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THE IMPACT OF NATURAL RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT ON THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM

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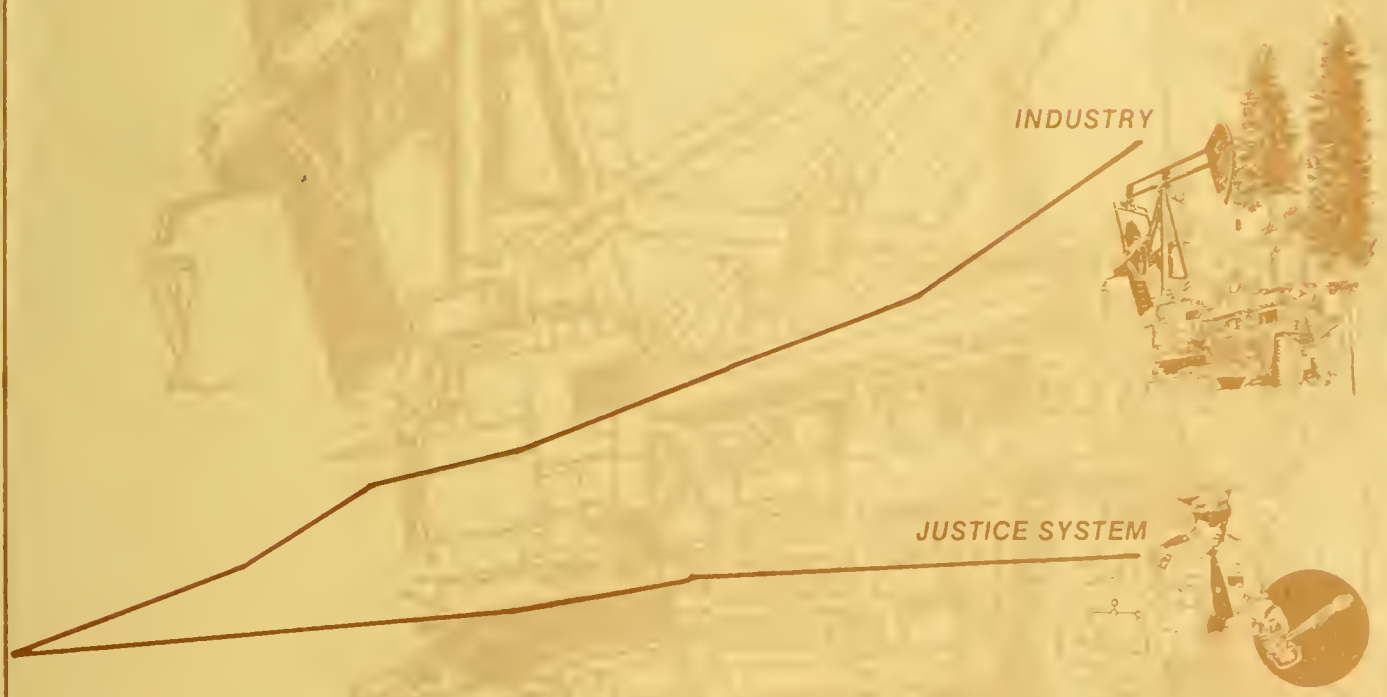

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THE IMPACT OF NATURAL RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT ON THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM

by
John S. Fitzpatrick

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I. INTRODUCTION

THE SETTING

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. Initially, Montana's energy resources particularly its coal, were the focus of attention. Then, in the mid and late 1970's, increased prices for natural gas, oil, precious and non-ferrous metals expanded the search for and development of other mineral commodities in the state.

The prospect of a new period of natural resource development in Montana is as much of a threat as promise. During the 90 odd years of its statehood, Montana's people and communities have alternatively prospered or suffered with the fortunes of the locally dominant industry, subject to the vicissitudes of the weather, national and international marketplace, and depletion of the resource base. The most recent phase of development, as limited as it has been to date, is not without its problems. The coal and oil fields of eastern Montana and the zones of metallic mineralization in central and western Montana largely are located in isolated, sparsely populated areas. Their development in the recent past and future will continue to require the relocation of large numbers of people, change the lifestyle of local, long-term residents, modify the structure of local economies, and necessitate the expansion, if not first provision, of a variety of commercial, health, social and governmental services.

The 1968 reopening of the Rosebud Mine coincided with a growing national and statewide concern with environmental protection.

At the same time, energy companies, utilities, and the federal government directed increased attention to the potential development of Montana's coal reserves. The now largely forgotten but once famous North Central Power Study described the state as possessing sufficient strippable coal and available water for the production of 69,000 megawatts of electricity scattered among 21 sites in eastern Montana[1] (U.S. Bureau of Reclamation, 1971). Using a series of alternative development scenarios for the future, various studies forecast that Montana's potential coal production could range between 20 million tons in 1975 and 393 million tons in the year 2000 (Montana University Coal Demand Study, 1976; Clack, 1976).

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" (Montana DNRC, 1975), the state legislature enacted a series of restrictive statutes to regulate the siting and development of resource based industries in Montana and to protect both the natural and human environment. Montana law provides a mechanism to study, evaluate, and identify the potential adverse impacts of resource development, reserves a portion of the revenue received from resource extraction for the beneficial use of future generations, structures a process to plan for and mitigate the potential adverse impacts of resources development, and establishes a process to fund mitigative measures (c.f. Montana Environmental Policy Act, MCA 75-1-101; Major Facility Siting Act, MCA 75-20-101; Strip and Underground Mine Siting Act, MCA-82-4-101; Coal Severance Tax, MCA 15-31-101; Coal Impact Abatement, MCA 90-6-201; Hard Rock Mining Impact Board, MCA 90-6-301). At its inception, the state's impact analysis and mitigation efforts were focused toward the more easily observable and quantifiable phenomena such as mine reclamation and the capital facility needs of rapidly expanding communities. During the decade, the understanding and experience gained in Montana and at other resource development sites in the Rocky Mountains and Northern

[1]As a point of comparison, Colstrip Units 1-4 when fully operational will produce 2100 megawatts. A megawatt is 1,000 kilowatts.

Great Plains, has resulted in a gradual shift of concern. Lately, there has been increased emphasis on the qualitative, less tangible aspects of resource development such as changes in the quality-of-life, consequences for family stability, social disintegration, and deviance. This study is a product of that latter concern--The Impact of Natural Resource Development On the Criminal Justice System. For the purposes of this project, the Criminal Justice System has been broadly defined to include those activities of society undertaken to protect, adjudicate, and correct matters of law. It incorporates the functions of law enforcement, the courts, and corrections with the latter function including selected aspects of medical and social services as they pertain to transgressions of law.

THE PROJECT

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 (Montana Board of Crime Control, 1982). 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 are 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. While drafting a final scope-of-work, the project was enlarged to include an examination of the "bust" situation, the opposite but corollary condition from the "boom" being experienced in several eastern Montana energy communities. The subcommittee deemed it desirable to examine the full range of consequences of resource development.

The Montana Coal Board provided a grant to the Board of Crime Control to assist with the preparation and dissemination of the project

materials. Western Analysis, Inc., a social, economic, and management consulting firm headquartered in Helena, Montana, was retained to prepare the study.

METHODOLOGY

Information for the preparation of the handbook and audiovisual program was gathered from four major sources, including:

1. Literature Review. This element examined documents related to the effects of resource development, rural industrialization, social change, and the structure of the criminal justice system in Montana, other states, and Canada.

2. Field Observation. This element included site visits to five Montana and Idaho counties selected as case studies for analysis. Photographs were taken in each community for use in the audiovisual program.

3. Personal Interviews. This element included unstructured interviews with local officials, knowledgeable citizens, and members of the criminal justice system in each of the five counties included as case studies. Interviews also were conducted with state officials in Helena, Montana and, by phone with Idaho agency personnel in Boise.

4. Statistical Reports. This element examined and compiled indicators of economic and social change, measurements of deviance, social service, and court caseloads and other statistics (e.g., traffic accidents) that are used as workload measurements for criminal justice system agencies. Statistical information was collected for Montana and Idaho, and Deer Lodge, Lincoln, Richland, and Rosebud counties in Montana and Custer County, Idaho. 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. Exhibit 1 contains a list of the statistical indicators examined.

CAVEATS AND QUALIFICATIONS

All data sources have their strengths and weaknesses. It is incumbent upon both the researcher and his reader to approach the data with caution and skepticism. That is true regardless of the type of

Exhibit 1

STATISTICAL INDICATORS

Indicator	Period
Population	1970-1982
Total Employment	1970-1982
Durable Goods, Mining, Construction Employment	1970-1982
Unemployment Rate	1970-1982
Seven Major Felony Offenses (Part 1 Crimes)	MT: 1970-1981 ID: 1973-1981
Lessor Felony Offenses (Part 2 Crimes)	MT: 1973-1981 ID: 1977-1981
Simple Assault, Vandalism, and Narcotic Offenses	MT: 1973-1981 ID: 1977-1981
Alcohol Sales	1970-1982
Marital Dissolutions	1970-1981
Traffic Accidents	MT: 1972-1981 ID: 1970-1981
Traffic Volume	1970-1982
Law Enforcement Expenditures	1970-1982
Courts Expenditures	1970-1982

Source: Western Analysis, Inc.

data. Quantitative information with its appearance of numerical precision is not inherently any more reliable or accurate than personal narratives, historical tracts or whatever. Statistical data, of which crime/deviance data may be the worst example, are subject to a number of sources of distortion and error. Four of the most common problems are: (1) non-reporting, (2) changing or inconsistent measurement criteria, (3) human error, and (4) statistical manipulation.

Statistics can be presented in any number of ways. One of the more common and frequently, misleading formats, is to describe things in terms of percentage change or rates of change. Percentage change is function of the degree of change compared with the base amount from which it originated. If the base amount was modest to begin with, even a very small degree of change will yield a large percentage differential. For example, if the number of reported crimes in a community increased from 10 to 20, then the town experienced a 100 percent increase in its crime level. Another community might also experience 10 more crimes but because it started with 100 such acts in the first place, its crime level only increased 10 percent. When reviewing the statistical information contained in the document, the reader is encouraged to examine the incidence level and rates of occurrence contained in the Appendix. Caution is also advised when interpreting and, particularly, when comparing the graphs contained in the case studies. The scale may change from graph to graph distorting direct comparison.

II. RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT IN THE PAST AND PRESENT

SETTLEMENT AND THE MINING FRONTIER

Until the 1860's, Montana was the province of the Indian, fur trapper, explorer, and occasional missionary. Gold reportedly was discovered in the Bitterroot Valley and near present day Gold Creek in the 1850's but the discoveries attracted little attention. In 1862, a group of miners ranging north from the Salmon River placers of central Idaho discovered gold on Grasshopper Creek in Beaverhead County and the rush was on. In relatively rapid succession, large gold discoveries were made at Alder Gulch and Last Chance Gulch while finds of lesser importance cropped up throughout southwestern Montana (Burlingame and Toole, 1957; Howard, 1943). Communities such as Bannack, Virginia City, and Helena appeared almost overnight. Virginia City was reported to have attained a population of 10,000 persons within three months of its founding (Burlingame and Toole, 1957).

The gold rush was the impetus to 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. Mining made Fort Benton, the transportation and warehousing terminus for Missouri River steamship traffic, a boom town. 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" (Burlingame and Toole, 1957:135).

The gold discovered at Bannack had been hardly weighed at the assay office before road agents started liberating it from its rightful

owners. Hurdy-Gurdy houses,[2] saloons, and gambling casinos soon opened to entertain the off-duty miner. Census takers of the day reported that "in the winter of 1862-1863, out of a total approximate population of 670 persons in Montana, only 51 were "respectable females" (Burlingame and Toole, 1957:131). Historian Thomas Dimsdale (1950:27) described Bannack's founding population as follows:

> "It is probable that there never was a mining town of the same size that contained more desperadoes and lawless characters than did Bannack during the winter of 1862-3. While a majority of the citizens were of the sterling stock, which has ever furnished the true American pioneers, there were great numbers of the most desperate class of roughs and road agents, who had been roving through the mountains, exiles from their former haunts in the mining settlements, from which they had fled to avoid the penalties incurred by the commission of many a fearful crime. These men no sooner heard of the rich mines of Bannack than they at once made for the new settlement, where, among strangers, ignorant of their crimes, they would be secure from punishment, at least until their true character should become known."

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 (Dimsdale, 1950; Howard, 1943; Toole, 1959).

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. Helena, a town that boasted more millionaires per capita than any place in America, became genteel early on; Butte never did. Butte's boisterous nature has been chronicled in fact and fiction. It was a town many of whose early inhabitants were described as "wildcat speculators, shyster lawyers, and organized gangs of trigger twisters"

[2]A combination saloon, dancehall, and brothel.

(Duffy, 1941:9-10), a place "born in violence, bred in it . . . where the mines killed or injured a man a day" (Howard, 1943:86), with wide open gambling, opium dens, and a tolerance for prostitution ("sporting people"). Below ground miners waged war with rocks, smoke, powdered lime, steam, and blasting powder as they contended for control of the copper rich orebodies. On the surface, labor and management contested at the bargaining table, in the mine yards, and streets with dynamite, firearms, and lynchings as well (cf. Davis, 1921; Toole, 1959 and 1972; Glasscock, 1935; Jensen 1950; O'Malley, 1971; and Sales, 1964). Butte, in the words of one of its police chiefs, was "an island of easy money surrounded by whiskey" (Howard, 1943:85).

Butte and Helena 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 (Chadwick, 1973 and 1982). 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 its 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. Well into the mid-twentieth century, the timber industry engaged in a form of resource extraction termed "cut-and-run." That is, sawmills were erected, the forests logged until usually nothing of value was left, and everything moved to another location to start anew. Libby, Montana, the site of the massive St. Regis lumber mill, has been described as a "town built on skids" and "without roots" until the 1930's and 1940's. Then, the "sustained yield" concept of forest management offered the promise

that Libby would not be another victim of "cut-and-run" (Western Analysis, 1981; P.L. 86-517).

Ironically, the greatest boom and bust in Montana history did not occur in either mining or timber but agriculture. The Homestead Act provided the promise and the railroads the means. They came by the thousands to homestead and colonize the plains of central, northern, and eastern Montana. Between 1900 and 1920, the number of farms in eastern Montana increased from 7,000 to 46,000 and the population grew by 220,000 persons, doubling Montana's size (Toole, 1972). At first nature was kind; it rained. 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 (Toole, 1959 and 1972; Howard, 1943).

States and communities no less than individuals have biographies. The biographies are nothing less than the sum total of experience encountered through the passage of time. Montana's biography is rooted in resource and development. Its current conservative and deliberate policy of environmental protection, impact identification, and mitigation is as much a legacy of the past as it is today's concern for the problems both witnessed and anticipated in the state's coal fields, oil patch, forest, or metal mines. Montana is aware of its history, conscious of the extremes it has undergone, and reluctant, if not unwilling, to repeat the experience. Accordingly, efforts to plan a future, be it through legislative policy or simply to identify mitigative measures for the problems caused by resource development, require a recognition of where Montana has been.

RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT IN THE 1970'S

Montana Prospects

Montana's natural resource base is immense. The state contains an estimated 50 billion tons of strippable coal, 23 percent of the nation's total. Its proven oil reserves total 203.1 million barrels and another 1.2 billion barrels are classified as unproven resources. Oil exploration is now proceding in areas with proven resources and in portions of the Overthrust Belt in western Montana where oil has not been produced previously. The forests in the western third of the state possess an estimated 70.5 billion board feet of merchantable timber. In 1976, when the Anaconda Company merged with the Atlantic Richfield Corporation, it described the presence of 1.7 billion tons of low grade copper and zinc ores remaining in Butte. There is also significant mineralization near Philipsburg, Helena, in the Cabinet Mountains near Libby and Troy, and Stillwater Complex in southcentral Montana, not to mention massive phosphate and bentonite deposits located in southwestern and eastern Montana, respectively (The Anaconda Company, 1976; Clack, 1976; U.S. Department of Interior, 1965 and 1980; Montana Department of Natural Resources, 1981; U.S. Forest Service, 1981).

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 energy development has generated, the actual production level of Montana's four major natural resources -- copper, coal, oil, and timber -- shows a mixed pattern. See Exhibit 2. Since 1970, copper production has been downwardly erractic, fluctuating with the market price and state of labor/management relations in Butte, Anaconda, and Great Falls. Oil production has declined by about 8.0 million barrels annually during the last eleven years. Like copper, the state's timber harvest has fluctuated with market conditions. The harvest has actually

Exhibit 2

NATURAL RESOURCE PRODUCTION IN MONTANA

Year	Copper (Thousand Short Tons)	Oil (Million Barrels)	Timber (Million Board Feet)	Coal (Million Tons)
1981	68.3	30.5	NA	33.4
1980	41.6	29.9	887.1	29.8
1979	77.0	30.3	1,018.4	32.5
1978	74.2	30.9	1,071.9	26.6
1977	86.2	30.7	1,084.5	27.2
1976	91.1	31.7	1,014.1	26.3
1975	88.0	32.8	954.0	22.1
1974	131.1	34.4	986.9	14.1
1973	132.5	34.6	1,012.8	10.7
1972	123.1	34.6	1,082.8	8.3
1971	88.6	34.6	1,085.6	7.1
1970	120.4	38.1	NA	3.5

Source: U.S. Bureau of Mines
Montana Department of State Lands
Montana Department of Natural Resources
Montana Department of Revenue
Western Analysis, Inc.

declined on federal lands although increased production from private land holdings has kept total production relatively stable. Only coal production shows a consistent upward trend increasing from 3.5 million tons in 1970 to 33.4 million tons in 1981. The entire volume of new coal production during the period has come from five mines located in Big Horn and Rosebud counties that collectively employ 2,300 persons (U.S. Bureau of Economic Analysis, Annual). Only one thermal generating complex is under construction, at Colstrip.

A 1982 survey of major energy development companies (Health Development Associates) identified only two new coal related projects that were likely to be under construction prior to 1990[3]. Montana Power's proposed 350 megawatt, Salem generating project near Great Falls has been postponed into the mid-1990s. Proposed metal mines near Big Timber, Columbus/Absarokee, and Jardine have been indefinately deferred and their reactivation largely will depend upon increased, stable prices for precious metals. Oil exploration, both in the established fields and along the Overthrust Belt, retracted during 1982 as the world experienced excess petroleum supply and plummeting prices.

Looking into Montana's future the prospect of continued resource development 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. Poor economic conditions coupled with a general restructuring of the timber and metal industries may result in additional plant closures over the next decade. Accordingly, Montana policy makers, local governments, and planners must anticipate both the up and down side of resource development.

The potential for resource development is not peculiar to Montana. To greater or lesser degree all of the Rocky Mountain and Northern

[3]The Montco Mine near Ashland in Rosebud County and the proposed Tenneco gasification plant near Wibaux.

Plains states are experiencing some form of large scale resource development, usually involving energy commodities such as uranium, petroleum, coal, or oil shale. Exhibit 3 is a map of the Rocky Mountain and Northern Plains states. It identifies the counties that have or are experiencing some type of major resource development during the past decade. The map also shows the location of Deer Lodge and Silver Bow counties in southwestern Montana, the sites of the largest plant and mine closures experienced in Montana. The Appendix contains a list of the counties, their county seat, and the type of development experienced.

During the Boom

The term "boomtown" casts a powerful image, and a predominantly negative one at that. 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.

Boomtowns experience major shifts in the local economic base. In particular, agriculture declines in importance while industrial activity increases. Industrial wage rates usually exceed the local wage scale, substantially in many cases, which in turn bids up the price of labor, housing, and other commodities. Business activity accelerates as does the demand for recreation. Towns experiencing a boom find themselves playing host to an immigrant population that is predominantly male, younger than the existing residents, and largely single or who have not been accompanied by the wife and family. Traditional, local "power elites," both formal and informal, gradually change as in-migrants offer themselves as candidates for office and exert their power through the ballot box.

In "boomtowns," people are reported to experience high levels of personal and social stress. The values of newcomers may conflict with

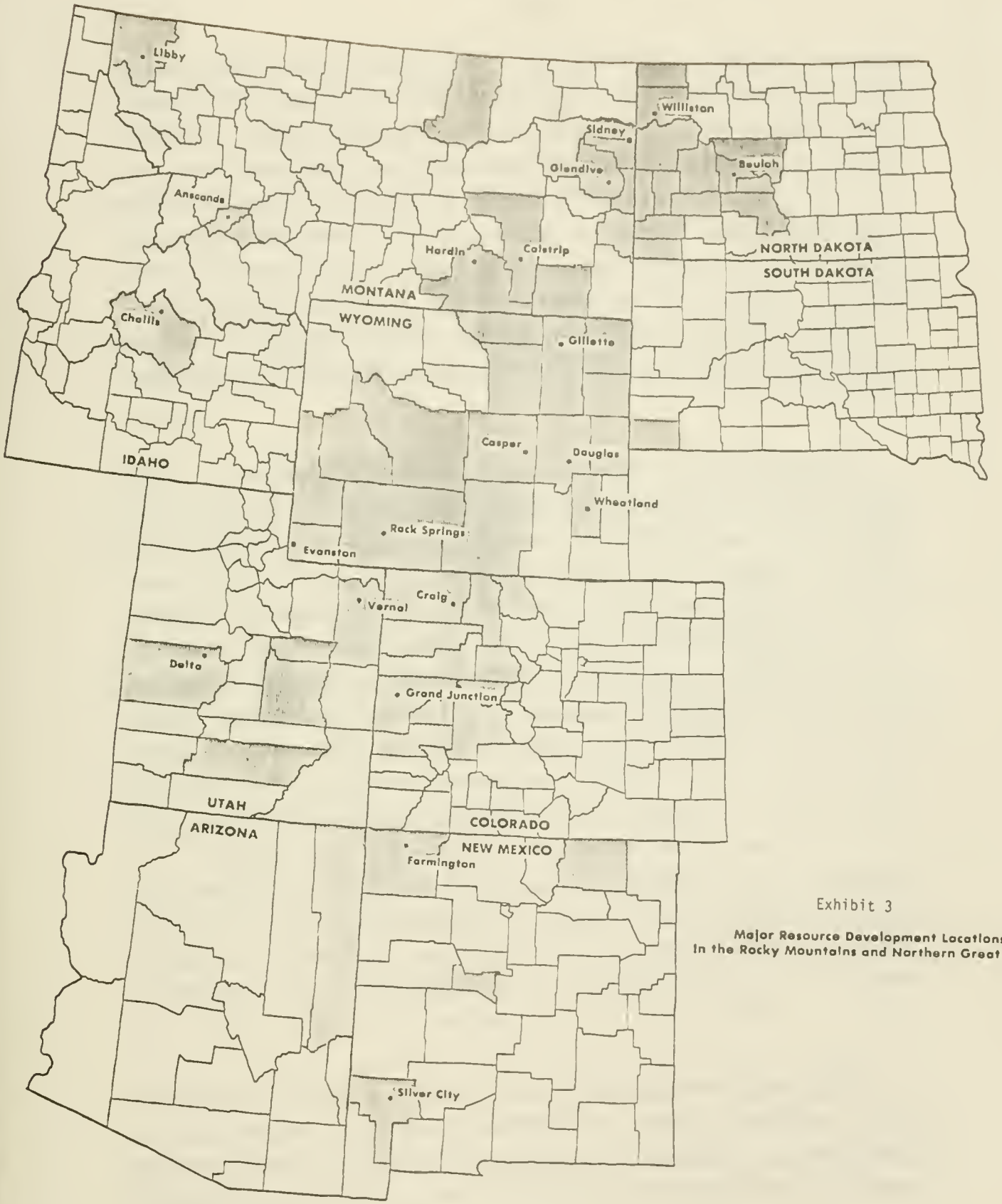


Exhibit 3

Major Resource Development Locations In the Rocky Mountains and Northern Great Plains

those of the established residents. Differing opinions regarding the benefits and costs of the boom may lead to conflict and fragmentation among the long-term, local residents as they take sides on issues related to development. Uncertainty about the future reportedly 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.

In the absence of informal support networks, solutions to personal, social, and family problems are sought from formal institutions such as mental health centers, alcohol and drug abuse programs, welfare, and the criminal justice system. Such institutions may lack the facilities, manpower, budget, and training to effectively manage the new workload. Local government frequently lacks the technical capacity to plan for growth. Divisions within the community regarding the type and amount of impact expected and how to implement solutions to anticipated problems inhibit the planning process and forces it into a reactive mode rather than guiding change. Finally, tax revenues received from the projects under construction generally lag behind the demand for services caused by the in-migrating population (Blevins, et al., 1974; Colorado Department of Local Affairs, 1981; Cortese and Jones, 1977; Davenport, 1971; Freudenberg, 1976; Gilmore, 1976; Gilmore and Duff, 1975; Gold, 1974; Kohrs, 1974; Lantz, et al., 1980; Little, 1977; Massey, 1980; Moen, 1981; Montana Department of Natural Resources, 1975; Mountain West, Inc., 1975; Nellis, 1974; Scrimgeour, 1979; Weisz, 1980).

Large scale natural resource development has positive aspects as well. Development expands job opportunities and can reduce local unemployment. Since wage rates in resource extractive industries are generally higher than those in agriculture and services, the income

level of the community increases. In turn, greater disposable income coupled with population growth stimulates the expansion and growth of the local business and professional sector. Once new industry reaches the operational phase, its property is added to the tax base and it starts making tax payments in support of existing or expanding governmental services. Depending upon the type of development taking place, the addition of industrial wealth to the local tax structure 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 programatic content.

An in-migrating population also adds new skills, experiences, energy, ideas, and perspectives to the community and its institutions. By far and away the vast majority of the immigrants are good citizens. Recognizing the great variation in the capability, attitude, and interests of individuals, the immigrants invest in the community through the acquisition or development or property; participate in and financially support its government; join, develop, and contribute to its fraternal, business and civic organizations; and become the friends and neighbors of other newcomers and oldtimers alike.

Crime and Justice During the Boom

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.

Wilkinson, et al. (1981), in their extensive review, found little evidence to document assertions about increased criminal activity in energy boomtowns. 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 (Lantz and McKeown, 1977). The original source of the "Gillette Syndrome" concept was a paper by ElDean Kohrs (1974), 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 (Little, 1977). In Campbell County, Wyoming, the rate of property crime increased during a period of growth, but other indicators of disruptive behavior did not (Thompson, 1979). 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 (Schriner, 1976). A 1976 study by Johnson of Rosebud County, Montana, at the construction site of the massive Colstrip power plants and coal mines, showed a 382 percent increase in county expenditures for law enforcement during a period of rapid population increase in the early 1970s, but data on criminal activity were not reported. In the same year, Fitzpatrick (1976) reported that from 1970 when industrial development was just beginning, to 1974 when construction and industrial activity peaked, Rosebud County showed a 1,150 percent increase in felonies known to the police, a 529 percent increase in the numbers of persons receiving food stamps, and a 234 percent increase in cases of gonorrhea. During the same time period, the county population increased 59 percent to 9,578 persons. The large percentage increases were based on relatively small changes in the actual incidence level. A recent study by Polzin (1981) claimed that while there have been increases in both criminal activity and divorce in Rosebud County, 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 statewide incidence rate for divorce and crime.

In their well known study of Sweetwater County, Wyoming, Gilmore and Duff asserted that crime rates went up during the mining and

construction boom of the 1970s, but the only data they present are findings from an interview survey. Respondents in this survey generally did not consider "crime and drugs" a problem, compared with the shortage of housing and medical services, high prices, and dilapidated streets and roads (Gilmore and Duff, 1975). Dixon's (1978) study 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 (1981) 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 (Kelly, 1980).

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 (Colorado Division of Local Affairs, 1981; Dixon, 1978). In both Rock Springs and Gillette, Wyoming, for example, the same survey respondents who tended not to consider crime and drug abuse a problem were inclined to feel that police protection needed improvement (46 percent, compared with 49 percent who mentioned housing, 62 percent who mentioned roads and streets, and 86 percent who mentioned medical services) (Gilmore and Duff, 1975).

Some communities are too small prior to the impact of a rapid growth situation to support a police force and must rely on the services of a county sheriff who may be located a long distance from the growth site. Such situations frequently force the creation of new enforcement agencies or the large scale expansion of existing services under conditions with insufficient management and/or financial support (U.S. Army Corp of Engineers, 1980).

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 (Davenport, 1980; Colorado Department of Local Affairs, 1981; Kohrs, 1974).

During the Bust

The consequences and images of a town experiencing sudden and severe economic decline is more ambiguous than is the case for he boomtown.

Popular imagery seems to include a vision of an obsolete, rust covered factory building; woodframe houses showing an accumulation of grime, wear, and tear; deserted streets; failing businesses; falling wage rates; high unemployment; increased numbers of people on welfare; property whose value has plummeted and perhaps abandoned by its owners; increased numbers of bankruptcies; family strain; and personal depression and resignation (Kotz, 1979; Dean, 1965, Porter, 1960; Adamic, 1931; Fitzpatrick, 1981).

The popular imagery is largely a function of the popular press. Historically, plant closures have tended to be viewed as economic rather than social events. Accordingly, research regarding their consequences has tended to emphasize topics such as labor mobility, job re-training, income effects and economic redevelopment (Ayer and Layton, 1972; Foltman, 1968; Stern, 1972, Rothstein, 1953; Sheppard and Stern, 1957; Wever, 1963; Nicolini, 1964).

Unlike the boomtown phenomenom which has attracted attention, in part because it portends a condition that may become increasingly common with future energy and minerals development, the economic "bust" has generally been seen as an individual event linked to the economic viability of a given plant. Studies of industrial and community change such as Landis' (1938) examination of the life cycle of three iron mining communities, Cottrell's (1951) analysis of the impact of the diesel locomotive on railroading and railroad towns and a similar study by Walker (1950) assessing the impact of automation in the steel industry generally have not discussed social disruption.

Research that has examined the relationship between crime and unemployment has yielded uncertain results. 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 (Caldwell, 1965; Taft and England, 1964; Wright, 1981). A study funded by the National Institute of Drug Abuse (Milkman, et al.,

no date), that examined drug and alcohol abuse in seven economically depressed communities, found there was no consistent trend to the patterns of abuse. Fitzpatrick's 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. An examination of the monthly 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. In the 12 months prior to the smelter closure, the police department averaged 562 calls per month, an amount that increased four percent to 585 calls during a nine month period after the smelter closed. Among the various types of criminal activity reported 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). The statistical increase in family disturbances correlated with the observations of police officers, welfare workers, and ministers who uniformly reported increased amounts of family stress caused by absences of the father to seek work, alcohol abuse, idle time, and personal uncertainty.

An immediate effect of a major plant closure is less tax base and revenue to support governmental expenditures (Devino, et al., 1966; Fitzpatrick, 1981). In Anaconda, decreased revenue lead directly to personnel reductions in the juvenile probation office, police and fire departments and other agencies as well. The staff reductions increased the workload for those that remained on the job even though the total caseload had not changed significantly one way or the other.

III. FIVE CASE STUDIES

OVERVIEW

Today, some thirteen years following the passage of the National Environmental Policy Act (1969) and the initiation of the impact assessment process for natural resource developments, there is no conclusive evidence that 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 chapter 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 also needs a data base far more specific than has been offered to date by studies of boom and bust. With the exception of the recent study in Colorado (1981), examinations of the impact of resource development on the criminal justice system has focused predominantly on criminal activity and usually for the seven major felonies.[4] There has been little systematic examination of the courts, corrections, or the non-criminal aspects of law enforcement. There is also increasing skepticism about the validity of "Gillette Syndrome," particularly given the questionable reliability of caseload and incidence data for various types of deviant behavior (Thompson, 1979; Wilkinson, et al., 1981; Freudenberg, et al., 1981; Wengert, 1978; Eaton, et al., 1980). There are also a large number of unanswered questions. A partial list includes:

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

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 and research deficiencies listed above, the analysis has conducted five case studies of communities that have either 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 during the past decade as a result of surface coal mining and the construction of electric generating plants. This case is particularly important since it was Montana's first new boomtown, and is also a situation where the developer made a major commitment to the development of housing and services by erecting a company town.

2. Custer County/Challis, Idaho. This area has experienced development through construction of a major molybdenum mine by Cyprus Mines, a division of Amoco Minerals. In Challis, the company made a major commitment to providing services but did not elect the "company town" option. Accordingly, existing local resources were used more extensively than in Rosebud County.

3. Richland County/Sidney, Montana. This area offers a boomtown situation caused by gas and oil exploration. It is also a situation in which the development was caused by a multitude of actors rather than a single major, identifiable developer as is the case of both Challis and Colstrip. Accordingly, the impact mitigation efforts present in the first two cases listed above have been largely absent in the case and local resources extensively used.

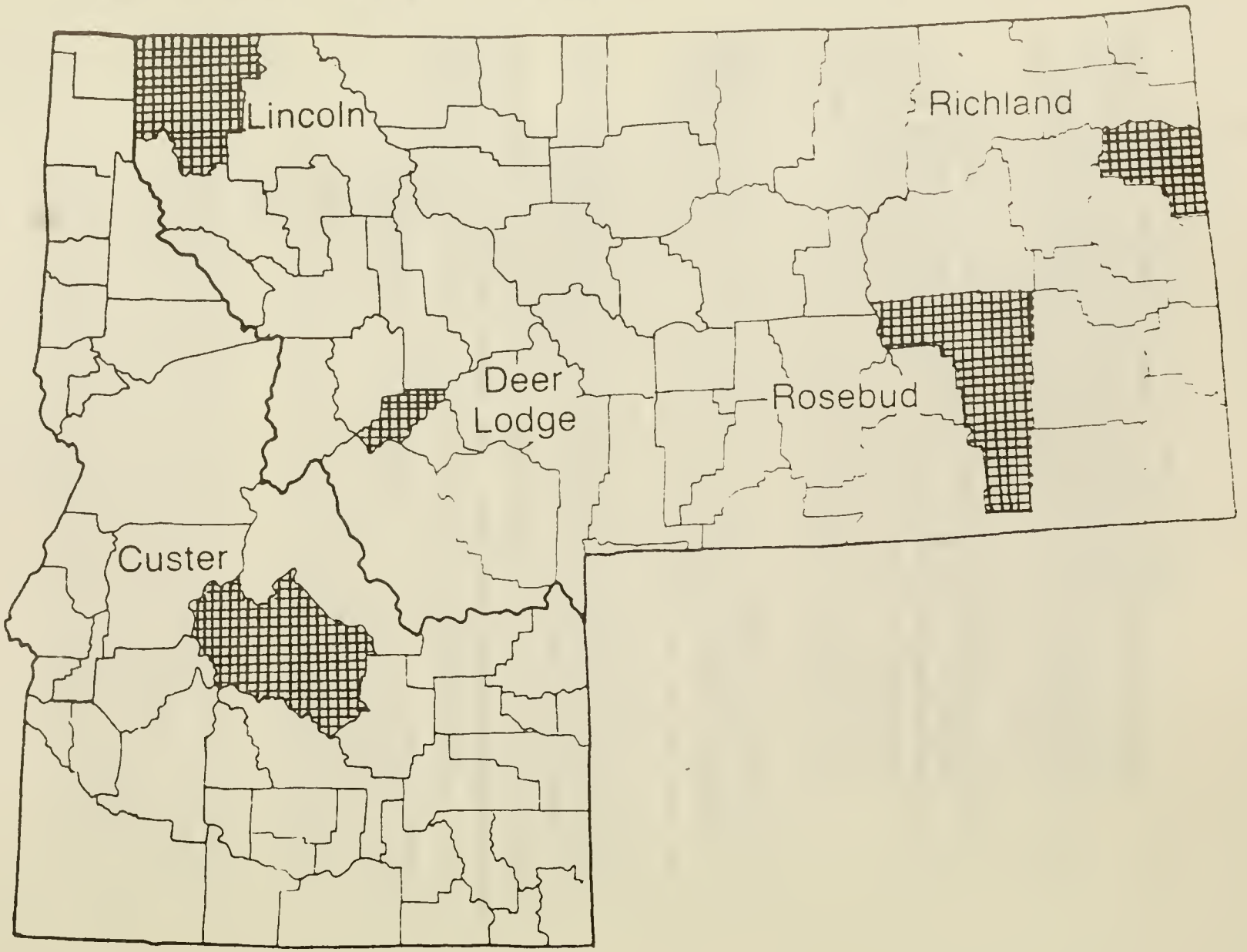
4. Lincoln County/Troy, Montana. This area offers a large-scale natural resource development (ASARCO's Troy Unit -- silver/copper mine) that is effectively without social impact. The development was not accompanied by large-scale population shifts and seemingly without changes in the pattern of social order.

5. Deer Lodge County/Anaconda, Montana. This area offers an example of a large scale plant closure. In September 1980, the Anaconda Copper Company, the sole private employer of any consequence, closed its smelter and eliminated 1,000 jobs in the community. The smelter made-up approximately 40 percent of the county's tax base and directly or indirectly supported about 70 percent of local economic activity.

The five case studies offer a continuum of impact situations that will allow the reader to see what Montana and Idaho communities have experienced and why and how they have been able to deal with social disruption. The case studies will 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 4 is a map of Montana and Idaho showing the location of the counties included as case studies.

Exhibit 4

LOCATION OF CASE STUDY COUNTIES



Source: Western Analysis

CASE STUDY #1: ROSEBUD COUNTY/COLSTRIP, MONTANA

The Setting

Rosebud County is centrally located in the coal region of southeastern Montana. Forsyth, the county seat (1980 population = 2,553) is located about 100 miles east of Billings, Montana, on the banks of the Yellowstone River. The county comprises 5,036 square miles of arid to semi-arid rangeland, cut east to west by the Yellowstone River Valley and its tributaries. The county population is concentrated near Forsyth, to an even greater degree, in Colstrip, the site of intensive coal development for the past ten years and on the Northern Cheyenne Reservation. Colstrip is located 30 miles south of Forsyth. Aside from the coal development area, all of which is located in or near Colstrip, the remainder of the county is sparsely populated rangeland. The southern third of the county, about 20 miles south of Colstrip, is occupied by the Northern Cheyenne Indian Reservation. The primary economic activity of the county, again excepting coal mining and conversion, is livestock agriculture.

The Action

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 an additional two 700 megawatt coal-fired generating plants was begun and attended by another construction worker population influx. The construction workforce is 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 (Montana Department of State Lands, 1982).

Efforts to plan for and mitigate potential growth problems were undertaken by both the Western Energy Comapny and local government. Western Energy's primary action consisted of planning and developing the community of Colstrip as a company town, a status it retains today. The Colstrip plan included provision of permanent housing for employees of Western Energy and the Montana Power Company who operate the mine and power plants; development of a large series of mobile home pads for temporary construction worker housing; supplying portable school classrooms to the school district; supplying materials for a community recreation center built by volunteer labor; opening a small commercial shopping center, the latter leased to private businesses; and, making land available for governmental services and to religious groups for churches. Since its inception, Western Energy and the Sunlight Development Company, the firm that currently manages Colstrip, has monitored employment levels, housing, and service needs through the efforts of a socioeconomic consulting company. The monitoring is intended to insure that basic services are in-place to meet the needs of the construction workforce and long-term resident population.

Local government responded to the Colstrip project by forming a county planning board in 1973 funded by receipts from the state Coal Severance Tax. It also lobbied for passage of the Coal Severance Tax Act and the establishment of the Coal Impact Assistance Fund. Early on, Rosebud County government adopted the philosophy of requiring the companies engaged in development or grant funds to cover the cost of capital facilities and, whenever possible, the increased operational cost of services expanded because of coal development.

Changes in the Community

Economic-Demographic Conditions

Until the onset of coal development in the early 1970s, the Rosebud County population had experienced little change. The construction of Colstrip Generating Units 1 and 2 increased the population level and

changed its characteristics. The estimated county population increased over 16 percent between 1973 and 1974 while the construction workforce was being scaled up. Most of that increase was centered in Colstrip. By 1975, the county population had increased to 8,600 persons, up from 6,032 in 1970. In the late 1970s, the population continued to increase despite the decline in employment, particularly in construction. See Exhibit 5.

