnel frequently talked about increases in family stress and disturbances following the smelter closure, they did not tie it to marital dissolution. The number and rate of traffic accidents have been declining in Deer Lodge County since 1975, although the police department reports an increase in the number of accidents within the City of Anaconda. The county's accident rate has always been well below the state rate and remains so. Vehicle counts have increased during the past decade in small increments. Neither indicator shows any meaningful change during the period of the smelter closure.

The County's district court caseload has shown wide variation in the four years (1978 to 1981) for which data is available. Almost 200 more cases were filed in 1981 compared with the previous year. On the other hand, the juvenile probation caseload fell by an equivalent amount between 1979 and 1981. In the latter case, the caseload change may be partially a function of the reporting system. Following the smelter closure, the probation office lost one staff position and the Chief Probation Officer readily admits to not having the time to keep the reporting system up-to-date.

Deer Lodge County spends much less for law enforcement services than the other communities profiled in this report. In 1982, Deer Lodge County spent \$59 per person for law enforcement compared with the statewide average of \$83. When adjusted for inflation, the county is spending less for law enforcement now than it did in 1970. The pattern of court expenditures is generally upward until 1980 when it leveled off and turned downward. Deer Lodge County currently spends \$18 per person on courts compared with \$20 statewide.

Even though the county's expenditure level for law enforcement and courts is relatively low, its residents carry a very high tax burden. The county has never had a large tax base and what was there, has steadily declined since 1976. In 1980, the total taxable value of the county was \$17.1 million and Anaconda Company property constituted almost 40 percent of the total. The systematic sale and demolition of the smelter since its closure coupled with legislative action reducing the taxable share of property such as motor vehicles and business inventories, has meant the loss of \$6.0 million of taxable value. On a per capita basis, the current county tax base is \$1,056, or approximately where it was in 1973. The total mill levy of 376 mills is 82 mills or 28 percent above the levy in comparable cities and counties.

Since the smelter closure occurred tax rates have actually decreased, but at the cost of large scale cuts in services. Deer Lodge County has to look forward to ever greater reductions in its taxable value until the smelter is completely demolished and/or new development takes place to offset reductions made at the smelter.

Without exception, all criminal justice and social service personnel pointed to two problems,

1. The declining tax base which is forcing reductions in staff in the face of constant or increasing workloads, and
2. An increase in family disturbance problems.

While the smelter closure was a devastating economic blow to the community, it has not resulted in major changes in criminal justice activity or, indeed, resulted in wide scale social disruption. Treatment for alcohol abuse increased following the smelter closure, but the actual number of cases was relatively small. Reports of family stress and disturbances have been widespread, although formal caseload statistics do not show it. Social service providers attribute the discrepancy to Anaconda's strong family structure assuming its traditional role, while social service agencies see only the "unattached" family or cases so severe they cannot be handled without formal means. The loss of fiscal capacity by local government has required large cut backs in all services. When the smelter closed, employment and the tax base declined but it did not result in a large scale reduction in population. Accordingly, social service caseloads, court actions, police calls, and the other forms of work for criminal justice agencies have remained roughly constant or have increased. Thus, services are still needed but the county lacks the ability to pay for them.

Summary of Key Actions

Seen as a whole, the case studies exhibit similar problems, especially in the three rapid growth settings -- Rosebud, Custer, and Richland counties. Each of the rapid growth counties experienced a sizeable increase in their expenditures for criminal justice functions coupled with the addition of personnel, particularly in local law enforcement agencies. In no case did the local government staff-up before the onset of large scale industrialization and, in each instance, local officials complained about not being able to "catch-up" with their workloads and, perhaps, adopt measures that were preventive in nature.

Each case study county is either experiencing problems with its jail/law enforcement facility or has done so in the recent past. Rosebud, Richland, and Lincoln counties have either built new or

remodeled their jail during the past several years. Rapid growth exacerbated the need for new jail facilities. Custer County, Idaho and Deer Lodge County face that step in the not to distant future. Both of their facilities are old and do not meet contemporary jail standards.

Pet nuisances increased dramatically in each of the three rapid growth situations and in each case it was necessary for local government to either build or remodel animal shelters and add animal control personnel.

In Rosebud and Custer counties, attempts were made to concentrate population growth in one location. In Challis, local government went a step further and provided a temporary campground adjacent to the city for itinerant job seekers. Challis can be contrasted with Sidney where a temporary camp was also created for immigrant job seekers in a local park. There the "tent city" was viewed in decidedly negative terms -- a source of problems rather than the solution discovered by Challis. In both Rosebud and Custer counties, the industrial firm developing the area took the lead in providing residential housing thus concentrating population growth. In Richland County, where there were a plethora of industrial firms engaged in oil exploration, community development was largely left to local government while the workforce fended for itself in finding housing and other services.

The orderly development of both Colstrip and Challis was assisted by the use of socioeconomic and planning consultants retained by industry to advise them of service needs and the concerns of the local population. In Richland County, the task of monitoring and planning for community change was handled by a local Energy Impact Committee. While that body is generally recognized as having made a positive impact on local planning, its structure as a "voluntary coordinating" body with limited resources and the type of situation it faced (e.g., multiple developers) appeared to make it less effective than similar industry sponsored activities in Rosebud and Custer counties.

Interlocal agreements, multi-county service districts, or shared facilities are used in each of the case study counties for the direct provision or to augment law enforcement services. Both Lincoln and Rosebud counties have service agreements with the county seat to provide police services within the city limits. The City of Sidney and Richland County share communications equipment, office, and jail space. Anaconda and Deer Lodge County have a city-county consolidated government and share most governmental services. Custer County, Idaho, has interlocal agreements with adjacent counties to provide back-up personnel and equipment support in the case of a major problem. The City of Challis has attempted to improve police services within the city by creating its own police force and dropping its previous contract with the county Sheriff. That approach appears to be an exception to the general trend.

