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A STUDY OF CAMPBELL COUNTY WYOMING WITH SPECIAL EMPHASIS
ON THE SOCIAL IMPACT OF COAL DEVELOPMENT

By

James A. Devitt

B.A., Carroll College, 1964

Presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

UNIVERSITY OF MONTANA

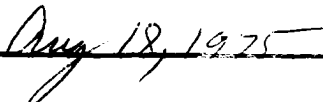
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I want to express extreme gratitude to those people who, in different ways, helped me with this study. I want to especially thank Dr. Frank Bessac for his patience with me, and Dr. Ray Gold for teaching me so much about research, and also Dr. Katherine Weist for her suggestions.

I want to thank my wife, Sheila, for her confidence and trust, and, lastly, special appreciation to the residents of Campbell County who gave their time.

Devitt, James A., M.A., August 1975

Anthropology

A Study of Campbell County Wyoming with Special Emphasis on the Social Impact of Coal Development (104pp.)

Director: Dr. Frank Bessac *FB.*

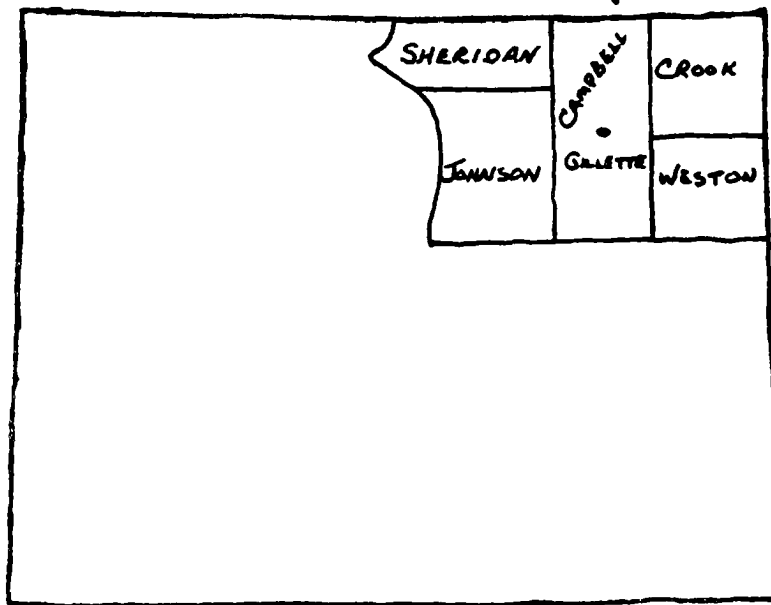
In this study social impact is defined as the effect local residents are experiencing and anticipate experiencing, how their life style and social institutions are changing due to the industrialization of the area. It is the central thesis of the study that Gillette is prepared for a coal boom in ways other small communities in the western coal areas are not because of her previous experience with an oil boom and especially because of the newcomers who are more willing to accept change than the old-timers and who are prepared to plan for the future in ways the old-timers are not.

This is an ethnographic study. Several different categories of people were identified and interviewed to understand how they are differently affected by the present coal development. More than one hundred interviews were conducted over an eight-month period.

One of the major conclusions reached is that a boom town such as Gillette is able to keep much of its traditional Western integrity by attracting Western people to good-paying jobs and by converting many of those who come from outside the region to its Western, small-town values. Because of this, and because the newcomers have a wide range of experience, decisions will be made locally to both plan for and control her growth. The local planning and control will come not from the old-time residents, but from the newcomers who want to make their town the best possible and see ways of doing so.

A MAP OF CAMPBELL COUNTY AND SURROUNDING COUNTIES

STUDY AREA



WYOMING

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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

Campbell County, Wyoming, and the city of Gillette are currently undergoing drastic changes in their social structure, political makeup, community relations, economic basis, and especially in the people's attitude toward change. The changes have been brought about over the past twelve years by various phases and kinds of energy development. Campbell County experienced a tremendous oil boom from the early 1960's to 1970 that nearly tripled the population of Gillette and its outer limits. The oil boom has stabilized, and now the area is in the beginning stages of a new boom created by coal resource development.

The changes mentioned were strongly resisted by the local residents all during the oil boom. One thing that couldn't be resisted or slowed down was the rapid increase in population, and the problems that came with this growth had to be handled as well as could be considering the speed of the influx of people and the limited resources available to handle the problems. The locals remained in control of the social, political, and economic institutions during these years and developed a "laissez-faire" attitude about the means of handling change and its accompanying problems.

The oil boom brought many newcomers to a town that had seen very slow growth and little change since its beginning.

Many of the newcomers were transient, as they followed the oil rigs to the different oil fields around the western states. Gradually more and more of the newcomers became permanent until the number of socially and politically active newcomers equaled and finally outnumbered the old-time locals. In the early 1970's, the population stabilized with the stabilization of the oil activity, but coal development began and, by 1974, every indication showed that Gillette and Campbell County would experience a new growth that would far overshadow that growth which accompanied the oil boom. Already many newcomers associated with coal development were moving into town.

It is the thesis of this paper that Campbell County is uniquely prepared for a coal boom because of its experience in already going through an oil boom and, especially, because the area's newcomers, who are now in political control, are willing and able to take the measures necessary to handle the coming problems in a way the old-time residents never were.

This is an ethnographic study, depicting how the people in Campbell County view the coal development and how they believe it will affect their lives and life styles. Ethnographic research allows the researcher to get to know a community as the members of that community know it. It allows the researcher to understand the relationships that hold between members of a society as those society members perceive them. If a researcher can see how members of a society see

their relations with each other and define their roles within that society, then he comes to know the society as members themselves know it. He knows it from the inside looking out, not having imposed any preconceived views on the attitudes and relationships of the society or societies he is studying. The researcher sees how people view themselves in relation to others in their society by what he hears them saying and sees them doing.

A working definition of society is an intimately associated group of people who take each other into account in day-to-day decision making processes.¹ By this definition, the number of people in a society would usually not be more than 20 or so. These are by no means formally organized associations with strictly defined goals, but are groups whose members feel a great deal of commonality and know the roles played by all members. Within each society the status of each member will also be known whereas it may not be known or recognized in the larger community.

The network of people and societies, all relating in one way or another to each other, or perhaps not relating as the case may be, all defining their particular situations in particular ways, all acting so as to be recognized as members of certain societies, makes up the community.

In order to recognize and delineate societies and communities, the ethnographer has to rely on the way his informants, the members of these societies and communities, define

them. He has to come to know them as the members do. However, for the purposes of a specific study that has specific research goals, the researcher must construct a framework around which to organize his data. For this reason, I present my data in terms of categories of people who may well cut across societal and community boundaries. These categories are not at all evident to the casual observer of a community, nor are they evident to the members of the community. Some categories of people remain obscure to all those around them, even to the ethnographer. For this reason, there will likely be some categories of people in the communities covered in this report that shall not have been described or even discovered. After very little time in the area, a trained observer would notice one large category, ranchers for example, but it would take much interviewing to discover that there are several divisions within this category based on the differing attitudes and values of the ranchers. Likewise, one finds different categories of businessmen in Gillette.

There should be no confusion between society and category. There are many societies within the ranching and business communities, but they are not interchangeable with categories. A society is defined by the informants, a category by the researcher.

Before going on to talk more about the purpose of this study, I would like to say something about inductive research

in general and how it lends itself to this type of study. The inductive method presupposes that one lets the data gathered generate hypotheses and theory, that the theory be "grounded" in the empirical data, as opposed to logico-deductive research which is most often aimed at validating or verifying logically deduced "grand theories."² Empirical data is the basis of inductive research, and from the data comes the hypotheses and theory that can then be tested and statistically validated by further deductive research.

The data of ethnographic research comes from the informants within the society or community being studied. Informants are traditionally chosen because of their status within their society or community, because of their membership within different groups or categories of people--i.e., the roles they play, or because they have special knowledge of a particular problem the ethnographer is interested in.

In the inductive method, the question of statistically sampling a population doesn't arise, for one isn't concerned with establishing what percentage thinks this way or that, but with validating the data that has been gathered from the informants. What is important is that a clear picture of the society or community is arrived at and that can often be done by using a relatively few informants. One should guard against obtaining an "emic-emic" view of a community by making sure that informants are obtained from the different categories of

people within a society and community. From this a composite view of the "social reality" will be obtained.