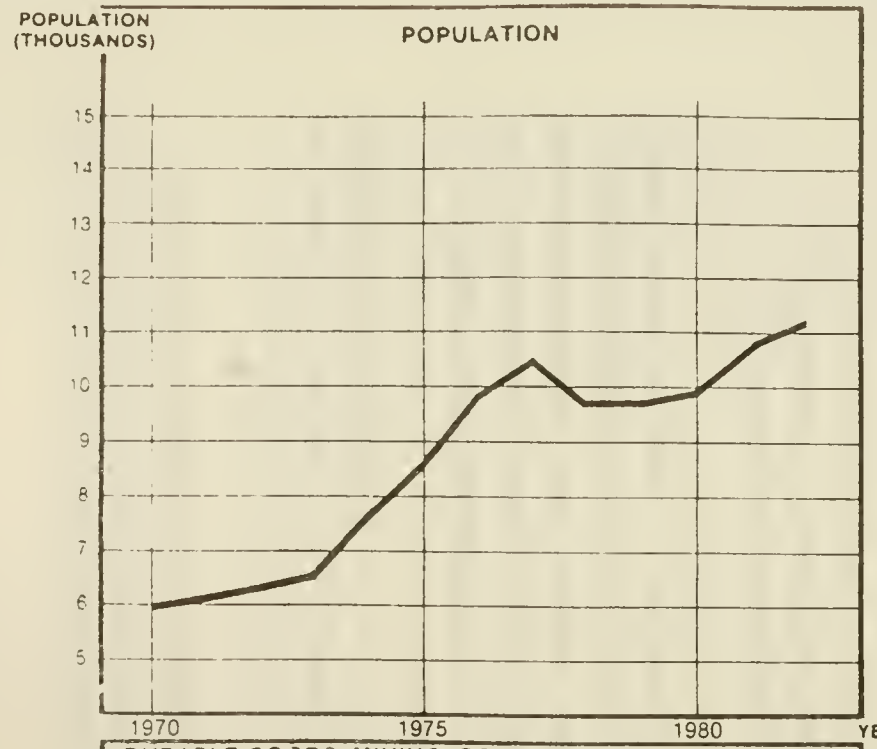
Prior to the Colstrip project, the county had a surplus of males in its population and its median age (26.2 years) was lower than the state's median age (27.1 years). The arrival of the construction workforce amplified both trends. A 1975 study (Mountain West) calculated the median age of in-migrating construction workers at 22.9 years. Since 1970, Rosebud County's median age has declined to 25.2 years compared with an increase of almost 2 years at the state level to 29.0 years. Also, the number of young children (less than 15 years of age) and young adults (15 to 34 years of age) increased by 1,032 (50 percent) and 1,962 (121 percent) persons, respectively, during the decade. From 1970 to 1980, numbers of households increased by 75 percent compared with a statewide increase of 30 percent.

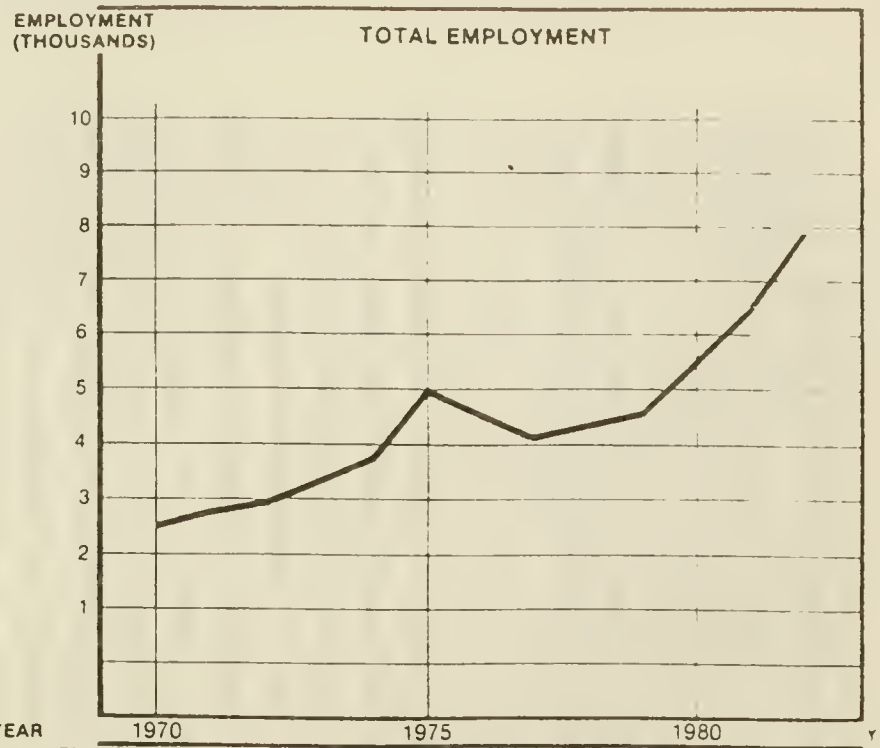
Coal development also affected employment trends in Rosebud County. Employment levels fluctuated at least 10 percent per year for eight of the 12 years between 1970 and 1982. Exhibit 5 also shows the employment trends of Rosebud County from 1970 to 1981. Rates of unemployment also varied considerably in response to construction manpower needs but exceeded statewide rates of unemployment in only two years during the same period. Over the past 11 years, the unemployment rate in Rosebud County has averaged 4.7 percent compared with 5.5 percent in Montana as a whole.

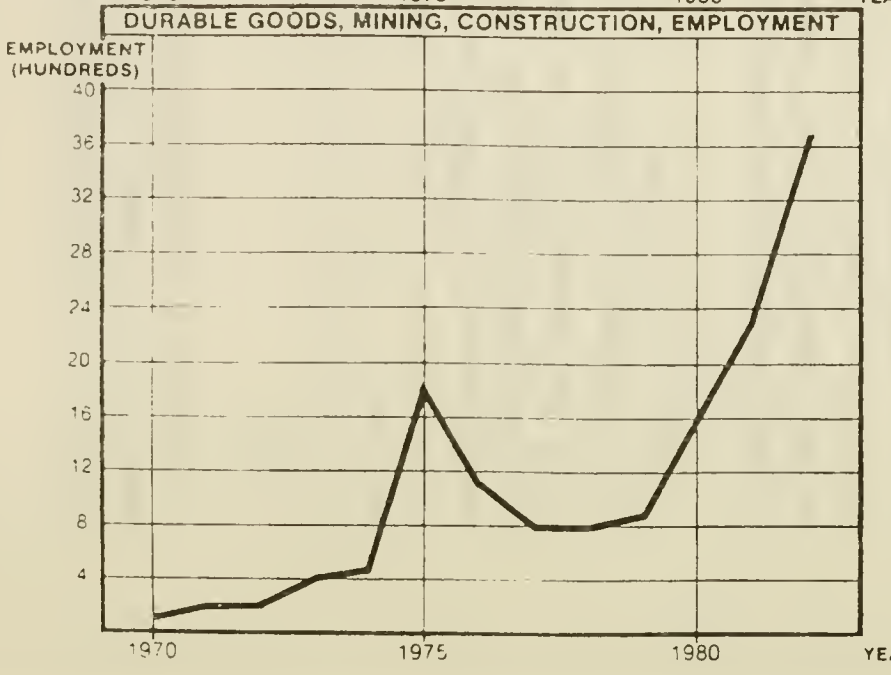
During the recent development period (1978-1981) caused by the construction of Colstrip Units 3 and 4, the county population, total employment, and heavy industrial employment posted large gains.

Exhibit 5.

ROSEBUD COUNTY







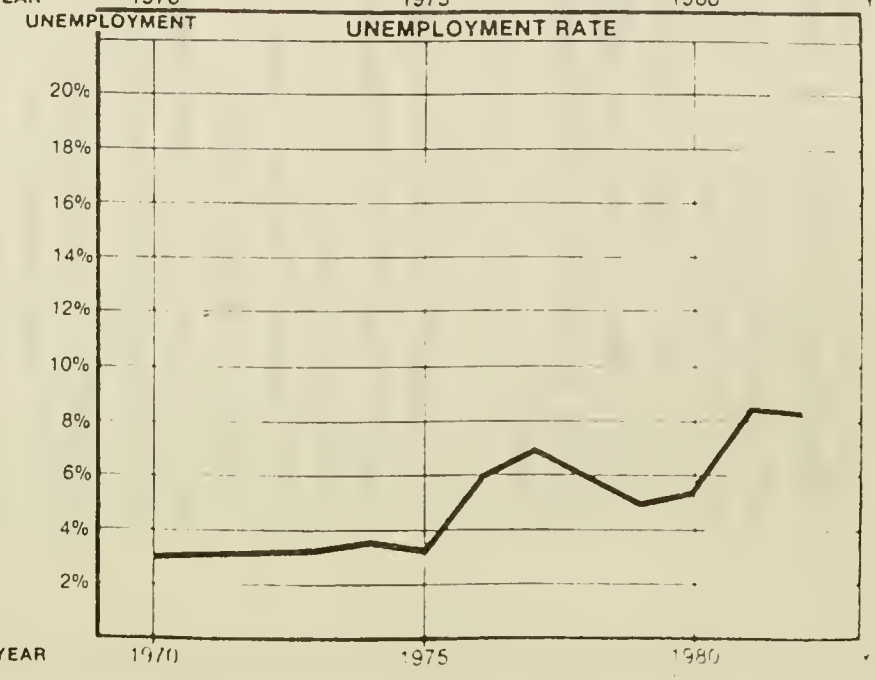
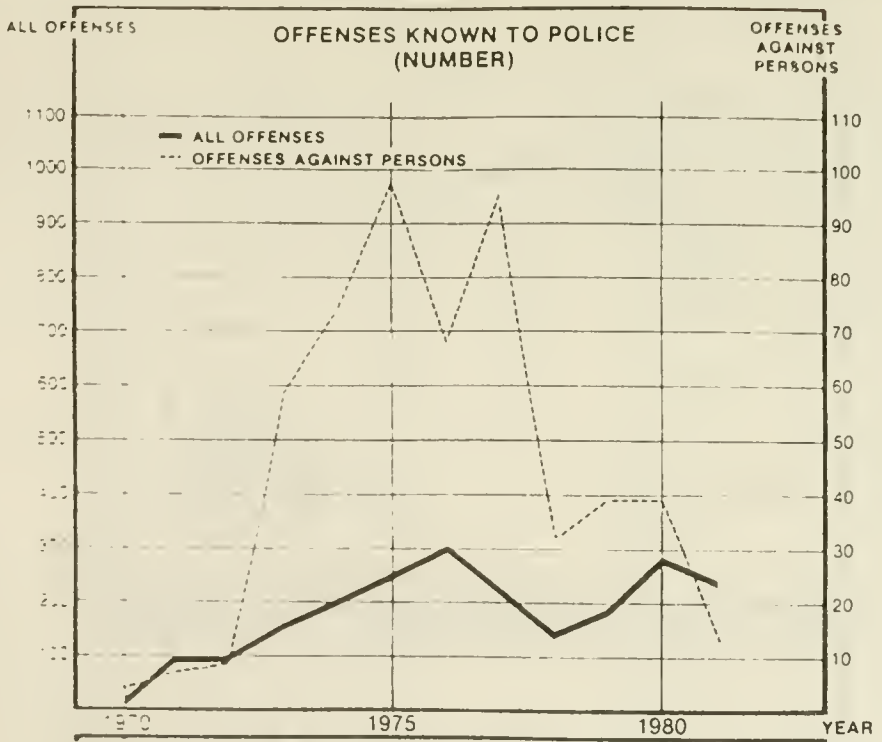
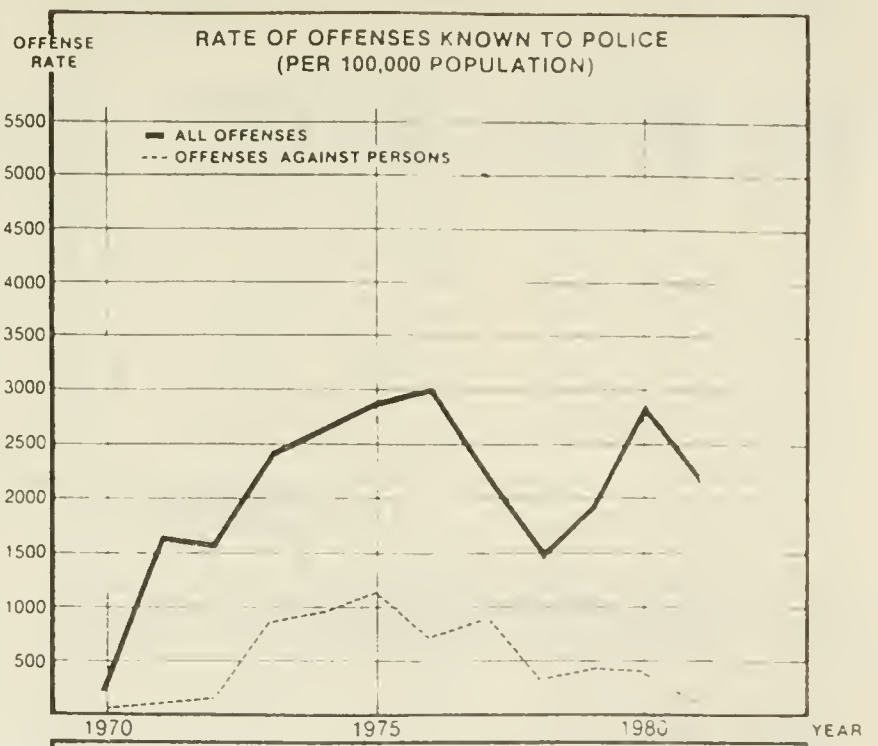
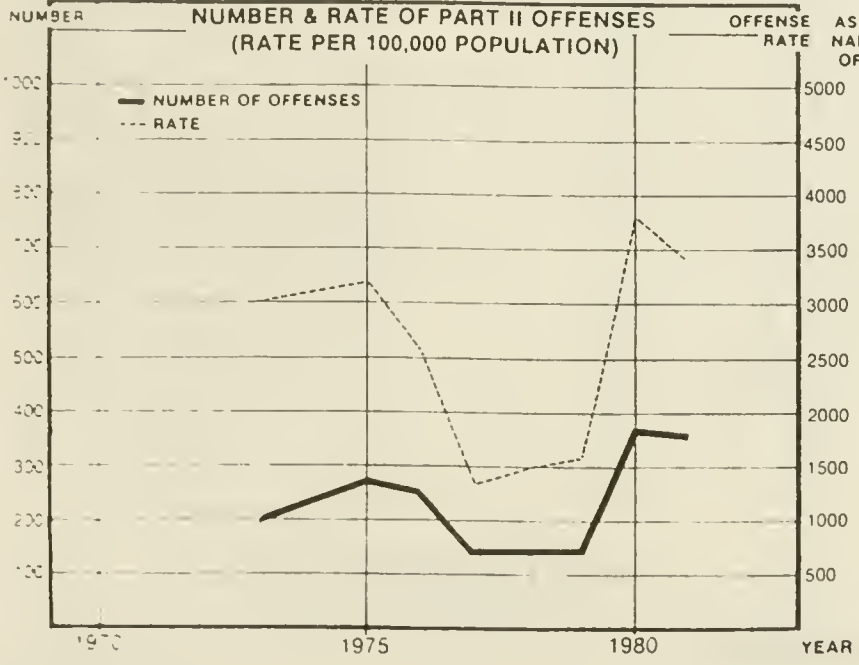


Exhibit 6.

ROSEBUD COUNTY







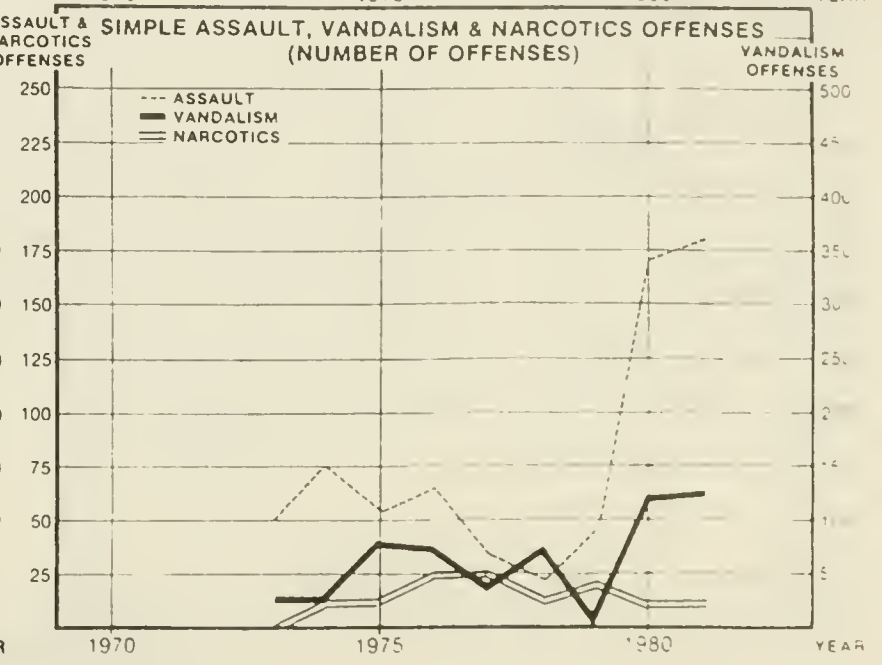
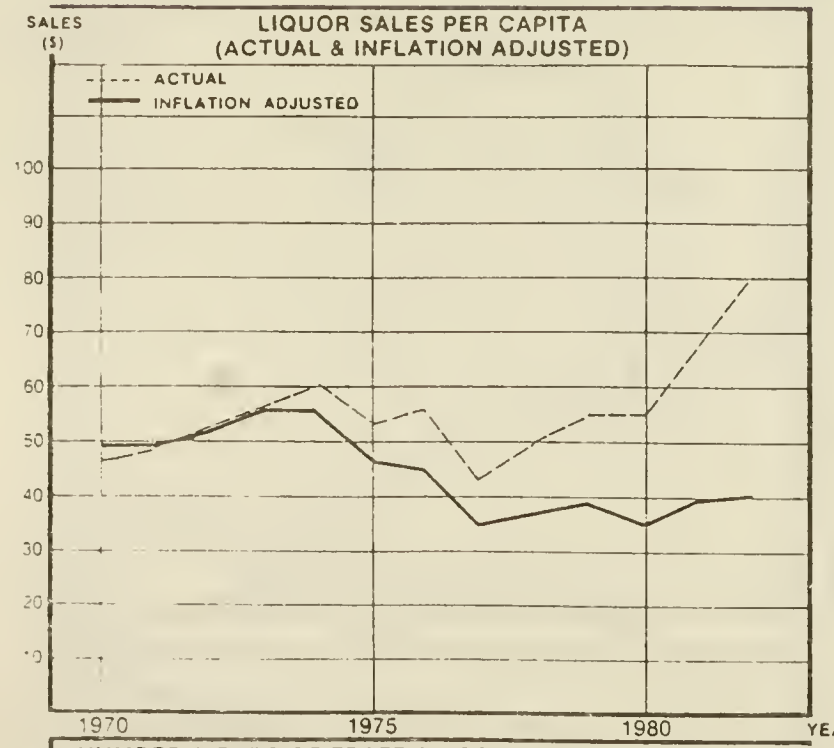
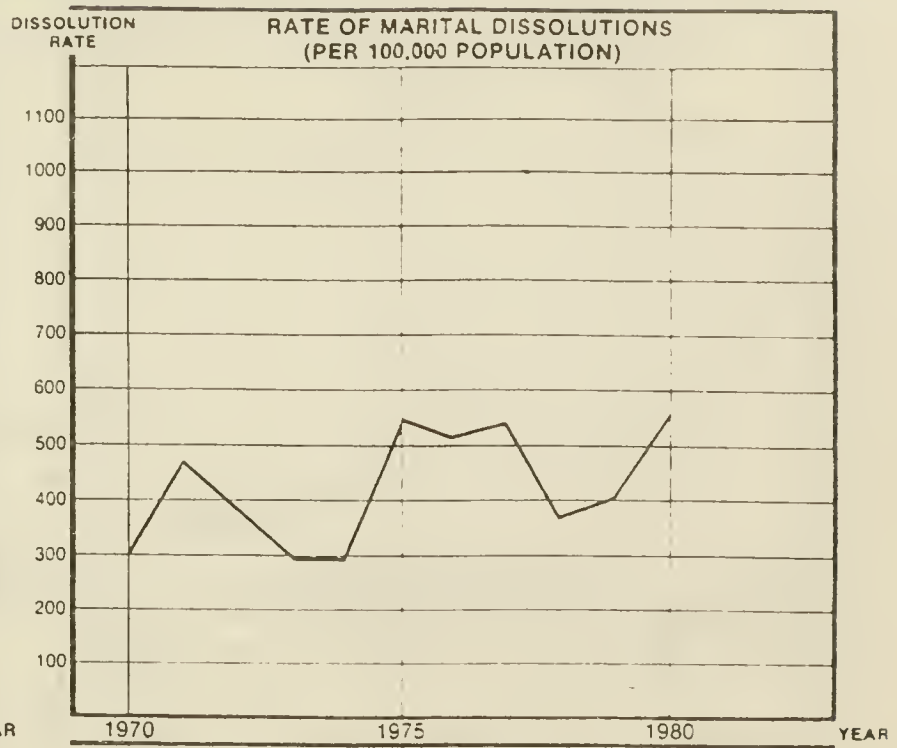
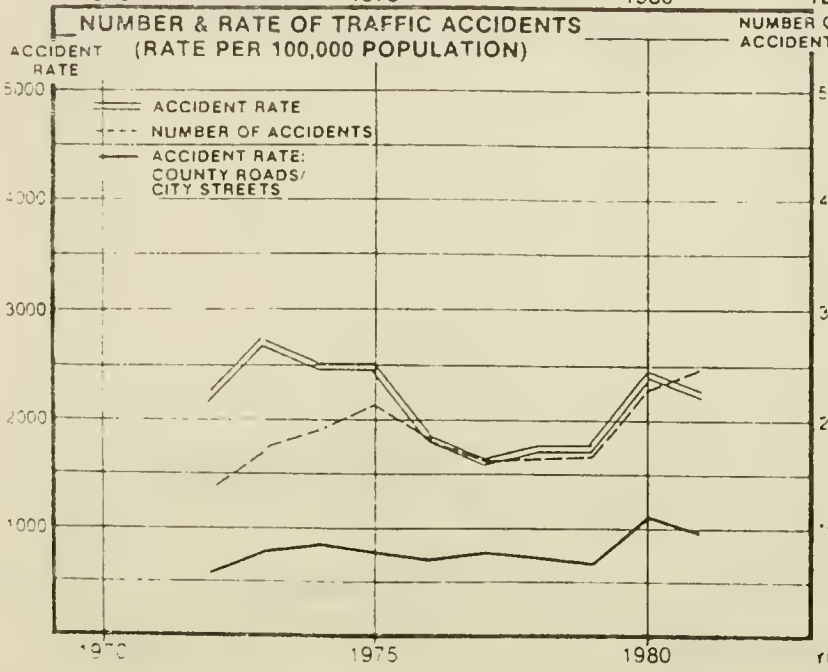


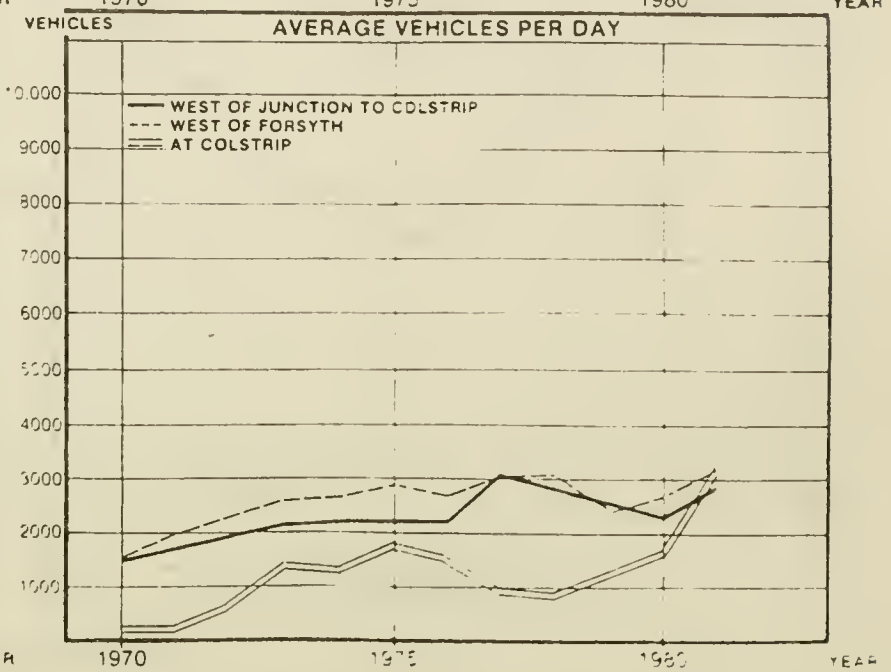
Exhibit 7.

ROSEBUD COUNTY









Unemployment also increased as it did statewide. Locally higher unemployment levels appear related to several factors. Recessionary conditions in the national economy dampened growth in electric consumption and, in turn, slowed the construction schedule of the generating units. Fewer locally unemployed persons and immigrants thus were able to find jobs. Recent Federal budget cutbacks also reduced the scale of governmental employment on the Northern Cheyenne Reservation.

Finally, from 1970 to 1980, Rosebud County's median household income also increased dramatically, rising 184 percent compared to a statewide increase of 107 percent. In dollars, the county's median household income increased from $5,892 to $16,750. Employees in the mining and construction industries typically are much more highly paid than those in agricultural, trade, and service employment. Higher pay scales not only directly raised household income, but also bid up the price of other forms of employment. The higher pay scales make it difficult for ranchers, government agencies, and commercial interests to compete successfully for labor. Industrial labor at Colstrip is entirely unionized and wage rates are negotiated by non-local union and management entities without reference to historic or, necessarily, prevailing wage rates in the local, Rosebud County economy. High wages and working conditions in the industrial sector also leads to a "comparability gap" and workers in other sectors of the economy push for parity.

Criminal Activity

Exhibit 6 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 development. Criminal activity, as measured by the rate per 100,000 population, of the seven major felonies (Part 1 crimes), 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.

Despite the coincidence of peak population growth and elevated levels of Part 1 crimes, much of the increase in criminal activity was recorded on the Northern Cheyenne Indian Reservation. This was particularly the case for violent crime in the mid-1970s. For example, in 1975 of 96 recorded crimes against persons in the county, 79 or 82 percent were recorded on the reservation. That pattern applies throughout the 1973-1977 period. Throughout the entire measurement period, reported criminal activity on the reservation shows a highly irregular pattern and suggests inconsistency in the reporting process. As such, it is difficult to closely link the changing levels of major felony offenses on the Northern Cheyenne Reservation with resource development at Colstrip.

The number and rate of lesser felonies (Part 2 offenses)[5] generally tracks with the up and down cycles of construction employment in the county. During the peak of construction for Units 1 and 2 (i.e., 1974 to 1976), the county rate of Part 2 crime exceeded the state rate from 18 to 106 percent. While below the state rate during the construction hiatus from 1977 to 1979, Part 2 crime again accelerated in 1980 and exceeded the state average. From 1973 to 1981, the number of Part 2 crimes has fluctuated from 148 to 376 incidents per year, the highest

[5]Part 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.

number recorded in 1980. County rates of simple assault and vandalism also coincided with fluctuations in construction activity. The number of simple assaults reported in 1981 is very high. Narcotic offenses have demonstrated a steady decline, despite the impressions of officials and residents that "dope is everywhere."

Narcotics investigations are difficult to establish and operate 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 sparcely 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.

Part 2 crime or "lesser felony offenses" committed in Rosebud County 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." No law enforcement or court officials mentioned the Northern Cheyenne Indians as a notable source of criminal activity. Those area residents who occupy stable and long-term jobs in the development area were described as a stabilizing influence. Officials noted that most criminal activity in the county is located in the coal areas but added that Forsyth also has suffered an increase in the level of crime.

Other Types of Social Disruption

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. When adjustments are made for inflation, the county shows a steady decline in sales from 1970 to 1979 and then an increase. In 1981, actual sales per person totaled $66.91, a $16.77 increase from 1978. During the same period, state sales increased from $65.33 to $66.16. See Exhibit 7. 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. The theme of family

disturbance was frequently mentioned by law enforcement and social service personnel, not just in Rosebud County but at other development sites as well. Given the frequency with which these types of problems are described, it is probably safe to conclude that either family disturbances substantially increase in number or, the nature of the problem is so unique or odious to the existing, long-term residents that it attracts both attention and concern despite small increases in incidence. 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."

Formal intervention in family disturbances by law enforcement, the courts, or welfare programs seems to increase as the alledged transgressions becomes more severe. But even cases such as incest, violent spouse or child abuse, or child neglect are difficult to identify and prosecute through the courts. Accordingly, most family disturbances are handled informally by agents of the criminal justice system and do not make their way to the formal record.

The rate of marital dissolutions in Rosebud County has been and remains well below the corresponding state rate. The rate of marital dissolutions did increase in Rosebud County coincident with peaks in construction activity but, overall, did not increase throughout the decade as much as did the corresponding state rate. At best, the number and rate of marital dissolutions are imperfect measures 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. Also, 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, the latter event may not show up in Rosebud County's statistics. Instead, the formal marital dissolution may be attributed to Yellowstone or Custer County where the couple filed the divorce action or, perhaps, in another location where they moved from Rosebud County and then subsequently separated.

Traffic on Interstate 90 near Forsyth and on the highway south to Colstrip has increased markedly since coal development was initiated. Traffic density increased an average of nearly 15 percent per year between 1970 and 1975. The average rate of increase in the late 1970s was lower than that level but began to rise again in 1980 and 1981 by over 40 percent. 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. The rates of all traffic accidents in Rosebud County peaked in the years 1972 to 1974 and again in 1980 to 1981. Rosebud County accident rates exceeded the corresponding state rates only in 1973 and 1974, despite the increase in traffic density. Five-year average accident rates were almost identical to the statewide rate for the years 1972 through 1976 and were well below the state rate thereafter.

Based upon records maintained by the district judge, district court case filings have increased as well. Average case filings in the years 1972 to 1975 were 80 percent more numerous than in the previous three year period (from 75 to 136 cases); increases of average filings of 29 percent and 57 percent occurred in succeeding three year periods. Records maintained by the Montana Supreme Court show the number of filings increasing from 340 in 1978 to 411 in 1981, a 21 percent increase. In 1980, a Montana Legislative Council study (Menzies) showed an average of 685 case filings per judge in the Sixteenth Judicial

District that includes Rosebud County, compared with an average of 979 case filings per judge statewide. A statistical comparison of caseloads does not assess the complexity of the cases being brought to court, however, no, officer of the court offered an opinion that cases now seen in Rosebud County are qualitatively different from those in other jurisdictions.

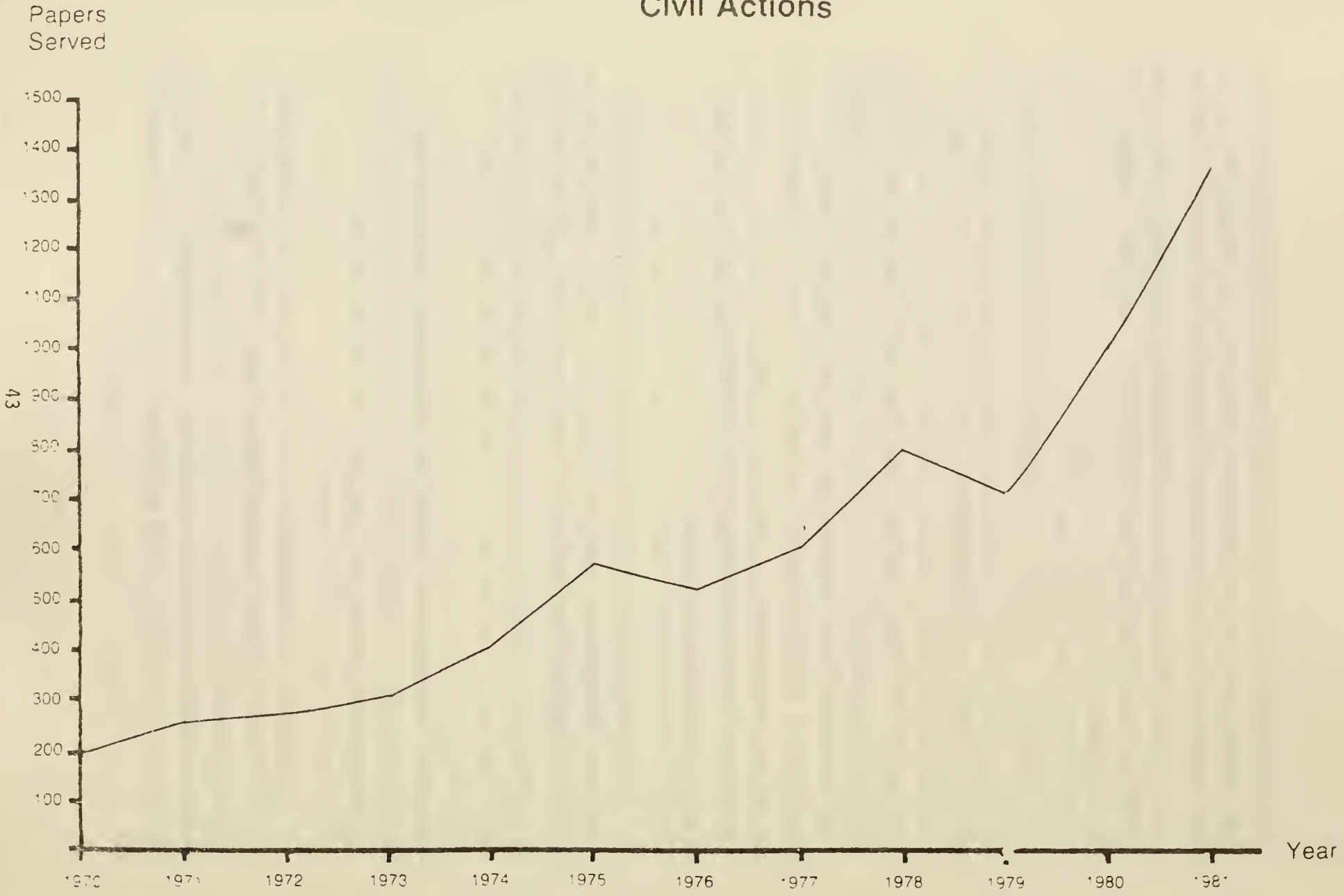
Reportedly, caseloads in justice courts also have risen sharply, but there is no body of statistical information available to measure the change or compare it with other areas of the state. Colstrip now is served by a full-time Justice-of-the-Peace. That position was made full-time in 1979; prior to that year, the position was authorized only for part-time service and was located in Ashland. Both Rosebud County Justices-of-the-Peace indicate that the largest source of their caseloads are traffic offenses, DWI charges, and other alcohol related crimes among the short-term construction workers. Both also believe that the level of crime in their area will decline when the current construction period has passed.

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. If reactivation of the Colstrip construction project in 1979 is associated with increased juvenile violations, the situation probably is being handled informally by the police, parents, and probation office. Local officials did not report a significant change in their caseloads.

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. See Exhibit 8.

Exhibit 8

Rosebud County
Civil Actions



Expenditures

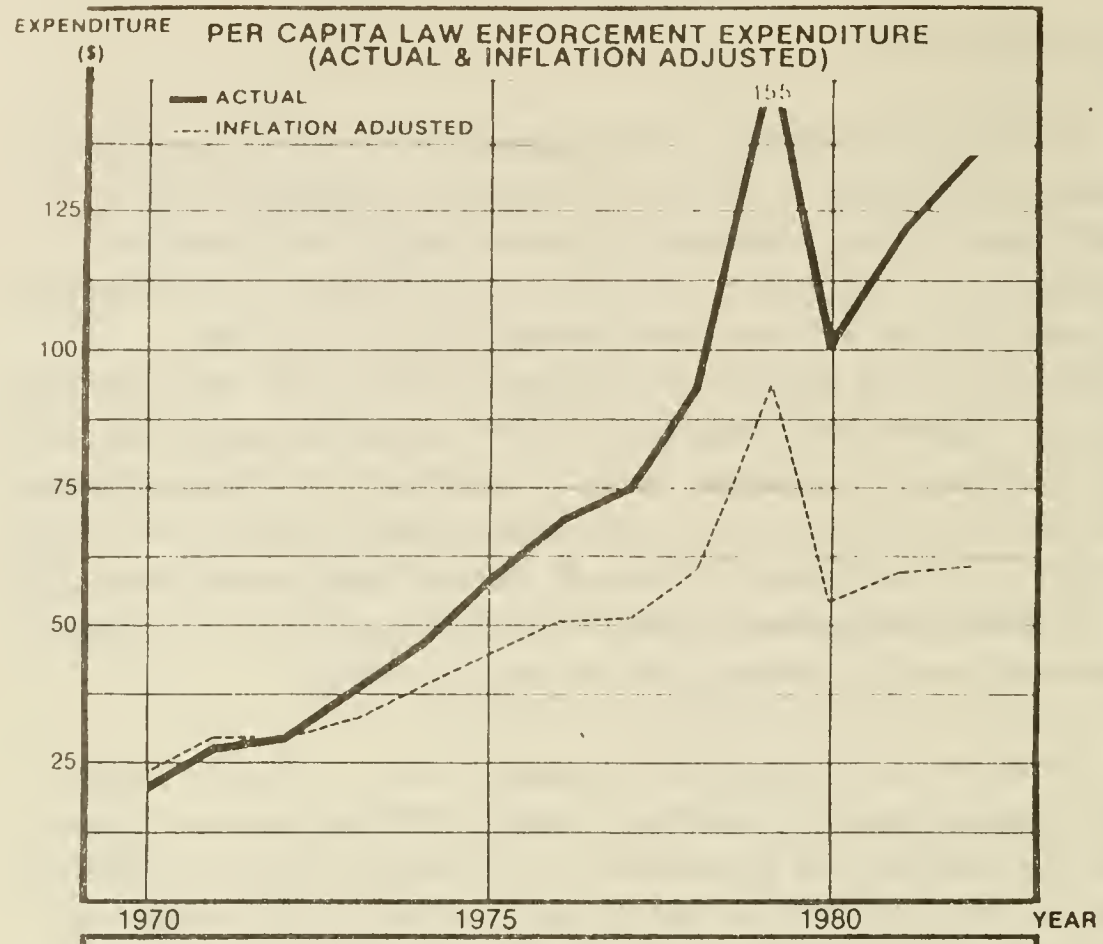
Per capita expenditures for law enforcement and city/county court systems are presented in Exhibit 9. Inflation adjusted per capita expenditures for law enforcement in Rosebud County have increased markedly in the past decade. The most rapid increases occurred between the years 1973 and 1976 and again between 1977 and 1979, when expenditures nearly doubled due to construction of a new law enforcement facility. Expenditures dropped after 1979, but not to levels that were typical before then. 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 (Western Analysis, 1982).