Civil process caseloads greatly increased in each of the three major development counties during the development phase. Custer County,

Idaho and Richland County, Montana continue to process such work through the general duties of their Deputy Sheriffs. Rosebud County is creating a civil division within the Sheriff's department staffed by sworn personnel who will serve as the actual paper servers and civilian clerical staff.

Staff turnover among law enforcement personnel was cited as a major problem in Rosebud, Richland, and Custer counties. Local officials repeatedly cited large scale salary differences between police and industrial workers as the major cause of staff turnover. Perhaps without consciously doing so, law enforcement agencies have broadened their staff recruitment focus. Law enforcement agencies have been hiring recent immigrants to the local area, occasionally recruit out-of-state, and are systematically increasing the number of civilian personnel working in their department.

Finally, the increase in criminal activity, arrests, and civil matters in the development counties has resulted in large court case filing increases, especially in the lower courts (i.e., Justice-of-the-Peace, Magistrate Courts). In both Rosebud and Richland counties, the court's resources were augmented by the addition of clerical personnel, prosecutorial staff or, as in Colstrip, the creation of a new court to serve the immediate area.

OBSERVATIONS

In the five counties examined by the study the overall change in the incidence of serious felonies (Part 1 crimes) was small. Only in Richland County did the onset of development result in an increase of more than 100 serious felonies. Despite the increase in serious criminal activity and an accompanying increase in the crime rate (per 100,000 population) the "boom" counties generally had crime rates well below the state average. Most of the change in serious felony crime levels and rates during resource development projects came as a result of crimes against property, principally larceny/theft. Generally speaking, crimes against persons were comparatively rare.

The public impact and policy implications of a given crime level or increase are relative. It depends more on where a jurisdiction started (i.e., how much crime it had in the beginning) rather than the current or new level of crime. For example, criminal justice personnel in Rosebud County appear to perceive the county as having a crime problem; Lincoln County personnel do not, even though Lincoln has experienced four times the reported number of criminal incidents and has had a crime rate better than double Rosebud's during the past half-decade. Rosebud County sees itself in a flux and its comparisons are to yesteryear when things "were quiet" rather than with the experience of its sister counties.

The lesser felonies (Part 2 crimes) appear to be more sensitive to changes in employment levels at resource development situations than are measurements of the seven major crimes. Anecdotal information provided by criminal justice system participants confirmed that most of the crime their respective communities experienced were minor felonies and misdemeanors -- DWIs, simple assaults, vandalism, petty theft, and the like.

It appears that a portion, perhaps a significant portion, of the increase in crime reported in resource development situations is a result of increased formalization of police practice. In the face of a large influx of strangers and, perhaps, with officers that are new to the community itself, an informal mode of law enforcement that may have characterized the community in the past is less appropriate. The introduction of strangers immediately changes the definition of crime. Bar fights that used to be considered "the boys blowing off steam" when the participants were known, tend to become "disturbing the peace," "destruction of property," and "assault" when the subjects are strangers. The importance of formalization cannot be overstressed. Once a person has been arrested a record of the process is initiated and the offense becomes a part of the criminal justice workload. The measurement process only shows the reported crimes and not those that actually occurred. If a community treated crime more informally in the past and did not record its true incidence, the statistics compiled through more formal police practices

will overstate the actual change in criminal activity. Even with formalization of police practice, officers in development situations reported both the occurrence and need to dispense "street justice" rather than arresting offenders. In part, street justice is dispensed for humanitarian reasons. "(I) can't see giving a kid a record for life for just a little ruckus. I was young once too. . ." and for more pragmatic concerns . . . "The jail is small and we can't waste the space on drunks when we have people who need to be in there."

Observations from criminal justice personnel indicating that drug traffic and use is widespread in the development areas is not confirmed by the formal crime statistics. The discrepancy can be explained several ways,

- a. Drugs are widespread but the authorities are unable to catch the dealers.
- b. Drugs are widespread and, among large groups of the population, accepted as well. Under such circumstances, the police leave things alone unless some other factor (e.g., assault) enters the picture to compel a response.
- c. Drugs are not as widespread as law enforcement officials believe.

The type and amount of crime actually created by newcomers in a resource development area remains ambiguous. Law enforcement officials indicate local residents cause their share of the trouble, particularly disturbances, alcohol related crimes, and simple assault. The respective roles of the newcomer versus the local in matters pertaining to larceny theft, burglary, vandalism, and other property crimes remains unclear. Patterns of criminal victimization are also ambiguous. Local law enforcement officials indicated that crime "was spread around." Reports from social service agencies suggest that the trailer parks were the primary source of family disturbance and child abuse/neglect cases. No person interviewed indicated that long-term, established residential neighborhoods were either the target or source of criminal activity.

The link between general living conditions and criminal activity in development situations is tenuous at best. The communities that had implemented large scale service delivery and housing development plans (Colstrip and Challis) experienced increases in crime. Challis' experience with crime was comparable to that in Sidney, even though mitigation efforts in Richland County were far less comprehensive than those of Custer County, Idaho.

Alcohol use and abuse increases in development situations. The alcohol sales information and alcohol treatment caseloads indirectly support the observations of criminal justice officials that "a lot," or "the biggest part" of the increased crime rate is related to alcohol

based offenses. Law enforcement and social service personnel repeatedly described increases in family disturbances and stress, but there was little quantitative documentation available to substantiate their impressions.

Resource development situations show elevated traffic counts and vehicle accident levels in a pattern generally coincident with population increases. Public nuisance calls, especially animal nuisances, and civil process actions increased substantially during resource development. They constitute a major element in the daily workload of law enforcement agencies.