One of the purposes of this study was to determine people's attitudes toward coal development and how their attitudes were affecting their actions toward it and how they felt coal development would affect their lives and life styles. By being a participant-observer in the communities of the study area, I was both actively and passively engaged in the communities, by interviewing people and by observing from a distance, and, from the empirical data gathered, I was able to arrive at hypotheses concerning the effect of coal development on the people. Such things as social values and social roles, economic outlook, and length of residency of people in the study area generally help determine their attitude toward coal development. The contents of this study were organized around the attitudes of the people interviewed and presented in terms of the different categories of people present.

The material presented in this study is taken from a larger study, a social impact study of coal development done for the Northern Great Plains Resource Program. It was gathered from November 1973 to May 1974. The study area was southeastern Montana and northeastern Wyoming, but the material herein deals only with Campbell County and Gillette, Wyoming. I was a member of the research team from the Institute for Social Science Research at the University of Montana which had contracted with the Northern Great Plains Resource Program to do this research.

The Northern Great Plains Resource Program is a federal study group made up of representatives of the Department of Agriculture, the Department of the Interior, and the Environmental Protection Agency and representatives from the states of Montana, Wyoming, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Nebraska. It is the duty of this group to study the results of large-scale coal development in the Fort Union Formation of the high plains. This formation covers much of eastern Montana and Wyoming and all of North Dakota west of the Missouri River and contains a large percentage of all the strippable coal in the United States. The Northern Great Plains Resource Program was formed in early 1973 and meetings were held monthly at different places throughout the five states in which the program management team, made up of the representatives of the three federal agencies and the five states, directed the general scope of the research in all the areas of anticipated and known impact on both the natural environment and the human environment. The Institute for Social Science Research reported to the Socio-Economic Work Group of the Northern Great Plains Resource Program. The final report was submitted to them in June, 1974.

What is social impact and what is a social impact study? This study's purpose is to relate in terms of the people being affected how a particular occurrence or series of occurrences makes itself felt on the residents of a community. The

occurrence is large-scale coal development coming on the heels of an oil boom and the resultant increase in population, change in tax structure and economic picture in general, housing shortage and overcrowding, service delivery problems faced by the city such as water and sewage, labor problems, and numerous other changes and problems. It is how residents see these things are affecting or will affect their lives and social relationships that I call social impact. People have to make new judgments concerning their social relationships, values, and roles in light of the fact that there are new variables to take into account, variables they often find they have little control over. Some of the old relationships break down; new decisions must be made, often with very little information or time. New decisions will, of course, create a new social situation. One can envision rapidly changing situations with new decisions based on new and more complete information on the coal activity. In short, this is and will be a period of flux in the study area. Old assumptions no longer work although not all people are willing nor able to accept this. This period of flux, then, is also a period of conflict. The conflict is between the old way, the way of life people are accustomed to, and the new way that many recognize must be followed if the area is going to cope with the impact of coal development.

Campbell County, Wyoming, had already undergone a major change from its rural makeup and outlook by 1973. This was

almost totally due to the oil boom that had begun in the early 1960's and continued growing until 1970. Beginning at approximately that time, talk of developing the tremendous coal resources of the county became widespread, and there was already some activity to indicate that it would actually happen.

I entered the study area with my family in November of 1973 and lived there as a participant-observer until July of 1974. During this eight-month period, I came into contact with hundreds of people, both informally and through formal interviews. I also participated in several of the community activities, especially those dealing with coal development such as rancher-organized group meetings discussing the attendant problems of development, locally sponsored impact hearings, energy company information meetings, and government planning meetings. I also became friends with several of the local people who invited me and my wife to their parties, to their homes for dinner and to other local functions.

Upon arriving in Gillette, I first contacted some of the local government officials both for reasons of accessibility and protocol. They immediately suggested leading citizens who should be interviewed. Some of these were from the news media; most were prominent local businessmen. The first few weeks were spent interviewing businessmen and other governmental service officials. It became immediately recognizable that much opinion in the city leaned toward favoring some development. It became necessary then to actively search out

individuals or groups who would express a divergent point of view, necessary to test the validity and acceptance of such a viewpoint. This led to contact and interviews with the ranching community, which often expressed many reservations about coal development. This is given as an example of the process of seeking all viewpoints.

In a very short time it became possible to understand the main concerns of many groups of people in Campbell County. After identifying these, I attempted to find which issues were of most concern and how the concerns differed from group to group. Often it was necessary to interview many more representatives in one group than in another in order to substantiate opinions. In larger groups such as businessmen or ranchers, I often found such divergent viewpoints that it became evident that I was talking to sub-groups. For example, there were both newcomer and old-timer businessmen and ranchers who had sold to coal companies and those who hadn't.

In interviewing and associating with persons of very divergent views on coal development, such as industrial representatives and representatives of anti-development organizations, it was very important for me not to become identified with either group if I were to maintain trust and neutrality. At the same time, it was necessary to attempt to contact all the groups in the community. These emerged as people who were interviewed revealed their associations and concerns. Categories

of interest and concern also emerged as more and more individuals were interviewed and identified. Reality checks were constantly carried out and were a vital part in insuring the data were correct. The process of ethnographic research allowed me to become intimately knowledgeable of the way of life in Campbell County. In this sense, the findings presented indicate the closest approximation of reality as the residents of this area know it.³

It should be pointed out that at the time the research was done the actions that people were taking in regards to the development were neither well defined nor well coordinated, seemingly based on their past experience with oil development which they often equated with the coming coal development. The most obvious action was on the part of the ranchers, several of whom were selling their land to coal companies. Often their attitudes about coal development on the land that they had often grown up on and made a living on was not congruent with their selling and allowing the development to take place. Some of the city and county governmental officials expressed a desire to see coal development, but their planning actions were based on a completely different set of circumstances, namely the oil boom of the 1960's and early 1970's. A study with some time depth will be necessary to document a change in attitude in the area, although, in the relatively short time this research was carried out, I did observe some change in

attitude toward coal development. It would also be necessary to return at some later time to see if there is a change in the relationship of stated attitude to observed action. In other words, will people still be saying one thing and doing another or will there be some point when people's actions toward development will directly reflect their attitudes?

Approximately one hundred interviews were conducted; other data were collected from conversations with various people and from attending the various meetings already mentioned. The interviews were always open-ended allowing the informant to discuss any aspect of his community that he thought was important. I attempted to direct the informant to put this information in terms of the social impact of coal development on the informant and on his community. The interviews took anywhere from one-half hour to three or four hours, depending upon the informant. Some informants proved to be very astute observers of their social situation; others were less willing or less able to analyze their lives in such terms. I often contacted some informants again and again as I had more questions to ask them or wanted to check out what other people had told me against their interpretation of a particular. There was also the need to check my own conclusions with my informants as I formed them.

I have said the interviews were open-ended. This doesn't mean they were nondirected. I always had many questions I asked a person. My previous interviews taught me what questions

to ask, and also what questions not to ask--e.g., don't ask a rancher how many cattle he has. By asking other informants about a point someone had brought up, I could test how many others felt this way or interpreted something in their social situation the same way. This would then become a means of isolating social categories. The viewpoints of others in the same category would most often be the same. Conversely, all those whose interpretation was the same could be placed in the same social category. Cross-checking among the informants was the only means of validating my data. It was also the only means of discovering what the people felt was important and what was not. Keep in mind, this study is an attempt to depict the social setting and the social impact of coal development in the study area as the residents there interpret it.

However, there is a real and an ideal interpretation of most social situations and not often will informants distinguish between the two; in fact they rarely do. Therefore, I will try to point out which interpretation is given when it seems appropriate and try to show the difference between the two.