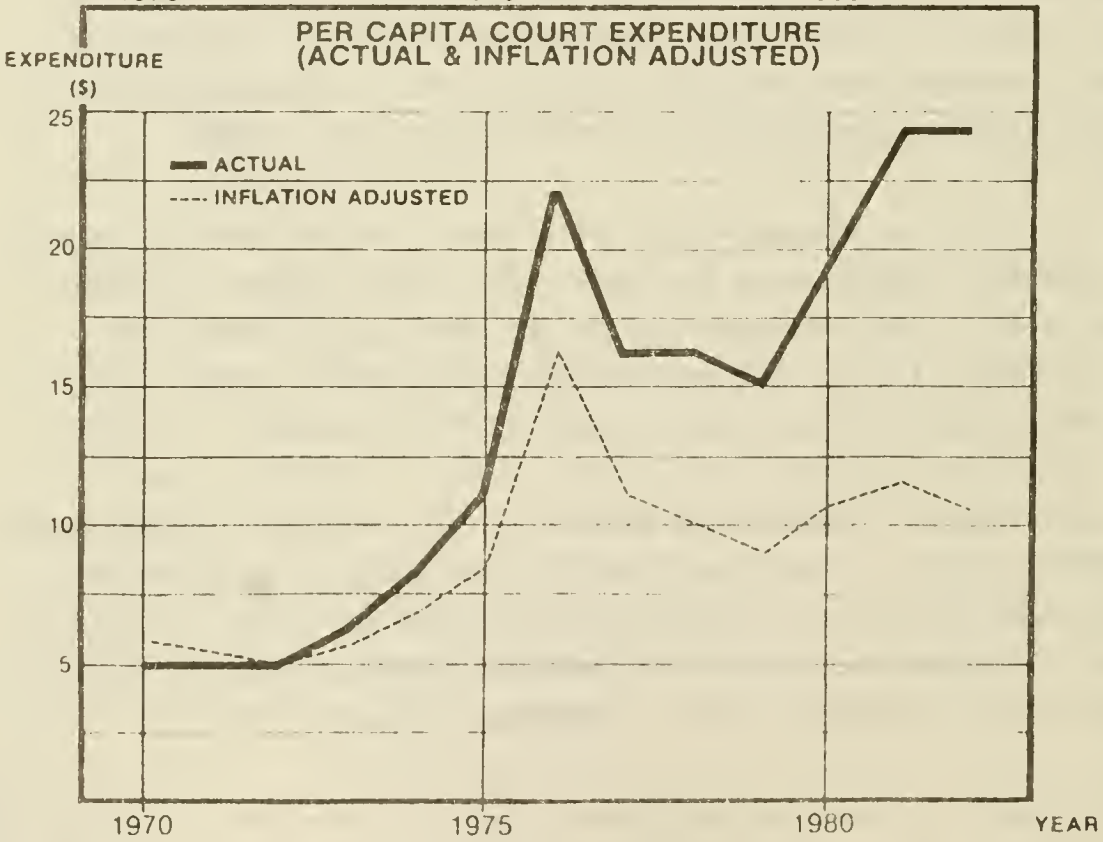
Inflation adjusted per capita expenditures for the court system also increased markedly, reaching a peak in 1976 that was nearly three times the 1970 level of expenditures. The average adjusted expenditure level for the years 1980 to 1982 is just over twice that of the peiod 1970 to 1972. In 1978, actual expenses for court cases 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. By 1976 it had quadrupled to $42.9 million and by 1982 it had practically tripled again to $118.3 million. 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

Exhibit 9

ROSEBUD COUNTY





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. Except for interlocal agreements to share services and impact mitigation grants from the state, there is no mechanism to transfer funds from one jurisdiction to another. The jurisdictional mismatch situation in Rosebud County is much less severe than it is, or likely will be, in other counties experiencing resource development simply because the Western Energy and Montana Power Companies have attempted to concentrate population growth in Colstrip. While Forsyth and other parts of Rosebud County have grown, they have not experienced either the population or service capacity pressure they would have had the Colstrip townsite not been developed. Nevertheless, the City of Forsyth has experienced a 60 percent increase in the level of city taxes over the past 12 years compared with actual decreases in the tax rates of Rosebud County and the Colstrip School District.

Social Structure

Many rural Montana communities have developed a relatively informal and unstructured social system (Western Analysis, 1981; 1982abc). Many residents of such communites have lived there all their lives or for long periods of time. Often, such communities are sustained by agriculture or agricultural service. 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. Social differentiation is apt to be more on the basis of personal behavior rather than occupation. In short, the established residents of these communites 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. To date, no true social community has redeveloped in the Colstrip area, although residents suggest that a community will develop when the construction period is over. Reportedly, Colstrip now exists as an urban, industrial island in the midst of Rosebud County, ignoring and ignored by the rest of the county, where community and social life remain essentially unchanged. In these circumstances, the potential for social conflict exists. Additional workloads are placed upon formal channels of conflict resolution precisely because informal channels no longer work as well. Part of the workload include not only an increase 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 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 the long-term, differences in values and expectations between the newcomers and established residents will recede. Social change is a universal constant and a new life will be forged in the Rosebud County/ Colstrip area. Current concerns about crime, delinquency, or other social ills will be gradually corrected and/or accepted. Time will heal most of the wounds, divisiness, and inconveniences that have been experienced in the Colstrip area since coal mining was restarted.

The Criminal Justice System: Resources and Problems

Law Enforcement

City and county law enforcement in Rosebud County are provided by the Rosebud County Sheriff. The Sheriff's headquarters are located in Forsyth, with a substation in Colstrip. The 8,600 square foot Rosebud County Public Safety Building in Forsyth was constructed in 1979 and contains 24 detention cells. A substation in Colstrip has four cells,

and is generally used only as a 24-hour holding facility. The main station has excess capacity for existing levels of demand, and the capacity of the Colstrip station is considered adequate (Mountain West, 1981). A Northern Cheyenne facility is located in Lame Deer. There is no facility in the Ashland/Birney area.

The County Sheriff employs twenty-two sworn officers. Seven non-administrative officers are stationed in Forsyth. Six deputies, five dispatchers and one dogcatcher are assigned to the Colstrip office. An additional deputy patrols the rural area south of Colstrip to Lame Deer. Five deputies are located in the Ashland/Birney area. Sufficient patrol vehicles exist for the current number of officers. All vehicles are replaced on a planned and budgeted biennial schedule. Communications equipment is in good condition. The Sheriff's office provides communications and dispatching services for the local emergency medical service and fire protection organizations.

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."

The amount of "paper" (i.e., civil actions, reports, etc.) that must be served has increased substantially and requires a large share of

the department's resources. Rosebud County is now in the process of developing a civil division to handle the volume of civil paper that must be served. Civil actions require an extensive amount of clerical time to accurately log, deliver and record the costs of service. Since the papers must be served in person, a deputy sheriff must locate the party involved and drive to his or her residence or place or work to complete the action. Simply finding some parties is difficult. Addresses are often non-existent and the Sheriff's department must conduct an extensive search by contacting area employers, the postal service, utilities, and other local agencies with lists of residents.

Another major problem is nuisance pets. One law enforcement official described it 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. Beyond the lack of resources available at the local level, in rapidly developing communities, nuisance pet problems probably are compounded by the lifestyle of many of the newly arrived residents. Mobile homes are relatively small as are the lots on which they rest and there may be a greater propensity to turn the animals loose under such conditions. It also may be that existing residents and newcomers let their animals roam free to the same degree but, prior to the development phase, the number of animals actually causing a nuisance was relatively small. In Rosebud County, attempts to control the nuisance pet problem has resulted in the construction of two new animal shelters, one each in Forsyth and Colstrip and hiring animal control officers.

Rosebud County covers a large land area and its population is widely divided among a series of small towns, farms, and ranches. There is almost 1,700 miles of road in the county much of which is surfaced with gravel or dirt. Simple patrol of the area, responding to police calls, or serving civil papers exacts a high cost in time, equipment wear and tear, and dollars. There is both a social and financial cost to space.

These costs are reflected in places like Rosebud County through long response times to outlying areas, high operating expenses (e.g., gasoline), the need to duplicate equipment and personnel to adequately support out stationed deputies, and increased time and expense spent coordinating and managing agency personnel. Such costs are not borne by law enforcement alone. The logistics and travel necessary to support the functions of social workers, youth probation personnel, and judges reduces the practitioner's ability to handle the types of caseloads typically seen by their urban counterparts.

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." At present, an individual operating a coal hauler at Colstrip earns $15.17 per hour. A common laborer working on Units 3 and 4 gets $10.45 and a Rosebud County Deputy Sheriff receives approximately $8.89 per hour. To combat staff turnover, law enforcement agencies have broadened their recruitment focus and hire individuals without previous law enforcement experience as well as persons who are recent immigrants to the area. These conditions tend to reduce the agency's effectiveness since it must expend the time and energy of experienced officers to extensively train new recruits. Also, in the short term, immigrant officers lack familiarity with the geography and values of the county. In a rural area where roads are unmarked and residents spread far and wide, it makes a big difference if police officers do or do not know how to get around, particularly in emergencies.

Rosebud County police officials describe their situation as "playing catch-up and holding on" but never seeming "to get ahead" of the constant change that both the community and law enforcement agencies experience.

Court System

Rosebud County is located within the Sixteenth Judicial District. The court system in Rosebud County comprises the district court and one justice court each, in Forsyth and Colstrip. In Montana, Justice courts have jurisdiction in civil matters up to $3,500 in value, for misdemeanor criminal actions, and violations of state fish and game laws

The district judge states that his court has been overwhelmed by the increase in case filings which reportedly not only are more numerous, but also require far more time to resolve, even though caseloads are comparable or smaller than experienced in other jurisdictions. Both Justices-of-the-Peace report that they are very busy. Some difficulty has been experienced in finding adequate funding to support training as required by law.

Youth Services

Juvenile Probation serves Rosebud County through the Sixteenth Judicial District which is headquartered in Miles City. Four juvenile probation officers serve the district and one is permanently assigned in the Rosebud County/Forsyth area. There is one group home in the district, located at Miles City. The facility has a licensed capacity of seven youth and during Fiscal Year 1981, it experienced a 68 percent occupancy rate.

Social services for Rosebud County are provided by a staff of three social workers, one each assigned to Forsyth, Colstrip, and Lame Deer. There are six foster care homes in the Colstrip area, all of which are filled by placements from the Northern Cheyenne Reservation.

While the juvenile probation caseload has not changed numerically in any substantial sense during the past few years, the type of individual being treated reportedly has changed. 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.

All youth services personnel felt there was additional need for family counseling services and emergency shelter care. Workers also emphasized that their workload was not impacted so much "by the number of people who came, but by the type of people."

Citizen Participation and Leadership

Local involvement in criminal justice issues reportedly was non-existant until the late 1970s. Then, parents of some children who had become drug abusers formed Parents Against Drug Abuse (PADA). This group became very active and visible and attempted to provide teenagers with recreational alternatives to drugs and alcohol. By 1982, PADA had become nearly inactive. A few Colstrip residents, the Colstrip Justice-

of-the-Peace, and the Colstrip social worker spearheaded an effort to organize a battered spouse hotline and safehouse in 1982. This effort still is underway.

Rosebud County has received substantial financial assistance from extra-local sources. The Montana Coal Board Has awarded a total of over $18.25 million in grants to Colstrip, Forsyth and Rosebud County since 1976, including $237,962 directly for law enforcement and criminal justice. The county law enforcement program received grants for the construction of the Rosebud County law enforcement facility, the Colstrip community services buidling (including police), vehicles and equipment, funds for additional deputies, and a juvenile probation officer.

Summary

Coincident with the increases in employment and population at Colstrip, Rosebud experienced increased criminal activity. 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. Part 2 crime, the lesser felonies, followed the employment cycle relatively closely and exceeded the state norm during the two years when construction employment was the highest. County alcohol sales have always been high, generally well above the state average. During the past two years, as the level of construction activity increased so did alcohol sales, a pattern opposite of that experienced by the state as a whole. 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. Increases in the county's taxable value from oil and coal royalties and gross proceeds coupled with the equipment value of the Colstrip Generating Units, make Rosebud County one of, if not, the wealthiest counties in the state in terms of local government fiscal capacity.

CASE STUDY #2: CUSTER COUNTY/CHALLIS, IDAHO

The Setting

Custer County is located in central Idaho. It is a large county (4,929 square miles), but thinly populated (1980 population = 3,385). The rugged Sawtooth and Salmon River Mountains encompass three quarters of the county on the west and north while the Lost River Range forms the county's eastern boundary. The valleys are high and precipitation limited. Over 96 percent of the land is federally owned and managed by the U.S. Forest Service or Bureau of Land Management. The county has four towns -- Stanley, Clayton, Challis and Mackay. Challis is the largest community (1980 population = 758) and county seat. Idaho Falls and Missoula are the two nearest large commercial centers, 150 and 198 miles away, respectively.

The Action

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. The company staked its mining claims and began evaluating the feasibility of opening a mine in 1967. In 1979, Cyprus decided it had a viable ore deposit and began acquiring the necessary environmental and operating permits. Final approval of the project was granted the following year and construction commenced. 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 work force of 550 persons (U.S. Forest Service, 1980).

Prior to construction, Cyprus Mines, state and federal regulatory bodies, and the mining company's consultants held a series of meetings with the citizens of Custer County to identify their concerns and implement the impact mitigation process.

Eight major issues were identified (U.S. Forest Service, 1980):

1. What effect will the project have on the human resources and economic base of Custer County?

2. How will the incoming population be assimilated into the present Challis area social structure?

3. Can the housing demand be met satisfactorily?

4. Will the Custer County and Challis City life-support systems (community services and utilities) adequately adapt to the population increase caused by the project?

5. What effect will there be on local governments and their abilities to provide services?

6. Will taxes be increased to pay for the expanded public facilities and services required as a result of the project?

7. What is the potential for long-term public indebtedness from expansion of public facilities and services required as a result of the project?

8. Will the project affect the resident and/or visitor perception of the aesthetic quality of Custer County?

The mining company responded with 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 an anonymous basis to undertand 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 conjuction 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.

In addition, the city of Challis developed a comprehensive plan and zoning ordinance to regulate growth. Challis also formed its own police department in February 1981 to augment coverage that had previously been provided by the Custer County Sheriff's Office on a contract basis.

Changes in the Community

Economic-Demographic Conditions

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 Thomspon Creek 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. During the same time, Idaho's population continued to grow but adverse economic conditions in the wood products industry and mining regions in the northern part of the state caused total employment to fall.

Historically, the mainstay of Custer County's economic base has been agriculture and federal government employment. There is little

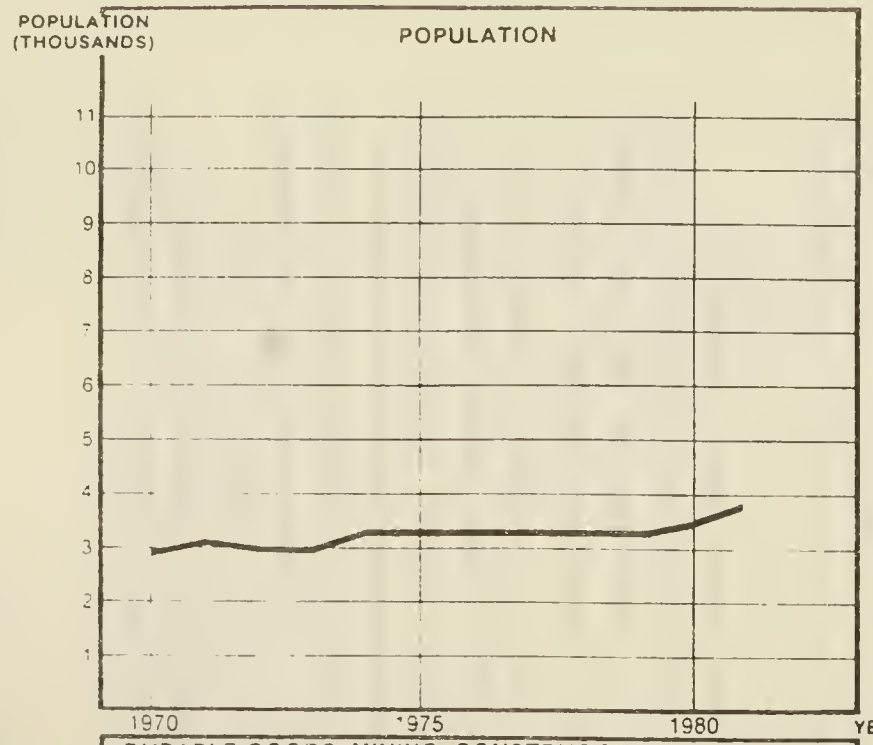
manufacturing in the county. The county was first inhabited and settled by miners primarily in the Stanley area and since the 1860s small mines have been continuously in operation. The Cyprus Mine added 500 positions to the heavy industry category of employment in 1980 and 1981. An average of 56 percent of the jobs went to residents of Custer and immediately adjacent Lemhi County (Cyprus Mines, 1982). From 1970 to 1980, the county's unemployment rate of 6.7 percent was above the state average of 6.1 percent during the same period. With the onset of the Cyprus project, unemployment fell below to a level 40 percent of the state rate. Exhibit 10 shows the changes in Custer County's economic and demographic indicators since 1970.

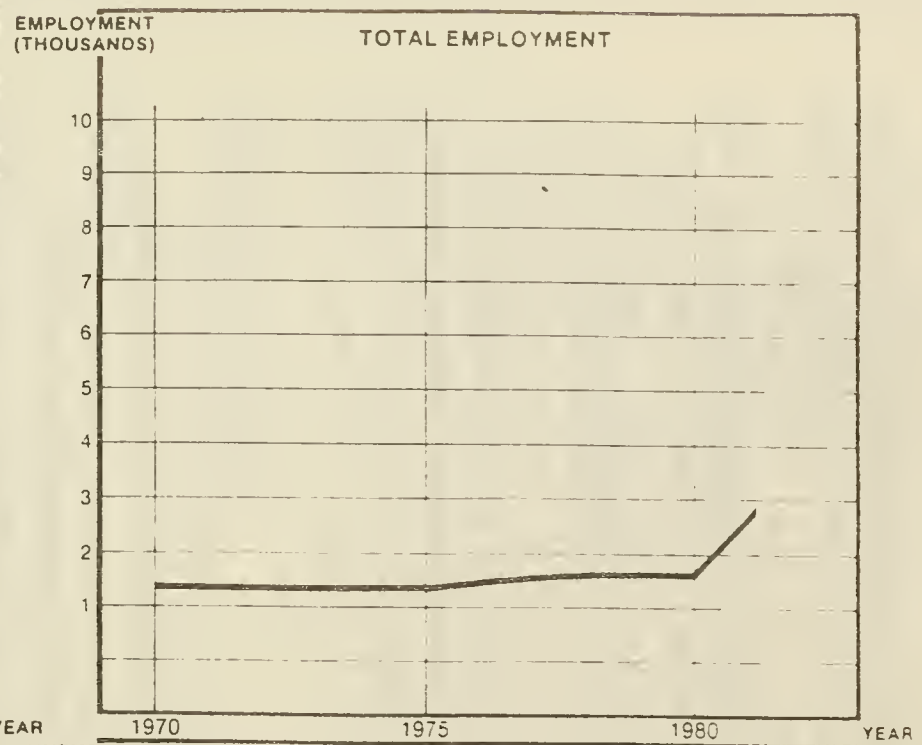
Criminal Activity

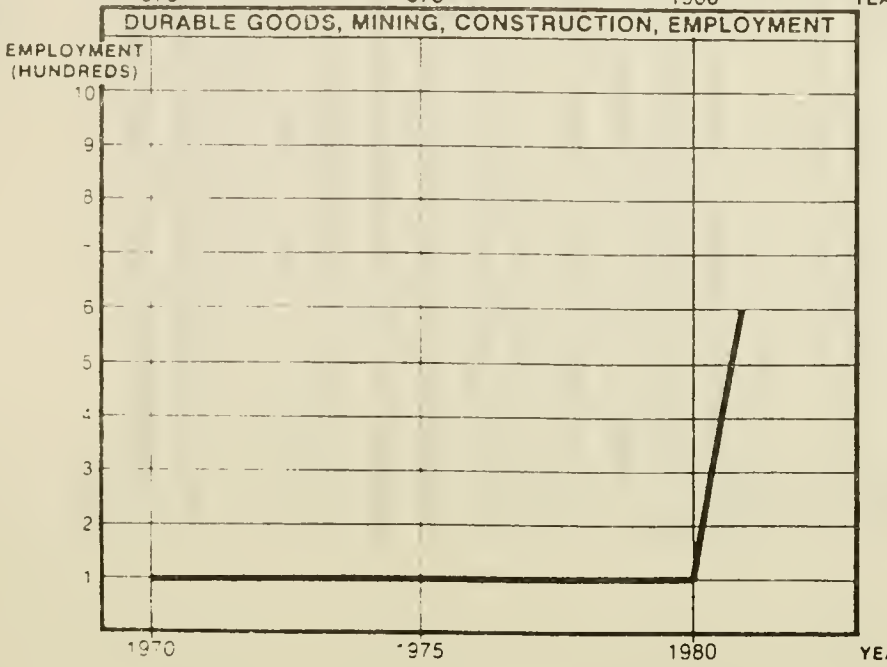
Exhibit 11 contains four graphs portraying trends in criminal activity over the last four to nine years for which data are available. Throughout the 1970s, Custer County experienced a low number of felony offenses (less than 80 per year) and its crime rate per 100,000 population was about one-half of 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 fist 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. There were six simple assault cases and four narcotics offenses recorded in 1981. The low level of reported narcotic offenses was in stark contrast to the statements of local law enforcement officials who claimed narcotics were "very common, especially up at the construction camp."

Exhibit 10.

CUSTER COUNTY, IDAHO







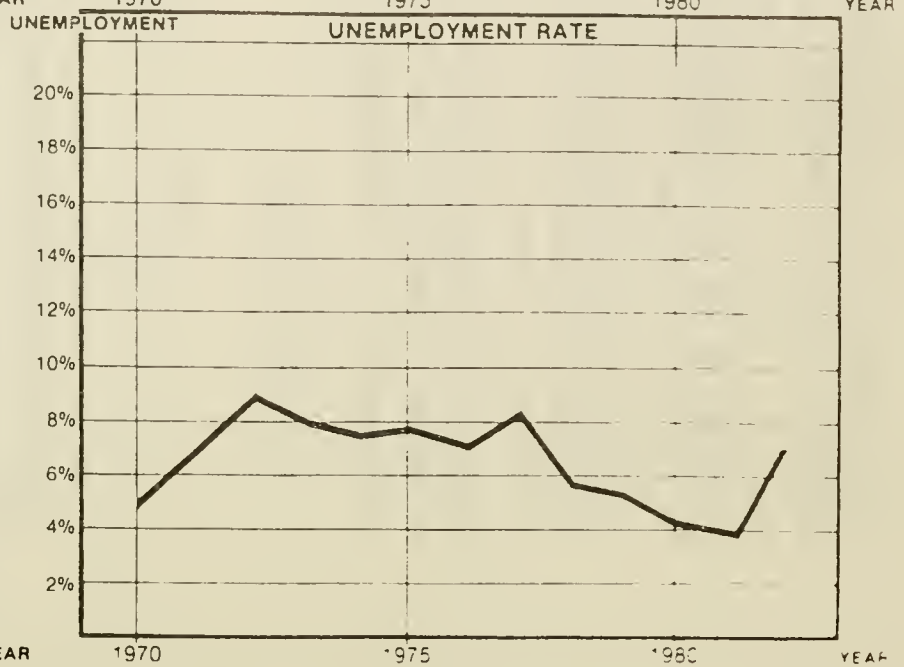


Exhibit 11.

CUSTER COUNTY, IDAHO

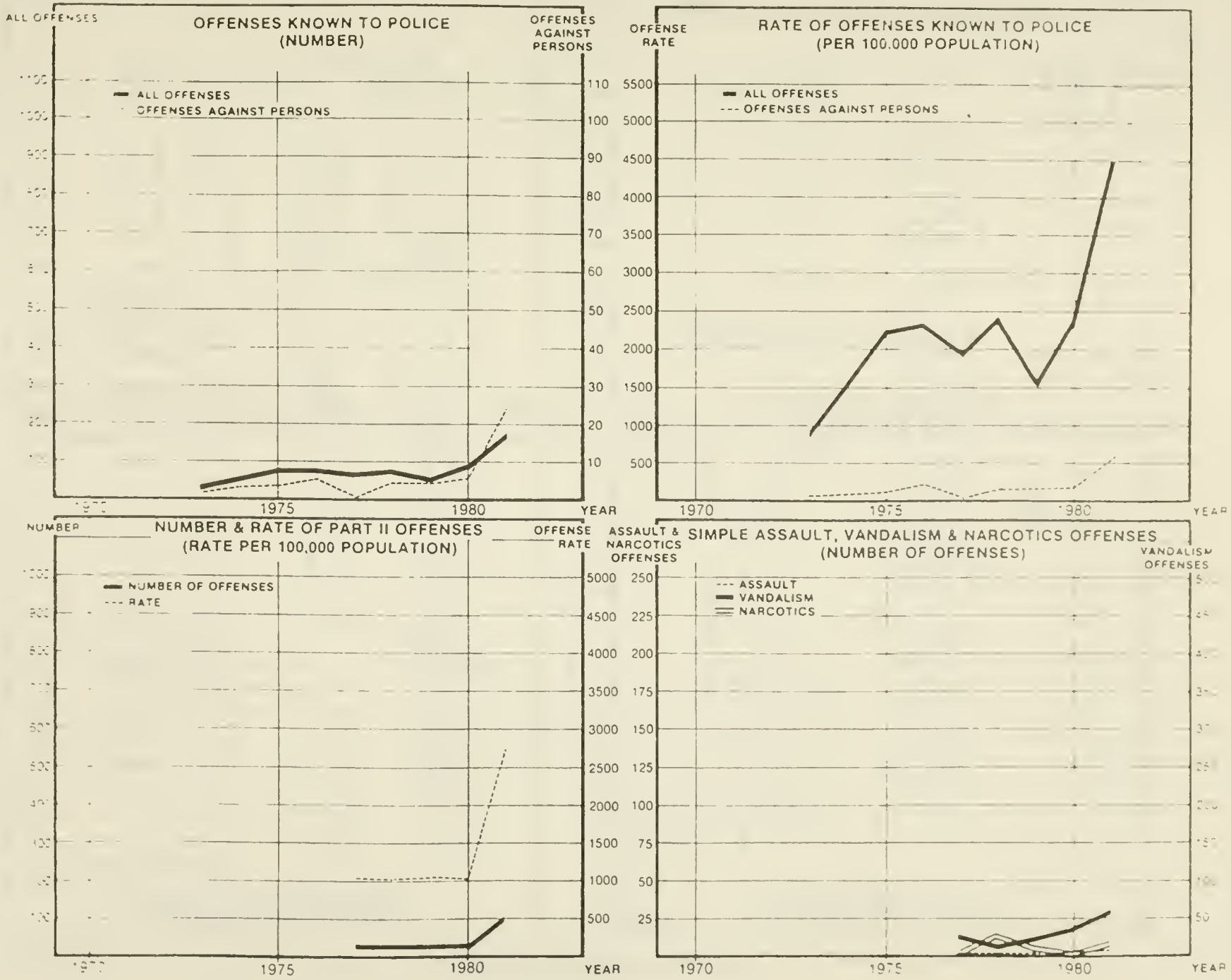
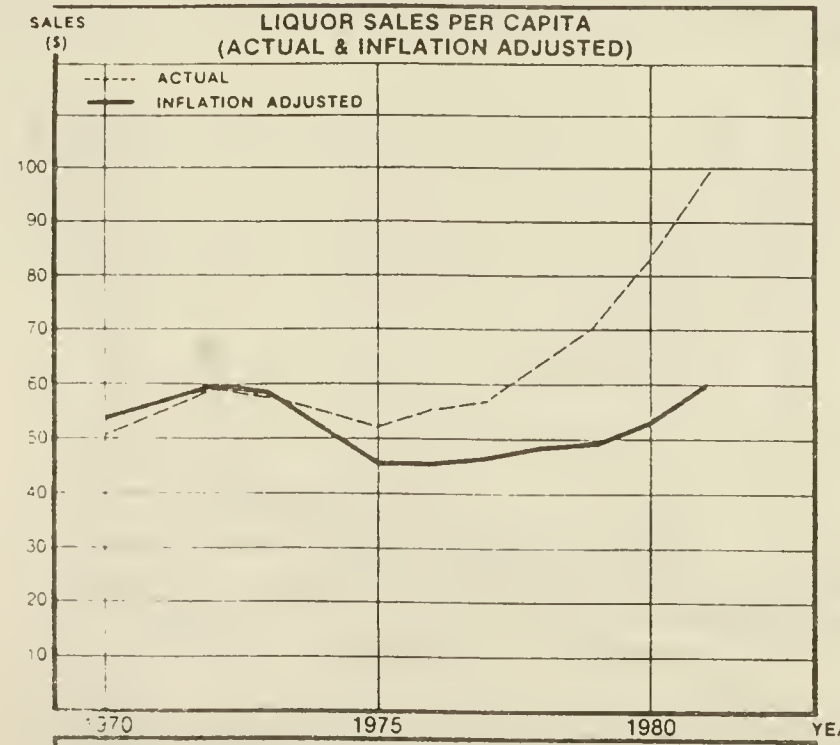
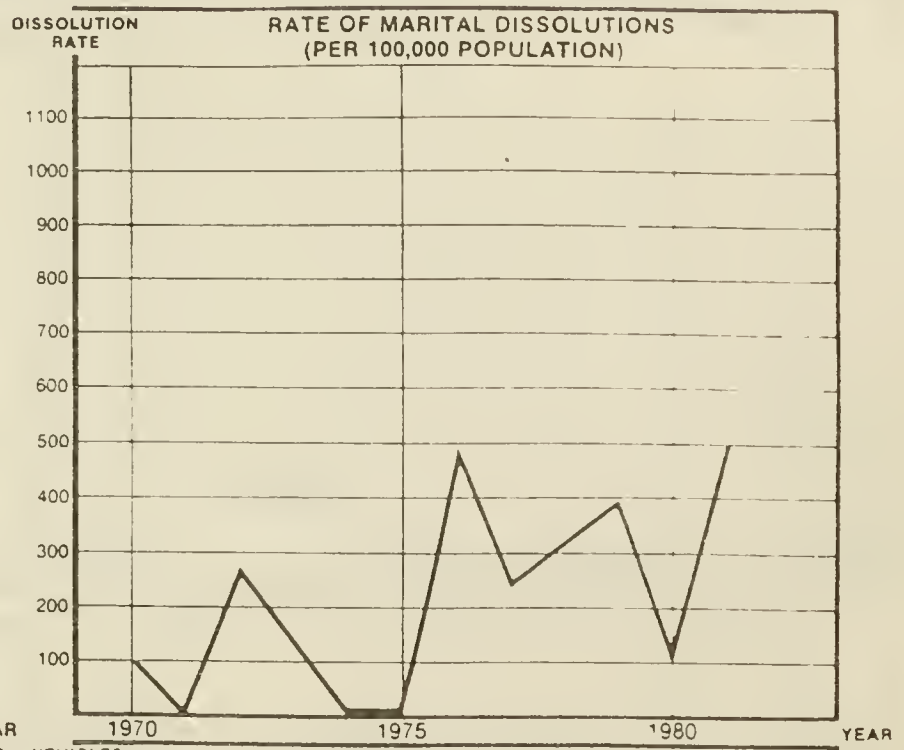
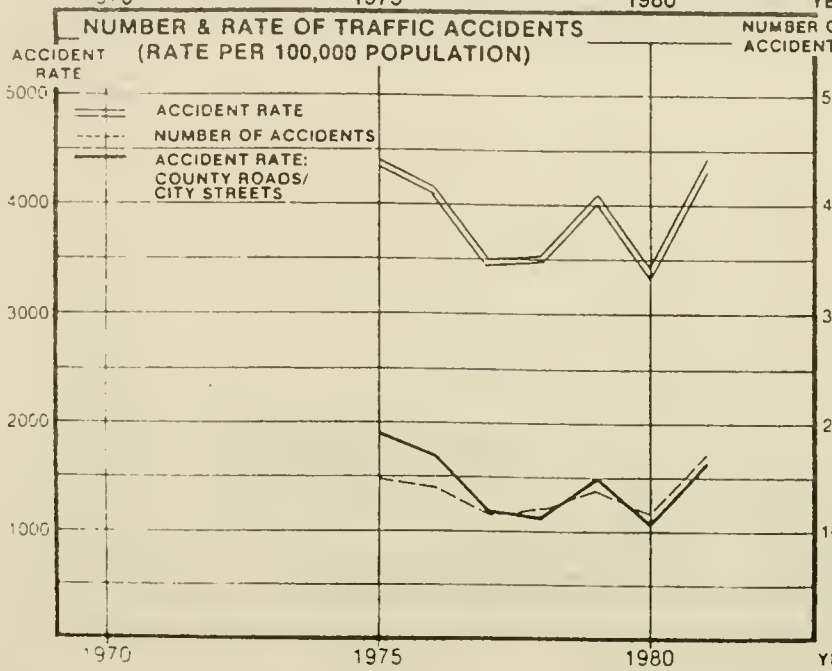


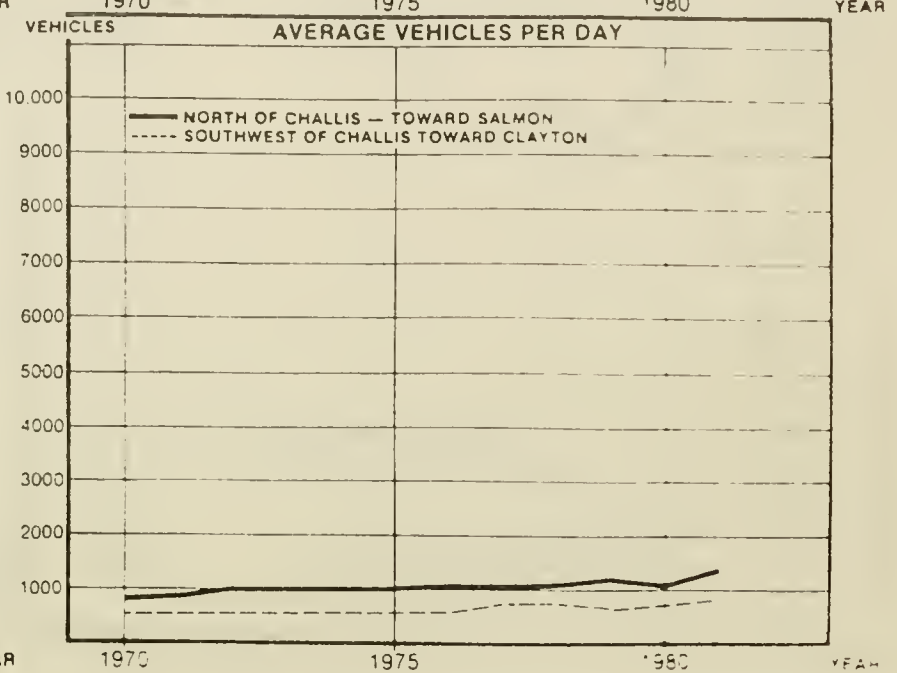
Exhibit 12.

CUSTER COUNTY, IDAHO









Local officials uniformly described 1981 as a problem year for crime in Challis. Reportedly, the mine project received considerable media attention statewide and the area was flooded with job seekers. A city offcial 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."

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. For example, a city official noted,

> "Most of the bar fights are started by the local cowboys."

A police officer commented in a similar vein,

> "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."

Other Types of Social Disruption

Exhibit 12 contains graphs showing changes in Custer County liquor sales, marital dissolutions, vehicle accidents, and traffic. A local law enforcement officer described the area as "hard drinking, with the

highest per capita alcohol consumption in the state." That may not be precisely the case but per capita liquor sales in Custer County historically have been about twice the state rate. When adjusted for the impact of inflation, per capita liquor sales in Custer County rose about $11.00 from 1978 to 1981 compared with a $4.00 decline in Idaho during the same period. In 1978, the actual per capita expenditure was $64.42 in the county and $41.80 in the state as a whole. By 1981, Custer County residents were purchasing liquor at a rate of $98.59 per person compared with a $45.00 rate in Idaho generally.

Divorce is a relatively uncommon event in Custer County and its pattern is extremely erratic. Over the past 12 years, the number of divorces had fluctuated from zero to 19, annually. During the 1981 "boom" year, there were 19 marital dissolutions in the county compared with 11 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 was over twice the state accident rate. From 1978 to 1981, the state accident rate actually declined 25 percent compared with a 22 percent increase in Custer County. 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 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 (Haroldsen, 1982).

Court filings increased dramatically in the magistrate courts. The Idaho Court System divides its District Court into two levels. The lower, or Magistrate level, handles misdemeanor actions with a fine of up to $1,000 and one year in jail and civil cases up to $2,000. From 1978 to 1981, the Magistrate court filings increased from 932 to 1,589 filings. The largest category of offense was traffic violoations, which constituted about three-quarters of the total number of filings in both years. Exhibit 13 shows the changes in the Magistrate court caseload by type of case for Idaho and Custer County from 1978 to 1981. 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. In 1981, there were 76 cases; a three-fold increase over 1978 but only 13 cases above the 1979 level which was also a pre-development year. Custer County's juvenile probation caseload has historically 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.

Expenditures

In 1981, Challis residents spent $108 per capita in Custer County for law enforcement. Expenditures in Custer County increased $6.38 per year from 1970 to 1978 and $13.33 per year thereafter. The largest single year increase took place between 1978 and 1979 before mine development started. Court expenditures per capita about doubled from 1970 to 1978 and increased 70 percent between 1978 and 1981. In 1981,

Exhibit 13

CASE FILINGS IN MAGISTRATE COURTS
CUSTER COUNTY AND IDAHO

	Idaho		Custer County	
1981				
Domestic relations/ child support	11,904		54	
Small claims	14,217		86	
Total civil cases		39,915		150
Felonies	6,194		85	
Traffic (except DUI)	199,213		1,135	
Misdemeanors	33,306		169	
Total criminal cases		238,713		1,389
Special proceedings		13,593		50
Total all cases		292,221		1,589
1980				
Domestic relations/ child support	11,793		21	
Small claims	14,323		54	
Total civil cases		39,198		82
Felonies	5,987		13	
Traffic (except DUI)	218,368		565	
Misdemeanors	32,878		152	
Total criminal cases		257,233		730
Special proceedings		13,935		27
Total all cases		310,366		839

Exhibit 13

CASE FILINGS IN MAGISTRATE COURTS
CUSTER COUNTY AND IDAHO
(Continued)

	Idaho		Custer County	
1979				
Domestic relations/ child support	11,090		11	
Small claims	15,581		62	
Total civil cases		38,473		81
Felonies	5,699		17	
Traffic (except DUI)	213,025		471	
Misdemeanors	29,544		101	
Total criminal cases		248,268		589
Special proceedings		13,914		25
Total all cases		300,655		695
1978				
Domestic relations/ child support	9,560		3	
Small claims	13,504		57	
Total civil cases		33,867		67
Felonies	5,357		9	
Traffic (except DUI)	205,705		716	
Misdemeanors	28,377		100	
Total criminal cases		239,439		825
Special proceedings		13,746		40
Total all cases		287,052		932

Source: Idaho Courts
Western Analysis, Inc.

local residents were spending $22 per person for courts compared with $13 in 1978 and $6 in 1970. See Exhibit 14. The increase in court and law enforcement expenditures largely has been a function of inflation. Although both areas experienced "real" growth as well. It is difficult to accurately assess what impact mine development played in the increased expenditure levels although both police and court officials mentioned items such as jury costs, travel, and additional equipment. The creation of the Challis City Police Department in 1981 was the major source of expenditure increase during that year and accounts for most of the change after mine construction started.

Social Structure

Throughout most of its history, Custer County has been a stable, largely agricultural community. Recreational activities have been centered around outdoor sports, school activities, and socializing in taverns. Individuals interviewed in the Challis area described the area as having a macho image of itself and hard drinking. The area was described as generally tolerant about alcohol use even among the youth, accepting of prostitution if it did not get too blatant, and disinterested in family disruption. The great degree of opprobrium was directed toward drug use, theft, and poaching. The latter offense is viewed as much more serious when conducted by an "outsider."