District Court caseloads increased in all three large scale development counties. In Montana, the largest degree of change took place in Richland County where the number of filings in the district court increased by 350 cases over a four-year period. In Custer County, Idaho, the lower level Magistrate courts experienced a large change in its caseload coincident with mineral development, but the district court saw relatively little increase. Justice court officials in Montana development situations report being "overwhelmed by the increased caseload," but no measurement of the change is possible in the absence of quantitative information. Nevertheless, it is safe to assume that justice courts will receive the brunt of the impact from increased criminality in development situations simply because most of the increase in criminal activity is for minor crimes and most civil actions involve small amounts of money. The three main resource development counties exhibited relatively stable juvenile probation caseloads. Youth workers report a change in the type of individual being treated and a need to revise intervention strategies toward more concrete goals (e.g., stop being truant) and more formal use of reporting systems and court adjudication. Youth services personnel placed greater emphasis on the "type of people" migrating to the development area rather than the numbers of people.

Resource development is accompanied by a change to a younger population. Surveys of other development sites have also pointed to the large proportion of married workmen who were unaccompanied by their spouses and families. Both characteristics (youth and single status) have implications for criminal justice agencies beyond the commission of crime. Young single adults have a higher propensity to socialize in taverns; use a motor vehicle more frequently going to, from, and for recreation; and tend to have a lifestyle that makes them more susceptible to theft (i.e., careless about possessions, frequently absent from home, etc.).

The lack of social disruption in Lincoln County during construction of the ASARCO project appears due, in part, to the company's policy of hiring and training local people. By doing so, the population influx was minimized, the existing social order was unchanged, and the potential for increased levels of criminal activity was muted. Local

hiring is the best potential mitigative measure that can be implemented to limit criminal activity. It also happens to be one of the least likely to occur. Rural areas do not usually have either sufficient manpower, the right mix of job skills, or appropriate labor union memberships to staff a large scale industrial project. Some combination of local and imported manpower probably offers the greatest opportunity to limit disruptive behavior.

Law enforcement officials in resource development areas, including Lincoln County, mentioned staff turnover problems caused by the higher wage scale offered at the development. Almost without exception, they felt that higher salaries would allow their departments to compete for labor. No other criminal justice or social service agency mentioned problems with staff turnover. The notion of increasing salaries to retain staff is commonly advocated but difficult and perhaps impractical to implement. Local government has limited flexibility in matters of personnel. Its actions are circumscribed to greater or lesser degree by:

- a. Employee classification plans
- b. Non-discrimination statutes
- c. Collective bargaining agreements
- d. State laws establishing employee salary levels, and
- e. The financial capacity of local government

The level of crime witnessed in the five communities studied is unrelated to the level of expenditure for law enforcement or the courts. The county that professed the greatest satisfaction with its resources (Lincoln) also consistently had the highest crime level.

Each of the case study counties is either experiencing problems with its jail facilities or have done so in the recent past. Most Montana jails are obsolete and do not meet contemporary standards. Rapid development exacerbates jail problems as larger numbers of inmates are housed in facilities that are too small, difficult to supervise, perhaps unsanitary, and maybe unconstitutional.

In the main, resource development has not resulted in financially strapped local government jurisdictions. Richland and Rosebud counties are among, if not, the wealthiest counties in the state in terms of fiscal capacity. Both counties have very low tax rates and have been the recipients of several million dollars of state assistance during the resource development period. Incorporated cities like Forsyth and Sidney which do not directly share in the increases in taxable valuation caused by mineral development are the chief candidates for fiscal disruption. Almost all counties experiencing resource development will face some form of jurisdictional mis-match where the cost and need for services is in one jurisdiction and the financial resources in another. Of the five communities studied, the only one that is truly financially strapped is Anaconda/Deer Lodge County. There, the smelter closure is systematically eroding the tax base and local governments' ability to raise revenue.

Among local law enforcement and social service personnel there were wide ranging differences in the definition and perception of when "changes" in their work situation reached the problem stage and required remedial action. There is a corollary to that confusion in state policy designed to assist local governments manage resource development. More specifically, there is no clear definition of what "adverse impact" is, when it begins, or ends. To date, the state generally has accepted the local definition of "adverse impact" without judging that definition against the experiences elsewhere in Montana. It's true that crime rates have gone up in Rosebud County and that things "ain't the way they used to be." But, at the same time, the amount of reported crime in the county is substantially less than that reported elsewhere, including other small to medium sized counties. In the end, Rosebud County receives financial assistance to solve problems which appear much less severe than other counties face. Also, at some point, "adverse impact" ends and a new social equilibrium is established. Montana policy toward impact mitigation does not recognize a termination point.

The association or simultaneous occurrence of two different phenomena such as boomtown living conditions and family disturbances does not necessarily mean that one caused the other. It is still not known how many families who experience disturbance, persons with substance abuse difficulties, and the like experienced the same infirmity in another setting and simply moved it to the rapid growth situation along with the rest of their luggage. Living conditions in communities experiencing rapid growth may not "cause" social problems to any greater degree than they do in established communities. However, given the relatively small populations; the deficiencies of the measurement process; and the intensive examination they receive from public officials, social scientists, and impact mitigation programs; conditions of social disruption in boomtowns may have assumed mythical proportions.

In the context of establishing public policy to mitigate conditions of social disruption, the disparity between the public perception of a problem and its formal record is both problematic and complex. For many of these issues (e.g., family disturbance, drug use) the record keeping systems are deficient. For major categories of such problems such as family disturbances, there is no agreement on the definition of the problem and, from there, no consistent reporting format, no central compilation of records, or measurement benchmarks.

Human beings can and do react to a situation on the basis of their perceptions as well as its objective parameters. It is not uncommon for issues such as rape, child abuse, or even crime in general, to draw a strong reaction that appears disproportionately intense than the seriousness or incidence level would seem to warrant. Even actions such as public drunkenness which might draw no more than a quizical glance in one town can prompt a strong reaction in another more conservative

setting. The reaction or expression of concern that a community gives to an issue is a major component in its definition and, in turn, the action the responsible party takes to correct it.