The social situation in any community is dynamic. Change takes place at different rates and at different times and is caused by a variety of factors. Introduction of new technology and changing economic situations have had a tremendous impact on the way of life of residents in the study area in the last 20 years. Just a few examples will be enough to

illustrate. Much of Campbell County outside the city of Gillette has had electricity for only the last 20 years, in many cases the last 15 years. With this and the acquisition of new electrical appliances, especially television, many patterns of social behavior in the ranching communities, such as neighboring and dances, have begun to fade. Even better roads and four-wheel drive vehicles have made ranchers less dependent on each other. The oil boom that began in Campbell County in the early 1960's had a tremendous impact on Gillette, both socially and economically. It changed that sleepy cow-town of 3,500 people into a bustling oil center of over 10,000. The social impact of that activity is still being felt. Imagine the social impact of coal related activity that could potentially triple the population of Gillette alone by 1980! By some estimations, Gillette could be the largest city in Wyoming in ten years. The efforts being taken by Gillette to alleviate the problems caused by the oil boom are seen by some as the only efforts needed to prepare for a huge influx of people needed to construct and maintain the coal facilities to be built in Campbell County. Many see the coal development to be a simple extension of the oil activity. Others, and they are fewer, foresee their town and way of life changed so drastically that they can't imagine themselves remaining a part of it. They feel that the forces of change will be so great there will be no controlling them.

They feel that the social impact of so many people coming to work and live in this sparsely populated area of Wyoming will be too much for them to comprehend.

Rapid change and periods of conflict are evident now in the study area. Conflict arises within individuals and social categories and also between social groups. The conflict between the ranching community and the oil workers that came with the oil boom has been partly resolved over time. The same can be said for the conflict between the townspeople and businessmen of Gillette and the oil workers. So Gillette has already gone through one period of conflict, and people realize this and say things are changing. They also point out that with the tremendous influx of construction workers expected to arrive to work on the new mines and generating plant, there will be more conflict of interest.

Social impact is these things and more. This study attempts to show what individuals, groups, and social organizations are doing to prepare themselves for the changes they know are coming. Some are hanging to the old ways even more strongly, but this is an attempt to prepare. Some are denying the need to prepare, even the possibility that much will happen, and on the other hand the observer is aware of a tremendous rush of activity by those who hope to stay ahead of the change. Some groups are trying hard to slow down or stop coal development, and others are putting much effort

into preparing the community for what they think will happen. And, of course, others are actively promoting and encouraging coal development.

CHAPTER II

GILLETTE

Gillette is the only town in Campbell County, Wyoming, and is located almost in the center of that large and imposing county. The county is the second largest in Wyoming extending 100 miles from the Montana line in the north to the Converse County line in the south. It is almost 50 miles from east to west with Crook and Weston Counties on the east and Johnson and Sheridan Counties sharing its western boundary. Southern Campbell County is what the ranchers call "short grass country," the type of grazing land that sheep are well adapted to. The northern half of the county is "tall grass country," typified by the land in the Little Powder River drainage. This is cattle country. Vegetation is sparse, and it is classified as semi-arid with an annual rainfall of about 12 inches. It takes almost 40 acres of land to support one cow. The southern half of the county is drained by the Belle Fourche River and the tributaries of the Cheyenne River. Some wheat farming is now being done, but it remains only a marginal operation.

Gillette was established first as a tent city in the 1890's when the railroad finally pushed that far west. The first carloads of cattle were being shipped out within a week after the railroad's arrival. Gillette became a coal-ing and watering stop for the steam locomotives as they went

from the Black Hills to Sheridan. Coal was plentiful, but a major diversion effort was needed to bring water. Donkey Creek was dammed and diverted a few miles south, and a canal was dug to an old dry lake bed. This lake served for several years as a source of water for the locomotives and a watering place for the herds of cattle that were trailed in from all parts of the country for shipment east. Drinking water for the local residents had to be shipped in in barrels. Gillette grew as a half-way stopping place on the railroad and also a cattle shipping center. A few stores which sprang up to supply the needs of the ranches were eventually followed by houses, a bank, school and churches. Gillette had a population of 2,200 people in 1950, and there were 4,800 people in all of Campbell County. By 1960 Gillette had grown to 3,500 people with approximately the same number of rural residents in the rest of the county as there had been in 1950. Up until this time Gillette remained the shopping and business center of Campbell County. Its economy was derived almost totally from agriculture. Other than some small scale uranium and oil prospecting and one operating coal mine and steam generating plant, there was no mineral activity. Gillette was a cow town and didn't envision itself as being anything else.

Cattle operations began in the 1870's in this part of Wyoming with the trail herds of longhorns coming up from

Texas. A few large outfits established headquarters on the Cheyenne, Belle Fourche, and Powder Rivers and effectively controlled the range land and water all the way to the Montana border. These were the days of open range and of cooperative spring roundups that lasted far into the summer. These were truly the days when a cowboy could ride for days and not see a soul. Some remnants of these large outfits still operate in Campbell County today. The scene began to change with the Homestead Act and the first arrival of homesteaders in the 1890's. They settled the river bottoms, the choicest land, first and began to plow it up and raise a meager crop and a few cattle for their own use. This began breaking up the cattleman's control of the water and, therefore, his control of the range. The homesteader fenced his 160 acres, including the springs and rivers and creeks and denied the cattleman access to it. Of course, the ranch owners themselves gained legal access to much of the good land and water by having their cowboys each file for 160 and the 320 acres and then turn them over to their boss for a small fee. The ranch owners were also able to buy off a few of the homesteaders. But the range land was becoming more and more divided as homesteaders kept coming and taking the poorer and poorer land. The days of open grazing and large outfits with thousands of head of cattle were numbered.

There were ups and downs in homesteading. Some homesteads wouldn't be proved up, the homesteader wouldn't make

the necessary improvements nor stay the required amount of time, and would revert back to free land waiting for another man to take his try at it. Some homesteaders would move on to the mines of Montana and Idaho and desert their claims. If the claims were good ones they might be sold or they would quickly be grabbed up again. During the First World War many young men left for the army. The cattlemen used any land or water that was left. The population of Campbell County kept increasing up until the 1930's when some of the last land in the country was homesteaded. In 1930 the population was 6,700. This dropped sharply and by 1950 there were only 4,800 people in the county. The decline in population correlates directly to the increased average size of the farm and ranch units. From 1935 to 1954 the size increased from 2,300 acres average to 6,500 acres.⁴

During the 1930's essentially all the homesteads disappeared and were incorporated into larger and more prosperous units. This was a result of the drought and depression of these years. There are many tales of homesteaders pulling out and selling their land to a luckier neighbor for 50 cents per acre. Of course, some of the earlier homesteaders were the ones who could stay on and pick up land cheaply. It wasn't only the established ranch owners who were able to tremendously increase the size of their holdings. These more prosperous homesteaders now had enough land to quickly build

up large herds of sheep or cattle, and they were on their way to becoming large and wealthy ranchers. In this manner, in thirty or forty years the ranching industry went full circle, from very large areas controlled by few, to homesteader days with many small operations trying to scratch a living out of very marginal farm land, and back to a consolidation of land holdings that would again support large cattle and sheep outfits.

Then for a few short years, from 1940 to 1960, the face of Campbell County was one of large ranches, ever competing for available land in order to expand their operations. There wasn't much land sold at this time but that which was would quickly be bought by neighbors. Land was selling for \$10 to \$20 per acre, but ranchers could pay this high price because they had gained the bulk of their land at much lower prices. Even today, ranchers figure if they pay \$25 per acre for grazing land it won't pay in their lifetime because it may take 40 acres to run one cow and her calf one year. That's an investment of \$1,000 per cow-calf unit, and it takes a lot of \$3 per acre land to bring that cost down to a profitable operation. Up until 1960 agriculture dominated the economic structure of Campbell County just as ranchers dominated the social structure. Most things evolved around agriculture. Certainly Gillette did.

The term agriculture refers to both ranching and farming; both ranchers and farmers think of themselves as agriculturists.

By far the largest sector of agriculture in Campbell County is ranching, and ranchers enjoy the most prestige. Farmers usually started as less prosperous ranchers who had to till the soil to make a living, and today there are none who are totally dependent upon farming.