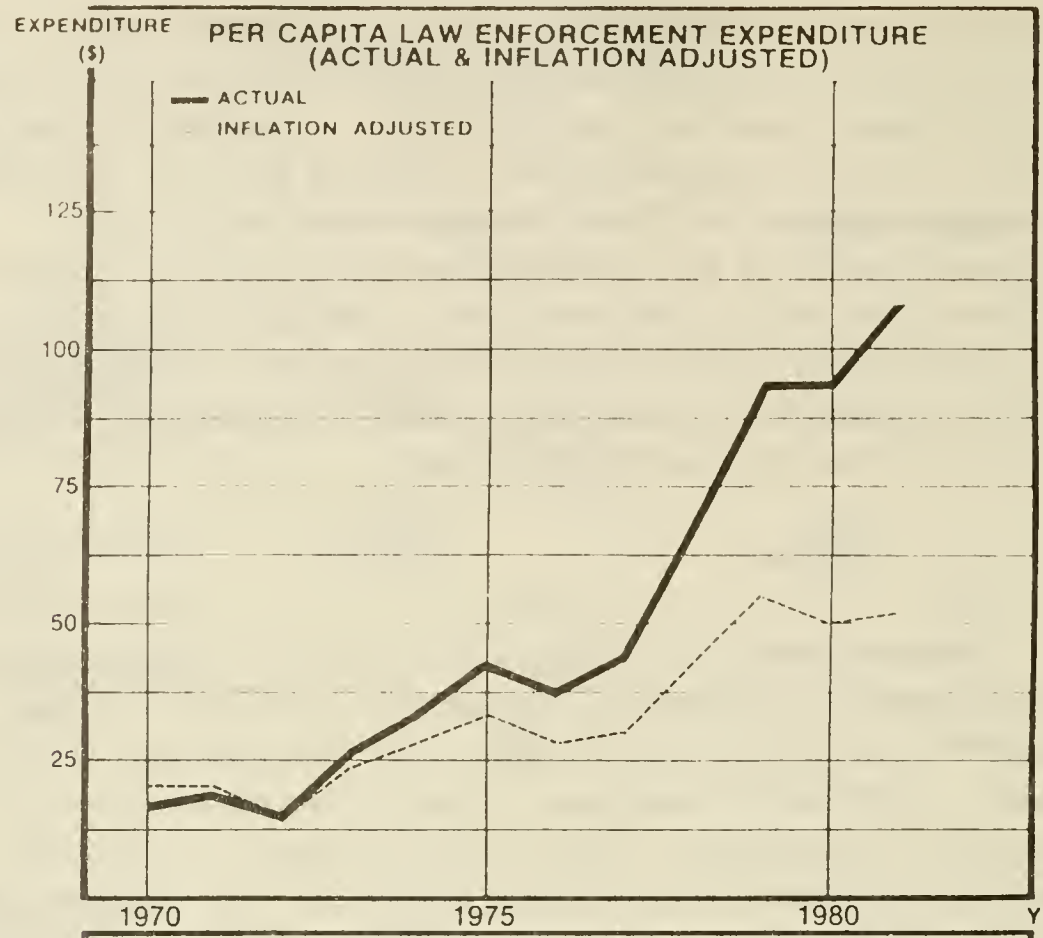
The Criminal Justice System: Resources and Problems

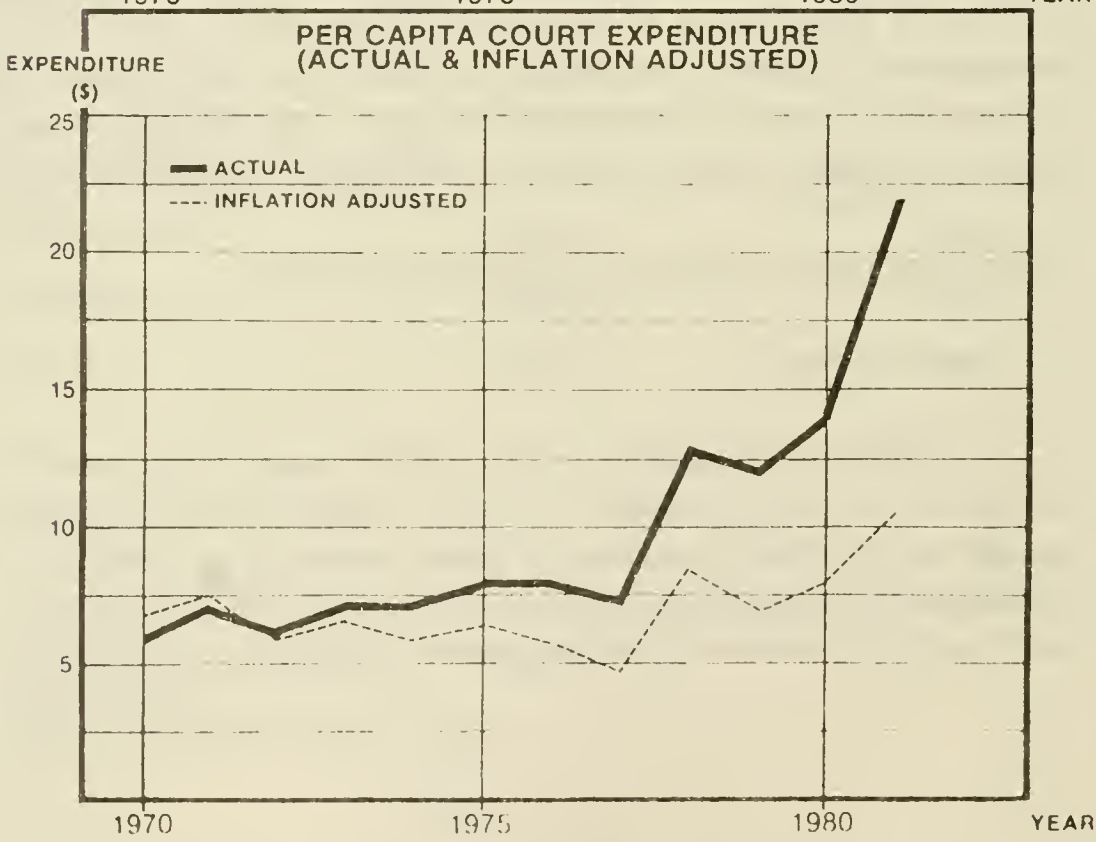
Law Enforcement

The chief law enforcement body in Custer County is the Sheriff's Department. It had 12 officers in 1981, a number that was recently reduced to eight sworn personnel by budget cutbacks. Two officers are outstationed in Mackay and Stanley with the remainder of the sworn staff, and six non-sworn dispatch/clerical personnel headquartered in

Exhibit 1-1

CUSTER COUNTY, IDAHO





Challis. There is also a Sheriff's reserve of 20 men who assist the regular officers 14 hours per month. The Challis Police Department has three officers, a part-time animal control officer, an eight-man reserve, two vehicles, and an annual operating budget of about $60,000 per year.

The county jail facility is old, in generally poor repair, and small. It has a capacity for eight offenders. There are no facilities for juveniles or females and, unless the county jail is totally free of other offenders, females and youth generally are transported 150 miles to Idaho Falls for custody.

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 for custody in other communities. 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.

Courts

Custer County is served by a full-time appointed Magistrate Judge and elected county attorney. The judge's salary and travel are paid by the state; the county attorney by Custer County. Custer County is one of several Idaho counties that make-up the Seventh Judicial District,

headquartered in Idaho Falls. A district judge visits the county about every three weeks.

Court officials did not describe any particular problems faced by the court despite the large increase in filings since the mine started construction. The court caseload has probably had more impact of the county attorney's office; that department's entire staff consists of the attorney and one part-time secretary.

Youth Services

In Idaho, counties have the option of providing probation services directly or contracting for them through the Idaho Department of Health and Welfare. Custer County contracts for services. The caseworker is located in Salmon, Idaho, 60 miles away. The current contract between the county and state department allows four hours of service per week. The current caseload is ten juveniles. Residential treatment services youth are very sparse in that portion of Idaho, generally, and in Custer County, in particular. Short of placement in an institution, if a child can not be handled at home, the alternatives are usually foster care in Salmon or detention in Idaho Falls.

The virtual lack of juvenile treatment services in Custer County places an additional burden on the police to serve as de facto probation officers.

Citizen Participation and Leadership

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. Leadership in criminal justice issues has been the province of individuals employed in that capacity. No special citizen's groups have developed in response to the criminal justice issues in the community. No special assistance was received from the State of Idaho except the temporary assignment of an additional Fish and Game Conservation Officer in the area. Custer County law enforcement agencies participate in a Tri-County cooperative agreement with Lemhi and Butte counties to provide manpower and equipment for special problems. The county's development situation thus far has not required any extraordinary help from neighboring counties.

Summary

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

The Setting

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 River on its northern border and the Yellowstone River on its southeast corner. The climate of the area is arid to semi-arid. The county population is concentrated in its eastern region; the western portions of the county is sparsely populated ranch country. The county is highly agricultural and includes both irrigated farming in the river bottoms and range livestock operations in the higher and drier plains areas. 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. Sidney is approximately 50 miles north of the interstate highway located at Glendive, Montana. The closest major city is Minot, North Dakota, approximately 120 miles to the northeast.

The Action

In the mid-1970s, the increasing price of petroleum rejuvinated interest in oil exploration in the Williston Basin of Montana and North Dakota. In 1976, the number of oil wells completed in Richland County more than doubled. In 1981, 134 new wells had been completed. See Exhibit 15. The recession and surplus of oil soon put a damper on exploration and the number of wells completed during the first nine months of 1982 dropped dramatically. The increase in oil-related activity was reflected by substantial increases in employment and population in the county, especially during the late 1970s.

Exhibit 15

OIL AND GAS WELLS DRILLED
RICHLAND COUNTY AND MONTANA

Year	Montana	Richland County	Richland County As Share of Total (Percent)
1981	1,149	134	11.7%
1980	952	74	7.8%
1979	803	63	7.8%
1978	793	49	6.2%
1977	678	42	6.2%
1976	787	31	3.9%
1975	845	14	1.7%
1974	742	7	0.9%

Source: Montana Department of Natural Resources
and Conservation
Western Analysis, Inc.

Local concern that Sidney and Richland County were being swamped by an oil exploration boom led to the formation of an Energy Impact Committee in 1978. The committee was organized in Sidney by concerned residents and served as a forum for the exchange of information between local officials, officers of local financial institutions, local businessmen, human service providers, agricultural interests, state and federal environmental, planning, and regulatory agency personnel, and from the various oil development concerns. 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. The committee was assisted by the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency in organizing and in preparing a grant to expand and update the Sidney sewer system. The Energy Impact Committee remainded active through 1980 but became dormant shortly thereafter. Reportedly, the committee may reactivate itself in response to rumored coal development activities in the Richland County area.

Sidney and Richland County also formally cooperated in the expansion of police, fire protection, and solid waste disposal services in response to actual and anticipated population changes.

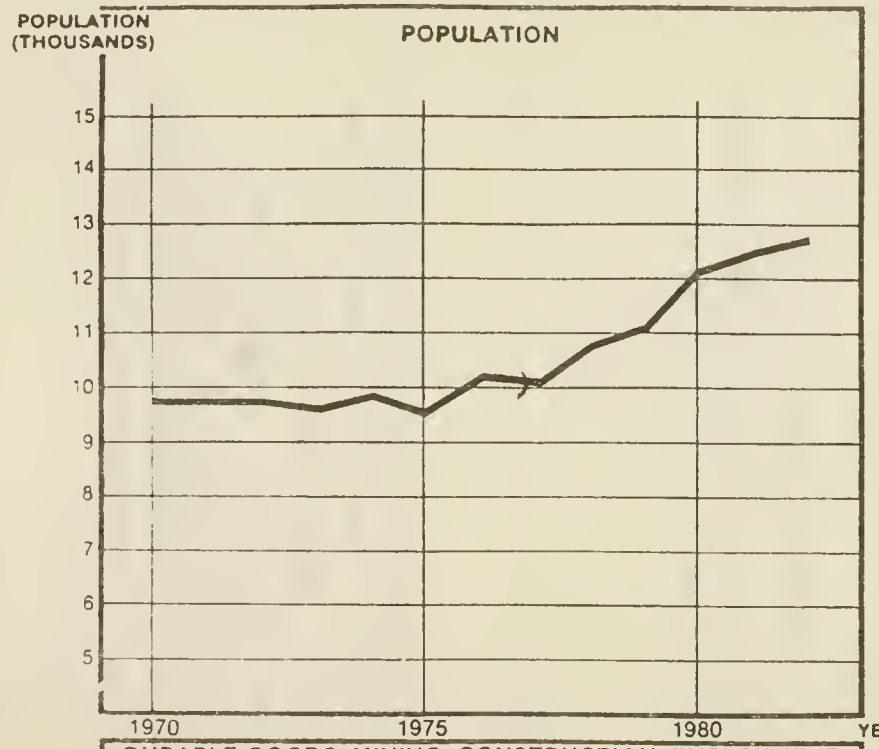
Changes in the Community

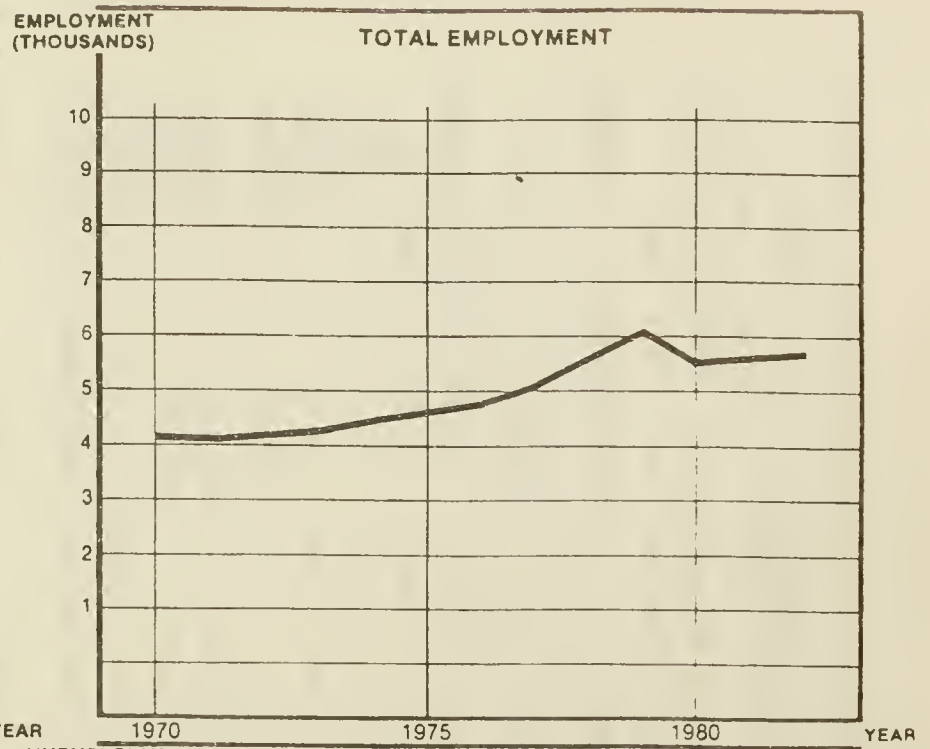
Economic-Demographic Conditions

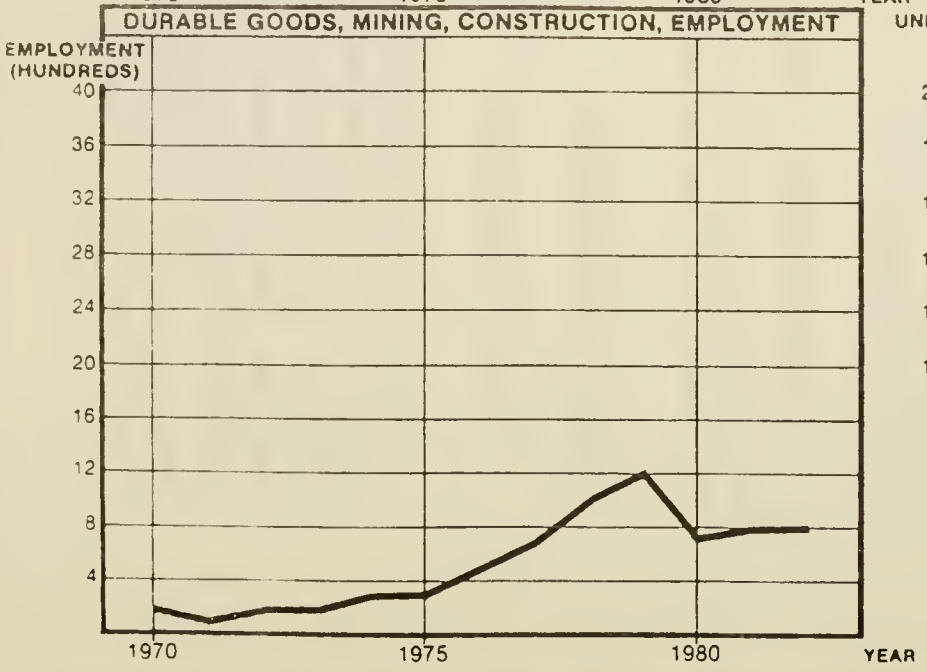
Richland County has shown steady population growth since 1970. See Exhibit 16. Most of the growth occurred late in the decade coincident with the increase in oil exploration. Between 1976 and 1981, the population grew 21.4 percent, over 2,000 people. Like other areas experiencing energy development, 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

Exhibit 16.

RICHLAND COUNTY







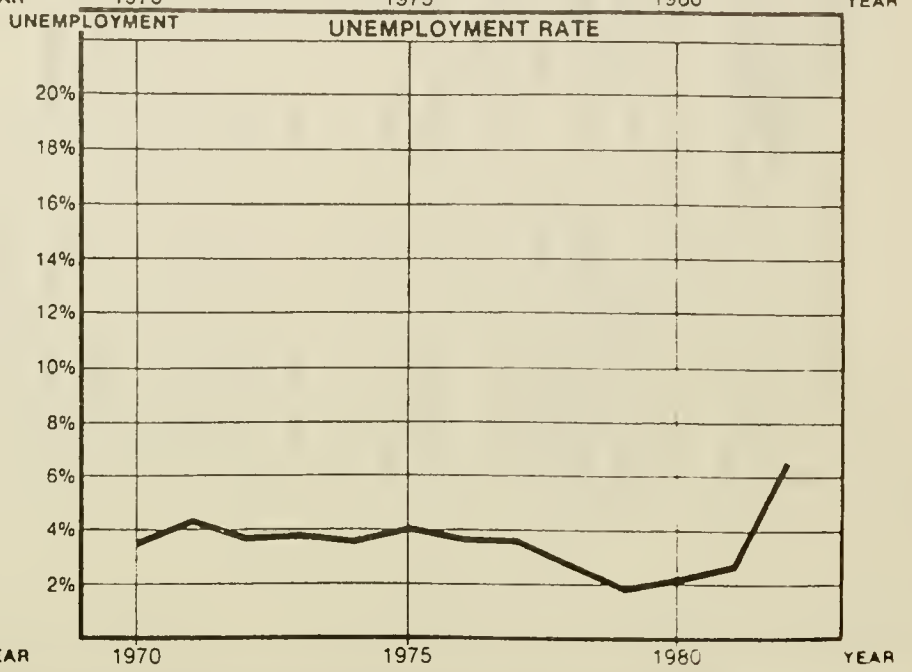
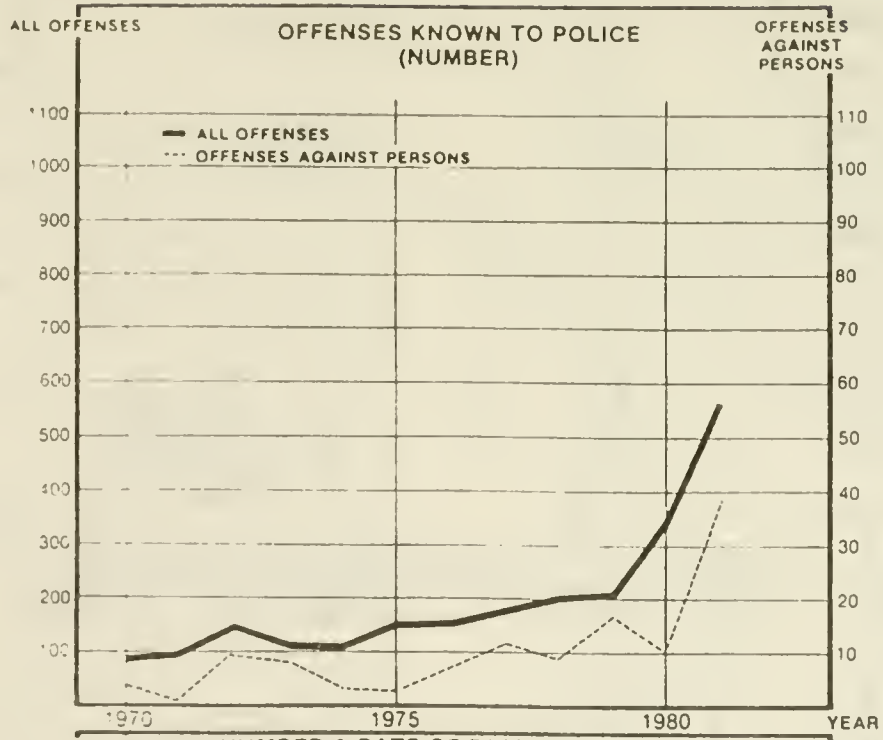
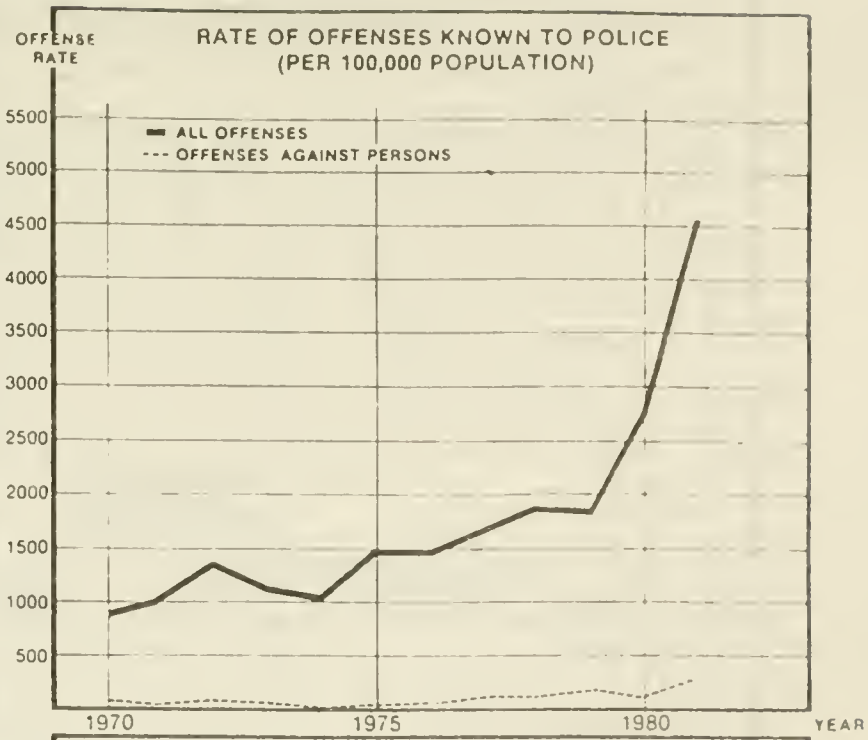
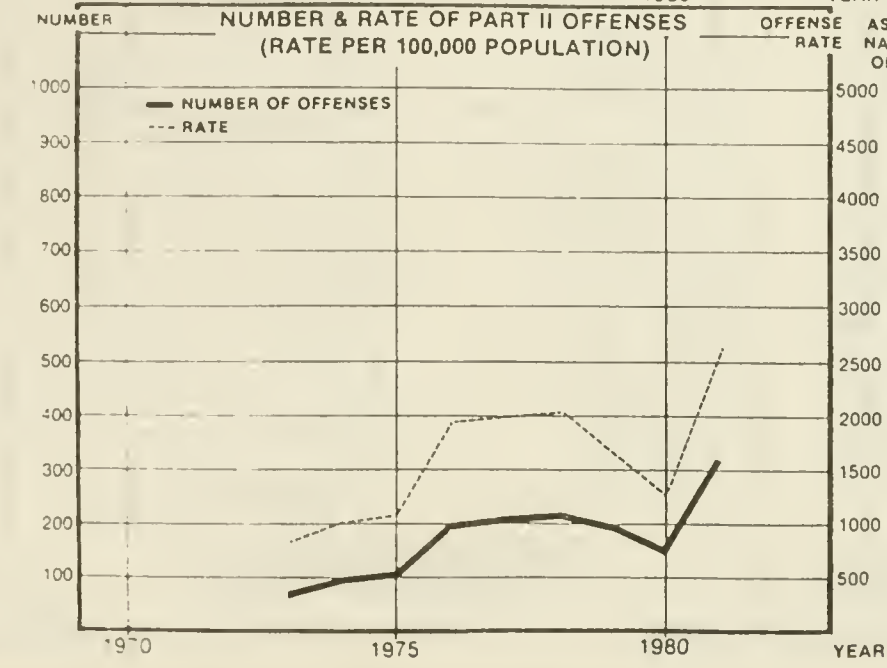


Exhibit 17.

RICHLAND COUNTY







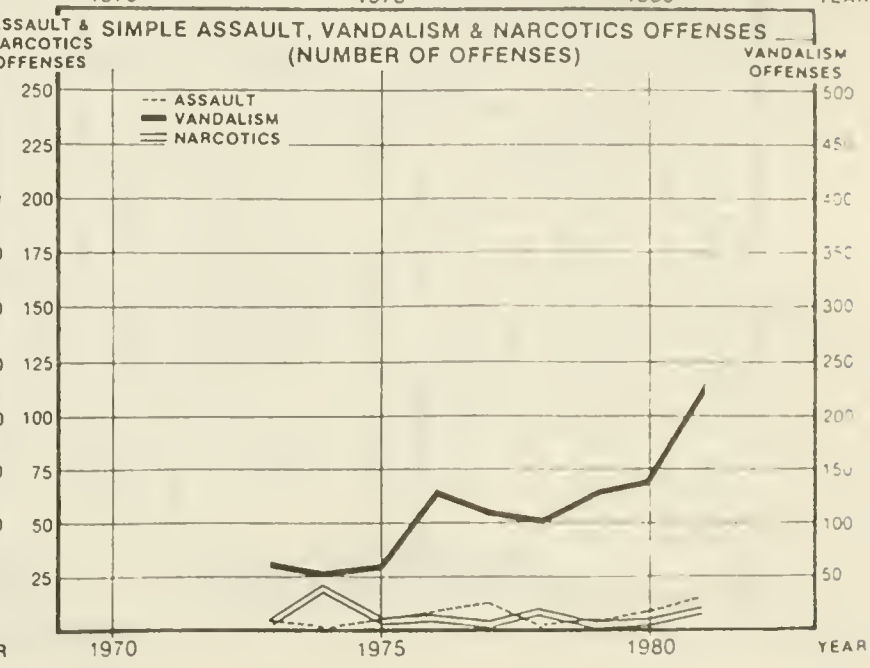
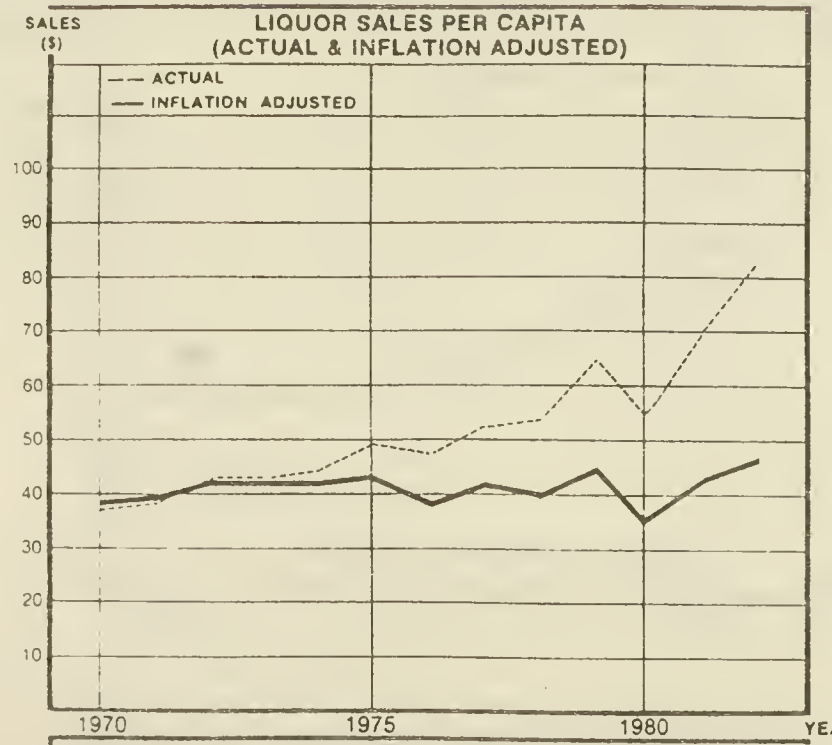
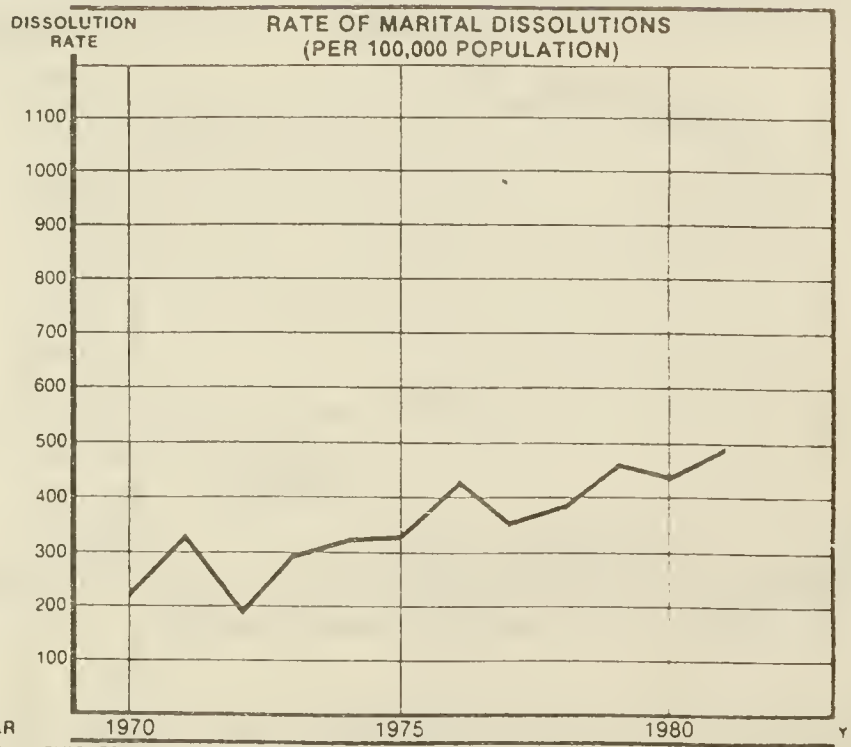
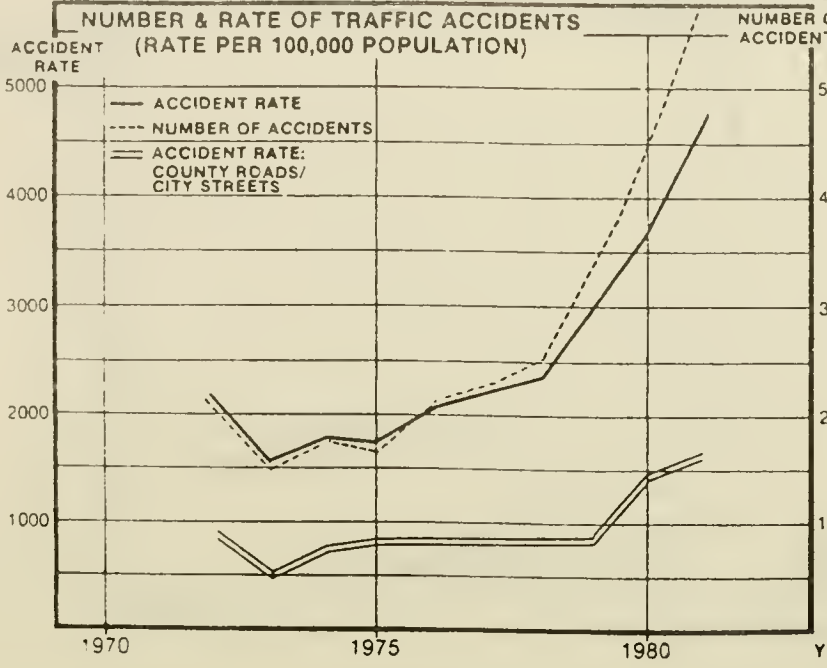


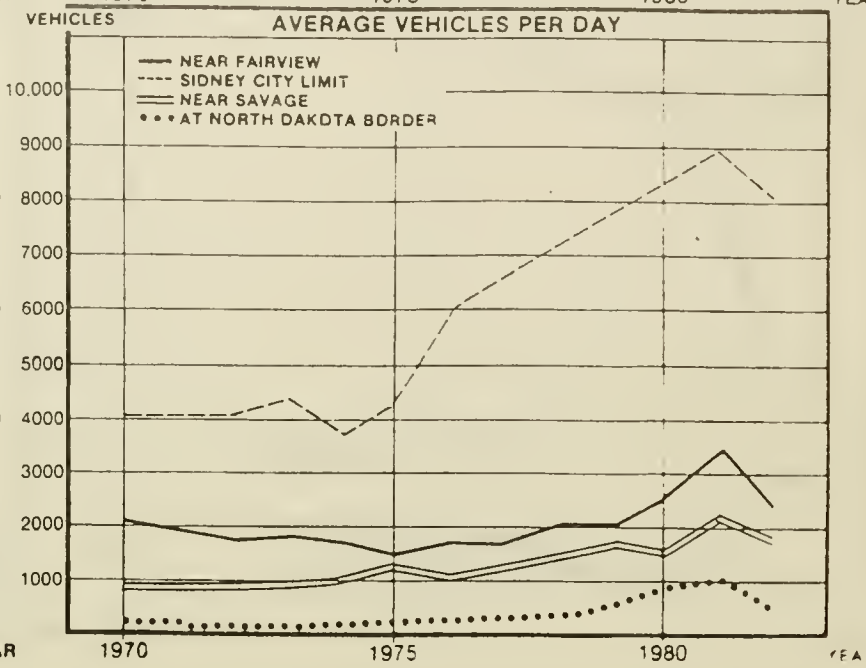
Exhibit 18.

RICHLAND COUNTY









2-year increase for the state as a whole (29.0 years). The county population now contains a slight excess of males compared with an excess of females in 1970. A change in the age structure of the population is also evident. The county has proportionately more young children and young adults than it did in 1970 and, as a consequence, a smaller proportion of elderly. In fact, the actual number of persons over 65 years of age actually decreased compared with a statewide increase during the same period. Between 1970 and 1980, the number of households increased by 44 percent compared with a 30 percent increase statewide.

The effect of oil development on employment is noticeable after 1975. Both total employment and employment in heavy industry (i.e., oil exploration and construction) show a strong upward trend to 1979, then a slight dip, and increase again in 1980. Overall, there were four times as many individuals working in the oil and construction crafts in 1981 (i.e., 800) as in 1970. Between 1978 and 1981, total employment remained relatively constant while oil related work declined and population increased.

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.

Criminal Activity

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 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 the 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 17.

The trend of lesser felony (Part 2) crimes more closely matches the oil related employment trend. 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 occurances, 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.

While law enforcement officials generally attributed the change in crime levels to newcomers, who "had less respect for the law and local people," they noted local participation. A typical comment,

> "You can't blame it all on the out-of-towners. Ninety-five percent were good people, five percent were crazy . . . we also seemed to attract a lot of parolees."

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 ofifcials 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."

Other Types of Social Disruption

Law enforcement and court officials consider alcohol related crimes to have become epidemic in the area. That perception appears consistent with recent changes in the level of alcohol consumption in Richland County. Actual and inflation adjusted alcohol sales were consistently below the comparable sales in Montana from 1970 to 1979. In 1980 and 1981, Richland County showed a sharp upward increase in liquor sales compared with a generally stable level in the state. See Exhibit 18. In 1981, liquor sales per person stood at $70.16, a $16.66 increase from 1978. During the same period, inflation adjusted sales also increased about $2.00 compared with a $4.00 decrease at the state level. Until 1981, the county rate of alcohol treatment paralleled that for Montana when it doubled.

Local officials mentioned that the incidence of family disturbance had increased dramatically in the area. The county has experienced an increase in both the number and rate of divorce but both are long-term trends. There is nothing in the statistics to indicate unusual or aberrant conditions in the county's pattern of divorce as a result of the boom in oil exploration. There were 20 more divorces in 1981 than in 1978 but, again, there is no way of knowing how many Richland County couples received divorces elsewhere. During that period, the divorce rate remained from 20 to 40 percent lower than the state rate.

Substantial changes are evident in vehicle accident and traffic data. Traffic counts reported by the Montana Highway Department indicated that vehicular traffic in Richland County increased steadily and substantially from 1974 to 1981. The average increase in traffic during that period was over fifteen percent per year. Prior to that, five-year traffic volumes varied, on the average, less than one percent per year. The number and rate of vehicle accidents has increased in the past few years. In Richland County, the rate of all vehicle accidents between the years 1978 and 1981 better than tripled from 260

to 601 accidents. By 1981, the accident rate was almost double the state rate, a dramatic change from 1978 when it was 25 percent lower. These data corroborate local officials' statements that traffic problems increased considerably during the oil boom years.

District court filings also increased during the oil boom period in Richland County. The number of district court filings went up from 348 to 714 cases. Since 1979, its filing rate exceeded that of the State of Montana and the difference between the two has increased steadily. In 1980, the average number of case filing's per judge in the Seventh Judicial District which includes Richland County was 1,203 or 22.8 percent greater than the state average (Menzies, 1981). The high rate of case filings is unusual for a rural area. The other jurisdictions with comparable case filing rates are predominately urban.

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 the data base appears consistent. In 1979, there were 80 case and, in 1981, 90 cases. Local juvenile authorities indicated that by 1979 their programs were already impacted by oil development and that the numerical increase in the caseload took place in 1977 and 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. Finally, as in the other case studies discussed previously,

law enforcement officials described a large increase in nuisance complaints and civil process actions. The Richland County Sheriff's office now has one deputy assigned to civil actions on a full-time basis.

Expenditures

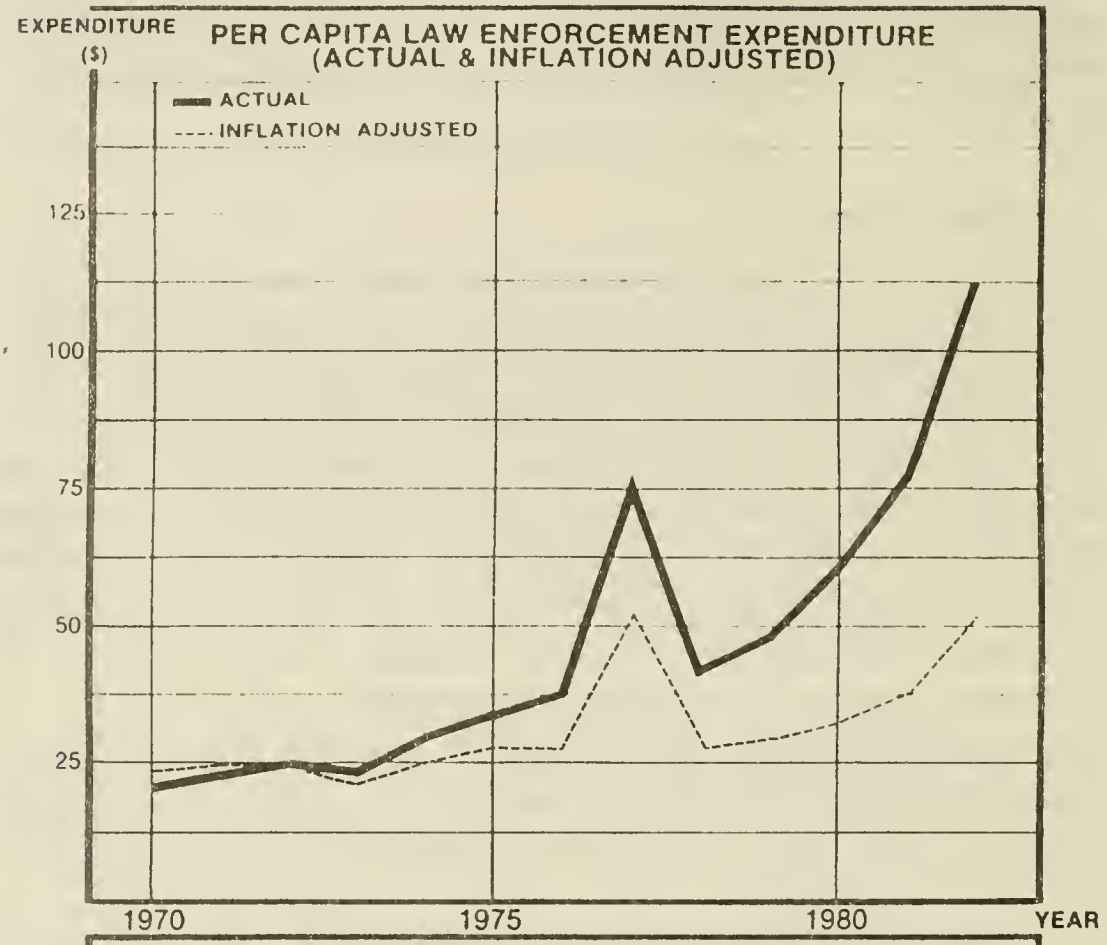
Graphs of per capita expenditures for law enforcement and the courts are presented in Exhibit 19. From 1970 to 1976, per capita expenditures for both services increased regularly, but slowly. In 1977, just after oil exploration began to increase, the jail and law enforcement facility was renovated. That action forced law enforcement expenditures up sharply. They receeded the next year but started to grow again in 1979 at an accelerated rate. 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.