In the final analysis, the nature of a social problem ends up being a matter of definition or, perhaps, competing definitions. Generally speaking, the local perception of a problem is much more severe than that accorded it by parties outside the area who may have additional information from other settings. Public policy to mitigate conditions of social disruption must frequently weigh two or more competing assessments of a situation and do so on the basis of less than complete or comparable information. Notwithstanding the difficulty of that process, simple reliance upon the "local definition" of a problem is both inequitable to people of the state as a whole and potentially wasteful since resources may be directed to correct actions that ultimately pose less threat to the health and welfare of the community than less salient issues.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The recommendations that follow are a compilation of thoughts taken from the literature, observations made through the case studies, ideas of state criminal justice planners, and experience encountered in resource development situations.

1. Montana must recognize the need for impact mitigation strategies that go beyond the "adverse consequences" of natural resource development. While the state has had severe experiences with resource development in the past, the current experience is not as negative as popular "boomtown" imagery would suggest. Furthermore, current impact mitigation strategies, particularly financial assistance, fail to fully consider local fiscal resources. At the same time, many Montana cities and counties are experiencing either economic stagnation and decline and whose citizens are experiencing hardship equal to, if not greater than, that experienced by citizens in developing areas. The State of Montana also must recognize that some of the problems being experienced in resource development situations are general to the state as a whole. Local government needs more flexibility to raise revenue and control its budget. Capital facilities such as water and sewer systems throughout the state are in need of repair. The state's current policy of providing impact assistance to areas with special problems is laudible but short-sighted. It does not address the needs of the people of Montana as a whole. Instead, and quite unintentionally, it fragments them into a series of competing interest groups, each claiming a special dispensation or need for financial assistance because they are energy impacted, hardrock mining impacted, urban, the victims of economic decline, or whatever.
2. The state of Montana should specifically formalize the definition of "adverse impact" and draft concrete guidelines including standards for evaluating the financial capacity of local governments before qualifying them for financial aid. Further, the state should adopt a formal comparison mechanism to judge the alleged severity of problems occurring in resource development situation against the experience of other Montana communities. It should also consolidate the impact mitigation programs under one administrative authority.
3. The state impact assistance program should be restructured to offer a portion of its funds as loans rather than out-right grants for assistance. The energy development counties are, without exception, the wealthiest jurisdictions in the state and they can well afford to directly finance or repay loans for the programs and facilities that have historically been funded with impact assistance grants. Loans should be given when it is likely the

- proposed industrial development will substantially increase the tax base and fiscal capacity of the affected local governments. A grant program should be continued for selected pre-development efforts in planning, training, and/or to subsidize the interest on bonds for public facilities being built prior to the population influx. Local government should participate to some degree in the financing of all impact mitigation efforts for which it is seeking assistance.
4. The State of Montana should fully fund the operation of the district courts. While this specific topic was not discussed in the body of the report, it follows from the observations regarding the financial condition of local government. The courts are a function of the state, not the county. The split funding structure does nothing for local government but increase its tax requirements.
 5. The State of Montana should assume the full cost of pension programs for local public safety personnel (law enforcement and fire). State government fully controls the retirement programs by state law; it sets eligibility requirements, benefit schedules, administers the programs, and pays part of the cost. Local government's only contribution is financial. Full state assumption of the pension programs will relieve the citizen's property tax burden at the local level. Again, this recommendation is offered recognizing the general financial circumstances of local government and not specific problems in resource development situations.
 6. The State of Montana should fund traffic engineering and signing surveys in potential or actual development counties to remove the most serious traffic hazards. Correction of those hazards should be given high priority by the state. Impact assistance funds should be used to match highway construction funds to expedite completion of necessary projects in advance of development, if possible.
 7. The State of Montana should establish a special record management and monitoring function to assist local governments keep its criminal justice records and other service records up-to-date and accurate. Resource development counties and places like Anaconda/Deer Lodge County complain of insufficient manpower to keep records current. The loss of accurate records is also the loss of adequate management information. This program also could be used to evaluate impact mitigation proposals submitted in application for grant and loan funds.
 8. Montana should examine the feasibility of developing a rural addressing system. The simple process of locating people has been problematic in development situations. Aside from the obvious law enforcement benefits, rural addressing would benefit the utilities, commercial interests, emergency services, and others with a need to communicate with the state's rural population.

9. The state should develop an equitable mechanism to transfer funds between political jurisdictions when jurisdictional boundaries place the cost of services in one location and the revenue source in another.
10. The state should study and revise as necessary state laws that might impede the use of interlocal agreements for the provision of service. For example, current law prohibits the citizens of one county from issuing general obligation bonds for the construction of a facility in another county. Those types of statutes need to be reconsidered in light of potential cost savings and service improvement that might be made through multi-county service districts.
11. The State of Montana should study and, ultimately, revise state statutes that limit the flexibility of local governments to manage their fiscal resources and personnel. In particular, local governments should be given more flexibility to set work rules and salary schedules for public safety employees. More flexibility would allow them to better adapt to circumstances that may be contributing to problems such as staff turnover, the costs of commuting, and outstationing personnel, and so forth.
12. Companies planning large scale resource development should be encouraged to assist the development of local commercial businesses in the areas where they plan to operate. Additional shopping, restaurants, and commercial recreational facilities are uniformly sought by residents of development areas. One of the major problems of Colstrip is the lack of a family restaurant, bowling alley, and other amenities found in communities one-third its size. Visiting commercial businesses is a form of recreation and, for some individuals, may offer an alternative to visiting saloons.
13. Companies planning resource development projects, residential developers, and local government should be encouraged to plan new residential neighborhoods and, especially, trailer courts in such a manner to maximize social contact and observation among neighbors. The best deterrent to crime is the watchful presence of a friend or neighbor.