The services needed by the agricultural community changed very little in this time and, therefore, Gillette's growth was barely perceptible. The school and bank and churches and bars were the same as they had been. A few new houses were built as ranchers turned the business over to their sons and moved to town. Many preferred to retire in Buffalo or Sheridan or Story. Ranchers controlled the town, and they didn't feel a need for paved streets, lighting nor municipal ordinances. It was a dusty town but people accepted that. Gillette still had board sidewalks in 1950. The banks were for the ranch owners to borrow money in, not for the businessman or home owner. The bars were for the cowboys to drink and fight in. Gillette was an isolated town, and the residents of the county centered their lives there, except for occasional trips to Casper, Sheridan, or Rapid City. It had a reputation of being rowdy. When basketball teams came from Buffalo or Sheridan or Newcastle, they could expect a fight. But Gillette served its people for what they wanted, and they liked it that way.

CHAPTER III
PRELUDE TO COAL

What an Oil Boom Meant to Gillette

Oil exploration had been going on all through the '50's, but there had been nothing but a few minor strikes. Campbell County residents had watched their neighbors in Weston County and Newcastle go through an oil boom, spend large amounts on schools, streets, sewer and water and then abruptly be left with huge debts and inflated housing prices when the boom suddenly busted. In the early '60's three fields came in, one after the other, and Gillette was off on a full-fledged oil boom that was to last ten years before leveling off. In a few short months 50 drilling rigs and crews moved into Hilite fields, Horse Creek, and then Belle Creek. Soon there were 100 rigs going night and day, each with a 15-man crew and each man with his family and belongings in a trailer and often in only a car. They were hoping to find a place to live in Gillette, but there were none. Men slept in their cars, and families lived all summer in tents. Trailer courts sprang up in the muddy fields around Gillette, and every vacant lot and backyard in town acquired trailers. Motels and rooming houses ran three shifts, charging each man \$20 for an eight-hour shift in bed that corresponded to the shift on the rigs. Families rented out their spare bedrooms, and they were gladly received by the oil workers.

The police went up and down Main Street in the morning to wake the men sleeping in their cars. Grocery shelves were stocked Monday and Tuesday morning they were again bare. If anyone needed groceries before the next Monday, he had to drive to Casper or Sheridan. Gillette was inundated and coped as best it could. It was not prepared for this.

Every strike brought more people and more people brought more problems. In ten years the population of Gillette increased from 3,500 to about 10,000. The social turmoil caused can only be recounted by the local residents and the newcomers who have since become permanent residents for there was no ethnographer there to describe it for us. The people coming to work in the oil fields were not like any who moved there before; this soon became apparent. They came from Oklahoma, Utah, Kansas, New Mexico, anywhere there was oil activity. They moved often, following their rigs wherever they went. Gillette wasn't their community, and they didn't intend to make it so. They had their friends that they had worked with before, and they didn't usually care about getting to know the locals. In the bars at night they seemed more intent on making enemies. They had a job to do, and their next one might take them back to New Mexico. In fact, in the winter many did go back to the southern states leaving the rigs short-handed and those men who did stay worked 16-hour shifts seven days a week.

The new people brought their own trailer houses and parked them in the only available places, usually parks that soon became mud in the rain or dust in the dry, criss-crossed with crushed shale or "scorio" roads. They had no land and they didn't know how long they would be there, so they often didn't care how they kept their places up. The oil companies and service companies themselves set up business wherever they could buy or rent a building or put up a temporary shop. They were often as transient as the laborers and would leave town and much of their junked oil equipment behind. Even for the oil field laborers who had seen some rough living conditions, Gillette was more than some could take, and they moved on to places they had been before or to new places. There were complaints of the local businesses trying to gouge them unfairly, from high priced groceries to high priced truck repairs.

Very little communication took place in the early oil boom years between the newcomers and the locals. If the newcomers stayed to themselves and were suspicious and unfriendly so were the locals. People of Gillette had to begin locking their doors when they left home, and ranchers had to keep a better watch on their cattle and property. An unstratified community began to take on a class consciousness. Oil people were definitely of one class and the locals of another. The social problems of a boom town soon became recognized. The police force and sheriff's department both

had to be enlarged, and they still couldn't handle the brawling, drunkenness and thievery. School authorities had difficulty coping not only with overcrowding but also with the nonacceptance of the new children. Divorce and suicide attempts by both the locals and the newcomers put a heavy load on the local ministers and the mental health center. To describe boom-town characteristics, a psychologist from the Northern Wyoming Mental Health Center coined a phrase that spread far and wide, the "Gillette Syndrome."⁵ This syndrome was characterized by the four D's, drunkenness, divorce, depression, and dropouts. He portrayed a typical scenario in the "Gillette Syndrome" as a man who has been working a double shift in the mud all day. He comes home to find his wife who has been shut up in an eight-foot trailer all day with four little kids and nowhere for them to play, doesn't have dinner ready and she starts nagging him. He can't stand the noise, gets furious and hits her and then stomps out to go find his friends at the bar and drink with them until the bar closes. He goes home and sleeps for a few hours and then goes off to work again. His wife becomes depressed and starts drinking herself and possibly considers divorce or suicide.

The physical and social disruption of Gillette was tremendous. But gradually things became better although they never got back to normal. Streets were paved and schools were built, or else school units were moved in. More businesses

were opened in town, and they did very well. Gradually more houses were built, but the huge trailer parks remained, often in the same condition they were at first. Planning boards were established, and they drew up ordinances controlling junk and building and zoning regulations, but these were most often not enforced. The oil people became more involved in the community, and some came to consider Gillette home. They liked the Western atmosphere. People began seeing a need for spending money to improve the town because they realized the oil boom wasn't going away. They voted for school bonds and improvement districts. Gillette's economy was booming, and most of the locals were making more money than they had ever dreamed of. They felt they could do something to improve conditions.

Other things changed too. More and more permanent people were moving in, drawn by the secondary jobs created by the oil activity. Locals began noticing that some oil people had been there for several years now, and friendships began forming. I suppose one could even hear some of the old-timers saying this had been the best thing that ever happened to Gillette. Gradually people began to feel they were getting on top of the situation. There remained, however, the constant movement of many oil field laborers in and out of Gillette and vicinity.

Businessmen

Gillette has always been a good business community, serving a large and almost captive area when roads weren't good enough to drive to Casper or Sheridan in two hours. Up until 1960 it served an almost wholly agricultural community whose needs and demands were not great. As some businessmen put it, they had to cater to the needs of the rancher because it was he whom they had to depend on to stay in business. The mechanic would stop whatever he was doing and fix the rancher's pickup because he lived 40 miles away and only got to town once a month. The rancher didn't need an appointment, and he expected the service when he got to town.

Before television and good roads, the ranchers tried to come to Gillette on Saturdays because they knew they would see their friends there and they could get everything done that they needed. Now some say they try not to go to town unless they absolutely have to because it has changed so much. They have a hard time finding a place to park, and the clerks in the stores act like they don't even know them. They don't get the treatment they used to, and many are resentful of this. Some have even stopped shopping there. The prices are so high and the service so bad they say its cheaper for them to drive to Rapid City or Sheridan. Even if it isn't cheaper they feel that Gillette isn't their town anymore anyway.

Businessmen have made drastic changes. Many have expanded or moved into new locations. Those that haven't are running at full capacity. So far very few big chain stores have moved in to compete with the local stores. Most businessmen agree this will happen, and they will either have to expand to meet the competition or face being driven out of business. The past ten years have been so good that they have the money to expand if they want to meet the high land costs and high materials and construction costs. However, they realize a larger business is a lot more work and brings a lot more headaches and not all are willing to do this. The younger more vigorous businessmen say they will if they can. The older ones may not; they have it made and don't want the extra work. In this situation, then, there is room and opportunity for young businessmen to become established. Some young people are returning to Gillette after being away at school or the service and are taking over their parents' businesses. Most people agree that there is a world of opportunity there for young people and this opportunity should outweigh any aesthetic drawbacks the town may have.

Gillette has a very large and active Jaycee organization. This is indicative of the large number of young businessmen there. The president of the state organization is in business there. They have yearly activities aimed at trying to improve the image of Gillette and in getting young

people involved in cleaning up the town, planting trees, and establishing parks. The newcomers rather than the returnees are the ones more actively involved. It seems this gives them a chance to quickly become involved in the community and gives them a feeling of belonging. In fact, this is one of the purposes of the organization. Another is to prepare the younger men to take over the running and decision-making of the community. One informant said there are certain "Jaycee types" and they tend to be the "power seekers." He questioned whether they could really get very far once they started competing with the established power structure. Not too long after he said this the president of the local Jaycees ran for and was elected mayor of Gillette.