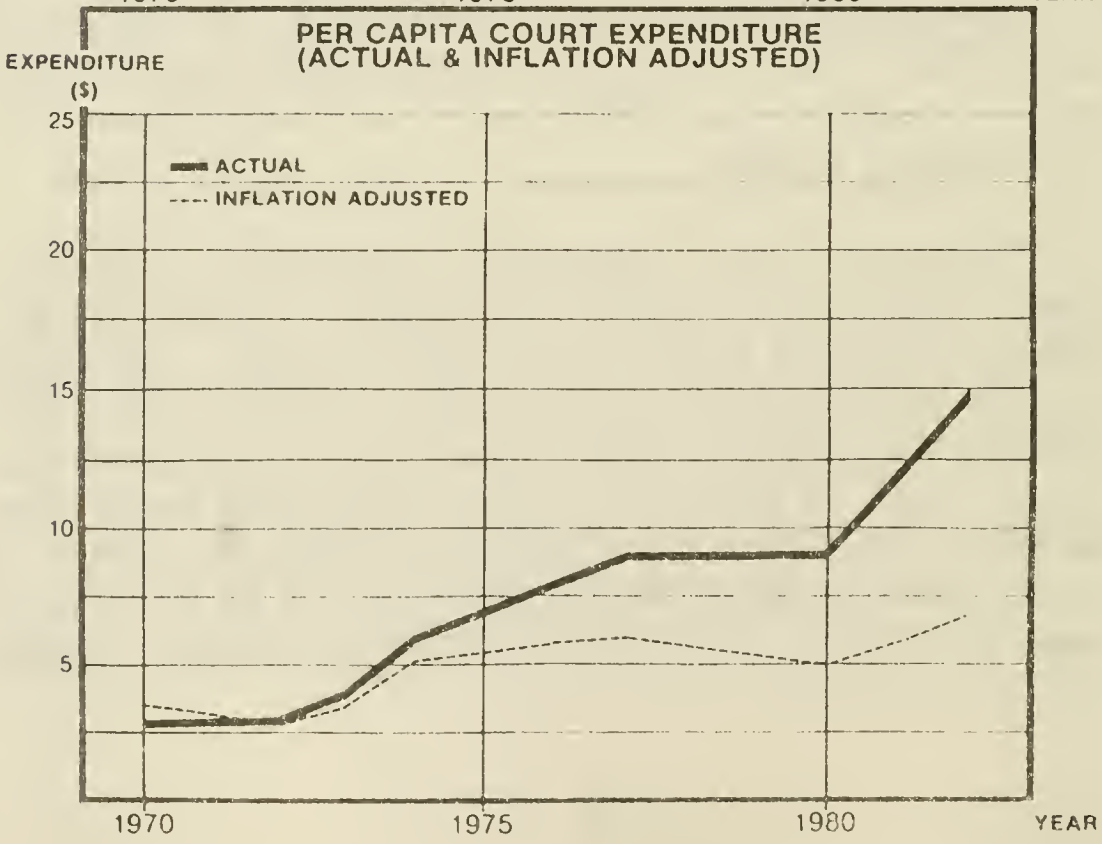
Court expenditures per person have quadrupled since 1970, from $3 to $15 annually; when adjusted for inflation they doubled. From 1978 to 1982, court costs increased $6 per head, of which nearly $5 was purely an inflationary increase.

The increase in court expenditures or governmental services in general have worked no hardship on the residents of Richland County. The county has one of the lowest tax rates in the state. From 1970 to 1978, the taxable value of the county better than doubled from $16.5 million to $34.5 million; between 1978 and 1981 it tripled again to $106.3 million. In Richland County the 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 1970, the total tax mill levy for a Sidney resident was

Exhibit 19

RICHLAND COUNTY





196 mills, increasing to 205 mills in 1978 and 219 mills in 1982. Statewide, the 1982 average mill levy was 293 mills or 34 percent more than paid by Sidney residents. 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 from $4.8 to $6.8 million. That is a large increase (i.e., 42 percent) but, practicially speaking, it is a moderate amount from which to fund city expenditures, particularly if they are increasing rapidly. In 1970, the city tax levy was 44 mills. It increased to 52 mills in 1978 and 79 mills in 1982, reflecting cost hikes in both operating and capital construction expenditures. The City of Fairview has a taxable value of $866,000, an increase of about 25 percent since 1976. Jurisdictional boundaries have a major impact on a government's 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.

Social Structure

Richland County's original social structure (i.e., pre-oil boom) was very similar to Rosebud County's. It was an area largely given to agriculture and agricultural support services. Such areas are characterized by a slow paced and intensely personal life style and given to conservatism, frugality, a concern for and respect for others, a sense of independence, responsibility, and strong ties to the community. The local social structure evolved slowly and was essentially inward looking, seeking solutions to its problems informally and within the immediate area. Communities of this sort generally have a low tolerance for deviant activity and under normal circumstances, they do not experience significant amounts of crime. When criminality enters the scene, the community reaction is likely to be one of severe shock, followed by anger, and a committment to correcting the matter.

The Criminal Justice System - Resources and Problems

Law Enforcement

The Sidney Police Department is staffed by 14 full-time employees and one part-time employee (a dog catcher). Of the full-time employees, nine are patrolmen. The present staff level is twice that of 1978, when there were five patrolmen and support staff. The department's vehicle fleet has quadrupled since 1978 and now comprises four patrol cars, two unmarked cars, a canine unit (a four-wheel drive suburban) and an animal control van. In 1978, the department had two patrol cars. The department's vehicle fleet was purchased wth revenue sharing funds; personnel expenditures are supported by general funds. Other equipment purchases were supported by oil severance tax funds. The 1982 budget totals $407,000, an eleven percent increase over the 1981 budget.

The Richland County Sheriff's office now is staffed by 19 full-time personnel. The manpower compliment includes 12 enforcement personnel and seven dispatch/jail personnel. The Sheriff's office numbered only five personnel in 1978. The staff are supported by five vehicles including one four-wheel drive unit; compared with two vehicles in 1978.

The City of Fairview, located northeast of Sidney on the Montana/North Dakota border, has a four man police department. The city's police officers are also special deputies for Richland County. The community has a small jail that serves as a temporary lock-up before prisoners are transferred to the county jail in Sidney. Fairview police dispatch is handled locally through the city switch board and Richland County Sheriff's Department when radio communication is necessary.

The Sidney City Police Department and the 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 very effective.

The present county law enforcement facility was renovated in 1976-1977. Detention facilities within the building include four three-man cells, a combined juvenile and female detention area of three, three-person cells. A countywide bond issue to construct a new joint city/county law enforcement facility and jail was defeated in the summer of 1982. Plans have been made to add as many as 10 additional cells to the existing facility. Funds for this addition reportedly are available in the county's long-range building program. The county is also participating in a feasibility study for a regional jail to serve the counties of the Seventh Judicial District.

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.

Courts

Richland County is located within the Seventh Judicial District. The court system comprises the district court, justice courts, and municipal courts. With the onset of large scale oil exploration, the justice court added a full-time clerk and installed a data processing system to handle court records. Further, 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.

Youth Services

Youth services are provided by one probation officer and a three-person social services staff in the county welfare department.

There are no group homes or shelter care facilties in the county and children must be transported to Miles City if they need care beyond a foster care placement.

The number of probation caseloads have not changed substantially during the last several years, but youth service workers reported a change in the type of caseload. Like Rosebud County, the "new" probation case was more likely to come from homes with "unconventional" family arrangements, live a rather transient life, and be less responsive to 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.

Community Participation and Leadership

With the onset of the oil boom, several community based programs have been developed. None of them was a true emergent group of citizens concerned about a specific problem and forming to combat it in the absence or in spite of governmental authority. Instead, there has been a close working relationship and sponsorship between governmental entities and citizen's organizations.

The major community organization to appear was the Energy Impact Committee that served as an overall coordinator of impact information and planning. Recently, a Crimestoppers Program has been instigated by law enforcement officials and local merchants. The police department also is attempting to initiate a neighborhood watch program, but is receiving only lukewarm support from the public.

Social service agencies report the formation of a spouse abuse task force. Their services include a "safe house," transportation, meals, and a 24-hour crisis call-in line. The Community Intervention Program was also established to help treat adolescent drug use. Representatives

of social service, law enforcement, drug and alcohol treatment agencies, courts and schools, organized a child protection team to coordinate treatment of the increased number of neglected/abused children. A Big Brothers/Big Sisters program was initiated during the oil boom.

Richland County received substantial amounts of state aid during the past two years as a result of Senate Bill 182 passed by the 1979 Legislative Assembly. The act allocated a portion of the oil severance tax based on new production to the counties. In 1980, Richland County received $359,919 from that source, an amount that increased to $2.1 million in the following year.

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, courts, and alcohol consumption. Part 2 crimes showed a much closer relationship with employment levels than did Part 1 felonies. The courts also experienced a major increase in their caseloads and the amount of vehicle accidents and traffic increased substantially. Police officers reported large increases in 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

The Setting

Lincoln County is located in the extreme northwestern corner of Montana bounded on the west by Idaho and north by British Columbia, Canada. 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.[6] Troy, 18 miles west of Libby (1980 population = 1,088) and Eureka, 70 miles to the north (1980 population = 1,119) are also incorporated municipalities. The area is isolated. Kalispell, Montana, 90 miles to the southeast is the nearest city with a population in excess of 10,000 persons. Spokane, Washington and Missoula, Montana are the major trade and service centers for Lincoln County. Transportation is limited to vehicle travel on a series of two-lane highways.

The Action

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 the Town of Troy. Exploration of the area began in the 1940s. In 1973, ASARCO acquired the property from a subsidiary of the Kennecott Copper Corporation and put the $95 million mine and concentrator on stream eight years later. At present, the mine is expected to continue in operation for 16 years. 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 (TAP Inc., 1982).

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[6]The incorporated limits of Libby are very small and most residents reside outside the city proper. When considering Libby and the unincorporated areas nearby, the population is almost 11,000.

An environmental impact statement prepared for the project (Montana Department of State Lands, 1978), identified a series of potential adverse impacts. A partial list is included below:

1. A temporary construction population increase of 1,186 persons at the peak of construction,
2. A permanent population increase of 1,000 persons,
3. A need for 157 additional dwelling units for the in-migrating miners,
4. A need for three additional law enforcement officers, and
5. A need for additional welfare and social services staff.

The anticipated change in population levels did not occur. The construction workforce largely was attracted from northwestern Montana, northern Idaho, and eastern Washington. 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 (TAP Inc., 1982). 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.

Changes in the Community

Economic-Demographic Conditions

Lincoln County started the 1970s in a "boom." The Libby Dam was under construction, employment was at an all time high, unemployment was

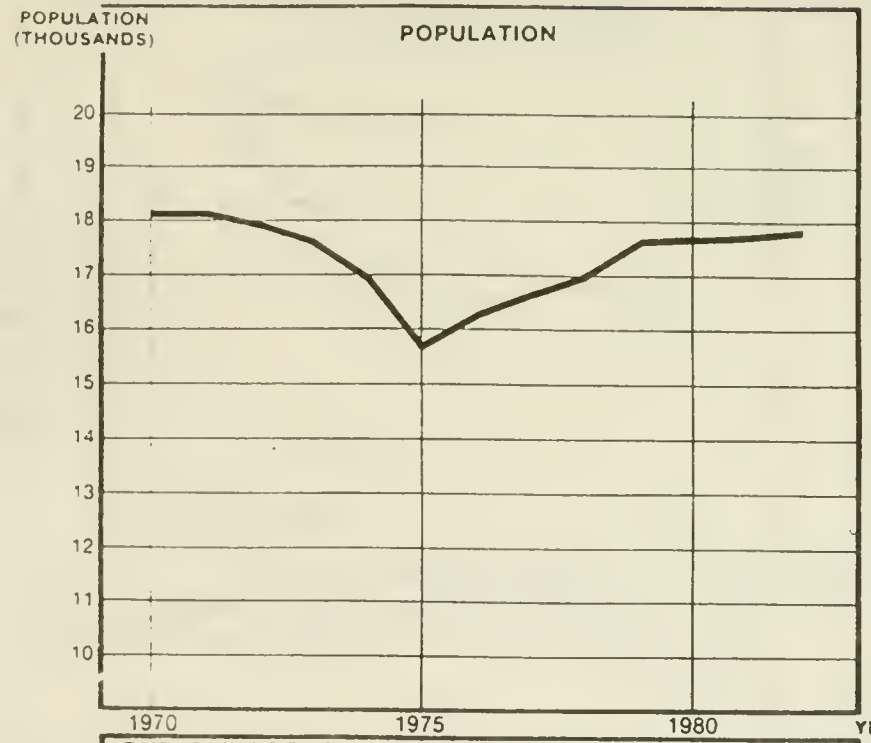
low, and the population stood at a record high 18,063 persons. Lincoln County entered the 1980s in the worst recession it has ever experienced. The local economy is dominated by the woods products industry. Mining is now the second largest employer and U.S. Forest Service the third largest. During the last two years, the demand for lumber has been low and local sawmills and logging crews have greatly reduced the scale of operation. In 1981, unemployment averaged 25 percent of the workforce. Exhibit 20 contains an economic and demographic profile of the county. The 1970-1973 period shows the impact of the Libby Dam project and the changes brought on by its completion in 1974-1975. In 1970, Lincoln County had a very young population. Its median age of 24.3 years was 10 percent lower than the comparable state rate of 27.1 years. By 1980, Lincoln County's population (median age 28.3 years) had aged relative to Montana as a whole (median age 29.0 years). During the decade, the number of persons 24 years of age and under actually declined by almost 1,200 persons while the population 55 years and older went up 25 percent. Since 1975, the cyclical nature of the woods product industry is seen in the graphs of total employment, durable goods, mining and construction employment, and the unemployment rate.

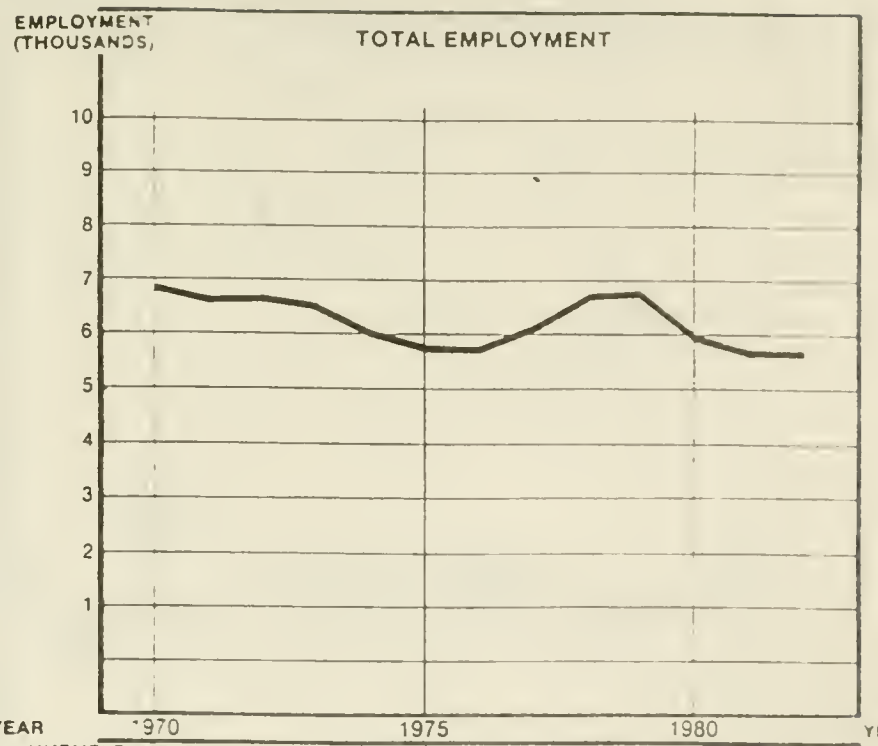
Criminal Activity

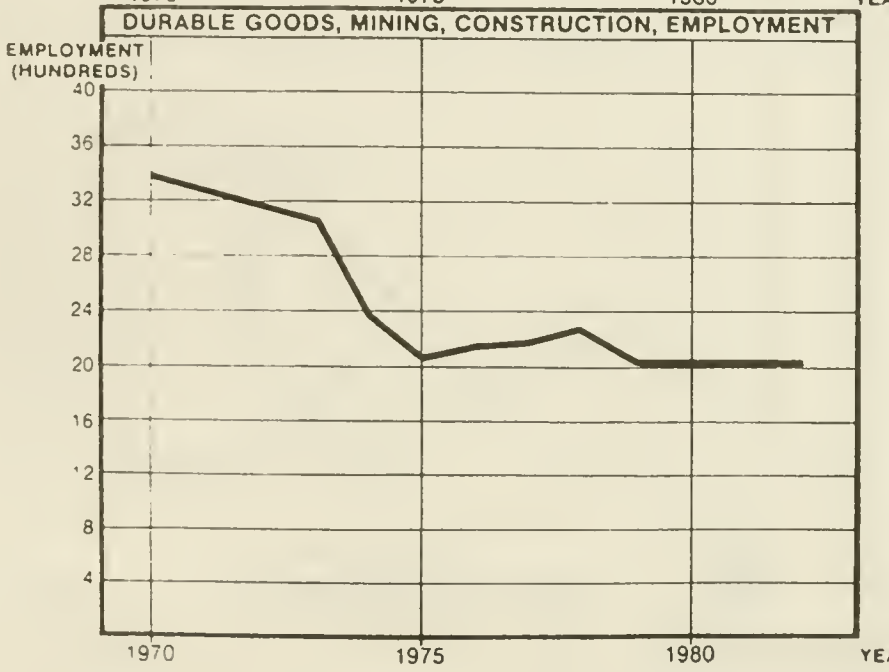
Exhibit 21 describes the trends in criminal activity during the past eleven years. Lincoln County has a high reported rate of crime. The crime rate is consistently near or above the state rate and similar to that of the larger urban counties. Since 1975, the county's crime rate (seven major felonies) 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). The greatest amount of crime

Exhibit 20.

LINCOLN COUNTY







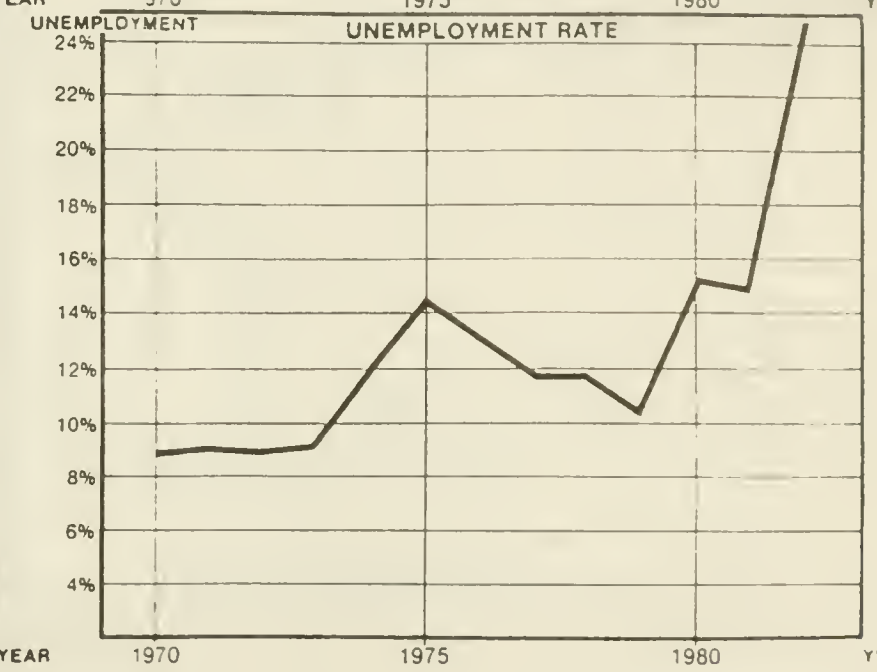
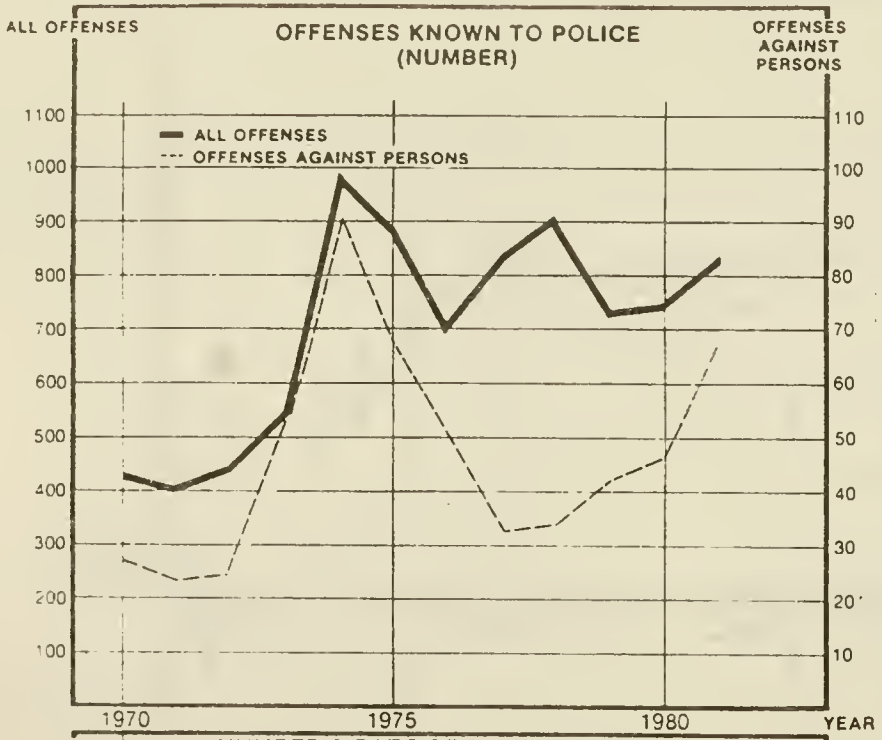
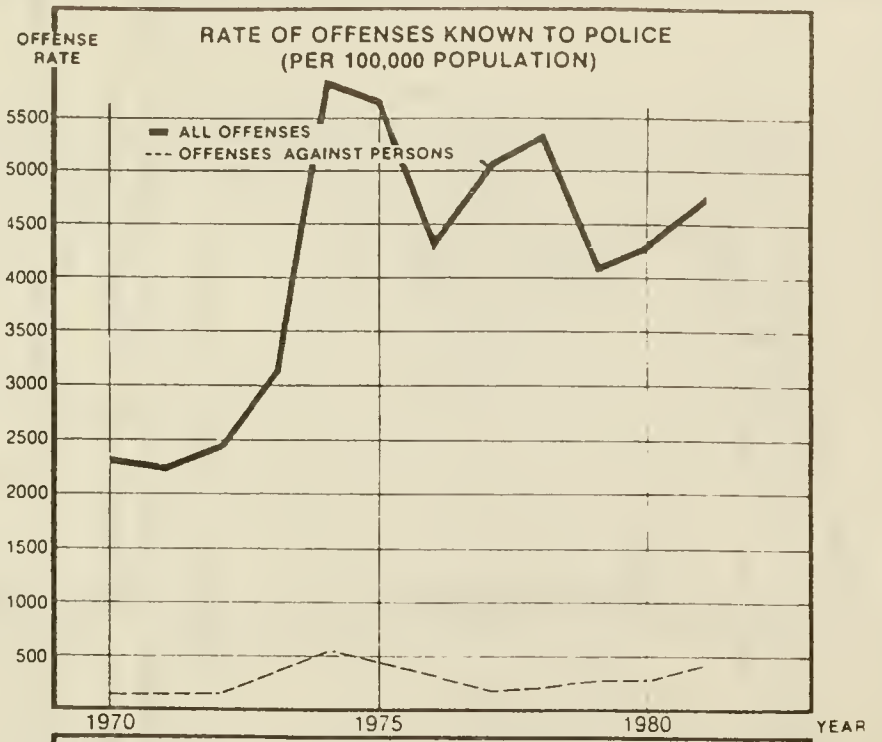
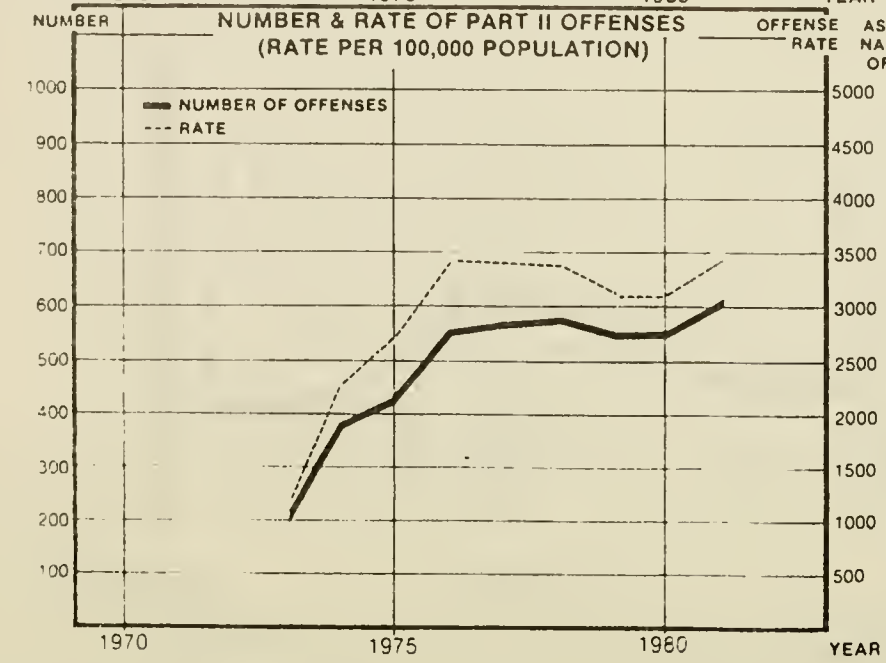


Exhibit 21.

LINCOLN COUNTY







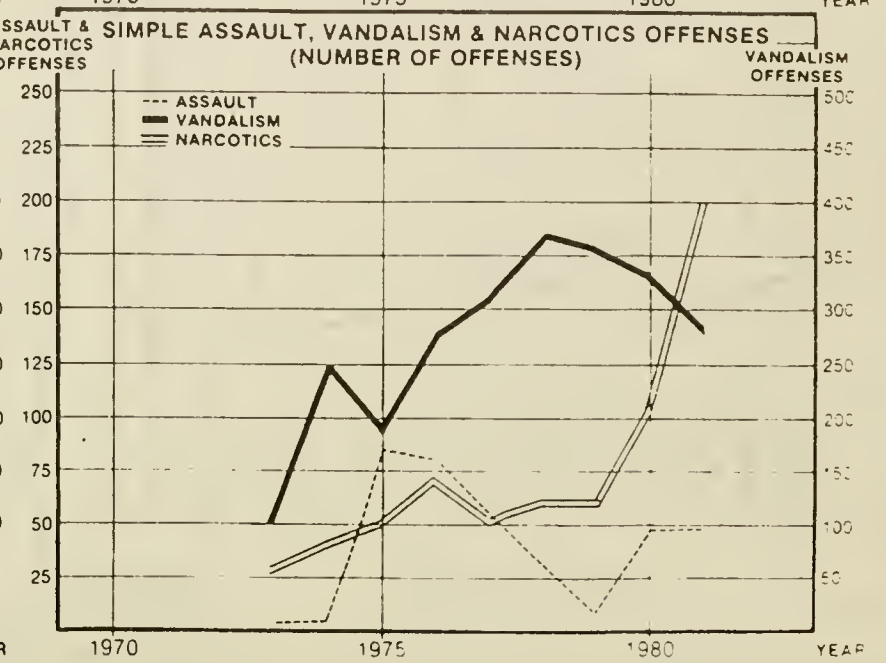
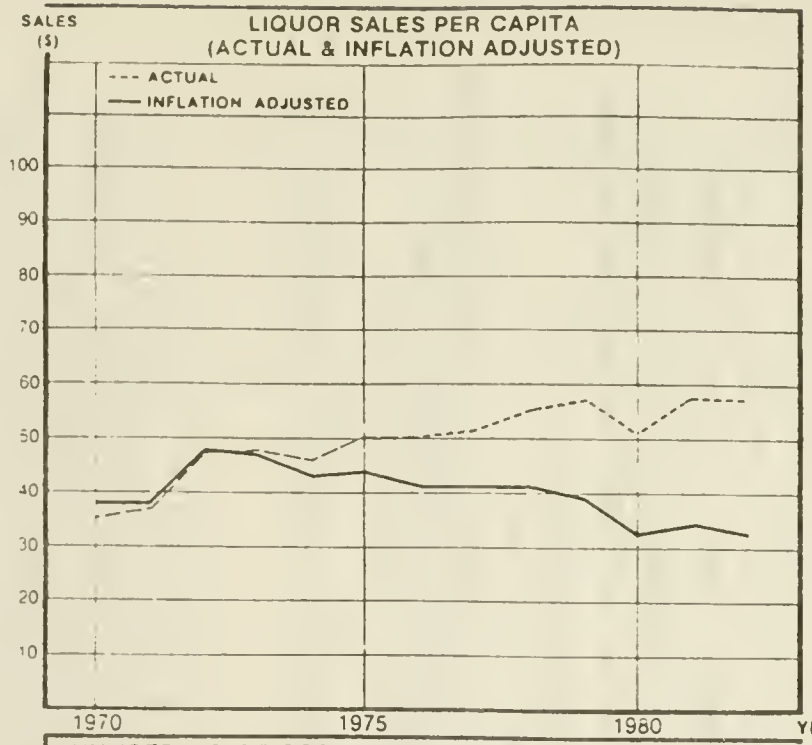
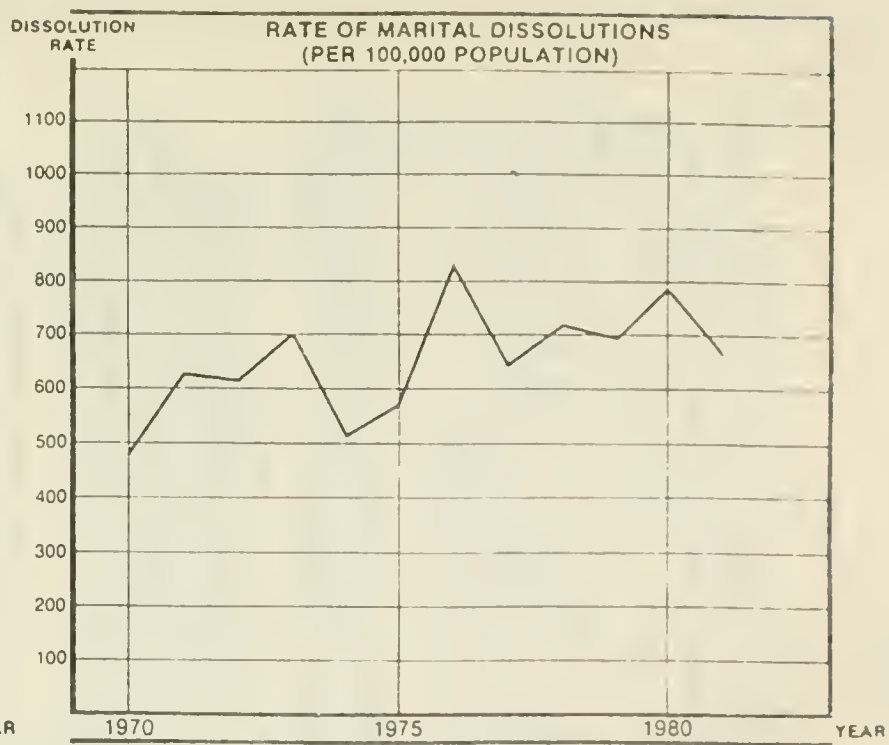
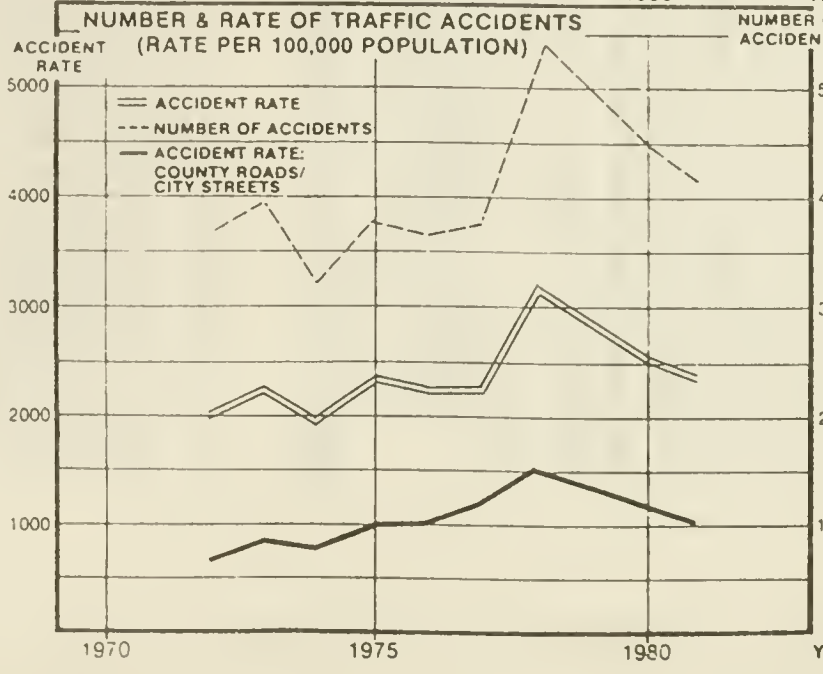


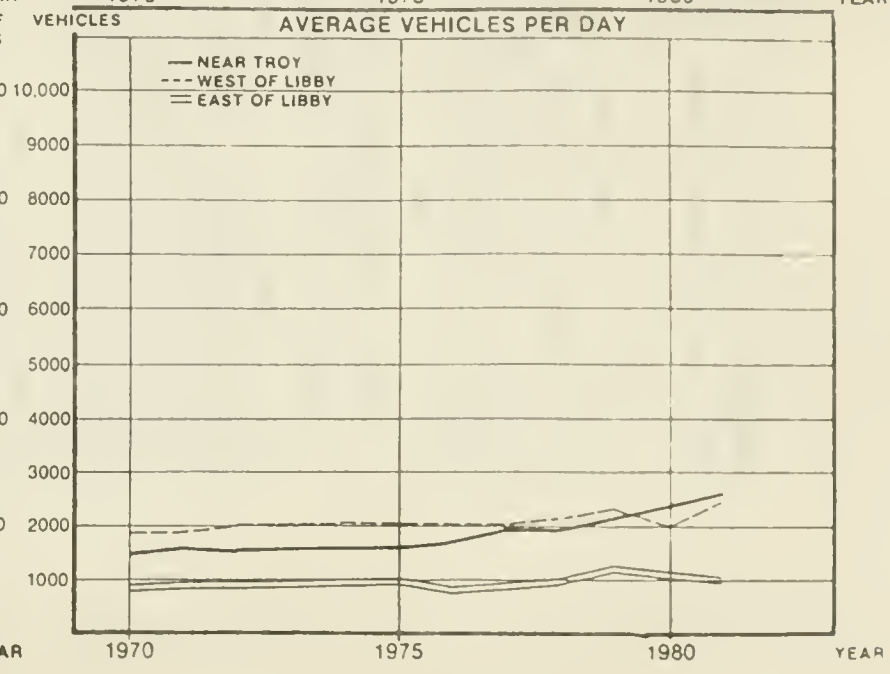
Exhibit 22.

LINCOLN COUNTY









took place in 1974 and 1975 following completion of Libby Dam.[7] Since 1974, the incidence and rate of major crime has shown an erratic but declining trend. During the same period, crimes against persons have averaged 54 incidents per year. Between 1978 and 1981 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.

Since the approximate middle of the decade, the incidence and rate of lesser (Part 2) felony offenses has remained relatively stable. The county's experience with vandalism shows a steady climb to 1978 and decrease thereafter. 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.

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[7] Comparison of crime levels during and after the Libby Dam construction period should be made very cautiously. The state uniform crime reporting system was initiated in 1973 and information collected before that point may not be totally consistent with that compiled after its implementation.

"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 Koosville 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 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."

Other Types of Social Disruption

Contrary to popular belief in Lincoln County, liquor sales do not indicate a hard drinking population. In 1980, Lincoln County ranked 39th among Montana's 56 counties for per capita liquor sales (Western Analysis, 1981). Per capita sales remained stable during the ASARCO mine project ranging between $55.31 in 1978 and $57.95 in 1981. When adjusted for inflationary price effects, liquor sales per person have steadily declined since 1972, a trend compatible with Montana as a whole. See Exhibit 22. Perhaps Lincoln County's population are predominantly beer drinkers. Beer sales are not reported through the State Liquor System.

Lincoln County's rate of marital dissolution has fluctuated throughout the decade but the trend has been toward an increasing rate of divorce. The county's marital dissolution rate is above the state average and has been so throughout the 1970s. In 1978 the county experienced 122 marital dissolutions, a number that increased to 138 in

1980 and then dropped to 116 in 1981 during the mine construction period. The pattern of change cannot be reasonably related to the project construction cycle.

The number of vehicle accidents reported in Lincoln declined substantially between 1978 and 1981 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. During the ASARCO construction period, 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. During 1980, the court case filing rate was 31 percent below the state average for the number of case filings per judge. (Menzies, 1981) There is no evidence, annecdotal or statistical, to indicate that the ASARCO project had any impact on the district court caseload. Unfortunately, there are no statistics available to compare the pre- and post- development caseload of the justice courts where misdemeanor and traffic offenses are adjudicated.

The juvenile probation caseload fluctuated substantially on a yearly basis from 1978 to 1981. Starting with 133 cases in 1978, the caseload declined to 97, increased to 144 and dropped back to 101 in each succeeding year. Youth services officials did not attribute changes in the probation caseload to the ASARCO project.

Expenditures

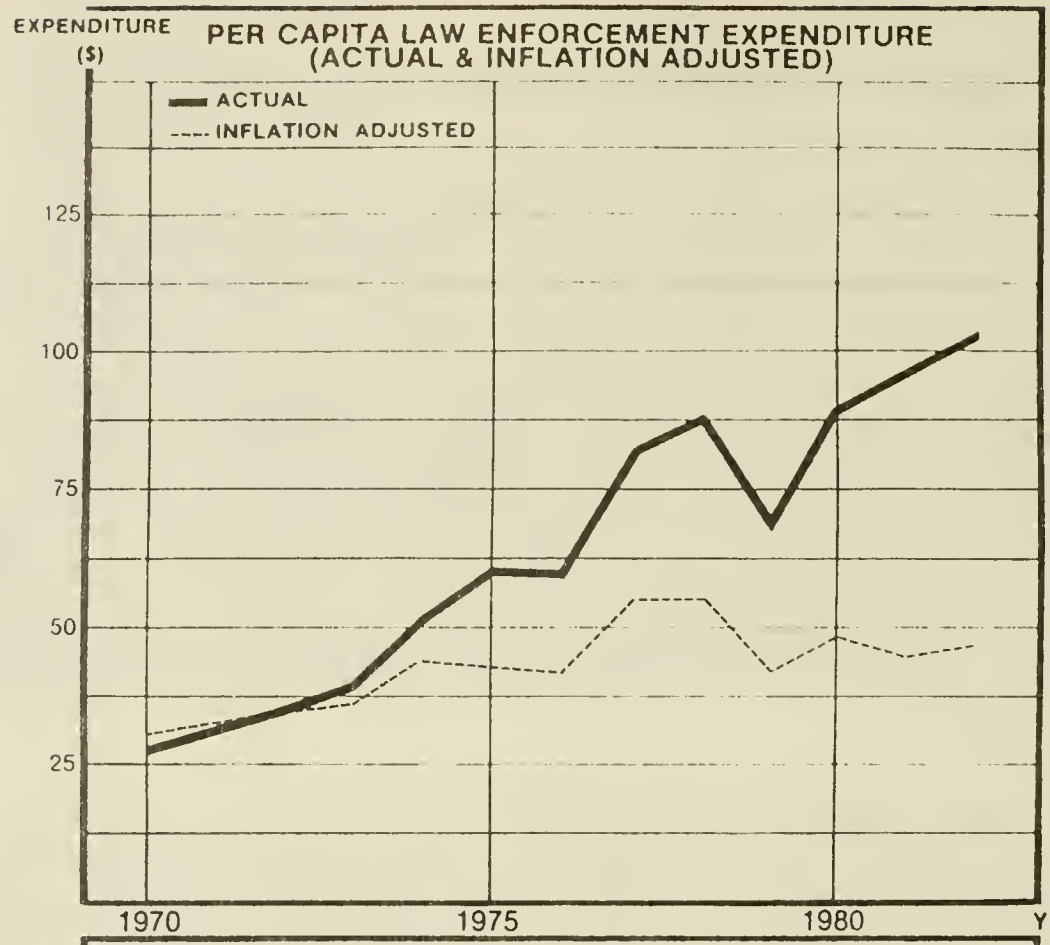
Law enforcement expenditures increased 400 percent for Libby residents between 1970 and 1982, rising from $26.00 to $104.00 per capita. Seventeen dollars of the increase took place between fiscal 1978 and 1982. A survey of 22 Montana cities and counties estimated 1978 per capita law enforcement costs at $50.00 rising to $83.00 by 1982 (Western Analysis, 1982). 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. The actual and inflation adjusted expenditures trends is shown in Exhibit 23.