Recommendations for Law Enforcement

1. Communities targeted for resource development should review local ordinances to insure that they are compatible with a growing population and community. This review should be broadly focused and incorporate things such as service fees, utility hook-up charges, fines, police procedures, and the like. Obsolete regulations should be removed.

2. Local law enforcement agencies should develop reserve units to assist the agency with events that require special policing (e.g., fairs, etc.) and as a general manpower pool.
3. Local government should review and generally make more restrictive, local ordinances regarding pets and other domestic animals. Animal shelters will need to be constructed and animal control officers provided. Financial assistance for such programs should be provided by the state if government lacks the fiscal capacity to fund such an effort locally.
4. In development situations, law enforcement agencies should conduct a security review of all commercial business establishments and assist their owners up-grade security. Larceny and theft are the major crimes experienced in development areas. In rural communities where crime has been uncommon historically, many structures have inadequate locks and security systems and are easy targets for thieves. Such a program would be useful for residential structures as well.
5. In development situations, local government should consider enacting ordinances setting certain minimum standards for security and safety equipment on new residential structures and mobile homes. The equipment would be things like dead bolt locks, window locks, and smoke detection alarms.
6. To up-grade structural security and safety, programs to make equipment available at minimal cost should be considered. Several Montana communities have conducted such programs successfully to distribute smoke alarms.
7. The use of paraprofessional non-sworn personnel should be expanded by law enforcement agencies. Civil process actions, in particular, could be turned over to such personnel, freeing sworn officers for regular law enforcement duties.
8. Within the limits of state statute, collective bargaining agreements, and related personnel practices, local governments in development situations should investigate the use of various types of employee benefits, subsidies, bonuses, and other types of compensation to help combat staff turnover being caused by higher, competing wage levels in industry. Such forms of financial assistance need not be limited to the employees. Local industry, for example, could reserve or temporarily subsidize the cost of housing for the local law enforcement agency and free it from the high cost of living or time spent commuting to the development site.
9. Local law enforcement agencies should periodically review patterns of criminal victimization to more specifically target police patrol

and crime prevention activities. This process can be facilitated by using the optional fields provided for such purposes in the Montana Uniform Crime Reporting System.

10. Local law enforcement agencies should establish a coordinating committee with resource development companies to monitor changes in employment levels and the demographic characteristics of new employees and commuters.
11. Local government should recognize that untrained law enforcement officers are costly. Often, the cost is not seen directly. Rather it is manifested in increased supervisory time, the inefficient allocation of personnel, the potential liability for damages caused by mistakes or accidents, and the like. Every law enforcement agency needs funds for training and the need is more pronounced for those agencies located in development areas. As a general rule, local authorities should give a high priority to training and appropriate funds accordingly.
12. Local government should periodically conduct a management review of its operations and, as necessary, revise both the allocation of resources and management structure to meet new conditions. These reviews are particularly important in development situations where local government has had to rapidly expand. The addition of staff requires changes both in the structure of management and in the number and type of personnel necessary to do the job. Frequently local governments, and particularly those in small rural areas, are reticent about adding clerical and administrative staff even to the point of reducing an agency's effectiveness and increasing its costs. A deputy sheriff belongs on patrol, conducting investigations, and serving as a police officer; he does not belong behind a desk counting time cards, logging mileage charges, or filing papers. Likewise, as an agency grows in size, its head (e.g., the Sheriff) increasingly becomes a manager and not a technician. To do his job effectively it is necessary to have increased administrative support.
13. Local government should seek to expand the use of interlocal agreements to provide services. Law enforcement agencies are particularly good candidates in this respect since they require sophisticated equipment and trained personnel. Interlocal agreements offer the opportunity to expand a jurisdiction's resource base at minimal cost.
14. The State of Montana should conduct crime victimization surveys in counties experiencing resource development to more accurately establish the true incidence of criminal activity and assist local agencies in identifying patterns of criminal victimization.
15. The State of Montana should develop a series of task forces to assist local governments but, particularly, law enforcement

agencies meet special needs. It is impractical, if not impossible, for small, rural counties to tackle problems such as undercover narcotic investigations, organized theft-fencing operations, and the like.

16. The State of Montana through its Law Enforcement Academy, should develop a special curriculum to acquaint criminal justice personnel with the problems of resource development. Optimally, this curriculum would include an "officer exchange component" or "field training" at a development site.
17. The State of Montana should establish a special training fund to assist local government pay the cost of training law enforcement and other criminal justice personnel in counties where resource development is contemplated. State funds should be used only when local resources are insufficient to cover such costs.
18. The State Legislature should repeal existing statutes that limit salary levels for local government employees, particularly law enforcement officers. If local government, particularly in development situations, feels it should up-grade salaries to attract and hold qualified personnel it should have the legal flexibility to do so.
19. The State of Montana should establish an employment clearinghouse for criminal justice agencies. In development situations, law enforcement agencies need access to a wider staff recruitment network, one that will allow them to find and hire experienced personnel.
20. The State of Montana should study the feasibility of building regional jails or providing grants matched at the local level, to consortiums of counties who wish to do so independently. Communities throughout the state are faced with the prospect of remodeling or erecting new jail facilities, in the face of non-compliance with jail standards. It is impractical for all cities and counties to embark upon a construction program, and particularly so in the rural areas where jail populations are small. Local detention centers coupled with larger regional facilities would serve the need for new facilities at reasonable cost.
21. The State of Montana should examine the feasibility of up-grading the law enforcement communications system. Good communication is essential to good law enforcement. Law enforcement agencies throughout the state, but especially in Western Montana, cited perennial problems with "skip," interference and dead spots throughout their jurisdictions.