Ranchers

Numerically ranchers make up a minority of the Campbell County population. The 1970 census shows there are 479 ranches and farms and there are probably somewhat less than 2,500 people who would call themselves ranchers. This number also includes the rancher-farmers.

Ranchers portray themselves as independent individualists. They are proud of the ranches they have built up or expanded and feel especially proud if they can say they or their fathers or grandfathers homesteaded there. The few who trace their roots to the first large cattle outfits in the area perhaps feel closest to the area and their way of

life. Space isolates them and makes them strong and self-reliant. It has also forced them to adopt a social pattern of neighboring and helping each other out. Roundup is still a time that neighbors come together and ride for each other. This isn't as widespread today as in the past, but some still do it. There are times of long, hard hours in the saddle, in a branding chute, or behind a baler. But in the winter months, after the cattle or sheep are fed, there isn't much to do but sit around and drink coffee or go over and see your neighbor.

Ranches are generally large and are mostly deeded land in contrast to other areas of Wyoming and Montana where ranchers often lease large tracts of federal, state, or railroad land. In the southern part of Campbell County is the Thunder Basin National Grasslands, administered by the Bureau of Land Management. Several ranchers in this area have leases on this land. Land leased from the federal government has been in the past, and still is, very cheap. It is almost like free grazing land. Some townspeople have resented the fact that the ranchers are able to use this cheap land for their own profit. These people charge that the ranchers themselves have been instrumental in keeping the rental fees so low and that a few ranchers have been able to profit greatly at the expense of the public. On the other hand, some ranchers contend that part of the West should never have been sold by the government, should never have been homesteaded. They contend

that the land should have been initially leased in large blocks to ranchers for the sole purpose of raising cattle and no attempt at farming should have been made.

A rancher with all deeded land will naturally have to pay more taxes than one with half leased land. At one time before the oil boom most of the revenue for Campbell County came from property taxes on ranch land. Ranchers controlled county government, and it was in their interest to keep the tax assessment on their lands down. Campbell County still assesses taxes on land at only 25 percent of its value. This is one reason why the county could never afford to have good roads and paved streets and lighting in Gillette before the oil boom. The county commissioners, representing the views of the ranchers, would not set a high enough mill levy to pay for these improvements.

There is an advantage to owning your own land though, and most of the ranchers in Campbell County profited. They controlled the mineral and oil rights. Even before oil was struck, brokers and oil leasers would lease a rancher's oil rights for a given period of time, usually three or five years, for a certain fee of one or two dollars per acre per year. The ranchers would sign the lease giving him, say, 17 percent of any oil that was discovered. The lease would then be sold to exploration companies, and they would begin drilling. If nothing was found within three years, the option

would be up and the rancher could renegotiate a new lease. In the meantime he might be making from \$5,000 to \$20,000 per year just on his leases. One informant told me he knew a person who was in his eighth three-year lease and they still hadn't found oil on his land. The first leasing and exploration for oil began in the late '40's and early '50's. It intensified right up to the time of the first strikes. One reason they weren't finding oil in the early years was that the drill rigs could only go about 5,000 feet deep, whereas now they go as far as 15,000 feet.

Ranchers complain about the disruption that oil exploration causes in their operations. First of all, they constantly have to watch that testing and seismographic crews don't go on their land without permission. Some of the ranches are so large it is possible to take heavy equipment in, do the testing and get out before the rancher discovers them or sees their tracks some days later. Ranchers charge \$50 per hole for every seismographic test hole drilled. When the rigs come in, new roads have to be cut across the land and the sites have to be bulldozed level and holding ponds dug. Of course, the crews want to build the roads in as straight a line as possible to the site. One rancher said he had been with the crews that were drilling on his land almost constantly for six months to make sure they didn't put a road straight over a hill or make a cut where water run-off would

cause massive erosion. Ranchers are very careful where they drive and make ruts on their land because they know how unstable the soil is and how easily erosion gets started. Nothing makes them madder than to see an oil field hand cut off across his fields on a muddy day. Nothing, that is, unless it's to see one of his cows laying dead beside the road, hit by a truck driving much too fast on the dirt roads; or occasionally to find the entrails and the skin of a cow that had been butchered when the night crew got off.

Ranchers have been prosperous since the '40's. They have come to identify with big business⁶ and tend to run their operations as a business rather than as a way of life. The land in Campbell County is harsh, and few ranchers seem to have a real love of it. Ranching is a way of making a living. It is the only business most of them know. There are some who love what they are doing; they seem truly to be tied to the land and view ranching as a way of life, an end rather than a means. For those who view ranching strictly as a business, the oil boom has enforced that. If they have producing wells or even if they have only leases or are selling water to the drillers, they no longer have to rely solely on ranching for their livelihood. Their oil income takes them easily through the drought or the bad cattle market or the spring storm that kills one-third of their sheep. In other words, the oil has taken them farther from the land and their dependence on it. They have generally profited by the oil activity

and have accommodated to it no matter how much they like to complain about the disruption it has caused.

The oil boom hasn't had the social impact on the ranching community that it has had on Gillette, nor has it had the physical impact. Ranch informants say there isn't as much social activity in their small communities as there once was. They admit that it was beginning to change even before the oil boom. Better roads and television made neighbors less dependent upon each other for entertainment. One informant said that now that people can get places faster and get things done faster, they seem to have less time for each other, only enough time to wave as they zoom by. The joke is that the only time you see your neighbor anymore is when you bump into him in town. One rural community has a hall that everyone got together and built out of logs several years ago. It was the pride of the community, and people even used to come out from Gillette for the dances they held there. Now, one person said, they haven't had a dance or even a 4-H meeting there for quite a few years. When ranchers were less well off financially, they were more dependent on each other than they are now since they have become financially independent. Some point out, though, that roping and bowling, both of which depend on good transportation, are taking the place of the old social activities. There are three distinct and identifiable rural communities in Campbell County, and these

are defined by the people of the communities and they are known throughout the county. They have elementary schools and mail routes and a store or a community building of some sort. Only the members of one seemed to think they retained the close social relationships and carried on the old neighboring patterns. It is in this area that some of the descendants of the oldest ranching families in the county live, those dating back to the days of cattle barons and open grazing. They are also quite closely related by blood and by marriage.

It has been consistently harder to find good ranch hands so ranchers have had to rely more on mechanization. It seems probable that earlier most ranchers of the size found there couldn't operate without the help of two or three hands. So there probably wasn't as much trading off of help at certain times of the year as there may have been a short ways north in Montana. Each ranch was more self-sufficient because it had enough help. Some older men remain hands because this is what they have done all their lives, and this is all they know. A few of the younger hands are committed to cowboying as a way of life and they will stick with it. Others work as ranch hands only until they can find a better job, and better paying jobs are easy to find now. They go to work in the oil fields which suits many young men who have grown up on a farm or ranch because they are used to the hard work.

They put their application in to work in the strip mines. This offers the good money of the oil field but also the protection of a union and 40-hour work weeks. So ranchers in Campbell County have been forced to get by with less and less help. This entails a larger investment in equipment, haying equipment that one man can run, larger tractors, and branding chutes and tables that will enable two men to brand rather than seven or eight. There are now only 27 men employed as ranch hands in all of Campbell County.⁷

Although nearly every rancher can tell of the problems caused him by the oil activity--ruts and roads cut through his land, gates left open and fences run down, speeding traffic on the roads, the necessity of watching his cattle more closely, etc.--most agree that the disruption hasn't been so great that they can no longer carry on their ranching operations. Very few say they wish oil had never been discovered or that it would all just go away tomorrow for most ranchers have profited from it in some way. One older couple did tell me that they owned the oil rights on only 40 acres of their land, and, instead of the exploration company leasing it, they simply put down a well right around the boundary and started pumping. They said they knew all their oil was being pumped out, but they didn't know what they could do about it. A lot of hard feelings have been fostered and, in cases like this one, they will probably remain, but the majority of ranchers no longer begrudge the oil activity.