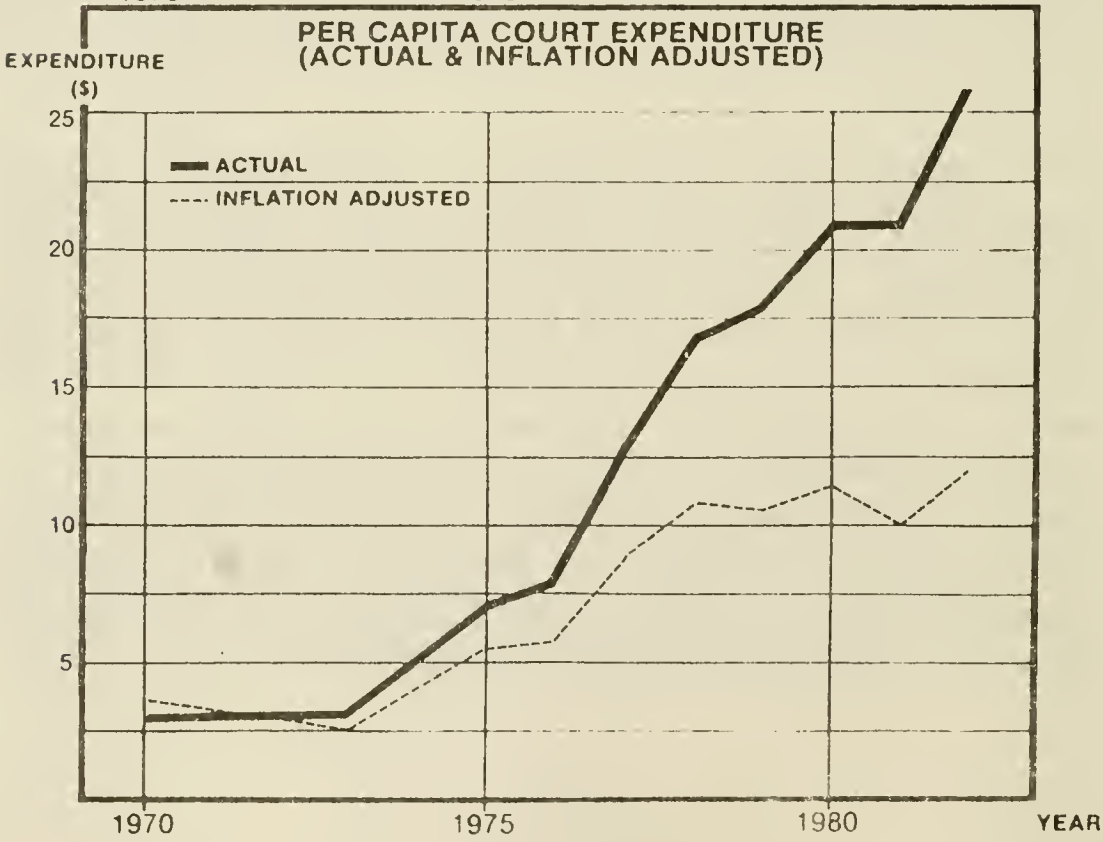
Court expenditures show a similar pattern. Local taxpayers spent three dollars per capita in 1970, $17 in 1978 and $26 in 1982. For the 1978-1982 period, Lincoln County court expenditure exceeded the average in 22 other Montana communities by an average of 34 percent or $5.50 per person.

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 taxable value was $31.1 million or $1,738 per person, compared with the state average of $2,501 per capita. 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 tax payer 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. In summary, Lincoln County's fiscal position is somewhere in the middle, neither wealthy or poor.

Exhibit 23

LINCOLN COUNTY





Social Structure

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 (cf., Western Analysis, 1981).

By Montana standards Lincoln County is urban. Over 60 percent of its population is concentrated in and around Libby and while the area is not densely populated in the usual sense (11,000 people) the area is big enough so that people "don't know everyone" anymore. In a sociological sense, Libby is sufficiently large that mechanisms of informal social control are not as effective as they are in small towns and there are more opportunities to get into trouble (c.f., Wirth, 1938; Clinard, 1942).

The economy of Lincoln County is dominated by the woods products industry. It is an industry that is highly cyclical and competitive. The loggers, most of whom work on a contract basis, are continually on the move to find and keep work. It's not unusual to find loggers from Libby working in the Swan Valley 150 miles away or men from Idaho working in Lincoln County. Depending on the job, work days of 10-14 hours are not uncommon. Logging is also an itinerant occupation, whose requirements subject Lincoln County to a constant stream of transient workmen either moving through the area or kept away from their homes, families, and the supervision of their children for long periods. Labor mobility is not confined to the loggers. Each year the Forest Service hires several hundred temporary workers for its crews, many from outside the area, some of whom stay on after the season is over. 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.

The Criminal Justice System - Resources and Problems

Law Enforcement

The Lincoln County Sheriff's Department is the largest law enforcement agency and in the county provides police services for the unincorporated areas of the county and, beginning in 1982, the city of Libby as well. Per a directive from the county attorney, the department is also the lead agency for all felony investigations in the county irrespective of their location. The Sheriff's Department has 21 sworn officers of whom five provide police protection in the city of Libby. One deputy is out stationed in Troy and two more are located in Eureka. The department has 13 non-sworn dispatch/clerical/jail personnel. Additional countywide law enforcement services are provided by five state highway patrolmen and two state game wardens.

Centralized dispatch and paging services for the county, Libby Volunteer Fire Department, and Libby Ambulance Service is also provided through the sheriff's office. The county jail and sheriff's office are located at the county courthouse in recently renovated space. The jail can accommodate 26 prisoners. There is one segregated cell available for females and another for juveniles

Department officials report 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. The mountainous terrain and frequent inclement

weather of the area results in communication "dead spots," signal interference and "skip." The department would like to upgrade its communication equipment to a "high-band" system. A second concern is the constant 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."

The Troy Police Department is staffed by two officers. The department is headquartered in the city hall building where it shares space with the Troy Dispatch, a volunteer effort that provides 24-hour law enforcement and emergency dispatch services for the Troy area. Troy has a small, two cell jail used for 24-hour detention before prisoners are transferred to Libby.

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 city recently eliminated one police officer position becuase of budgeting difficulties. 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.

Court System

Lincoln County makes up the state's Nineteenth Judicial District. It is served by one judge headquartered in Libby. State law provides that the judge's salary and travel expenses are paid by the state; the county provides clerical and support services. There are also two Justice-of- the-Peace courts in the county located in Eureka and Libby. The court system is not experiencing any major problems.

Youth Services

Youth services are provided by a two person probation staff and three caseworkers assigned to the local welfare department. There are no group homes or child care agencies in the county. Children needing that level of service are usually sent to Missoula. No change in the youth service caseload in number or type was reported as a result of the ASARCO project. No major problems were reported by youth services staff.

Citizen Participation and Leadership

Criminal justice issues are not salient concerns in Lincoln County nor were they during the construction phase of the ASARCO project. There are currently three programs in the Libby/Troy area related to the criminal justice system that actively involve the public. They include a newly developed "Crimestopper" program organized by the Sheriff's office, the Youth Planning Board, and the Troy Dispatch, a long standing volunteer emergency service that also assists local law enforcement officials. During the ASARCO mine construction phase, no law enforcement agency needed or received either technical or financial assistance to deal with problems related to the project.

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

The Setting

Anaconda/Deer Lodge County is located in the southwestern portion of Montana. The Continental Divide, with elevations reaching 10,793 feet, traverses and divides the county along an east-west axis with the city of Anaconda and the Deer Lodge Valley lying to the north and the Big Hole Valley to the south. Anaconda (1980 population = 10,403) is the only major settlement in the area. Relative to other Montana counties, Deer Lodge County has a high population density, 17 persons per square mile compared with 5 persons per square mile statewide. 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.

Deer Lodge County is the second smallest county in Montana, occupying 741 square miles. Much of the county is mountainous, timbered, and under the jurisdiction of the public agencies principally the U.S. Forest Service and Montana Department of Fish, Wildlife and Parks. Approximately 54 percent or 255,000 acres of the county is forested. The main transportation routes include Interstate Highway 90 that crosses the northern border of the county and U.S. 10-A that loops through Anaconda and connects it with points north and west. The city of Anaconda is 26 miles from Butte and within 90 minutes of Helena and Missoula, two of Montana's largest urban areas.

The Action

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 (1980) 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 (Fitzpatrick, 1981).

There was no advance warning of the smelter closure. The nation's entire copper industry had been on strike since early July. The Anaconda Company was known to be evaluating the impact of the Federal Ambient Air Standards on its Anaconda operations and reviewing the feasibility of building a new or retrofitting the existing smelter. Neither the community, state government, or Montana as a whole expected the Anaconda Company to fully terminate its smelter operations.

Following the closure announcement, the Anaconda Company, state government, and local community acted to assist the town. Assistance to the community was offered by 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 govermental and charitable organizations. The State of Montana sponsored the services of a consultant to assist the county in evaluating the implications of the closure on public finance and prepare an economic redevelopment plan.

Two task forces were formed in the community. 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. A second task force called 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. The Cooperative primarily served as a service coordination body and source of information and referral.

Changes in the Community

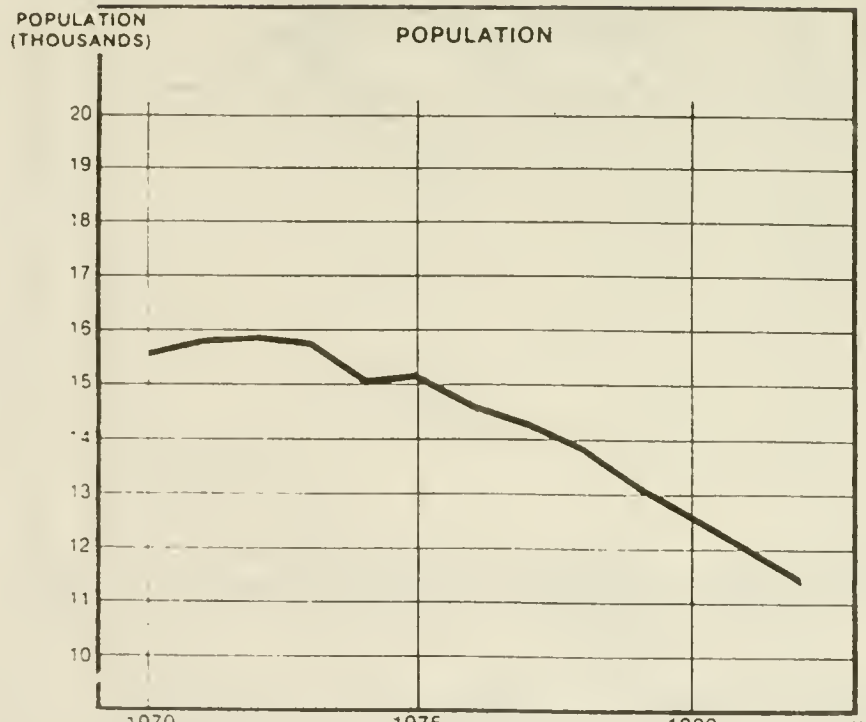
Economic-Demographic Conditions

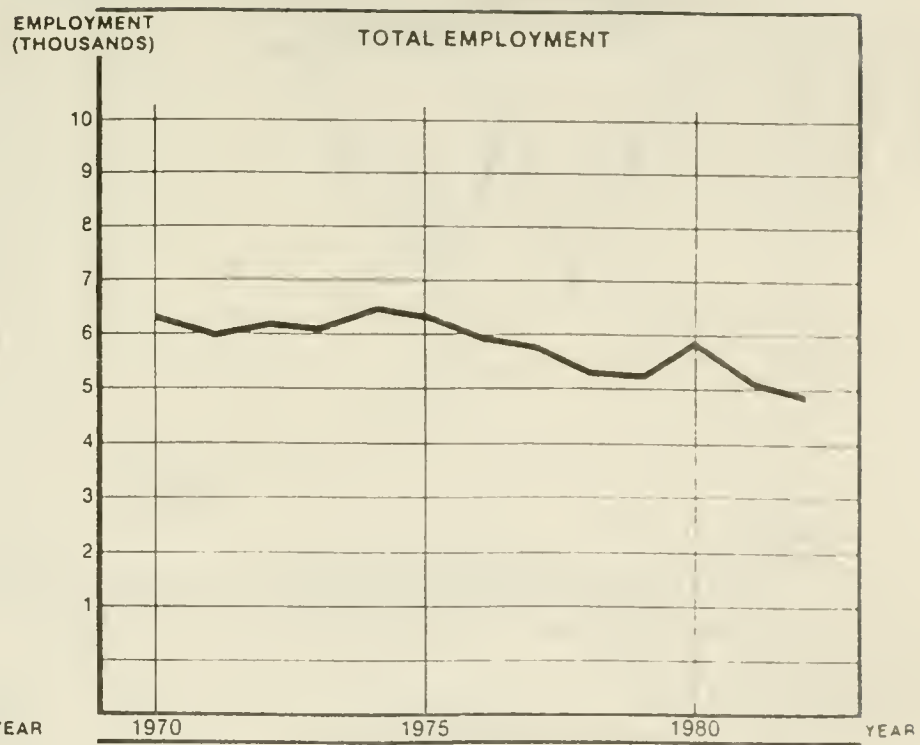
Deer Lodge County has been in economic decline for well over a decade. The graphs contained in Exhibit 24 show a long, step-by-step process of employment loss and population decrease. In the past, the local economy had two main sources of support, the Anaconda Company smelter and the state mental and pulmonary hospitals, located at Warm Springs and Galen. In the 1970's, both were declining industries. Montana's policy of deinstitutionalization and community based treatment of the mentally ill and developmentally disabled drastically reduced the population of the state institutions in the area. In turn, staff reductions were made. At Warm Springs alone, over 400 positions were eliminated between 1975 and 1981. Employment at the Anaconda Smelter was also declining. In 1950 the Anaconda Company employed 2,600 people in Anaconda. By 1970 it was down to near 1,550 and, finally, to a handful by 1982. In a sense, the smelter closure was the coup de grace to a staggering economy.

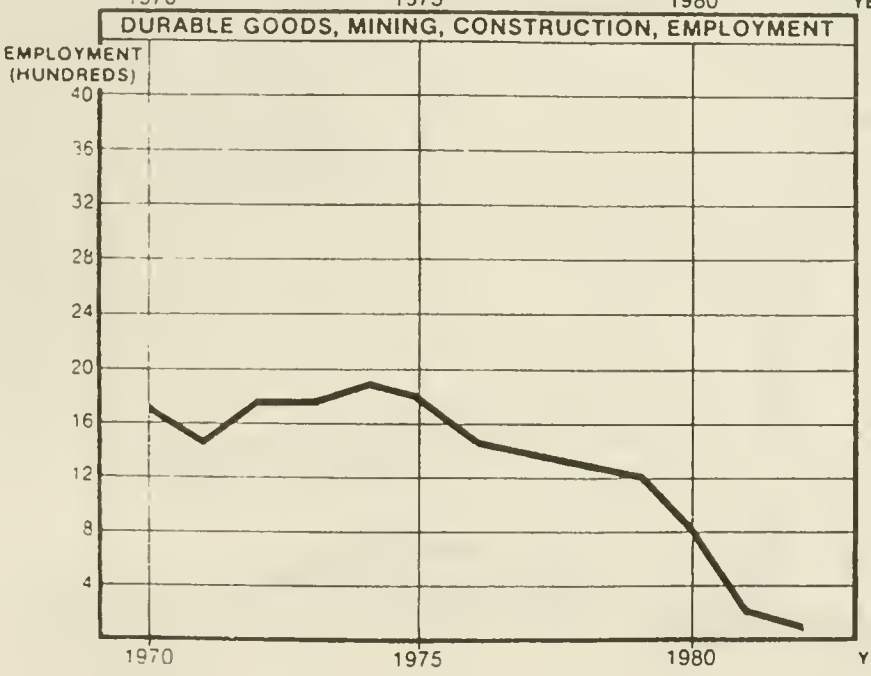
The gradual economic decline of the Anaconda area largely eliminated job opportunities for young people. Job reductions at the smelter eliminated the positions of the less senior and younger individuals. To survive, they migrated from the area. Net out-migration between 1970 and 1980 was 4,464 people. The constant migration of the community's young people has been to age the community. Over the past two decades, the median age has held relatively constant

Exhibit 24.

DEER LODGE COUNTY







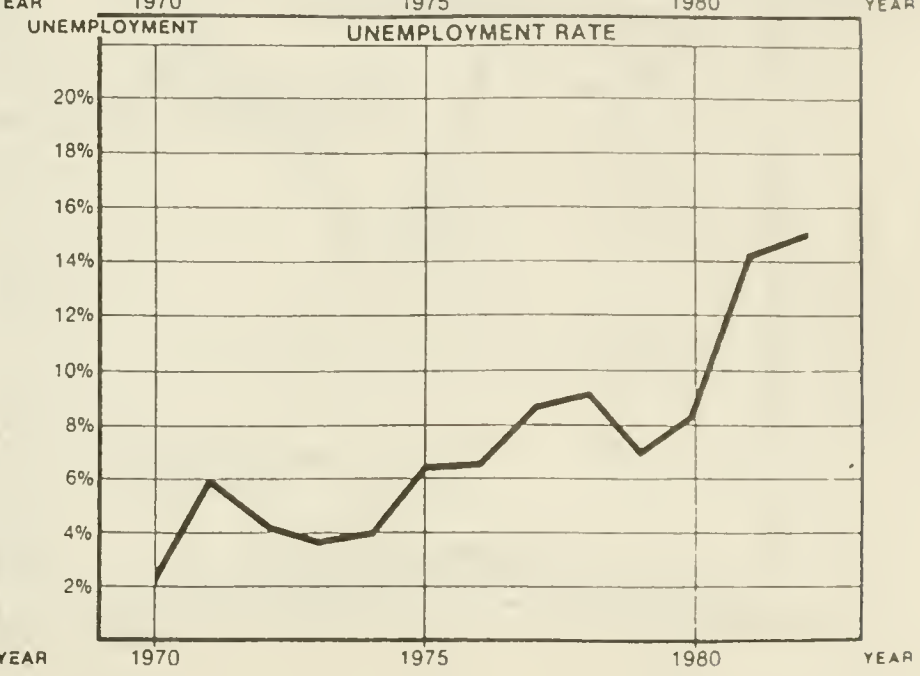


Exhibit 25.

DEER LODGE COUNTY

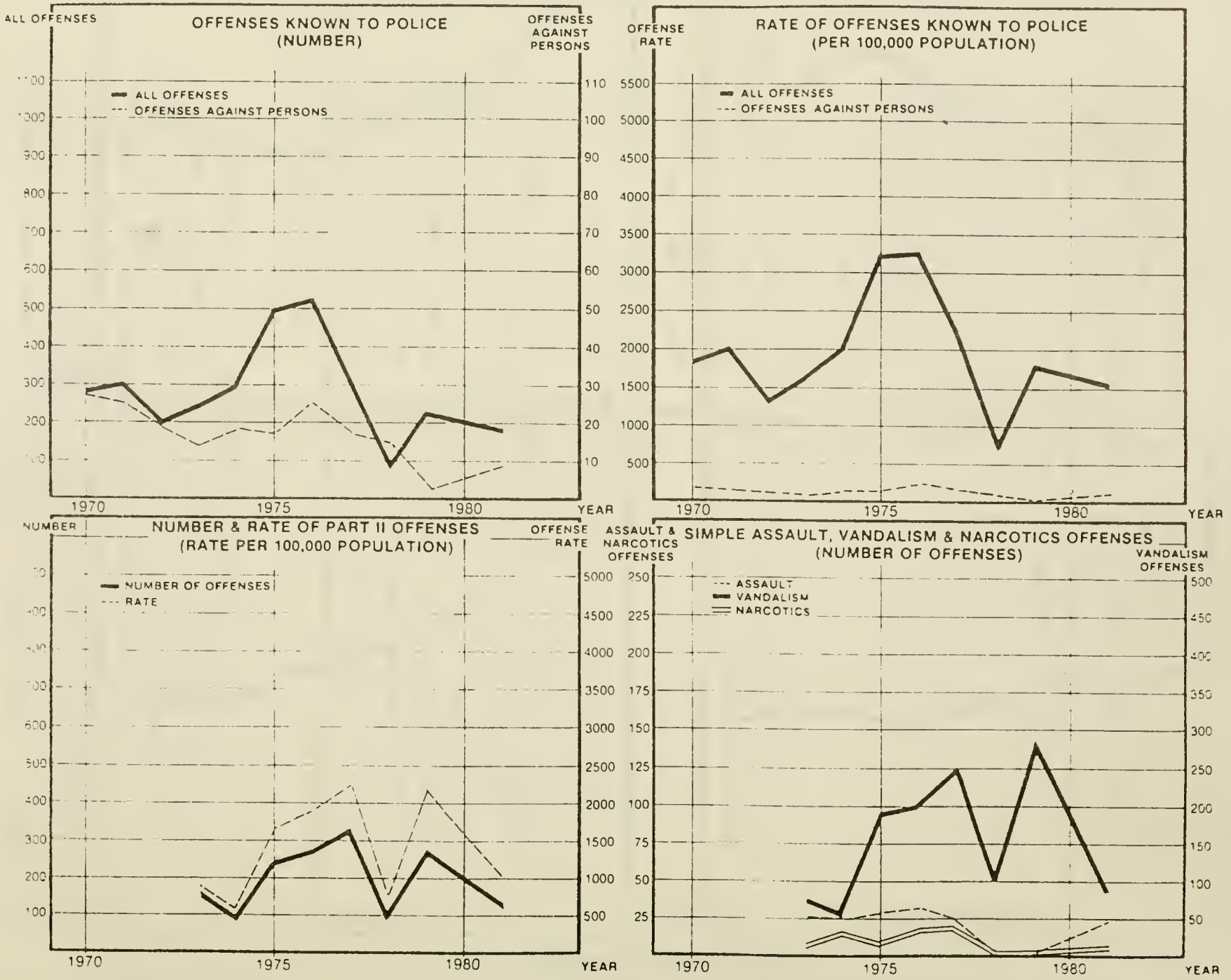
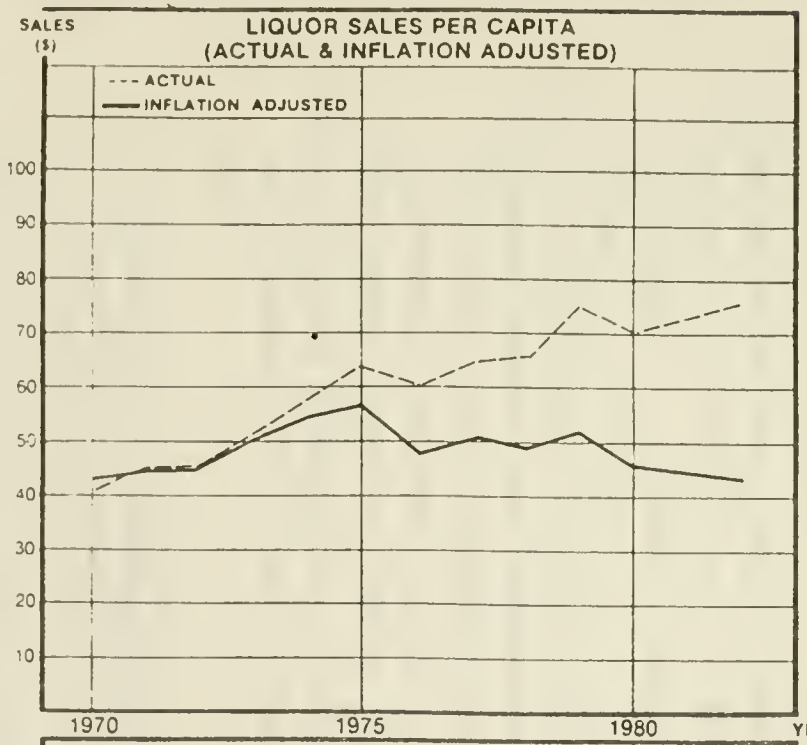
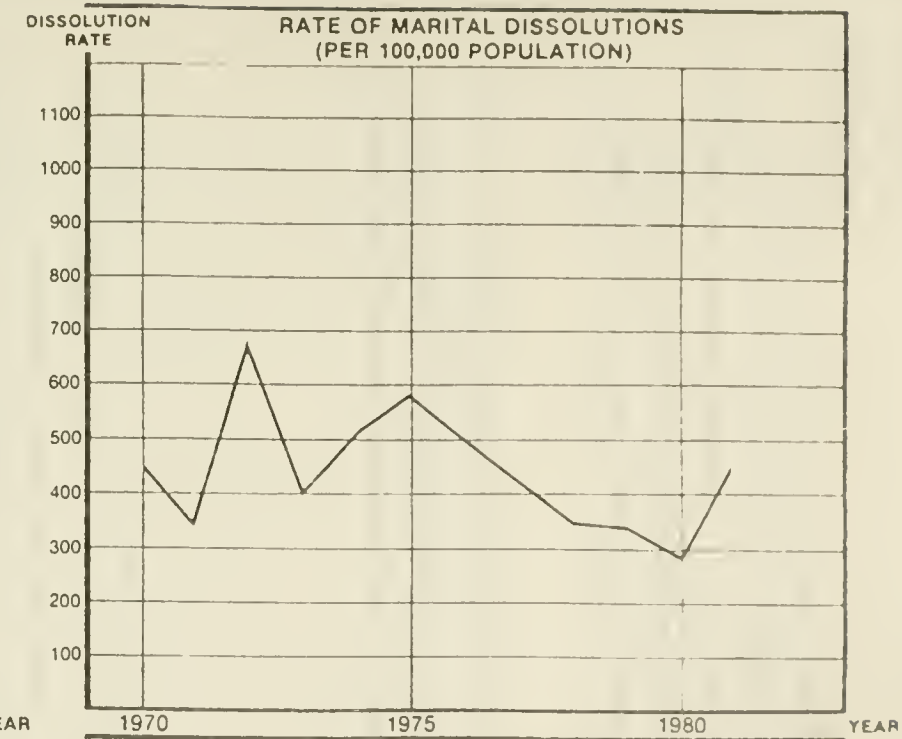
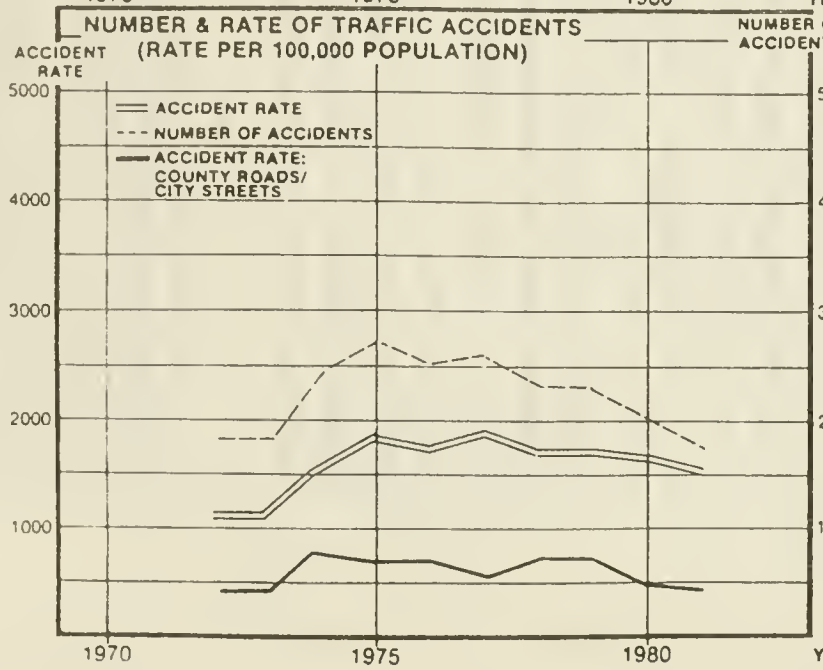


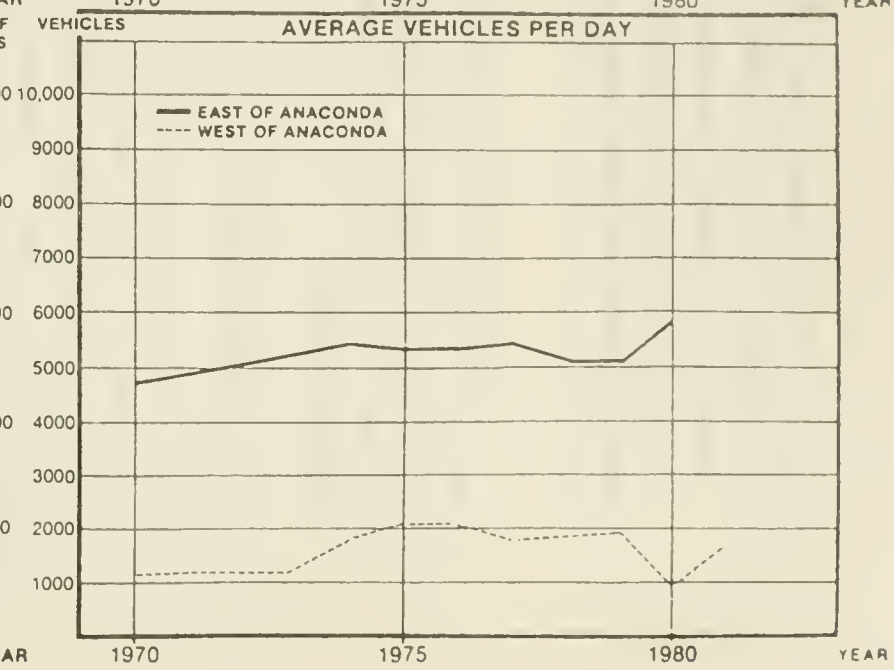
Exhibit 26.

DEER LODGE COUNTY









between 32 and 33 years, well above the state median age. The proportion of persons 65 years and older has increased to over 14 percent of the population compared with 10.7 percent statewide. 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.

Deer Lodge County's normally high rate of unemployment relative to the State of Montana was substantially increased by the smelter closure. Through 1980 and 1981, the county's unemployment rate was almost double the state norm.

Criminal Activity

Deer Lodge County shows an erratic pattern of criminal activity, with an overall declining number and rate of felonious incidents.[8] See Exhibit 25. In part, the erratic pattern of crime is due to inconsistent reporting by the county. 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 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. Vandalism is the largest category or Part 2 offenses. The 67 vandalism incidents reported in 1981 constitute a major decline from the 281 cases identified in 1979, the last previous report.[9] Simple assault has

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[8]There 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.

[9]Again, there is a major difference between state and local statistics. Local records indicate 251 cases of vandalism compared with 67 contained in the state report.

fluctuated from 21 to 32 cases for the years in which reliable reports appear to have been made. Narcotic offenses are rarely reported.[10] In general, the reported level of criminal activity has either stayed constant or decreased since the smelter closure. Local officials suggest the opposite situation with crime actually increasing a small amount.

The decrease in reported serious felonious activity in Deer Lodge County took place concurrently with a general increase in police calls. Exhibit 27 shows the four-year quarterly trend of all police calls and selected criminal offenses. 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. Break-ins and burglaries have moved up and down with an average of between 8 and 18 cases per month.

Law enforcement officials noted an increase in petty thefts, the occurrence of more family disturbances, and alcohol related problems (i.e., DUI, 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."

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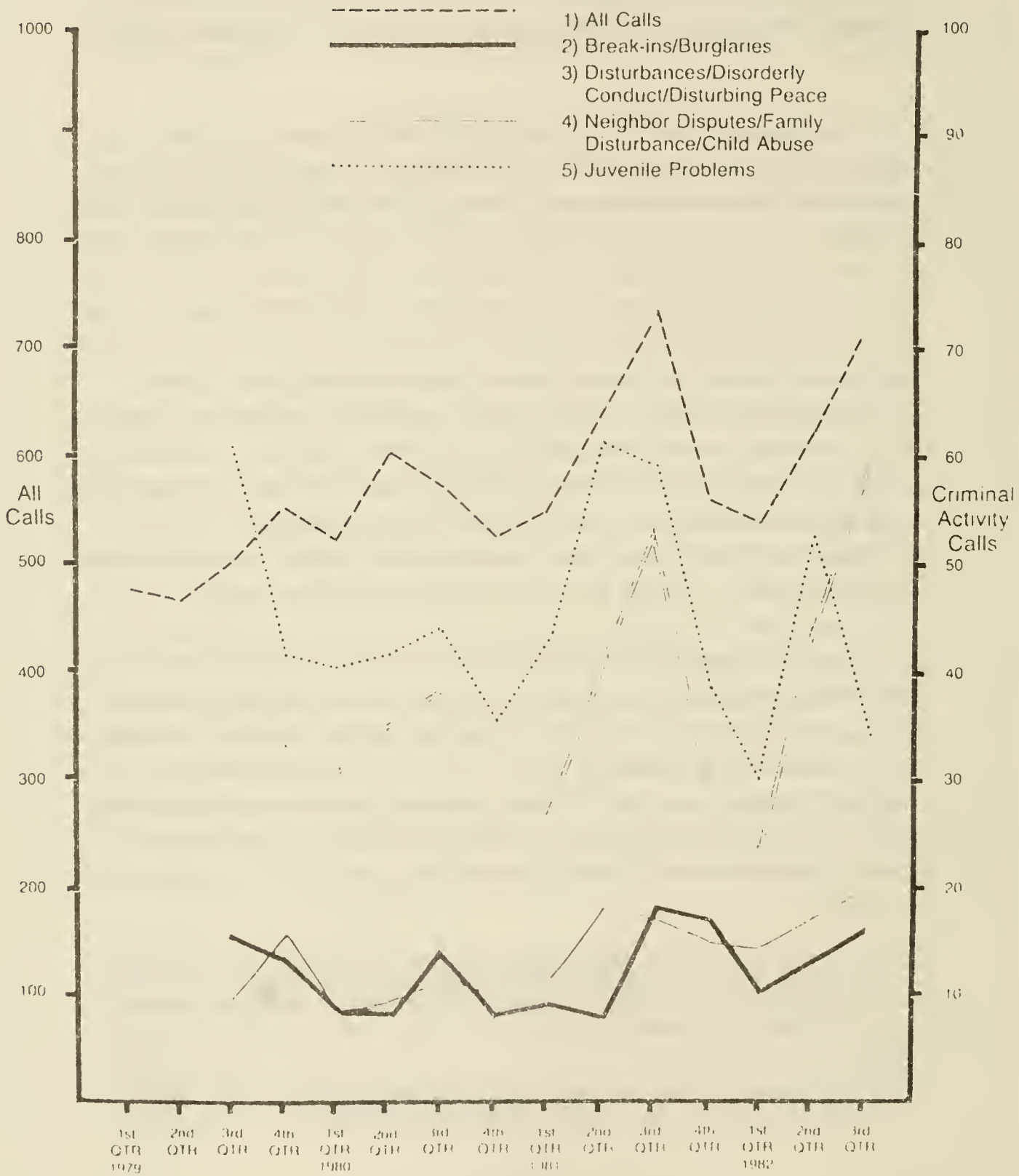
[10] As in the other case studies, drug offenses are widely thought to exist but apprehending such offenders is difficult.

Exhibit 27

Deer Lodge County
Selected Criminal Activity
(Qrtly averages 1979-1982)



Date

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."

Other Types of Social Disruption

Exhibit 26 shows the trend in per capita alcohol sales, marital dissolutions, traffic accidents, and vehicle traffic. 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 1981, liquor sales were $73.82, a level close to the county average for 1979-1980 ($72.47) immediately preceding the smelter closure. When the impact of inflation on liquor sales is knocked out of the figures, the level of actual sales declined. Over the last decade, the county's level of alcohol sales generally has tracked alongside but above the state average. 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 treatement was the one indicator of social disruption that appeared to have been impacted by the shutdown (Fitzpatrick, 1981).

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, an average of 48 cases annually since 1977, 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. Indeed, the normally long lag time between marital disintegration and a divorce decree would suggest that most 1981 divorce actions would not be associated with the plant shutdown.

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. Even at its reduced level, the reported probation caseload in Deer Lodge County is over 2.5 times as high as the state rate.

Expenditures

Deer Lodge County spends much less for law enforcement services than the other communites profiled in this report or, indeed, the

average of 22 other Montana communities surveyed. See Exhibit 28. 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 enforcment now than it did in 1970. A big reduction in per capita expenditures occurred in 1978 when the city-county government was consolidated. Since then, costs have been kept down by the reduction of staff and service levels.

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.

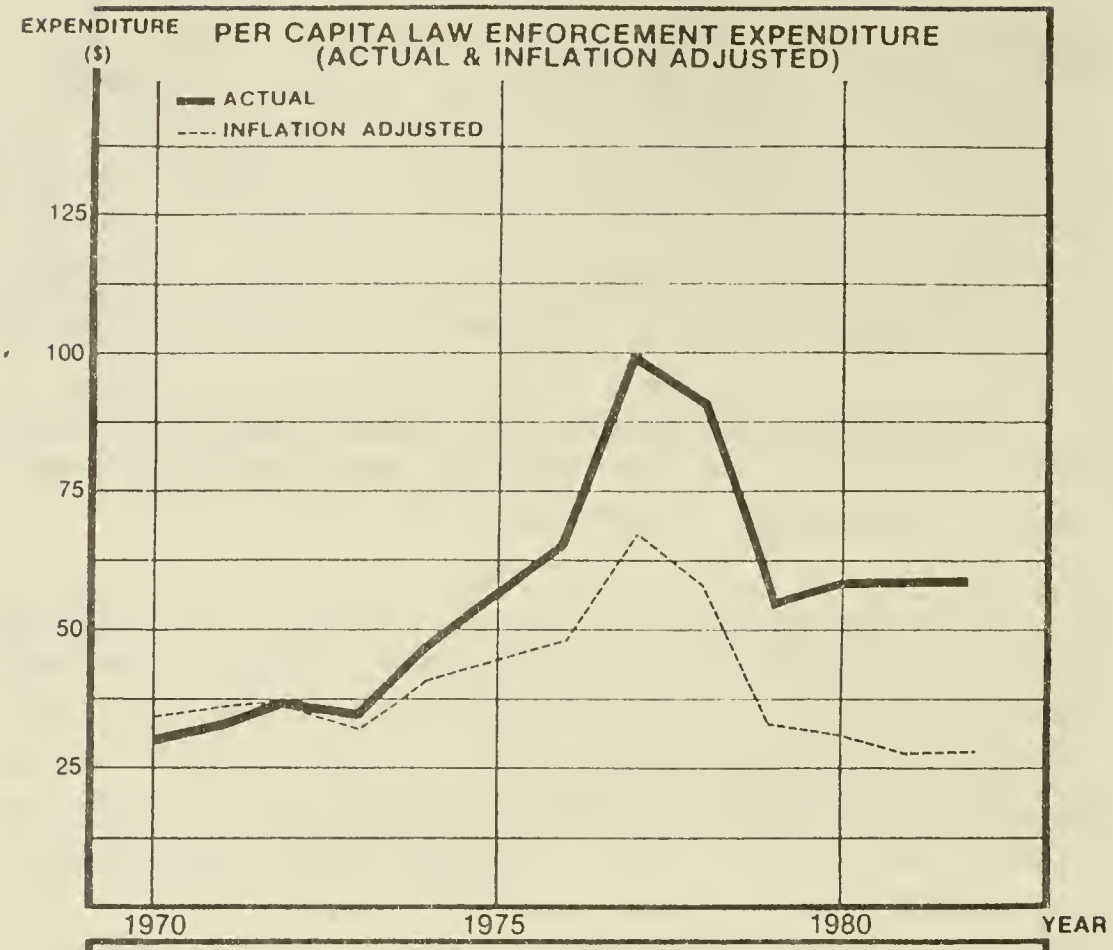
Even though the county's expenditure level for law enforcement and courts is relatively low, its residents carry a very high tax burden. The county has never had a large tax base and what was there, has steadily declined since 1976. In 1980, the total taxable value of the county was $17.1 million and 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.