22. The Montana Department of Fish, Wildlife and Parks should restructure its record system to track fish and game violations by county. Respondents in development areas frequently cited increased problems with poaching and other fish and game violations but no data system exists to track its level or degree of change. Additional information will allow the agency to better allocate resources as needed to resource development locations.

Recommendations for the Courts

1. District court caseloads should continue to be monitored by the state. If counties experiencing development witness a level of growth that pushes the average number of caseloads well beyond (i.e., 10 percent) the state norm, additional judges should be assigned to those areas.
2. The State of Montana should develop and implement a Justice Court information reporting system. The Justice Courts receive the largest share of court activities. The lack of consistent caseload information makes it impossible to judge the extent to which Justice Courts are effected by resource development.
3. The State of Montana should systematically review the caseloads of district attorneys and authorize additional staff and funds as necessary to keep the prosecutorial staff at a level consistent with its workload.
4. In absence of state assumption of district court costs, local government in development situations should systematically review the type and amount of support services it provides the courts and up-grade those functions on a periodic basis commensurate with changing caseload levels.

Recommendations for Social Service and Correctional Agencies

1. State social service agencies should develop a staff training program for officials such as social workers, adult probation officers, and aftercare workers, to familiarize them with the problems of resource development areas. Such a program should include a short rotation to a development area to get first hand experience with the type of clientele and problems that likely will be encountered.
2. Social service agencies should plan for increased incidences of child abuse and neglect well in advance of actual development. Foster care homes, which traditionally have not been needed to a great extent in rural areas, should be developed to serve the incoming population.

3. Counties anticipating resource development should plan, implement, or expand community based programs for alcohol abuse.
4. The State of Montana should conduct a detailed examination of the type and amount of family disturbances that exist in resource development communities. The study should examine the types of calls for assistance law enforcement agencies receive, their response, and the disposition of the case. It should also examine the history of disturbance in the family and attempt to identify the extent to which disturbance problems are unique to "boomtown" living conditions.

APPENDIX A RESOURCES - PEOPLE

COLORADO

Allec, Larry, Chief of Police, Rifle, Colorado
 Cerise, Flavin, Garfield County Commissioner, Rifle, Colorado
 Friedman, Ralph, City Administrator, Parachute, Colorado
 Ludwig, Roger, Garfield County Human Services Coordinator, Rifle, Colorado
 Stranger, Dennis, County Planner, Garfield County, Rifle, Colorado

IDAHO

Kelly, Gary, Chief of Police, Challis, Idaho
 Kristal, Deborah, Custer County Attorney, Challis, Idaho
 Satathite, Bill, Community Relations Director, Cyprus Mines Corporation, Challis, Idaho

MONTANA

Anderson, Craig, Chief Probation Officer, Seventh Judicial District, Glendive, Montana
 Ash, Bob, Rosebud County Sheriff, Forsyth, Montana
 Coate, Alfred, District Judge, Sixteenth Judicial District, Forsyth, Montana
 Conners, Jim, Chief of Police, Anaconda, Montana
 Fandrich, Nolan, Western Energy Company, Colstrip, Montana
 DiFonzo, Frank, Chief of Police, Sidney, Montana
 Ferguson, Carol, Administrative Officer, Hardrock Mining Impact Board, Montana Department of Commerce, Helena, Montana
 Fitzpatrick, John S., Mountain International, Inc., Helena, Montana
 Gould, Bill, Lincoln County Commissioner, Eureka, Montana
 Kemmis, Eldon, Chairman, Richland County Energy Impact Committee, Sidney, Montana
 Loshesky, Gary, Chief Probation Officer, Third Judicial District, Anaconda, Montana
 McCaffery, Ed, Rosebud County Commissioner, Forsyth, Montana
 Rice, Eldon, Rosebud County Planner, Forsyth, Montana
 Shontz, John, Member of Richland County Energy Impact Committee, State Legislator, Sidney, Montana
 Worsdell, Dan, City-County Manager, Anaconda-Deer Lodge County, Anaconda, Montana

NORTH DAKOTA

Duppler, Allen, States Attorney, Mercer County, Stanton, North Dakota

Gilbertson, Mark, Chief of Police, Beulah, North Dakota
Mehrer, Owen, States Attorney, Stark County, Dickinson, North
Dakota
Rogers, John, City Planner, Beulah, North Dakota

SOUTH DAKOTA

Hough, Jim, City Planner, Hot Springs, South Dakota
Luz, Joe, Mayor, Hot Springs, South Dakota
Miller, Rex, Fall River County Commissioner, Hot Springs,
South Dakota
Shorten, Brian, Associate Director of Planning, Sixth District
Council of Local Governments, Rapid City, South Dakota

WYOMING

Becker, Frederick, Chief of Police, Rock Springs, Wyoming
Ives, George, Uinta County Human Service Coordinator, Evanston,
Wyoming
Lehman, Julie, Director of Housing Authority, Evanston, Wyoming
Portz, Richard, Natrona County Juvenile Probation Officer,
Casper, Wyoming
Smith, Kevin, Investigator, Uinta County Attorney's Office,
Evanston, Wyoming
Stark, James, Sweetwater County Sheriff, Rock Springs, Wyoming
Verostek, Carole, Community Organizer and Educator, Western
Wyoming Juvenile Justice Project, Rock Springs, Wyoming
Watt, Dennis, Director, Sweetgrass County Association of
Governments, Green River, Wyoming
West, Keith, Mayor, Rock Springs, Wyoming

APPENDIX B RESOURCES - FILM STRIPS, SLIDE SHOWS, MOTION PICTURES

Available from the University of Montana Instructional Materials
Service, U.S.D.A., Forest Service Northern Region and MCH
Film Libraries, Missoula, Montana 59812:

Country Values, City Times

MFD 006, 16 mm, 27 min., color

Explores the shift in Montana from a rural society to
industrialization and urbanization, problems with changing and
conflicting values, and problems inherent in an industrial and
urban society.
\$0.00, SW 1974