In all of Campbell County, I heard no one talk with respect about the "roughnecks," the oil field hands, except for some ranchers. They see the roughnecks out there every day of the week, often on 12- and 16-hour shifts, in the mud in the spring, in the 100 degree heat in summer and the -30 degree cold in the winter. They see the physically exhausting and dangerous work they do, carrying 20 foot sections of steel drill stem, handling the heavy equipment and sometimes watching the man standing next to them get killed. Ranchers like to identify with this sort of man, and they respect him for what he does. Like the rancher who had to be out at the rigs day and night for six months in order to protect his land, some of them become friends.

Many young ranchers now have been away to college and have come back to take over the family ranch. They are often somewhat frustrated in their attempts to do things more efficiently and economically, especially if their father is still partially involved and he insists on hanging on to the old way of doing things. Most of the innovations are by younger ranchers, such as water storage and preservation and sage brush control. They are willing to make these investments because they know they will pay off in the long run, and they also know how to get them done. The Soil Conservation Service will pay half the cost of spraying the range for sage brush and more than half for building stock ponds

and water spreading ditches. One young rancher said that his father and a lot of the older ranchers he knew wouldn't do it though because there was too much "government red tape" involved. He said his father has once gone and gotten the forms he would have to fill out to get matching federal money to build some stock dams but that's all the farther he got. Some of the ranchers, though, have been doing these things on their own for years without bothering to go through the Soil Conservation Service.

There are some ranch boys who come back but not to the ranch. They are coming to Gillette with a profession or are entering into business there with no intention of taking over the ranch, at least not until they have complete control of it.

Newcomers and Old-Timers

Before the oil boom, Gillette was a very stable little town. Growth was slow in town and there was a gradual decrease in the rural population. Informants have stated that there was little social stratification, that the banker, the school superintendent, and the man who drove the county road grader all went to the same parties. Everyone was accountable, and if kids were any problem in school the teachers would give the parents a call and they would take care of it. No one locked his doors because there were never any burglaries. If a new person moved into town, the rest of the

community made an effort to make him feel welcome and to make him a part of the community.

I will define newcomers as the local old-timers do, anyone who has moved into town since the oil boom. Newcomers now outnumber old-timers two to one, and many of the newcomers feel that they are permanent residents and that Gillette is as much their town as anyone else's and that they should have just as much say in its future.

Oil activity demands many more people than just the drilling crews. There are service companies like casing and drilling companies, chemical companies, and equipment companies. All these will employ people on a permanent basis as long as the exploration and production of oil continues, and it promises to continue for some time in Campbell County. The production companies that have to do with the pumping and storing and transportation of crude oil and natural gas employ permanent people. And there are also offices for some of the major oil companies in Gillette. In these offices are the managerial people. Besides people employed directly in oil related businesses, there are those who have moved in to take up the jobs in the services that are needed to support a growing population. Many teachers, businessmen, mailmen, professionals, secretaries, etc., are newcomers. These are by and large young people and they are often active and ready to get involved. It is easy for them to get caught up in the fast pace and excitement of the new things that are constantly

happening in Gillette. Often, the ones who come from larger cities go through a sort of culture shock on being thrown into this windy town on the high plains without the comforts, the shopping, and the entertainment they are used to. When they find themselves in the company of so many in the same situation, they don't feel so isolated and complaining often turns into attempts to make this a nicer place to live.

Some of the first newcomers that were interviewed were bitter about the way the locals had excluded them and shunned them. They felt they had been taken advantage of in the stores and no efforts were made to make them feel welcome. Now newcomers say that being accepted by the old-guard no longer makes any difference; in fact they don't even know who the old-guard is. Often their circle of friends has been there no longer than they have.

So the old-timers see themselves losing control of their town. Many cling to the old social relationships and make every effort to keep them as they had been in the past. They say they liked the small town atmosphere of Gillette and hated to see it change as more and more people moved in. Some of the older ones had their future planned; they had enough money saved for retirement. The inflated prices that the oil boom brought has left many older people on fixed incomes or social security with a not too cheery future.

The old-time residents are those who were there before the oil boom. They are the ones who were in business or

were working for someone and in some cases they were people who had ranches but were living in town. Many in this category of people feel that the oil boom offered a new opportunity for their children to stay in Wyoming and have good-paying jobs. They decried the fact that for so many years they paid taxes to educate the children only to see them have to leave the state to get a decent job. Now, they say, their children are talking about staying or are coming back to help them out in their expanded businesses or to get into something for themselves. These same informants like the new vitality and feeling in Gillette and they attribute it to the newcomers with their new ideas and their willingness to work.

There is a general feeling in Gillette that anyone wanting to become involved in anything certainly can. The Chamber of Commerce and the Jaycees are active as are the service clubs like the Lions, Elks, and Rotarians. They all welcome new members and are generally involved in some sort of community activity. The League of Women Voters and the Petroleum Wives' Club are also active. There are several appointed advisory boards like the Hospital Board and the City/County Planning Board. These boards are appointed by the county commissioners. Anyone who expresses his desire or willingness to help on these is usually recruited. Short-term study groups and planning commissions are always seeking the help of people with ideas. One informant said that a newcomer can break into any organization and be accepted "if he shows he is

just as damned independent as the next guy." However, one newcomer said she quit the local theatre guild because the locals insisted on running it and just wouldn't accept ideas from anyone else. If newcomers wanted to belong they could but they couldn't run it. In many other capacities, newcomers are becoming the majority and are more and more often in leadership capacities.

Oil People

As mentioned earlier, oil people can be classified in three groups. The first group includes the laborers, the roughnecks, and the drillers who are responsible for their crew of four men and for running the drilling rig for one shift. The "tool pusher" is the foreman of several drilling rigs, and it is his responsibility to make sure they are kept going and kept in repair. He also has to decide where they will locate after one hole is completed. The driller hires his own crew and usually rounds them up in the morning and drives them to the site. The driller is directly responsible to the tool pusher. The laborers generally see themselves tied to one rig. If it moves out of the county or state they will probably go with it unless they are assured of another job on a rig that is staying. If a driller gets a good crew he tries to keep them together. There is usually a good deal of competition among drillers to see who can go down the farthest in one day or to see who can make a "run" in the

shortest time. (A run is pulling all the pipe out of the hole, putting on a new drill bit, and then putting it back.) If a driller has a good crew, he can get a lot of work done in a day and no one has to work too hard to make up for a man who doesn't know what he is doing. There is also much less chance of an accident, and a driller feels it is his responsibility to protect his crew. All the roughnecks interviewed could relate near misses or times a buddy on the same crew got an arm smashed or was hit on the head by 200 pounds of metal. One former roughneck said the major cause of accidents was guys coming to work drunk and not caring what happened. That is why it's to the driller's advantage to rout his crew out of the bars early.

The attitude of rootlessness among oil workers probably has its basis in the work itself. They never know how long their rig will be in one place, and they must be ready to move their families when the rig moves. One psychologist told me they are the most unprotected and exploited workers he knows. There are no unions in this part of the country. The only reason the pay is good is because they can work so many hours. Before 1974, the hourly wage was only \$4. A roughneck doesn't get paid when his rig is "down"--moving to a new location--and it may sometimes be down for several weeks. If there is a shortage of hands at the time, he can probably get on a different rig. They have to bear the

expense of moving to the new location if it is too far to drive. Some crews were driving 130 miles one way in the winter to locations. The families, of course, have to bear the social expense of moving every year or six months or being fatherless for long periods of time.

There is definitely a social cohesiveness among oil workers, but its basis is not in one's ties to a certain area; rather it is in the dedication to a type of work and a life style. On moving to a new location, a roughneck will undoubtedly find someone he has worked with before and his life will probably be no different than it was in the last town.

During the fall of 1973, the oil workers in Campbell County tried to form an independent union. They failed, because most of the workers didn't want to have the restrictions of a union, but they did win a \$1 per hour increase from the drilling companies and an increase of travel pay and subsistence. Later the drilling companies tried to initiate a plan to have three eight-hour shifts. Several workers interviewed said they opposed this because not working 12-hour shifts would cost them \$200-\$300 per month. They all liked the long hours because overtime work meant more money. One thing a union would force the companies to do would be to provide insurance and retirement. One roughneck said as it is now if he got killed all his wife would get would be \$2,000. As yet, however, the majority haven't voted for a union because they feel it would be too restrictive.