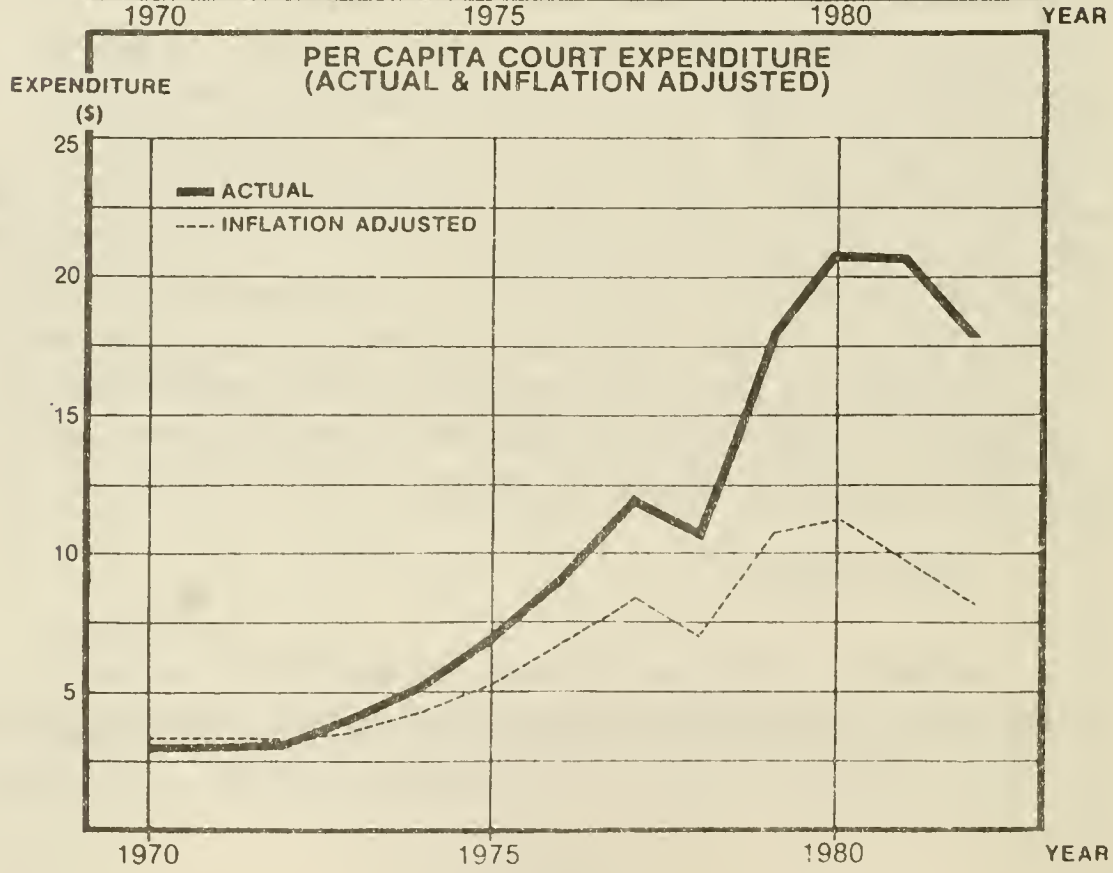
Social Structure

Anaconda is a blue collar town. The basis of its social organization is the extended family and the family remains an important

Exhibit 28

DEER LODGE COUNTY





source of social support and problem solving to this day. The occupational structure of the area was based in hard, dirty, dangerous work that was at least cyclical if not economically insecure. The net result of these two characteristics was to create a social system that placed a premium on family solidarity while encouraging open, unpretentious relations with others; aggressiveness; and a work hard, play hard attitude toward life. Those values are reflected in a life style that is generally very tolerant of alcohol use and gambling (i.e., it's relaxation), and fighting (it's learning to stand on your own two feet). At present, Anaconda's value system is in an ambivalent state. On the one hand, it lives with its historical legacy of tolerance for the boisterous foibles of man but it is also a community that is aging and becoming less tolerant and more fearful of disturbances and the activities of unruly youth.

The Criminal Justice System - Resources and Problems

Law Enforcement, Courts, and Youth Services

Police services are provided by the Anaconda-Deer Lodge Police Department, a joint city-county agency formed when the two governments merged in the late 1970s. The Police Chief is appointed by the city-county commission. At present, there are 16 sworn officers, a reduction of six in the last three years, three full-time dispatchers and seven part-time personnel. The county jail was erected in the 1890s and while structurally sound it does not meet contemporary jail standards. The community is currently conducting a planning study to upgrade the facility.

Deer Lodge County is part of the Third Judicial District that also incldues Powell and Granite counties. The District has one judge headquartered in Anaconda.

Youth Services are provided by one full-time probation officer who also serves Granite County and is on call in Powell County. He is

assisted by another individual who serves as a half-time deputy probation officer and half-time secretary. There is one residential treatment facility in the county, Discovery House, which offers short-term detention and shelter care to troubled youth.

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.

Citizen Participation and Leadership

Aside from the two task forces identified previously, there were no citizen groups formed to deal with community problems in the wake of the smelter closure.

Summary

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 and criminal justice agencies have not been excluded. When the smelter closed, jobs were eliminated and the tax base was reduced but it did not reduce the population to any

degree. There has been no mass exodus of people from the area. 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

When looking at the case studies as a whole, it is readily apparent that there have been and, in some cases, continue to be similar problems in each of the jurisdictions, 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. 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. Rapid growth exacerbated the need for new jail facilities in Rosebud and Richland County. They too had obsolete facilities but when faced with a growing jail population tied to natural resource development, the need for modern facilities became immediate and mandatory.

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 rather than allowing the natural growth process to spread both its benefits and burdens hither and yon.

In Challis, local government went a step further and provided a temporary campground adjacent to the city for itinerant job seekers temporarily in the area looking for work. 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 discoverd by Challis. In both Rosebud and Custer counties, the industrial firm developing the area took the lead in providing residential housing and 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 Sidney and Richland counties, 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 all governmental services except fire protection, city sewer, and street lighting. 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. Sharing facilities or purchase of service contracts can be particularly beneficial to municipalities in a development situation. As previously mentioned, rapid growth increases the demand for services and acts to force up costs. Since the industrial property is almost always located outside the city boundaries, the municipal tax base does not increase proportionately.

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 within the generalized 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. The "preferred" deputy is still a native or long-term resident of the area and one with some law enforcement experience. This preference is not a matter of a parochial world view; its a practical concern. Adequate policing of rural areas requires individuals who know the land, its topography and transportation routes, and the social conventions of a population who have lived in relatively close social proximity and whose methods of dealing with one another are largely informal. Those things can be

learned but it takes time. Previous law enforcement experience is also desirable since it reduces the time spent in training. When a police department is feeling the pressure of an increased workload, providing training time is costly in dollars, supervision, and effectiveness. The willingness of law enforcement agencies to hire persons who are untrained and, perhaps, unfamiliar with the local area is testimony to their willingness to absorb the actual cost of training, staff development, and supervision versus the potential costs of being undermanned.

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.

IV. FINAL ASSESSMENT

OBSERVATIONS

At the beginning of Chapter Three a series of questions were posed for the research to answer. This section will summarize the findings and where possible answer the study questions.

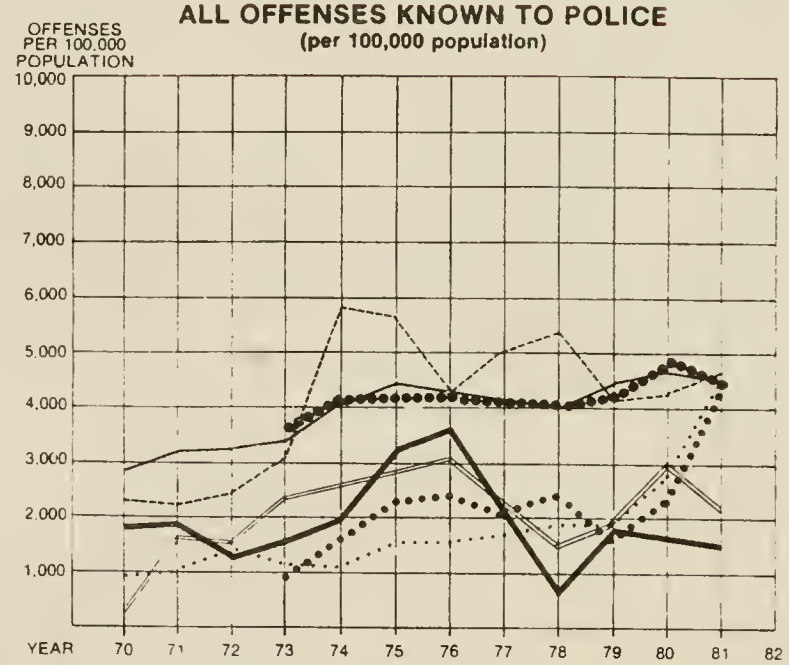
1. In the five counties examined by the study the overall change in the incidence of serious felonies (Part 1 crimes) was small. In Lincoln and Deer Lodge counties, a comparison of pre- and impact periods showed a declining level of major crime. In the three large scale resource development situations the amount of crime increased but only in Richland County did the onset of development result in an increase of more than 100 serious felonies.

2. 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. On only two occasions, in Richland and Custer County, Idaho, during 1981, did the county crime rate for major felonies match the state average. Throughout the 1970s, Rosebud County's crime rate has been consistently well below the state norm. See Exhibit 29.

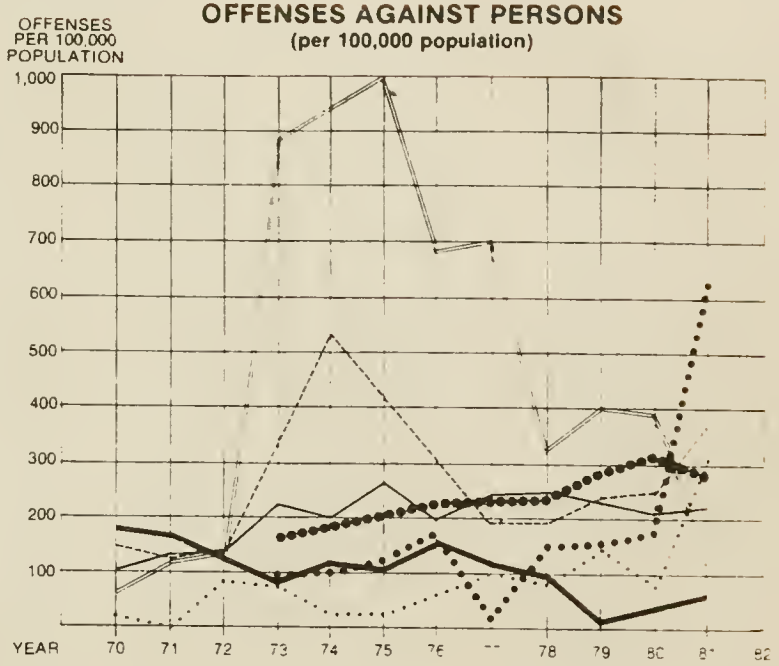
3. Most of the change in serious felony crime levels and rates during resource development projects came as a result of crimes against property, principally larceny/theft. Except for Rosebud County in the middle 1970s, crimes against persons were comparatively rare in the study counties and remained that way.

4. Skepticism and caution are required when viewing the high rate of violent crime experienced in Rosebud County during the 1970s. While the high crime rate of crime is coincident with resource development at Colstrip, there appear to be major inconsistencies in the crime reports from local jurisdictions, principally the Northern Cheyenne Reservation. In most years, over three-quarters

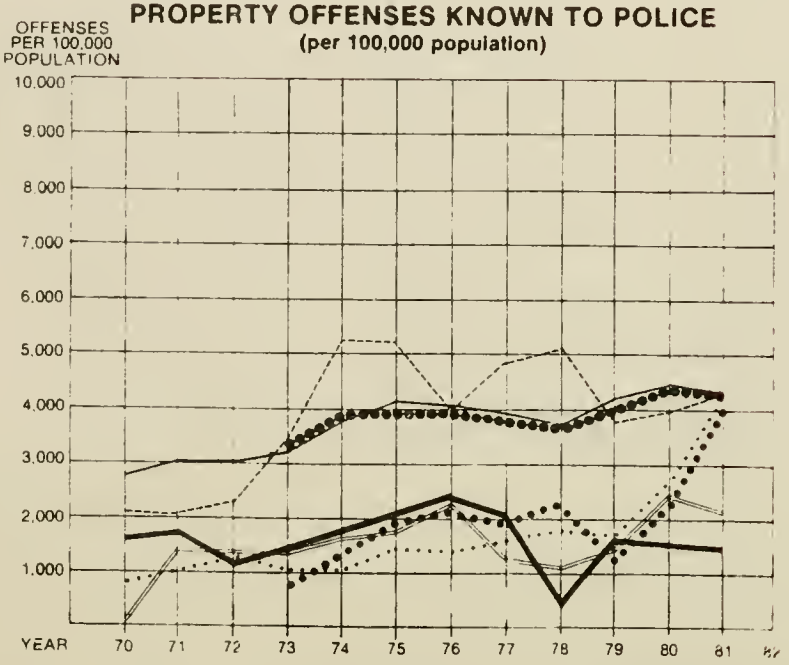
ALL OFFENSES KNOWN TO POLICE
(per 100,000 population)



OFFENSES AGAINST PERSONS
(per 100,000 population)



PROPERTY OFFENSES KNOWN TO POLICE
(per 100,000 population)



	Development Decline Periods
DEER LODGE	1980-Present
LINCOLN	1979-1981 ASARCO 1967-1973 Libby Dam
RICHLAND	1977-1981 Peak in 1981
ROSEBUD	1973-1977 Units 1 & 2, 1979-Present Units 3 & 4
CUSTER ID	1980-Present
MONTANA	
IDAHO	

of the violent crimes reported in the county was recorded by the Bureau of Indian Affairs on the Northern Cheyenne Reservation, an area that is closed to construction worker settlement and generally has been by-passed by coal development at Colstrip.

5. Increases in violent crime in development situations largely have been assaults. Robbery is not particularly common. Murder and rape may get a lot of media attention and elevate the emotional level of the community, but they remain comparatively rare.

6. 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. In time, the new population with its urban frame of reference regarding crime coupled with the "old timers" accepting the new order of things, will result in a new definition of the "normal" amount of crime and social disorder. When that happens, the crime "problem" will disappear. To a great extent that has already happened in Colstrip, where the vast majority (74.9 percent) of residents perceived the community to have an average or low level of crime (Western Analysis, Inc., 1982d). However, during the transitional phase, there is likely to be a high degree of public concern about crime, and governmental and law enforcement officials will feel pressed to do something about it.

7. 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. For the purposes of accurately assessing changes in crime levels in development situations, it is necessary to consider the "lesser" felonies as well as misdemeanor actions.

8. 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. Law enforcement officials in development situations, particularly in Challis, Idaho, and Sidney, Montana, repeatedly stressed the "need to professionalize" and "be fair and impartial to everyone." In contrast, police officers in Anaconda and Libby identified a preference for informal means. An example of the latter perspective,

> "This isn't like a big town. Here you have to live with people and see them again and again, so you treat disturbances and mischief differently than you might if you're not going to (see them again) . . . The people here and us (police), too, tolerate the bars even if they get out of hand once in a while."

9. The importance of formalization cannot be overstressed. Once a person has been arrested a record of the process is initiated. The offense becomes a statistic which is compiled as a part of the crime rate, court caseload, and so forth. The crime 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. Accordingly, comparative crime trends between pre- and post resource development periods must be reviewed very skeptically.

10. Even with formalization of police practice, officers in development situations reported the occurrence and, indeed, need to dispense "street justice" rather than arresting offenders. One officer summarized his preferred method for dealing with fights.

> "If nobody has been hurt, no weapons used, and no property damage done, I tell them I am going to check the town now and when I get back here you had better be home in bed. If not, you're going to jail."

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."

11. 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.

12. 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.

In all three of the large scale development situations but, particularly in Challis, there were common references to criminal activity being caused by "unemployed job seekers" and "camp followers." The existing information base can neither confirm nor deny the perception. It may be the case that "outside drifters" are, in fact, especially prone to causing trouble. It also may be that law enforcement is differential in its impact; the employed miner gets a warning and sent home while the "unemployed drifter" goes to jail. The "camp follower" theme articulated in development situations is amazingly similar to what Fogelson (1967) termed the Riff-Raff Theory of Civil Disturbances in the mid-1960s. Popular at the time with local law enforcement officials, the theory postulated:

a. The trouble (riots) was caused by outside agitators.

b. The local, native people (99.9 percent) were honest, God-fearing people who were opposed to what was going on.

Subsequent examination proved the Riff-Raff Theory incorrect, particularly its first postulate.

13. Patterns of criminal victimization in resource development situations are also ambiguous. Local law enforcement officials in both Richland and Rosebud counties indicated that crime "was spread around." In Challis, vacant homes were the most frequent targets for vandals. 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. Patterns of criminal victimization in development situations need to be studied in greater detail. It may well be that the in-migrating population is the source of the increase in criminal activity. It also may be true that their victims are largely fellow in-migrants.

14. Changes in population levels appear to be a poor index against which to compare changes in crime. In two of the three development situations (Rosebud and Richland counties) population levels stayed relatively stable or increased despite large declines in employment in the construction and oil industries. Crime, particularly the lesser offenses, appears to track more closely with employment levels. One official in Colstrip offered a partial explanation.

> "We seem to have most of the trouble right after the construction crews scale-up. We seem to get alot of riff-raff with the first bunch. They shake themselves out, quit and go someplace else and we get a more stable bunch of guys."

It may also be that crime levels are, in fact, more sensitive to population change than would appear to be the case from the measurements and graphs reported in this document. Intercensal population estimates may not be very accurate particularly in counties experiencing large scale population changes.

15. 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. In Custer County, housing development was undertaken soon after the decision was made to open the mine. In fact, housing provided by Cyprus Mines for its employees in the Challis area has not sold very well. In late 1982, approximately 190 homes or 72 percent of the 262 units that were erected remained vacant despite down payment and interest subsidies and a guaranteed buy-back provision offered by the Company. Immigrants, including those who are working at permanent jobs at the mine, generally have preferred to live in mobile homes even when rental rates have matched or exceeded mortgage costs.

16. 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.

17. Law enforcement and social service personnel repeatedly described increases in family disturbances and stress. This was true in the three major development communities as well as Anaconda, the "bust" town. Police call information confirmed that assertion in Deer Lodge County but the actual level of change was small, five to eight more calls per month. No quantitative documentation was provided in the development situations. If family disturbance and stress are more common in development situations, it is not reflected in the county's divorce rate. It is unknown how much of the reported family stress results in out-of-county divorce filings or marital dissolutions after the couple leaves the development area. The divorce pattern in development situations either showed

an erratic pattern of divorce (i.e., Challis) or a long, slow upward trend (i.e., Rosebud and Richland counties) consistent with but significantly lower than the state average.

18. Resource development situations show elevated traffic counts and vehicle accident levels in a pattern generally coincident with population increases. The change in accident levels was most significant in Richland County where the county experienced 152 more accidents in one year and 350 more over a three year period. In Rosebud and Custer counties, accidents increased (50 to 80 more) but the respective county rate stayed close the state average.

19. District Court caseloads increased in all three 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. Increases in filings in Rosebud County (71 cases) were comparable to the changes in Lincoln and Deer Lodge counties with 69 and 79 cases, respectively. 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 relatviely 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.

20. The three main resource development counties exhibit 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.

21. 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.

22. In Richland and Rosebud counties, resource development was accompanied by a change to a younger population. In Custer County, Idaho, the construction influx took place after the 1980 census and the extent to which the population composition changed is in doubt, although local informants repeatedly mentioned its youthful nature. Young males (i.e., 15 to 34 years of age) are the source and, the victims, of most criminal activity. Surveys of other development sites (Mountain West, 1975) 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.).

23. Social structure affects how an area will react to changing levels of criminality. The original social community in both Richland and Rosebud counties was a conservative, inward looking entity populated by people who knew and respected the rules of its social life; criminal activity was comparatively rare and its occurrence was both a shock and an affront. Lincoln County and, to a lesser extent Custer County, Idaho, present a more tolerant perspective

toward the foibles of human behavior. In those communities, alcohol use is an accepted part of the lifestyle; boisterous, and, even aggressive behavior is accepted, if not subtly encouraged. Such communities are less threatened by the presence of newcomers and their behavior. In Libby's case, less so with Challis, transients are a routine part of community life. On the whole, places like Libby and Challis have a more open attitude of acceptance and are not as prone to react to boisterous or deviant behavior as are small, agricultural communities.

24. 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.

25. 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. Interestingly, no other criminal justice or social service agency mentioned problems with staff turnover. Perhaps, these other occupations offer other non-tangible rewards that makes their practitioners less interested in changing jobs. One law enforcement official described his profession as "awfully negative work."

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

26. 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 and Anaconda/Deer Lodge County, with the lowest level of expenditures, showed the lowest crime level among the four Montana counties studied. Perhaps if Rosebud, Lincoln, and Richland counties did not spend so much their crime rates would have been worse, but that is only conjecture.

27. Each of the case study counties is either experiencing problems with its jail facilites or have done so in the recent past. These areas are not unique; 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 unsaitary, and maybe unconstitutional.

28. Jail facilities are only one of several service categories where communities may have long standing service deficiencies that become problematic in the face of rapid population growth. In many instances the local residents are aware of the problems and have simply become accustomed to the inconveniences they cause. Conditions of rapid growth may move an existing service deficiency

beyond the stage of inconvenience to a condition of actual threat. In effect, the prospect of rapid development forces communities to face up to the wear and tear, obsolescence, and, perhaps, neglect of community support systems.

29. In the main, resource development has not resulted in financially strapped local government jurisdictions. In fact, quite the opposite condition prevails. Richland and Rosebud counties are among, if not, the wealthiest counties in the state in terms of fiscal capacity. Both counties also have very low tax rates. Both counties also have been the recipients of several million dollars of state assistance during the resource development period. There was a time in Rosebud County's past when the demand for services exceeded the area's ability to pay for them. That period passed to the wayside in the mid-1970s. 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. Challis and Custer County, Idaho, both experienced large increases in their respective tax bases, but were prevented from making full use of the revenue potential by a state law limiting tax collections and budget increases. 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. The cities of Forsyth and Sidney experienced tax increases as the cost of government rose faster than the city tax base.

30. While Deer Lodge County was the only entity facing severe financial hardship, all of the local governments were struggling to greater or lesser degree with the problem of costs out-running growth in the local tax base. Montana's local governments have very limited authority to raise revenue and must rely on property taxes and

intergovernmental transfers of funds to support their operations. For counties such as Rosebud and Richland with an abundance of mineral wealth, the existing financial system may at times be cumbersome but it constitutes no hardship. Other Montana counties, particularly those with a large urban population or where industry is declining, are not similarly blessed. Moreover, they do not qualify for any form of special impact assistance to mitigate their problems as do areas experiencing energy or hardrock mining development.

31. Aside from its impact on the local tax base, the smelter closure in Anaconda does not appear to have resulted in large scale social disruption. Human service providers frequently mention family stress and disturbance as an increasing problem, but there is little caseload information aside from a small numerical increase in police calls to confirm it. Other measurements of social disruption such as alcohol sales, crime, and divorce show relatively stable or declining incidence rates. The increase in police calls after the smelter closure is a continuation of a long-term trend whose relationship to the smelter closure appears incidental.

32. None of the communities studied showed extensive community participation or leadership in criminal justice issues. Leadership on such matters was almost universally provided by members of the system itself.

33. Reported break-downs in interagency cooperation and coordination were relatively few in number. Almost all persons interviewed reported a high level of cooperation from the agencies with whom they routinely dealt. Reports of either assistance or problems with state agencies were also comparatively rare, except in the area of social services and adult probation. Both of these entities are, in fact, state programs and their field personnel tend to feel isolated and ignored by their superiors in Helena.

34. 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. In the final analysis, divorce cases, petty thefts, vandalism, and mischief are all pretty much alike. It is a major leap in public policy, if not logic, to suggest that managing such events where there are coal mines and oil wells is qualitatively different from other places where they cut trees or harvest grain.

Rapid social change does not occur indefinitely. Even in "boom towns" people individually and collectively adjust to the new order of things. At some point, "adverse impact" ends and a new equilibrium is established. Montana policy toward impact mitigation does not recognize a termination point.

35. The association or simultaneous occurrance of two different phenomena such as boomtown living conditions and family disturbances does not necessarily mean that one caused the other. The causative forces behind any social problem are both complex and diverse. 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 do 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.

36. Finally, frequently there is a major disparity between what people say or think is happening in their community and what the formal record keeping systems indicate. The case studies identified several such topic areas including family disturbances, drug abuse, and alcohol based problems. With these types of "social problems" there is a continuing question whether the reported actions are as common or troublesome as they are perceived to be, or whether such reports are symptomatic of behavior that may be unconventional or new to a given setting and serves to attract people's attention, prompt their concern, or outrage their sensibilities.

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.

Also, the measurement process can be both aided or confused by local programs or record keeping systems designed to monitor or treat a given infirmity. For example, spouse abuse exists in all

communities but relatively few locations have spouse abuse programs. When a spouse abuse program is created to serve a perceived need, the program's caseload becomes the measure of the problem. In turn, the "problem" grows, declines, or changes to the extent by which the program is successful in notifying the public of its services and attracting clients. Other localities may have as great or a greater incidence of spouse abuse, but if they lack a concerned public, or more importantly, if they do not have a record system that describes the nature and extent of the issue and makes it a tangible commodity or "fact," then the problem remains in the realm or conjecture.

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 more 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 other, 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. Not withstanding 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.

V. RECOMMENDATIONS

PREFACE

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. The recommendations reflect a practical perspective about crime. It is seen as "routine" activity (c.f., Cohen and Felson, 1979), that is, universal to the human condition in industrialized societies. Further, criminal activity is viewed as the product of criminal intent in a situation that offers means, motive, and opportunity. The criminal justice system is perceived as a system designed to help prevent criminal activity but, more as a vehicle to manage it after it occurs.

GENERAL RECOMMENDATIONS

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 occuring 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, adminsters 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 <u>if</u> 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. Optimumly, 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.

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VII. APPENDIX

APPENDIX A

MAJOR RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT LOCATIONS IN THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS AND NORTHERN GREAT PLAINS (SEE EXHIBIT 3)

County	County Seat	Development
ARIZONA		
Apache	St. Johns	Electric generation
COLORADO		
Delta	Delta	Oil shale
Eagle	Eagle	Recreation
Garfield	Glenwood Springs	Oil shale
Gunnison	Gunnison	Oil shale
Jackson	Walden	Recreation
Mesa	Grand Junction	Oil shale
Moffat	Craig	Coal/oil shale
Montrose	Montrose	Oil shale
Pitken	Aspen	Recreation
Rio Blanco	Meeker	Coal/oil shale
Routt	Steamboat Springs	Oil shale
IDAHO		
Custer	Challis	Molybdenum
MONTANA		
Big Horn	Hardin	Coal
Dawson	Glendive	Oil and gas
Deer Lodge	Anaconda	Copper smelting (decline)
Fallon	Baker	Oil and gas
Lincoln	Libby	Silver and copper
Phillips	Malta	Gold
Powder River	Broadus	Oil and gas
Richland	Sidney	Oil and gas
Rosebud	Forsyth	Coal/electric generation
Silver Bow	Butte	Copper mining (decline)
Wibaux	Wibaux	Oil and gas
NEW MEXICO		
Colfax	Raton	Coal
Grant	Silver City	Copper
San Juan	Aztec	Coal/oil and gas
Valencia	Los Lunas	Uranium
NORTH DAKOTA		
Billings	Medora	Oil and gas
Bowman	Bowman	Oil and gas

County	County Seat	Development
NORTH DAKOTA (continued)		
Divide	Crosby	Oil and gas
Dunn	Manning	Oil and gas
McKenzie	Watford City	Oil and gas
McLean	Washburn	Oil and gas
Mercer	Stanton	Coal/synfuels
Morton	Mandan	Oil and gas
Oliver	Center	Coal/oil and gas
Slope	Amidon	Oil and gas
Stark	Dickinson	Oil and gas
Williams	Williston	Oil and gas
SOUTH DAKOTA		
Fall River	Hot Springs	Coal/uranium
UTAH		
Carbon	Price	Coal/electric generation
Emery	Castle Dale	Coal/electric generation
Garfield	Panguitch	Coal/oil and gas
Millard	Fillmore	Electric generation
Uintah	Vernal	Oil and gas
WYOMING		
Campbell	Gillette	Coal/electric generation
Carbon	Rawlins	Coal
Converse	Douglas	Coal/uranium
Crook	Sundance	Coal
Fremont	Lander	Uranium
Johnson	Buffalo	Coal
Lincoln	Kemmerer	Oil and gas
Natrona	Casper	Oil and gas/uranium
Platte	Wheatland	Electric generation
Sheridan	Sheridan	Coal
Sublette	Pinedale	Oil and gas
Sweetwater	Green River	Coal/electric generation/trona
Uintah	Evanston	Oil and gas
Weston	New Castle	Electric generation

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Ferguson, Carol, Administrative Officer, Hardrock Mining Impact Board, Montana Department of Commerce, Helena, Montana.

Lindquist, Kathy, North Dakota Department of Economic Planning, Bismark, North Dakota.

McGowan, Ann, Wyoming Department of Economic Planning and Development, Cheyenne, Wyoming.

Montoya, J., New Mexico Department of Economic Development, Santa Fe, New Mexico.

Osborn, Ben, South Dakota Office of State Planning, Pierre, South Dakota.

Porter, Allen, Idaho Department of Commerce and Development, Boise, Idaho

Rogers, John, City Planner, Beulah, North Dakota.

Silva, Mary, Arizona Planning Administration, Phoenix, Arizona.

APPENDIX B

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 C

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 Dilemna
MFC 001, 16 mm, 20 min., color
Deals with the implementations of the development of the coal resources or 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, producted 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 with 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 funtions 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 communties 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 he 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 D

RESOURCES: LITERATURE

There are literally hundreds of studies of "boomtowns." The list of books, articles, and monographs contained in this section are intended to provde the reader with a broad overview of the social conditions and problems experienced in resource development situations. For additional listings, please refer back to the References section of the 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. 44:586-608.

   A discussion of the circustances 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. 1975.1 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, ElDean 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.

A discussion of drug use in a small California town including an examination of the "rural myth" (i.e., no social problems), a community's reaction to juvenile drug use, and the steps taken to correct it.

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.

APPENDIX E

STATE AND COUNTY STATISTICAL PROFILE

ECONOMIC AND DEMOGRAPHIC CONDITIONS

POPULATION

Year	Montana	Deer Lodge County	Lincoln County	Richland County	Rosebud County	Idaho	Custer County
1982[1]	805,000	11,500	17,900	12,800	11,200	NA	NA
1981	791,000	12,000	17,800	12,500	10,800	959,000	3,800
1980	786,690	12,518	17,752	12,243	9,899	943,935	3,385
1979	786,000	13,100	17,700	11,200	9,700	905,000	3,300
1978	785,000	13,900	17,100	10,800	9,700	878,000	3,300
1977	761,000	14,300	16,700	10,200	10,500	857,000	3,300
1976	753,000	14,600	16,400	10,300	9,900	831,000	3,300
1975	748,000	15,200	15,800	9,700	8,600	821,000	3,300
1974	735,000	15,100	17,000	9,900	7,700	799,000	3,300
1973	721,000	15,800	17,700	9,700	6,600	770,000	3,000
1972	719,000	15,900	18,000	9,800	6,300	755,000	3,000
1971	710,000	15,800	18,100	9,800	6,100	736,000	3,100
1970	694,409	15,652	18,063	9,837	6,032	713,015	2,967

[1]Western Analysis, Inc. projections.

Source: Montana Department of Health and Environmental Science
Idaho Department of Health and Welfare
U.S. Bureau of the Census
Western Analysis, Inc.

TOTAL EMPLOYMENT[1]

Year	Montana	Deer Lodge County	Lincoln County	Richland County	Rosebud County	Idaho	Custer County
1982	388,000	4,900	5,700	5,700	7,900	NA	NA
1981	381,000	5,200	5,700	5,600	6,300	400,800	2,700
1980	369,800	5,900	6,000	5,500	5,400	432,300	1,500
1979	373,400	5,400	6,800	6,100	4,500	437,200	1,500
1978	364,700	5,400	6,800	5,600	4,300	431,100	1,500
1977	346,700	5,800	6,200	5,100	4,100	406,400	1,400
1976	333,600	6,000	5,800	4,800	4,500	389,500	1,400
1975	323,700	6,400	5,800	4,600	5,000	366,800	1,300
1974	321,000	6,500	6,100	4,500	3,700	358,300	1,300
1973	310,600	6,100	6,600	4,300	3,300	341,200	1,300
1972	300,500	6,200	6,700	4,200	2,900	325,600	1,300
1971	289,900	6,000	6,700	4,100	2,800	311,700	1,300
1970	285,000	6,400	6,900	4,200	2,500	305,100	1,300

[1]Rounded to nearest hundred.

Source: U.S. Bureau of Economic Analysis
Montana Department of Labor and Industry
Idaho Employment Department
Western Analysis, Inc.

DURABLE GOODS, MINING, CONSTRUCTION EMPLOYMENT[1]

Year	Montana	Deer Lodge County	Lincoln County	Richland County	Rosebud County	Idaho	Custer County
1982[2]	38,800	100	2,100	800	3,700	NA	NA
1981	39,400	200	2,100	800	2,300	49,600	600
1980	38,500	800	2,100	700	1,600	48,200	100[3]
1979	41,100	1,200	2,100	1,200	900	55,800	100[3]
1978	40,900	1,300	2,300	1,000	800	56,100	100[3]
1977	38,200	1,400	2,200	700	800	51,900	100[3]
1976	35,300	1,500	2,200	500	1,100	48,500	100[3]
1975	33,900	1,800	2,100	300	1,800	44,800	100[3]
1974	36,600	1,900	2,400	300	500	44,500	100[3]
1973	35,700	1,800	2,900	200	400	43,100	100[3]
1972	34,900	1,800	3,200	200	200	39,300	100[3]
1971	32,500	1,500	3,300	100	200	36,800	100[3]
1970	33,200	1,700	3,400	200	100	35,300	100[3]

[1]Rounded to nearest hundred.
[2]Estimated.
[3]Individual sectors are small and withheld to prevent disclosure of confidential information.

Source: U.S. Bureau of Economic Analysis
Montana Department of Labor and Industry
Idaho Employment Department
Western Analysis, Inc.

UNEMPLOYMENT RATE
(Percent)

Year	Montana	Deer Lodge County	Lincoln County	Richland County	Rosebud County	Idaho	Custer County
1982[1]	9.8%	15.5%	25.5%	6.4%	8.4%	11.0%[2]	6.9%[2]
1981	6.4	14.6	15.1	2.6	8.5	6.3	3.9
1980	6.0	8.6	15.2	2.2	5.4	6.5	4.2
1979	5.1	7.0	10.5	1.9	5.0	5.1	5.2
1978	6.0	9.3	11.8	2.7	5.9	4.9	5.5
1977	6.4	8.7	12.9	3.6	6.9	6.3	8.3
1976	6.1	6.7	13.2	3.7	5.8	6.7	7.0
1975	6.4	6.5	14.3	3.9	3.3	7.3	7.6
1974	5.2	4.1	12.1	3.6	3.6	6.0	7.3
1973	4.8	3.8	9.2	3.8	3.2	5.6	7.9
1972	4.8	4.3	9.0	3.8	3.2	6.2	8.7
1971	4.8	5.9	9.1	4.3	3.0	6.3	7.1
1970	4.3	2.4	8.9	3.6	3.1	5.8	5.0

[1]Based on nine months of data.
[2]October, 1982.

Source: Montana Department of Labor and Industry
Idaho Employment Department
Western Analysis, Inc.

CRIMINAL ACTIVITIES

STATE OF MONTANA
OFFENSES KNOWN TO THE POLICE
(Part I Crimes: Seven Major Felonies)

Year	All Offenses	Rate Per 100,000 Population	Offenses Against Persons	Rate Per 100,000 Population	Offenses Against Property	Rate Per 100,000 Population
1982	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
1981	35,872	4,535.0	1,821	230.2	34,051	4,304.8
1980	36,791	4,676.7	1,696	215.6	35,095	4,461.1
1979	34,880	4,437.6	1,846	234.9	33,034	4,202.8
1978	31,246	3,980.4	1,961	249.8	29,285	3,730.6
1977	31,820	4,181.3	1,908	250.7	29,912	3,930.6
1976	32,137	4,267.9	1,585	210.5	30,552	4,057.4
1975	33,173	4,434.9	1,986	265.5	31,187	4,169.4
1974	29,327	3,990.1	1,485	202.0	27,842	3,788.3
1973	24,581	3,409.3	1,639	227.3	22,942	3,182.0
1972	23,261	3,235.2	1,094	152.2	22,167	3,083.0
1971	22,617	3,185.5	995	140.1	21,622	3,045.4
1970	20,069	2,890.0	790	113.7	19,279	2,776.3

Source: Montana Department of Justice
Montana Department of Health and Environmental Sciences
Western Analysis, Inc.

DEER LODGE COUNTY
OFFENSES KNOWN TO THE POLICE
(Part 1 Crimes: Seven Major Felonies)

Year	All Offenses	Rate Per 100,000 Population	Offenses Against Persons	Rate Per 100,000 Population	Offenses Against Property	Rate Per 100,000 Population
1982	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
1981	183	1,525.0	8	66.6	175	1,458.3
1980	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
1979	225	1,717.6	3	22.9	222	1,694.7
1978	89	640.3	14	100.7	75	539.6
1977	317	2,216.8	17	118.9	300	2,097.9
1976	526	3,602.7	24	164.4	502	3,438.4
1975	495	3,256.6	17	111.8	478	3,144.7
1974	295	1,953.6	18	119.2	277	1,834.4
1973	248	1,569.6	14	88.6	234	1,481.0
1972	210	1,329.1	20	125.8	190	1,194.7
1971	300	1,898.7	26	164.6	274	1,734.2
1970	284	1,814.5	28	178.9	256	1,635.6

Source: Montana Department of Justice
Montana Department of Health and Environmental Sciences
Western Analysis, Inc.

LINCOLN COUNTY
OFFENSES KNOWN TO THE POLICE
(Part 1 Crimes: Seven Major Felonies)

Year	All Offenses	Rate Per 100,000 Population	Offenses Against Persons	Rate Per 100,000 Population	Offenses Against Property	Rate Per 100,000 Population
1982	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
1981	833	4,679.8	67	376.4	766	4,303.4
1980	746	4,202.3	46	259.1	700	3,943.2
1979	726	4,101.7	42	237.3	684	3,864.4
1978	907	5,304.1	34	198.8	873	5,105.3
1977	837	5,012.0	33	197.6	804	4,814.4
1976	699	4,262.2	51	311.0	648	3,951.2
1975	892	5,646.6	67	424.1	825	5,221.5
1974	985	5,794.1	91	535.3	894	5,258.8
1973	549	3,101.7	54	305.1	495	2,796.6
1972	434	2,411.1	25	138.9	409	2,272.2
1971	401	2,215.5	24	132.6	377	2,082.9
1970	417	2,308.5	27	149.5	390	2,159.1

Source: Montana Department of Justice
Montana Department of Health and Environmental Sciences
Western Analysis, Inc.