It Will Run Out on Us

MFB 001, 16 mm, 15 min., color

Presents the coal-energy-politics-people issue facing SE Montana.
\$0.00, FCPM 1974

Next Year Country

MFF 014, 16 mm, 60 min., color

Produced by Beth Ferris, Claire Beckham, and John Stern, the film
investigates four small western towns and how their long
established ways of life are suddenly threatened by the prospect of
massive industrialization.
\$0.00, AXLE 1981

Voices of Land Use

MFD 031, 16 mm, 28 min., color

Shows land use policy in Montana and outlines the natural and
social factors to be examined in order to provide information for
assessing potential land use alternatives.
\$0.00, GCST 1974

A Walk in the Shadow

MFE 004, 16 mm, 30 min., color

Explores the early development of Montana and the connections with
current questions of land development and resource use.
\$0.00, MONTUFTV 1975

Western Coal: An American Dilemma

MFC 001, 16 mm, 20 min., color

Deals with the implementations of the development of the coal
resources of Montana, Wyoming, and North Dakota.
\$0.00, MCH 1975.

Available from the Humanities Resource Center, c/o Audio Visual Services, P.O. Box 3273, University Station, Laramie, Wyoming 82071, (307) 766-3184:

Booming, Winter in Two Wyoming Energy Towns

16 mm, 30 min., color

Produced in 1981 with funds for the Wyoming Council for the Humanities. This documentary provides a glimpse of life in Medicine Bow and Shirley Basin, Wyoming. Through the eyes and words of their residents -- ranchers, mine workers, teachers and restless young adults -- the emphasis is on life styles and the reasons for choosing them.
1981

Is Anyone Home on the Range?

16 mm, 60 min., color

Produced in part with funds from the Wyoming Council for the Humanities. This one hour documentary, in looking at three energy communities in Wyoming, raises some invaluable questions about energy development and effects of energy development on people's lives.
March 1983

Available from the Sweetwater County Task Force on Sexual Assault, 410 South Main, Rock Springs, Wyoming 82901, (307) 382-4381:

Energy and Women - Who Benefits, Who Pays?

A sound-slide program, produced locally. The slide show presents the problems encountered by women in an impact community and the strategies they are employing to deal with them.

Available from Western Media Concepts, Inc., P.O. Box 215, Anchorage, Alaska 99510:

Boom on the Range

Two one-half hour audio documentaries, produced by a consortium of producers in six western states; profiles three western energy-producing communities familiar with boom times and talks through the boomtown myth with experts and inhabitants. The three communities are Battlement Mesa, Colorado, Evanston, Wyoming, and Valdez, Alaska.

Available from the local County Extension Agent from the Montana State University Library:

Lots for Sale

16 mm, 24 min., color

A documentary which examines the community problems resulting from the change from a rural to urban based economy and the issues of zoning and planning.

What Do You Want

16 mm, 27 min., color

Chet Huntley narrates a discussion of the rural community's economic development process and how local leaders can make their community attractive to industry.

Terrible News

16 mm, 30 min., color

A Western Montana Scientists Committee for Public Information production which discusses the effects of industrial operations on their immediate surroundings in Anaconda, East Helena, and Columbia Falls, Montana.

The Voices of Land Use

16 mm, 27 min., color

A documentary by the Gallatin Canyon Study Team at Montana State University outlining the natural and social factors to be examined in the assessment of potential land use alternatives, including the uses of political power and available options.

Available from the University of California, Extension Media Center, Berkeley, California 94720:

Question of Values

No. 9391, \$25 rental, 28 min., color

A 1972 New Film Company production which examines the development of industrial technology versus environmental pressures on a small town in Maine prior to the construction of the Bayside oil facility.

Available from the Center for Public Affairs and Administration, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah 84112. (The following are educational packages consisting of a tape-slide presentation, related case studies and appropriate resource materials, and have a rental and/or purchase fee ranging from \$25 to \$50):

The Planning Process and the Comprehensive Plan

Traces the relationship of planning to the historical development of Utah communities. The basic stages of the planning process are graphically portrayed with emphasis on the need for citizen participation in community planning.

The Planning Commission

Describes the role and responsibilities members of planning commissions carry in serving well the total community. Particular emphasis is placed on the strict rules of ethical conduct that must guide commission members in the performance of their duties.

Zoning and the Zoning Ordinance

Describes the elements of a zoning ordinance stressing the role zoning plays in the implementation of a successful comprehensive plan, and in promoting desired community growth and development.

Subdivision Development and Control

Outlines the elements of a "good" subdivision ordinance and describes how such an ordinance serves as a "community insurance policy," protecting citizens' rights, their health, safety, economy and general welfare.

The Board of Adjustment

Explains the role and function of Boards of Adjustment with emphasis on the effect decisions of these Boards have on matters of zoning. Three specific functions of Boards of Adjustment authorized by law are carefully outlined.

Citizen Participation

Points out the vital importance effective citizen participation programs can play in strengthening local government and community development efforts. This is a "How To To It" package designed to help both public officials and citizen groups to utilize citizen participation more effectively.

The Cost of Urban Services

Treats in detail the financial difficulties confronting communities experiencing rapid growth and the extension of urban services to subdivisions and scattered developments. Who should pay for the expansion of services is considered and the tools and processes to guide community management are suggested.

The Capital Improvements Plan

Considers the steps necessary to determine appropriate timing and financing of new or expanded public facilities. Included is a detailed manual to carry local officials step by step through the process. This was prepared jointly with the Utah Department of Community and Economic Development.

Packages in preparation:

Knowing Your Community through data sources such as Census material, USGS maps, and audit data.