The other two categories of oil related people are the service and production people and the managerial people. There are very few managerial people in Gillette because most of the major oil companies have their headquarters in Casper. The service and production people are usually very skilled, highly paid employees. Often they have engineering degrees or have undergone some training. Many of the men in this category have been involved in school boards, city government, etc., in the towns they came from. They bring a lot of skills with them. These people do not move around much; most often they have the choice of moving or not and their companies pay the expenses when they do move. So they offer a great deal of permanence to that group referred to by the locals as oil people. One family I talked to in this category were quite new to Gillette. They didn't have to move to Gillette but were given the choice. After a few months, they felt they had made the right choice although they weren't so sure at first. They were impressed at how easy it was for them to fit right in and feel at home, and their high school children liked it because of the nice school and the opportunity to be in so many extracurricular activities. The wife conceded it may have been easier for them than some because her husband had one of the top jobs in a well-known service company and they were invited to all the parties right from the start.

The Petroleum Wives' Club is a social organization for wives of men in the oil industry. It is one of the largest and most active clubs in Gillette. They tend not to get involved with community politics or planning. They consider themselves a very prestigious organization. I didn't interview any wives of roughnecks who were members, and when members were asked about this they generally said that those kind don't stay in one place long enough to join or that they don't feel it's for them. There seems to be much more contact between the oil laborers and the service and production men than between their wives. Most of this contact is job related though for the workers usually live in the trailer courts and the production and service people have permanent housing.

It should be pointed out that oil activity in Campbell County has been very stable for four or five years now so the industry involved is stable. It appears that this situation will continue for several years. Many oil people interviewed had been there eight or ten years now and said if they were told they had to transfer they would quit and get another job because Gillette is their home and they intend to stay. The same is even true of some of the roughnecks interviewed. Many had been there several years and had grown to like it and consider it their home. For this reason, many have made application to work with the coal companies. They would like the stability this kind of a job would give them.

Schools and Education Community

The schools were the area most heavily impacted by the oil boom and the same could well be true of the coal boom. With a tremendous building program and the rise of mobile school units the school district has been able, in the last two years, to provide adequate classrooms and teaching facilities. There are now five elementary schools in Gillette, all new, and a junior high and high school. Before this, it was chaos. Building up to the peak of the oil boom in the late '60's, every church basement, hall, or vacant shop was used as classroom space to hold the overflow. Some parents said their children went to school three or four years before they were ever in a permanent classroom. Teachers have told how they would lose their whole classes as they were shifted around the town. For several years, then, simply finding space, not educating, was the prime concern of the schools.

As the county tax base rose with the large oil assessment, the school district began building, often out of budget. This means that they had enough money in a yearly budget to build a school and they didn't have to take a bond issue to the voters for approval. Overnight the district grew from one of the poorer in the state to the richest and has now become the envy of the whole state. Three new elementary schools have been built in Gillette and two in the county. Another mobile school is about to be replaced by a new school, and several additions are being planned. A large, multi-million

dollar high school was built, and a new junior high is in the process of being built. This did not all happen, however, without local opposition. The high school bond had to be voted on three times before it passed because of opposition from the rural districts and also because a swimming pool was included in the first two.

If the school room conditions are much improved now, so are the teachers' conditions. Whereas five years ago there was a 40 percent teacher turnover every year, now it is less than 10 percent. The pay is the highest in the state, and it is much easier for a teacher to find decent housing now. The school district moved in houses and made them available to teachers at a very reasonable rate.

Teachers are one of the largest groups of newcomers in Gillette numerically, having approximately 400 in the district, but they tend to remain low-keyed. They often associate mainly with each other and don't get involved in community affairs as much as some other newcomer groups. They aren't active politically unless there is a local school board election or school bond issue. Then by their sheer numbers they very easily sway an election. However, one teacher recently ran for the state legislature but was defeated. Other informants have said there are very few teachers in the local service organizations, but there are some administration people. One informant thought this was

mainly for public relations purposes. Teachers see themselves as having much at stake in the development of Gillette because with the scarcity of teaching jobs throughout the country many will remain in Gillette for a long time. Some have said that even if the rest of the country goes through a recession, Gillette will boom and the salaries will keep increasing. The demands of teaching and extra activities leave little time for teachers to become involved in community affairs. There is also a feeling among teachers that they aren't accepted very well outside their own group.

High school age students interviewed pointed out several groups or cliches present in the school. These are easily identified both in school and out. These are the straights, cowboys, hippies, greasers, snakepit, and on. There is little communication between these groups although some counselors have said there is less animosity between cowboys and, say, greasers, or oil field workers' kids, than there was in the past. One school official told me of the constant fights between the cowboys and the new oil kids. He was able to control it by letting it be known to a local leader what he would have to do to the local kids if it didn't stop. The locals were usually the initiators of the trouble.

Students said there was not automatic welcome or acceptance of new students. Some who had been there all their

lives said at first there was, but soon they saw so many new students come and go each month that now they make no effort to make them welcome. They said that a new student could break into a group but only with some effort on his part. Without effort he can't. They cited examples of kids who had been there for some time but still seemed to be alone because they had made no effort to make friends. Some students in the leadership groups are very new to the school, but it is agreed that they had the right personality, a lot of push, good grades, and other attributes that made them immediately acceptable.

Many high school students have part-time jobs and are involved in several school activities. There seems to be a pressure to have a job. One counselor said he believed the work ethic was so strong among many parents that they put pressure on the kids to have jobs and make money. Every student interviewed said he could easily get a job. A teacher told me one of his students was making \$1,000 per month driving a water truck at night and was thinking about quitting school. This isn't an isolated case. Several students were reported to be making more than their teachers.

Social Services

Nearly everyone interviewed stated that one of the biggest problems facing Gillette now is the lack of doctors. Campbell County has only five doctors, or one doctor per

3,500 people, four times above the national average. Numerous people have said how they found it impossible to make an appointment with a doctor. Some doctors refuse to take new patients because they simply can't handle any more, and nearly every doctor's office has a sign, "Appointments on cash basis only." New doctors have come to Gillette but have left after having to work seven days a week and having no time of their own or else finding it was impossible for them to work with the existing medical community. Others have left because their wives refused to live there any longer or didn't come because their wives didn't want to live there.

The hospital isn't used to its capacity, and this problem can be linked to the lack of doctors. There is also a mistrust of the local hospital. Several informants have said they wouldn't go there if they had a chance to get to Buffalo or Sheridan or Billings. This seems to be upheld in the fact that the occupancy of the hospital is only slightly over 30 percent whereas the occupancy of the Buffalo hospital is almost 100 percent. Most people in Gillette go to the Buffalo hospital when they are expecting a baby. There is only one obstetrician-gynecologist in Gillette. The doctor-shortage problem of Gillette is not atypical of many Wyoming towns. Even though they stand to make a great deal of money, many young doctors refuse to be tied down to the long hours and seven day work weeks that they find facing

them, and, too, their wives don't often look forward to giving up the advantages of the larger cities to which they are accustomed.

The Northeastern Wyoming Mental Health Center in Gillette has a staff of three professionals plus the part-time help of people coming in from the different centers throughout this region. They have had an office in Gillette since the mid-'60's. They are involved in counseling and other activities in the community. They have alcohol and drug programs and child and marital guidance. They work very closely with the schools in child counseling.

The Mental Health Center now sees about twice the number of people per population as the national average. A great number of these are the wives and children of oil workers. These "captive" women are often suffering from depression or are having marital problems. The mental health personnel say the newcomers very readily accept their service and don't attach any stigma to using it. On the other hand, the locals, especially the ranchers, very seldom seek these services. One psychologist pointed out that the ranching community has its own established way of handling problems and offering support to each other and outlets for their tensions. They don't need the services like other groups do. The oil wife is often placed in unfamiliar settings with little recreation or activity and little means of making

friends so she gladly turns to the Mental Health Center or any other service or organization that will listen to her problems and give her contact with the real world. It is easy for the rancher to suppress his feelings and tensions because that is the accepted thing to do, but he also has acceptable ways of relieving them.