RICHLAND COUNTY
OFFENSES KNOWN TO THE POLICE
(Part 1 Crimes: Seven Major Felonies)

Year	All Offenses	Rate Per 100,000 Population	Offenses Against Persons	Rate Per 100,000 Population	Offenses Against Property	Rate Per 100,000 Population
1982	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
1981	569	4,552.0	38	304.0	531	4,248.0
1980	337	2,752.6	10	81.7	327	2,670.9
1979	208	1,857.1	16	142.9	192	1,714.3
1978	202	1,870.4	9	83.3	193	1,787.0
1977	175	1,715.7	11	107.8	164	1,607.8
1976	153	1,485.4	7	68.0	146	1,417.5
1975	146	1,505.2	3	30.9	143	1,474.2
1974	104	1,050.5	3	30.3	101	1,020.2
1973	110	1,134.0	8	82.5	102	1,051.5
1972	138	1,408.2	9	91.8	129	1,316.3
1971	98	1,000.0	0	0.0	98	1,000.0
1970	87	884.4	3	30.5	84	853.9

Source: Montana Department of Justice
Montana Department of Health and Environmental Sciences
Western Analysis, Inc.

ROSEBUD COUNTY
OFFENSES KNOWN TO THE POLICE
(Part 1 Crimes: Seven Major Felonies)

Year	All Offenses	Rate Per 100,000 Population	Offenses Against Persons	Rate Per 100,000 Population	Offenses Against Property	Rate Per 100,000 Population
1982	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
1981	240	2,222.2	13	120.4	227	2,101.9
1980	283	2,858.9	39	394.0	244	2,464.9
1979	186	1,917.5	39	402.1	147	1,515.5
1978	140	1,443.3	32	329.9	108	1,113.4
1977	219	2,085.7	95	905.0	124	1,278.4
1976	290	3,010.1	68	696.9	230	2,388.2
1975	245	2,848.8	96	1,116.3	149	1,732.6
1974	200	2,597.4	73	948.1	127	1,649.4
1973	155	2,348.5	58	878.8	97	1,469.7
1972	96	1,523.8	9	142.9	87	1,381.0
1971	99	1,623.0	8	131.1	91	1,491.8
1970	16	265.3	4	66.3	12	198.9

Source: Montana Department of Justice
Montana Department of Health and Environmental Sciences
Western Analysis, Inc.

STATE OF IDAHO
OFFENSES KNOWN TO THE POLICE
(Part 1 Crimes: Seven Major Felonies)

Year	All Offenses	Rate Per 100,000 Population	Offenses Against Persons	Rate Per 100,000 Population	Offenses Against Property	Rate Per 100,000 Population
1982	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
1981	43,200	4,504.7	2,690	280.5	40,510	4,224.2
1980	45,102	4,779.6	2,957	313.4	42,145	4,466.3
1979	38,375	4,240.3	2,613	288.7	35,762	3,951.6
1978	35,248	4,014.6	2,076	236.4	33,172	3,778.1
1977	35,341	4,123.8	2,030	236.9	33,311	3,886.9
1976	35,484	4,270.0	1,884	226.7	33,600	4,043.3
1975	34,082	4,158.0	1,673	204.0	32,409	3,954.3
1974	32,083	4,016.8	1,466	183.5	30,617	3,831.9
1973	26,622	3,457.4	1,264	164.2	25,358	3,293.2

Data Prior to 1973 Not Available

Source: Idaho Department of Law Enforcement
Idaho Department of Health and Welfare
Western Analysis, Inc.

CUSTER COUNTY, IDAHO
OFFENSES KNOWN TO THE POLICE
(Part 1 Crimes: Seven Major Felonies)

Year	All Offenses	Rate Per 100,000 Population	Offenses Against Persons	Rate Per 100,000 Population	Offenses Against Property	Rate Per 100,000 Population
1982	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
1981[1]	172	4,526.3	24	631.6	148	3,894.7
1980	80	2,363.4	6	177.3	74	2,186.1
1979	51	1,545.5	5	151.5	46	1,393.9
1978	79	2,393.9	5	151.5	74	2,242.4
1977	65	1,969.7	1	30.3	64	1,939.4
1976	78	2,363.6	6	181.8	72	2,181.8
1975	74	2,242.4	4	121.2	70	2,121.2
1974	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
1973	27	900.0	3	100.0	24	800.0

Data Prior to 1973 Not Available

[1]Annualized based on six months of data.

Source: Idaho Department of Law Enforcement
Idaho Department of Health and Welfare
Western Analysis, Inc.

AMOUNT AND RATE OF PART II CRIMES
SELECTED COUNTIES AND MONTANA
(Rate Per 100,000 Population)

Year	Montana		Deer Lodge County		Lincoln County		Richland County		Rosebud County	
	No.	Rate	No.	Rate	No.	Rate	No.	Rate	No.	Rate
1982	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
1981	18,892	2,388.4	121	1,008.3	612	3,438.2	326	2,608.0	367	3,398.1
1980	19,822	2,519.7	NA	NA	554	3,120.8	151	1,233.4	376	3,798.4
1979	18,047	2,296.1	283	2,160.3	554	3,129.9	188	1,678.6	154	1,587.6
1978	15,433	1,966.0	89	640.3	580	3,391.8	220	2,037.0	148	1,525.8
1977	17,764	2,334.3	326	2,279.7	568	3,401.2	205	2,009.8	146	1,390.5
1976	16,396	2,177.4	273	1,869.9	562	3,426.8	201	1,951.5	255	2,575.8
1975	14,204	1,898.9	239	1,572.4	433	2,740.5	106	1,092.8	276	3,209.3
1974	10,988	1,495.0	92	609.3	383	2,252.9	100	1,010.1	239	3,103.9
1973	8,006	1,110.4	138	873.4	204	1,152.5	81	835.1	199	3,015.2
1972	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
1971	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
1970	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA

Source: Montana Department of Justice
Western Analysis, Inc.

AMOUNT AND RATE OF PART II CRIMES
CUSTER COUNTY AND IDAHO
(Rate Per 100,000 Population)

Year	Idaho[1]		Custer County[1]	
	No.	Rate	No.	Rate
1982	NA	NA	NA	NA
1981	15,603	1,627.0	106	2,709.5
1980	16,979	1,798.7	35	1,034.0
1979	16,630	1,837.6	35	1,060.6
1978	16,219	1,847.3	34	1,030.3
1977	16,345	1,907.2	35	1,060.6
1976	NA	NA	NA	NA
1975	NA	NA	NA	NA
1974	NA	NA	NA	NA
1973	NA	NA	NA	NA
1972	NA	NA	NA	NA
1971	NA	NA	NA	NA
1970	NA	NA	NA	NA

[1]Vandalism offenses plus arrests in other categories.

Source: Idaho Department of Justice
Western Analysis, Inc.

STATE OF MONTANA
SIMPLE ASSAULT, VANDALISM, AND NARCOTICS OFFENSES

Year	Simple Assault	Rate Per 100,000 Population	Vandalism	Rate Per 100,000 Population	Narcotics	Rate Per 100,000 Population
1982	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
1981	2,707	342.2	10,837	1,370.0	963	121.7
1980	2,620	333.0	11,973	1,521.9	917	116.6
1979	1,797	228.6	11,333	1,441.7	818	104.1
1978	1,232	156.9	9,442	1,202.8	882	112.4
1977	1,520	199.7	10,149	1,333.6	1,499	197.0
1976	1,375	182.6	9,233	1,226.2	1,702	226.0
1975	1,309	175.0	7,672	1,025.7	1,759	235.2
1974	940	127.9	6,359	865.2	970	132.0
1973	1,110	154.0	3,121	432.9	1,205	167.1
1972	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
1971	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
1970	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA

Source: Montana Department of Justice
Western Analysis, Inc.

DEER LODGE COUNTY
SIMPLE ASSAULT, VANDALISM, AND NARCOTICS OFFENSES

Year	Simple Assault	Rate Per 100,000 Population	Vandalism	Rate Per 100,000 Population	Narcotics	Rate Per 100,000 Population
1982	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
1981	21	175.0	67	558.3	3	25.0
1980	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
1979	0	00.0	281	2,145.0	2	15.3
1978	0	00.0	79	568.3	0	00.0
1977	24	167.8	254	1,776.2	19	132.9
1976	32	219.2	202	1,383.6	17	116.4
1975	29	190.8	185	1,217.1	10	65.8
1974	22	145.7	49	324.5	13	80.1
1973	26	164.6	68	430.4	9	57.0
1972	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
1971	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
1970	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA

Source: Montana Department of Justice
Western Analysis, Inc.

LINCOLN COUNTY
SIMPLE ASSAULT, VANDALISM, AND NARCOTICS OFFENSES

Year	Simple Assault	Rate Per 100,000 Population	Vandalism	Rate Per 100,000 Population	Narcotics	Rate Per 100,000 Population
1982	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
1981	44	247.2	285	1,601.1	203	1,140.4
1980	45	253.5	330	1,858.9	105	591.5
1979	11	62.1	356	2,011.3	62	350.3
1978	32	187.1	367	2,146.2	61	356.7
1977	58	347.3	307	1,838.3	56	335.3
1976	78	478.6	273	1,664.6	71	432.9
1975	88	557.0	190	1,202.5	50	316.5
1974	0	00.0	245	1,441.2	41	241.2
1973	0	00.0	105	593.2	28	158.2
1972	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
1971	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
1970	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA

Source: Montana Department of Justice
Western Analysis, Inc.

RICHLAND COUNTY
SIMPLE ASSAULT, VANDALISM, AND NARCOTICS OFFENSES

Year	Simple Assault	Rate Per 100,000 Population	Vandalism	Rate Per 100,000 Population	Narcotics	Rate Per 100,000 Population
1982	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
1981	14	112.0	230	1,840.0	10	80.0
1980	5	40.8	138	1,127.2	5	40.8
1979	3	26.8	130	1,160.7	3	26.8
1978	1	9.3	103	953.7	9	83.3
1977	12	117.6	110	1,078.4	3	29.4
1976	10	97.1	127	1,233.0	7	68.0
1975	5	51.5	61	628.9	5	51.5
1974	2	20.2	56	565.7	20	202.0
1973	4	41.2	61	628.9	4	41.2
1972	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
1971	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
1970	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA

Source: Montana Department of Justice
Western Analysis, Inc.

ROSEBUD COUNTY
SIMPLE ASSAULT, VANDALISM, AND NARCOTICS OFFENSES

Year	Simple Assault	Rate Per 100,000 Population	Vandalism	Rate Per 100,000 Population	Narcotics	Rate Per 100,000 Population
1982	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
1981	181	1,675.9	125	1,157.4	10	92.6
1980	170	1,717.3	119	1,202.0	11	111.1
1979	47	484.5	0	00.0	21	216.5
1978	25	257.7	73	752.6	12	123.7
1977	34	323.8	38	361.9	27	257.1
1976	65	656.6	75	757.6	25	252.5
1975	55	639.5	80	930.2	13	151.2
1974	76	987.0	29	376.6	14	181.8
1973	51	772.7	32	484.8	0	00.0
1972	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
1971	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
1970	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA

Source: Montana Department of Justice
Western Analysis, Inc.

STATE OF IDAHO
SIMPLE ASSAULT, VANDALISM, AND NARCOTICS OFFENSES

Year	Simple Assault[1]	Rate Per 100,000 Population	Vandalism[2]	Rate Per 100,000 Population	Narcotics[1]	Rate Per 100,000 Population
1982	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
1981	1,404	108.4	10,635	1,109.0	1,605	167.4
1980	1,167	123.6	12,011	1,272.4	1,488	157.6
1979	987	109.1	11,542	1,275.4	1,746	192.9
1978	1,071	122.0	11,186	1,274.0	1,806	205.7
1977	1,005	117.3	10,717	1,250.5	2,401	280.2
1976	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
1975	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
1974	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
1973	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
1972	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
1971	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
1970	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA

[1]Arrests
[2]Offenses

Source: Idaho Department of Law Enforcement
Western Analysis, Inc.

CUSTER COUNTY, IDAHO
SIMPLE ASSAULT, VANDALISM, AND NARCOTICS OFFENSES

Year	Simple Assault[1]	Rate Per 100,000 Population	Vandalism[2]	Rate Per 100,000 Population	Narcotics[1]	Rate Per 100,000 Population
1982	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
1981	6	157.9	78	2,052.6	4	105.3
1980	0	00.0	31	915.8	0	00.0
1979	0	00.0	23	696.9	6	181.8
1978	1	30.3	15	454.5	13	393.9
1977	0	00.0	28	848.5	4	121.2
1976	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
1975	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
1974	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
1973	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
1972	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
1971	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
1970	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA

[1]Arrests
[2]Offenses

Source: Idaho Department of Law Enforcement
Western Analysis, Inc.

OTHER TYPES OF SOCIAL DISRUPTION

STATE OF MONTANA
TOTAL AND PER CAPITA LIQUOR SALES
(Nominal $ and Adjusted for Inflation)

Fiscal Year	Total Sales (Nominal $)	Sales Per Capita (Nominal $)	Total Sales[1] (Inflation Adjusted)	Sales Per Capita[1] (Inflation Adjusted)
1982	$54,395,822	$67.57	$31,261,967	$38.83
1981	52,333,473	66.16	31,526,189	39.86
1980	48,056,110	61.09	30,904,251	39.28
1979	55,207,718	70.18	38,415,732	48.89
1978	51,280,983	65.33	38,441,516	48.97
1977	47,543,532	62.48	37,673,163	49.50
1976	44,544,472	59.17	36,274,000	48.17
1975	42,542,020	56.87	37,089,817	49.59
1974	39,728,406	54.05	37,409,045	50.90
1973	37,873,395	52.53	38,025,497	52.74
1972	35,397,108	49.23	35,397,108	49.23
1971	31,754,625	44.72	32,535,476	45.82
1970	29,355,467	42.27	30,803,218	44.36

[1] Implicit price deflator for off premises liquor sales 1972 = 100.

Source: Montana Department of Revenue
Western Analysis, Inc.

DEER LODGE COUNTY
TOTAL AND PER CAPITA LIQUOR SALES
(Nominal $ and Adjusted for Inflation)

Fiscal Year	Total Sales (Nominal $)	Sales Per Capita (Nominal $)	Total Sales[1] (Inflation Adjusted)	Sales Per Capita[1] (Inflation Adjusted)
1982	$867,365	$75.42	$498,486	$43.35
1981	885,867	73.82	533,655	44.47
1980	879,526	70.26	565,612	45.18
1979	978,281	74.68	680,780	51.96
1978	914,644	65.80	685,640	49.33
1977	920,312	64.36	729,249	51.00
1976	874,455	59.89	712,097	48.77
1975	975,386	64.17	850,380	55.95
1974	878,703	58.19	827,404	54.79
1973	808,469	51.17	811,716	51.37
1972	732,359	46.06	732,359	46.06
1971	720,202	45.58	737,912	46.70
1970	644,279	41.16	676,054	43.19

[1]Implicit price deflator for off premises liquor sales 1972 = 100.

Source: Montana Department of Revenue
Western Analysis, Inc.

LINCOLN COUNTY
TOTAL AND PER CAPITA LIQUOR SALES
(Nominal $ and Adjusted for Inflation)

Fiscal Year	Total Sales (Nominal $)	Sales Per Capita (Nominal $)	Total Sales[1] (Inflation Adjusted)	Sales Per Capita[1] (Inflation Adjusted)
1982	$1,030,460	$57.56	$592,218	$33.08
1981	1,031,552	57.95	621,417	34.91
1980	909,652	51.24	584,985	32.95
1979	1,008,125	56.96	701,548	39.63
1978	945,796	55.31	708,993	41.46
1977	856,936	51.31	679,030	40.66
1976	825,990	50.36	672,630	41.01
1975	788,581	49.91	687,516	43.51
1974	791,949	46.59	745,715	43.87
1973	843,302	47.64	846,689	47.84
1972	837,902	46.55	837,902	46.55
1971	674,830	37.28	691,424	38.20
1970	648,075	35.88	680,037	37.65

[1]Implicit price deflator for off premises liquor sales 1972 = 100.

Source: Montana Department of Revenue
Western Analysis, Inc.

RICHLAND COUNTY
TOTAL AND PER CAPITA LIQUOR SALES
(Nominal $ and Adjusted for Inflation)

Fiscal Year	Total Sales (Nominal $)	Sales Per Capita (Nominal $)	Total Sales[1] (Inflation Adjusted)	Sales Per Capita[1] (Inflation Adjusted)
1982	$1,041,067	$81.34	$598,372	$46.75
1981	877,004	70.16	528,316	42.26
1980	679,447	55.47	436,943	35.69
1979	714,874	63.83	497,477	44.42
1978	577,754	53.50	433,099	40.10
1977	534,346	52.39	423,412	41.51
1976	488,020	47.38	397,410	38.58
1975	477,251	49.20	416,086	42.90
1974	440,236	44.47	414,535	41.87
1973	413,766	42.66	415,428	42.82
1972	416,230	42.47	416,230	42.47
1971	374,492	38.07	383,701	39.15
1970	360,839	36.68	378,635	38.49

[1]Implicit price deflator for off premises liquor sales 1972 = 100.

Source: Montana Department of Revenue
Western Analysis, Inc.

ROSEBUD COUNTY
TOTAL AND PER CAPITA LIQUOR SALES
(Nominal $ and Adjusted for Inflation)

Fiscal Year	Total Sales (Nominal $)	Sales Per Capita (Nominal $)	Total Sales[1] (Inflation Adjusted)	Sales Per Capita[1] (Inflation Adjusted)
1982	$893,647	$79.79	$513,590	$45.86
1981	722,611	66.91	435,308	40.31
1980	549,698	55.53	353,504	35.71
1979	535,220	55.18	372,457	38.40
1978	486,393	50.14	364,612	37.59
1977	474,570	45.20	376,046	35.81
1976	555,439	56.10	452,312	45.69
1975	467,702	54.38	407,761	47.41
1974	467,197	60.97	439,922	57.13
1973	382,250	57.92	383,785	58.15
1972	343,687	54.55	343,687	54.55
1971	302,169	49.53	309,599	50.75
1970	282,922	46.91	296,875	49.22

[1]Implicit price deflator for off premises liquor sales 1972 = 100.

Source: Montana Department of Revenue
Western Analysis, Inc.

STATE OF IDAHO
TOTAL AND PER CAPITA LIQUOR SALES
(Nominal $ and Adjusted for Inflation)

Fiscal Year	Total Sales (Nominal $)	Sales Per Capita (Nominal $)	Total Sales[1] (Inflation Adjusted)	Sales Per Capita[1] (Inflation Adjusted)
1982	NA	NA	NA	NA
1981	$43,015,913	$44.85	$25,913,201	$27.02
1980	40,574,470	42.98	26,092,907	27.64
1979	38,729,212	43.79	26,951,435	29.78
1978	36,696,461	41.80	27,508,591	31.33
1977	33,148,017	38.68	26,266,258	30.65
1976	31,574,241	38.00	25,711,923	30.94
1975	30,042,995	36.29	26,192,672	31.90
1974	28,193,527	35.29	26,547,577	33.23
1973	26,846,207	34.87	26,954,023	35.00
1972	26,510,334	35.11	26,510,334	35.11
1971	24,731,454	33.60	25,339,605	34.43
1970	22,911,655	32.13	24,041,611	33.72

[1]Implicit price deflator for off premises liquor sales 1972 = 100.

Source: Idaho State Liquor Dispensary
Western Analysis, Inc.

CUSTER COUNTY
TOTAL AND PER CAPITA LIQUOR SALES
(Nominal $ and Adjusted for Inflation)

Fiscal Year	Total Sales (Nominal $)	Sales Per Capita (Nominal $)	Total Sales[1] (Inflation Adjusted)	Sales Per Capita[1] (Inflation Adjusted)
1982	NA	NA	NA	NA
1981	$374,675	$98.59	$225,708	$59.40
1980	280,834	82.96	180,601	53.35
1979	231,149	70.05	160,855	48.74
1978	212,608	64.42	159,376	48.30
1977	190,828	57.82	151,211	45.82
1976	182,467	55.29	148,589	45.03
1975	173,669	52.62	151,412	45.88
1974	184,313	55.85	173,553	52.59
1973	174,169	58.06	174,868	58.28
1972	178,959	59.65	178,959	59.65
1971	170,839	55.10	175,040	56.46
1970	149,968	50.54	157,364	53.04

[1]Implicit price deflator for off premises liquor sales 1972 = 100.

Source: Idaho State Liquor Dispensary
Western Analysis, Inc.

NUMBER AND RATE OF MARITAL DISSOLUTIONS
SELECTED COUNTIES AND MONTANA
(Rate Per 100,000 Population)

Year	Montana		Deer Lodge County		Lincoln County		Richland County		Rosebud County	
	No.	Rate	No.	Rate	No.	Rate	No.	Rate	No.	Rate
1982	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
1981	5,003	632.5	53	441.7	116	651.7	61	488.0	46	425.9
1980	4,940	627.9	35	279.6	138	777.4	55	449.2	53	535.4
1979	5,107	649.7	44	335.9	122	689.3	52	464.3	39	402.1
1978	4,877	621.3	49	352.5	122	713.5	41	379.6	36	371.1
1977	4,813	635.5	61	426.6	107	640.7	36	352.9	59	561.9
1976	4,850	644.1	74	506.8	135	823.2	43	417.5	52	525.3
1975	4,286	573.0	86	565.8	90	569.6	32	329.9	46	534.9
1974	3,940	536.1	77	509.9	86	505.9	32	323.2	27	350.6
1973	3,772	523.2	62	392.4	122	689.3	28	288.7	23	348.5
1972	3,609	501.9	107	685.5	109	605.6	19	193.9	25	396.8
1971	3,366	474.1	56	354.4	112	618.8	32	326.5	28	495.0
1970	3,051	439.4	70	447.2	85	470.6	23	233.8	18	298.4

Source: Montana Department of Health and Environmental Sciences
Western Analysis, Inc.

AMOUNT AND RATE OF MARITAL DISSOLUTIONS
CUSTER COUNTY AND IDAHO
(Rate Per 100,000 Population)

Year	Idaho		Custer County	
	No.	Rate	No.	Rate
1982	NA	NA	NA	NA
1981	6,770	705.9	19	500.0
1980	6,596	698.8	5	129.9
1979	6,449	712.6	13	393.9
1978	6,356	723.9	11	333.3
1977	6,013	701.6	8	242.4
1976	5,699	685.8	16	484.8
1975	5,203	633.7	0	00.0
1974	4,808	601.8	0	00.0
1973	4,341	563.8	4	133.3
1972	3,847	509.5	8	266.7
1971	3,664	497.8	0	00.0
1970	3,612	506.6	3	101.1

Source: Idaho Department of Health and Welfare
Western Analysis, Inc.

STATE OF MONTANA
NUMBER AND RATE OF TRAFFIC ACCIDENTS
(Rate Per 100,000 Population)

Year	All Accidents	Rate Per 100,000 Population	Fatal Accidents	Rate Per 100,000 Population	Accidents City Streets & County Roads	Rate Per 100,000 Population
1982	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
1981	21,310	2,694.1	289	36.5	7,786	984.3
1980	21,359	2,715.1	276	35.1	8,330	1,058.9
1979	22,474	2,859.3	275	35.0	8,846	1,125.4
1978	24,138	3,074.9	234	29.8	9,725	1,238.9
1977	21,705	2,852.2	261	34.3	8,340	1,095.9
1976	19,737	2,621.1	249	33.1	7,677	1,019.5
1975	18,738	2,505.1	248	33.2	7,388	987.7
1974	15,760	2,144.2	247	33.6	6,219	846.1
1973	15,788	2,189.7	273	37.9	5,832	809.9
1972	16,262	2,261.8	313	43.5	6,311	877.7

Source: Montana Department of Justice
Western Analysis, Inc.

DEER LODGE COUNTY
NUMBER AND RATE OF TRAFFIC ACCIDENTS
(Rate Per 100,000 Population)

Year	All Accidents	Rate Per 100,000 Population	Fatal Accidents	Rate Per 100,000 Population	Accidents City Streets & County Roads	Rate Per 100,000 Population
1982	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
1981	183	1,525.0	1	8.3	56	466.7
1980	204	1,629.1	2	16.0	62	495.3
1979	230	1,755.7	4	30.5	95	725.2
1978	237	1,705.0	1	7.2	98	705.0
1977	262	1,832.2	4	28.0	91	636.4
1976	255	1,746.6	4	27.4	107	732.9
1975	273	1,796.1	5	32.9	110	723.7
1974	244	1,615.9	5	33.1	118	781.5
1973	183	1,158.2	4	25.3	72	455.7
1972	181	1,138.4	6	37.7	67	421.4

Source: Montana Department of Justice
Western Analysis, Inc.

LINCOLN COUNTY
NUMBER AND RATE OF TRAFFIC ACCIDENTS
(Rate Per 100,000 Population)

Year	All Accidents	Rate Per 100,000 Population	Fatal Accidents	Rate Per 100,000 Population	Accidents City Streets & County Roads	Rate Per 100,000 Population
1982	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
1981	421	2,365.2	6	33.7	190	1,067.4
1980	451	2,540.6	2	11.3	219	1,233.6
1979	499	2,819.2	3	16.9	241	1,361.6
1978	537	3,140.4	3	17.5	253	1,479.5
1977	374	2,239.5	4	24.0	191	1,143.7
1976	365	2,225.6	4	24.4	160	975.6
1975	373	2,360.8	4	25.3	154	974.7
1974	327	1,923.5	6	35.3	132	776.5
1973	396	2,237.3	10	56.5	144	813.6
1972	366	2,033.3	5	27.8	124	688.9

Source: Montana Department of Justice
Western Analysis, Inc.

RICHLAND COUNTY
NUMBER AND RATE OF TRAFFIC ACCIDENTS
(Rate Per 100,000 Population)

Year	All Accidents	Rate Per 100,000 Population	Fatal Accidents	Rate Per 100,000 Population	Accidents City Streets & County Roads	Rate Per 100,000 Population
1982	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
1981	601	4,808.0	9	72.0	204	1,632.0
1980	449	3,667.4	6	49.0	177	1,445.7
1979	339	3,026.8	4	35.7	105	937.5
1978	260	2,407.4	3	27.8	90	833.3
1977	229	2,245.1	3	29.4	82	803.9
1976	218	2,116.5	4	38.8	85	825.2
1975	167	1,721.6	1	10.3	77	793.8
1974	178	1,798.0	1	30.3	75	757.6
1973	151	1,556.7	2	20.6	56	577.3
1972	203	2,071.4	3	30.6	81	826.5

Source: Montana Department of Justice
Western Analysis, Inc.

ROSEBUD COUNTY
NUMBER AND RATE OF TRAFFIC ACCIDENTS
(Rate Per 100,000 Population)

Year	All Accidents	Rate Per 100,000 Population	Fatal Accidents	Rate Per 100,000 Population	Accidents City Streets & County Roads	Rate Per 100,000 Population
1982	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
1981	246	2,277.8	4	37.0	105	972.2
1980	235	2,374.0	4	40.4	106	1,070.8
1979	166	1,711.3	6	61.9	65	670.0
1978	166	1,711.3	7	72.2	67	690.7
1977	169	1,609.5	10	95.2	80	761.9
1976	182	1,838.4	6	60.6	68	686.9
1975	214	2,488.4	9	104.7	66	767.4
1974	193	2,506.5	6	77.9	64	831.2
1973	176	2,666.7	7	106.1	48	727.3
1972	141	2,238.1	2	31.7	35	555.6

Source: Montana Department of Justice
Western Analysis, Inc.

STATE OF IDAHO
NUMBER AND RATE OF TRAFFIC ACCIDENTS
(Rate Per 100,000 Population)

Year	All Accidents	Rate Per 100,000 Population	Fatal Accidents	Rate Per 100,000 Population	Accidents City Streets & County Roads	Rate Per 100,000 Population
1982	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
1981	20,192	2,105.5	256	26.7	4,888	509.7
1980	21,250	2,251.2	285	30.2	5,000	529.69
1979	23,990	2,650.8	285	31.5	6,364	703.2
1978	24,886	2,834.4	280	31.9	6,488	739.0
1977	23,177	2,704.4	280	32.7	6,606	770.8
1976	19,948	2,400.5	236	28.4	4,471	538.0
1975	25,397	3,093.4	238	29.0	8,592	1,046.5
1974	23,028	2,882.1	281	35.2	5,869	734.5
1973	22,985	2,985.1	279	36.2	5,480	711.7
1972	24,306	3,219.3	298	39.5	5,808	769.3
1971	26,007	3,533.6	272	37.0	7,544	1,025.0
1970	23,958	3,360.0	276	38.7	4,355	610.8

Source: Idaho Highway Patrol
Western Analysis, Inc.

CUSTER COUNTY, IDAHO
NUMBER AND RATE OF TRAFFIC ACCIDENTS
(Rate Per 100,000 Population)

Year	All Accidents	Rate Per 100,000 Population	Fatal Accidents	Rate Per 100,000 Population	Accidents City Streets & County Roads	Rate Per 100,000 Population
1982	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
1981	166	4,368.4	5	131.6	62	1,631.6
1980	115	3,397.3	3	88.6	38	1,122.6
1979	133	4,030.3	3	90.9	47	1,424.2
1978	118	3,575.8	4	121.2	36	1,090.9
1977	114	3,454.5	2	60.6	38	1,151.5
1976	136	4,121.2	3	90.9	56	1,696.7
1975	147	4,454.5	2	60.6	61	1,848.5
1974	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
1973	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
1972	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA

Source: Idaho Highway Patrol
Western Analysis, Inc.

DEER LODGE COUNTY
VEHICLE TRAFFIC
(Average Per Day)

	Site #3[1]	Site #45[2]
1982	NA	NA
1981	NA	1,700
1980	5,790	980
1979	5,110	1,890
1978	5,159	1,843
1977	5,462	1,809
1976	5,371	2,050
1975	5,337	2,061
1974	5,486	1,826
1973	5,354	1,207
1972	5,122	1,195
1971	4,834	1,185
1970	4,759	1,126

[1]Site #3: Approximately two miles east of Anaconda on Highway 10-A, west of junction with Route 48.

[2]Site #45: Approximately four miles west of Anaconda on Highway 10-A.

Source: Montana Department of Highways
Western Analysis, Inc.

LINCOLN COUNTY
VEHICLE TRAFFIC
(Average Per Day)

	Site #6[1]	Site #1[2]	Site #2[3]
1982	NA	NA	NA
1981	2,440	2,280	1,050
1980	NA	1,955	NA
1979	2,085	2,213	1,201
1978	1,941	2,065	NA
1977	1,986	1,989	859
1976	1,722	1,906	790
1975	1,611	2,060	1,048
1974	1,590	2,058	1,058
1973	1,617	2,007	937
1972	1,531	1,941	929
1971	1,608	1,813	951
1970	1,494	1,861	846

[1]Site #6: On Highway 2 west of intersection with Route 202, approximately two miles east of Troy.

[2]Site #1: Approximately two miles west of Libby on Highway 2.

[3]Site #2: Near Loon Lake on Highway 2, midway between Libby and Kalispell.

Source: Montana Department of Highways
Western Analysis, Inc.

RICHLAND COUNTY
VEHICLE TRAFFIC
(Average Per Day)

	Site #2[1]	Site #8[2]	Site #1[3]	Site #15[4]
1982	2,950	9,180	1,820	670
1981	3,510	9,930	2,310	1,050
1980	2,560	9,280	1,640	985
1979	2,070	7,798	1,722	NA
1978	2,090	7,130	NA	349
1977	1,760	6,570	NA	343
1976	1,786	5,960	1,150	229
1975	1,538	4,244	1,250	152
1974	1,750	3,715	1,100	163
1973	1,881	4,430	1,060	81
1972	1,809	4,114	1,010	78
1971	1,963	4,100	1,025	101
1970	2,060	4,183	986	106

[1]Site #2: One-half mile south of Fairview on Route 200.

[2]Site #8: Near south city limit of Sidney on Route 16.

[3]Site #1: South of Savage on Route 16.

[4]Site #15: East of Sidney at North Dakota Border on Route 23.

Source: Montana Department of Highways
Western Analysis, Inc.

ROSEBUD COUNTY
VEHICLE TRAFFIC
(Average Per Day)

	Site #1[1]	Site #2[2]	Site #4[3]	Site #14[4]	Site #3[5]
1982	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
1981	2,725	3,150	3,190	1,390	3,080
1980	2,320	2,620	2,625	1,186	2,570
1979	2,571	2,494	2,560	807	NA
1978	NA	3,075	3,166	734	902
1977	3,072	3,073	2,359	912	983
1976	2,200	2,656	2,941	1,078	1,507
1975	2,237	2,768	2,758	1,185	1,759
1974	2,223	2,493	2,824	830	1,282
1973	2,134	2,513	2,640	661	1,357
1972	1,982	2,236	2,320	435	610
1971	1,787	1,912	2,097	300	307
1970	1,582	1,622	NA	258	230

[1]Site #1: On I-90 about three miles west of junction with Route 315.

[2]Site #2: On I-90 about three miles east of junction with Route 315.

[3]Site #4: On I-90 approximately one mile east of Forsyth.

[4]Site #14: On Route 315 approximately two miles south of I-90.

[5]Site #3: On Route 315 at Colstrip just north of main exit to community.

Source: Montana Department of Highways
Western Analysis, Inc.

CUSTER COUNTY, IDAHO
VEHICLE TRAFFIC
(Average Per Day)

	Site #1[1]	Site #2[2]	Site #3[3]	Site #4[4]
1982	NA	NA	NA	NA
1981	1,350	1,440	800	750
1980	1,100	1,200	650	670
1979	1,150	1,210	650	670
1978	1,090	1,150	650	720
1977	1,040	1,220	590	720
1976	1,040	1,220	650	590
1975	990	1,170	620	540
1974	940	1,120	520	590
1973	940	940	550	550
1972	940	990	530	550
1971	360	970	520	550
1970	800	990	540	550

[1]Site #1: Highway 93 north of Challis City limits.

[2]Site #2: Highway 93 south of Challis City limits.

[3]Site #3: Highway 93 southeast of junction with Route 75.

[4]Site #4: Route 75 between Challis and Clayton.

Source: Idaho Department of Highways
Western Analysis, Inc.

NUMBER AND RATE OF DISTRICT COURT CASE FILINGS
SELECTED COUNTIES AND MONTANA
(Rate Per 100,000 Population)

Year	Montana		Deer Lodge County		Lincoln County		Richland County		Rosebud County	
	No.	Rate	No.	Rate	No.	Rate	No.	Rate	No.	Rate
1982	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
1981	32,393	4,095.2	523	4,358.3	680	3,820.2	714	5,712.0	411	3,805.6
1980	31,345	3,984.4	341	2,724.1	674	3,796.8	536	4,378.0	344	3,475.1
1979	30,556	3,887.5	527	4,022.9	530	2,994.4	469	4,137.5	295	3,041.2
1978	29,278	3,729.7	444	3,194.2	611	3,573.1	348	3,222.2	340	3,505.2
1977	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
1976	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
1975	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
1974	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
1973	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA

Source: Montana Supreme Court
Western Analysis, Inc.

NUMBER AND RATE OF DISTRICT COURT CASE FILINGS
CUSTER COUNTY AND IDAHO
(Rate Per 100,000 Population)

Year	Idaho		Custer County	
	No.	Rate	No.	Rate
1982	NA	NA	NA	NA
1981	9,892	1,031.5	76	2,000.0
1980	11,151	1,181.3	36	1,063.5
1979	11,059	1,222.0	63	1,909.1
1978	11,274	1,284.1	25	757.6
1977	11,263	1,314.2	38	1,151.5
1976	12,906	1,553.1	36	1,090.9
1975	NA	NA	NA	NA
1974	16,332	2,044.1	57	1,727.3
1973	18,133	2,354.9	63	2,100.0

Source: Idaho Supreme Court
Western Analysis, Inc.

NUMBER AND RATE OF JUVENILE PROBATION CASES
SELECTED COUNTIES AND MONTANA
(Rate Per 100,000 Population)

Year	Montana		Deer Lodge County		Lincoln County		Richland County		Rosebud County	
	No.	Rate	No.	Rate	No.	Rate	No.	Rate	No.	Rate
1982	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
1981	5,393	681.8	211	1,758.3	101	567.4	90	720.0	90	833.3
1980	5,655	718.8	252	2,013.1	144	811.2	74	604.4	84	848.5
1979	4,994	635.4	427	3,259.5	97	548.0	80	714.3	105	1,082.5
1978	4,101	522.4	3	21.5	133	777.8	3	27.9	84	866.0
1977	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
1976	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
1975	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
1974	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
1973	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
1972	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
1971	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
1970	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA

Source: Montana Department of Justice
Western Analysis, Inc.

NUMBER AND RATE OF JUVENILE PROBATION CASES
CUSTER COUNTY AND IDAHO
(Rate Per 100,000 Population)

Year	Idaho		Custer County	
	No.	Rate	No.	Rate
1982	NA	NA	NA	NA
1981	8,692	906.4	25	657.9
1980	7,091	751.2	19	561.3
1979	7,239	799.9	17	515.2
1978	6,934	789.7	20	606.1
1977	7,147	834.0	30	909.1
1976	7,024	845.2	39	1,181.8
1975	6,634	808.0	19	575.8
1974	7,098	888.4	7	212.1
1973	NA	NA	NA	NA
1972	NA	NA	NA	NA
1971	NA	NA	NA	NA
1970	NA	NA	NA	NA

Source: Idaho Department of Justice
Western Analysis, Inc.

EXPENDITURES

PER CAPITA CITY AND COUNTY LAW ENFORCEMENT EXPENDITURES
(Nominal $ and Inflation Adjusted)[1]

Year	Deer Lodge County		Lincoln County		Richland County		Posebud County		Custer County, Id.	
	Nominal $	Inflation Adjusted	Nominal $	Inflation Adjusted	Nominal $	Inflation Adjusted	Nominal $	Inflation Adjusted	Nominal $	Inflation Adjusted
1982[2]	$59	$27	$104	$47	$113	$51	$135	$61	NA	NA
1981	57	27	95	45	77	37	124	59	$109	$51
1980	58	31	88	48	60	32	100	54	90	50
1979	55	32	69	41	49	29	155	91	94	55
1978	92	59	87	55	42	27	94	60	68	43
1977	99	68	80	55	76	52	74	51	44	30
1976	66	48	56	41	37	27	69	50	38	28
1975	57	44	56	43	35	27	59	45	43	33
1974	48	41	51	43	30	25	46	39	33	28
1973	35	33	39	36	23	21	35	33	25	24
1972	37	37	34	34	24	24	28	28	14	14
1971	33	35	30	32	23	24	27	29	18	19
1970	29	33	26	29	20	23	20	23	17	19

[1]Implicit price deflation for state and local services 1972 = 100.
[2]Estimated

Source: Montana Department of Administration
Custer County, Idaho, Clerk's Office
Challis, Idaho, City Clerk's Office
Western Analysis, Inc.

PER CAPITA CITY AND COUNTY COURT EXPENDITURES
(Nominal $ and Inflation Adjusted)[1]

Year	Deer Lodge County		Lincoln County		Richland County		Rosebud County		Custer County, Id.	
	Nominal $	Inflation Adjusted	Nominal $	Inflation Adjusted	Nominal $	Inflation Adjusted	Nominal $	Inflation Adjusted	Nominal $	Inflation Adjusted
1982[2]	$18	$ 8.1	$26	$11.8	$15	$6.8	$24	$10.8	NA	NA
1981	21	10.0	21	10.0	12	5.7	24	11.4	$22	$10.4
1980	21	11.4	21	11.4	9	4.9	20	10.8	14	7.6
1979	18	10.6	18	10.6	9	5.3	15	8.8	12	7.1
1978	11	7.0	17	10.8	9	5.7	16	10.2	13	8.3
1977	12	8.2	13	8.9	9	6.2	16	11.0	7	4.8
1976	9	6.6	8	5.8	8	5.8	22	16.1	8	5.8
1975	7	5.4	7	5.4	7	5.4	11	8.5	8	6.2
1974	5	4.2	5	4.2	6	5.1	8	6.8	7	5.9
1973	4	3.7	3	2.8	4	3.7	6	5.6	7	6.5
1972	3	3.0	3	3.0	3	3.0	5	5.0	6	6.0
1971	3	3.2	3	3.2	3	3.2	5	5.3	7	7.4
1970	3	3.4	3	3.4	3	3.4	5	5.7	6	6.8

[1] Implicit price deflator for state and local services 1972 = 100.
[2] Estimated

Source: Montana Department of Administration
Custer County, Idaho, Clerk's Office
Challis, Idaho, City Clerk's Office
Western Analysis, Inc.

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