Zoning II, a more technical treatment of specific problem areas in zoning. Among those covered are:

- Home occupation
- Spot zoning
- Exclusionary zoning
- Conditional uses
- Nonconforming uses
- Private deed restrictions

APPENDIX C RESOURCES - LITERATURE

There are literally hundreds of studies of "boomtowns." The list of books, articles, and monographs contained in this section are intended to provide the reader with a broad overview of the social conditions and problems experienced in resource development situations. For additional listings, please see the References section of the full report.

1. Blevins, Audie, James Thompson, et al. 1974. Social Impact Analysis of Campbell County, Wyoming. Laramie, Wyoming: Wyoming Environmental Institute.

A case study of Gillette/Campbell County, Wyoming. Includes demographic analysis, results of opinion survey, examination of government service capacity and problems, and recommendations.

2. Colorado Department of Local Affairs. 1981. Colorado's Energy Boom: Impact on Crime and Criminal Justice. Denver: Division of Criminal Justice.

A comprehensive analysis of rapid, large scale growth in eleven Colorado counties and its impact on the criminal justice system. Includes discussion of the impact of growth on crime and caseloads, on law enforcement agencies, courts, youth services, corrections, substance use and abuse, and social services. Report also contains recommendations to mitigate adverse impact.

3. Cohen, Lawrence E. and Marcus Felson. 1979. "Social Change and Crime Rate Trends: A Routine Activity Approach." American Sociological Review. 44:586-603.

A discussion of the circumstances under which crime is likely to be committed. Emphasis is placed on the type of environmental in which crime takes place rather than the characteristics or background of offenders.

4. Cortese, C.F. and B. Jones. 1977. "The Sociological Analysis of Boomtowns." Western Sociological Review. 8:76-90.

A general summary of the social change that takes place in communities experiencing rapid growth from natural resource development.

5. Davenport, Joseph and Judith Ann Davenport. 1980. The Boomtown: Problems and Promises in the Energy Vortex. Laramie, Wyoming: University of Wyoming.

A compendium of articles focused at social problems, planning, and social service mitigation strategies in boomtowns.

6. Dean, Lois. 1965. "Minersville: A Study on Socioeconomic Stagnation." Human Organization. 24:254-261.

A discussion of a community long effected by economic decline with a primary focus on local attitudes -- fatalism, parochialism -- and their impact on community development.
7. Dixon, Mim. 1978. What Happened to Fairbanks. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press.

A comprehensive case study of social change in Fairbanks, Alaska, during the construction of the trans-Alaska pipeline. Uses a combination of statistical and qualitative research methodologies. Contains discussions of local attitudes and social structure and their respective impact upon various social problems such as prostitution, gambling, and crime.
8. Gilmore, John S. and Mary K. Duff. 1975. Boom Town Growth Management. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press.

One of the first and still among the most comprehensive analyses of social change in rapid growth situations. Major focus is on service capacity, provision, and financing.
9. Gold, Ray L. 1974. A Comparative Case Study of the Impact of Coal Development on the Way of Life of People in the Coal Areas of Eastern Montana and Northeastern Wyoming. Missoula, Montana: University of Montana.

A study of social change induced by coal development in southeastern Montana and northeastern Wyoming. Principal focus is on the actual and anticipated changes in the attitudes, concerns, fears, and lifestyle on local, long-term residents of the area, primarily its ranchers.
10. Health Development Associates. 1981. Health and Human Service Needs in Coal Impact Areas in Eastern Montana. Missoula, Montana.

A compendium of social service, demographic, and medical statistics for seven counties in southeastern Montana and a description of services needed to accomodate energy related population growth.
11. Kohrs, Elbean V. 1974. Social Consequences of Boom Town Growth in Wyoming. Paper presented to the annual meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, Southwestern and Rocky Mountain Section.

Description of social problems in boomtown situations and discussion of need for planning and mitigative measures.
12. Little, Ronald. 1977. "Some Social Consequences of Boom Towns." North Dakota Law Review. 53:401-425.

A general overview of social change in rapid growth situations. Similar in focus to the Cortese and Jones article described above.
13. Milkman, Raymond H., Leon G. Hunt, et al. No Date. Drug and Alcohol Abuse in Booming and Depressed Communities. Washington, D.C.: National Institute on Drug Abuse.

A comparative study of drug and alcohol use in 14 communities that either experienced rapid economic development or decline. Strong statistical data base supports analysis and conclusions.
14. Mountain West Research, Inc. 1975. Construction Worker Profile. Billings, Montana: Old West Regional Commission.

A comprehensive study of the social and demographic characteristics of construction workers at widely scattered, large scale construction sites throughout the Rocky Mountain and Great Plains states. Includes case studies for several communities in each state.
15. Nellis, Lee. 1974. "What Does Energy Development Mean for Wyoming." Human Organization. 33:229-238.

A case study of Hanna/Carbon County, Wyoming. Examines social and community change as a result of coal development. Discusses the costs and benefits of industrial development for local residents. Includes discussions of demographic and economic change in area as well as perceptions of governmental service quality and taxation.
16. Polzin, Paul E. 1981. "Rosebud County and Energy Development: Boom with Bust?" Montana Business Quarterly. Autumn:5-18.

A case study of the impact of coal mining and the construction of a power plant in Colstrip/Rosebud County, Montana. Includes comparative analysis of crime and divorce trends with adjacent counties.
17. Poveda, Tony G. 1972. "Fear of Crime in a Small Town." Crime and Delinquency. 18:147-153.

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18. Thompson, James G. 1979. "The Gillette Syndrome: Myth or Reality?" Wyoming Issues. 2:30-35.

A skeptical reexamination of the impact of rapid growth on social problems. The discussion suggests that the actual degree and level of change is much less significant than generally believed.

19. Toole, K. Ross. 1972. Twentieth Century Montana: A State of Extremes. Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press.

A history of Montana that places natural resource development in perspective.

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