Another reason the mental health personnel believe they see so many people is because they are well exposed. In a small town like Gillette something as important as a mental health center gets publicity. One of the psychologists has a weekly column in the paper. Their activities are advertised, and the majority of the people see a real need for them. Their work with the school system saves the schools money and at the same time gives them more expert help than they would normally have.

The County Welfare Office hasn't been very much affected by the oil boom, and they don't expect to be by the coal activity. Employment has been high, and very few new recipients of unemployment and other welfare aid have been reported. The Aid to Dependent Children program has doubled since the oil boom began, but it is still very minimal compared to other counties. The head of the welfare office thought this might be partially due to the fact that single women with children just cannot make a living in Gillette and have to move. For, although employment for men is good,

the same is not true for women. A few women have tried working on the oil rigs but generally quit after a short time. There are so many women willing to work that the market is glutted, and the wages are low. Even though some clerking jobs opened up when men took higher paying jobs, these positions pay little more than minimum wage. The head of the Wyoming Employment Office in Gillette told me of the discrimination employers have toward women. The job market for women is glutted it seems because many will work just for the opportunity to get out of the house.

The two public health nurses see an extremely large number of cases of children who are both physically and socially underdeveloped. The nurses can recognize these children at their monthly immunization clinics and try to make contact with the mothers and provide what help they can. The nurses say they see many three year old children who don't talk or haven't the physical skills they should at that age. The biggest problem is that many of the mothers married young and followed their husbands to the oil fields (these are usually the wives of oil laborers). They are out of contact with their own mothers and families who could help them and never learn some of the basic mothering skills. They often don't provide any motivation for their own children. They don't know how to manage their time, their money, or their household.

The public health nurses are teaching mothering and prenatal classes and are trying to reach these mothers with inadequate parental skills. People are also demanding other services, like well-baby clinics, that they had in other states so the Public Health Office is trying to expand.

Presently the Public Health Office is located in the same building as the Welfare Office, and many potential recipients of their services shy away because of the seeming connection. The first thing the nurses often have to do is to explain to people that Public Health isn't Welfare. Once this is made clear they are accepted much better. In fact, the head nurse said that most of their referrals come from people who have been helped by them before. The impermanency of the oil workers makes continuing treatment for the children hard. Even if they move to a new trailer court in town, it may take months for the Public Health Office to track them down again. This is particularly true of child neglect or abuse cases where the parents don't want to be found.

Gillette has a county funded child Day Care Center, the only one in the state. The director said this is an indication of what the county commissioners will do if they can be made to see the need.

Both the Gillette Police Department and the sheriff's offices don't generally expect the crime rate to increase as the town continues to grow, even though it has in the past, but more people will necessitate more staff. During the

height of the oil boom, both agencies had a difficult time increasing their staffs fast enough to cope with the increase in crime, but they also had a hard time keeping their staffs. The turnover rate in the police department was very high, and this is still a problem. The ones who stayed were often very poorly qualified. The high paying jobs of the oil field and related businesses quickly lured the men away from law enforcement.

Besides the increase in drunkenness, disturbances and thievery, the police and sheriff's department have been putting more emphasis on drug control. Some people in the community believe that their emphasis on drug busts is little more than harassment of certain groups of young people who come to the area looking for work. The sheriff indicated he believed that with mining and construction he was afraid of the potential union conflicts that lay ahead. Many of the conservative old-timers also wondered how the area would be affected when the unions started competing with one another for control of the mines and causing strikes and conflict. This area hasn't had any experience with unions and strikes, only the bad things they have heard, and they aren't happy about the prospects of having to put up with them.

Political Situation

Campbell County has traditionally been a conservative, Republican county with registered Republicans outnumbering Democrats two to one. There seems to be no real political power structure that dictates who will run for office although there may have been 25 years ago where headed by a strong county attorney. Several people have said that political elections are actually popularity contests and voters will keep a man in office as long as they believe he is not overstepping his bounds. Voters really don't think elected officials represent them nor do they expect it; a man always represents himself and no one else. If people like the way he represents himself, they will keep him. One registered Democrat said that people here and elected officials included don't understand the concepts of representation and constituency. The fact that an elected official represents himself may go back to the western ranch ethic of individualism.

One inconsistency of Campbell County politics is that there have been only two Republican senators elected in the last 25 years. The rest have all been Democrats. This is the first year a Democratic representative has been elected in that period of time, however.

Ranchers have controlled local and county government until recently. The three county commissioners have always been ranchers and, according to some, have been synonymous

with roads, meaning all they were usually concerned about was improving county roads. The commissioners controlled where the money was spent. Recently a new mayor was elected, and this marked the first movement away from a ranch controlled city. The new mayor is a young businessman and also a newcomer. Although ranchers can't vote in city elections, it was generally felt that no one would run or could win who didn't have at least the tacit approval of the ranch community. Many townspeople are saying this is the year of getting Gillette headed in the right direction.

While nearly 100 percent of the eligible voters outside the Gillette area vote in every election, attempts by both the Democrats and Republicans to get people registered and voting in Gillette have been failures. Even now very few of the oil laborers vote. Although ranchers have been able to elect office holders they no longer control the purse strings. They usually voted in a bloc against any school bond issues and against a recreation bond to build a recreation center because they felt it was foolish to spend so much money for recreation. After all, they had always been able to make their own. They have lost all the bond issues. It has been a combination of getting the votes of a few newcomers and convincing the old-time residents of Gillette that new schools and more recreation facilities were necessary. The ranchers are gradually switching their position too. In

the last school bond issue, one for a new junior high, a majority of the voters outside Gillette for the first time voted for it.

Ranchers first saw themselves losing control several years ago when they unsuccessfully tried to stop the county school districts from becoming one, unified school district. Previously, Gillette was one school district, and each rural community had its own school which was a separate district and was financed and controlled by the local area. This way a small group of ranchers had complete say over their school. When Gillette began to grow and needed money to build schools, it didn't have the increased tax base necessary because the revenue was being generated in the county where the new oil fields were. So the Gillette district attempted to unify the whole county. The ranchers took their case all the way to the State Supreme Court twice and lost. Although most now concede it was necessary to unify the schools, since they have better schools even in the country because of it, they still harbor ill feelings over the fight. Many ranchers say this was the beginning of the breakdown of good feelings between the ranch communities and Gillette.

All county commissioners, the school board members, and most city councilmen have been ranchers or ranch oriented old-time locals. Very few Gillette businessmen have been in elected positions. Businessmen questioned about the

reasons why gave two opposing explanations. Some said businessmen don't want to put themselves in positions of making decisions that others might resent for their business would be hurt. Ranchers don't have to worry about this because their businesses don't depend on local people. Another explanation is that, since the oil boom, businessmen have just been too busy to get involved. Besides, as one store owner said, the business community gets its needs met well enough anyway so they are not going to risk running for office.

One very perceptive observer who was an old-time businessman noted that there was a great difference between the types of people in elective offices versus those in appointive offices. As already mentioned, elected offices are still held by ranchers or old-time locals. There are very few newcomers represented. However, many top appointive offices are held by newcomer oil and coal officials. This includes the City/County Planning Board, the recreation board and the Hospital Advisory Board. One of these appointed officials ran for city councilman two years ago and lost. The person who indicated this thought it was not because he was an oil man but because he wasn't known to the people who voted--i.e., the ranch oriented old-timers. This man recently ran again and was elected over a local person.

Because people who make it known that they are available to work and have shown that they are capable and have good

ideas are often appointed to the local boards and commissions, newcomers are quickly becoming known and gaining power. It is the opinion of some members that the county commissioners and city councilmen usually follow the recommendations of these boards and, therefore, the input in decision making is greater among newcomers than might at first be expected.

CHAPTER IV
REACTIONS TO COAL DEVELOPMENT

A large majority of the people interviewed in Campbell County believe the coal resources there should be utilized. There are now two pit mines and one small generating plant. Plans are underway by major oil companies to open three more mines within one year, and a new air-cooled, coal-fired generating plant is being built. There are also tentative plans to build a coal gassification plant in the county.

Old-time residents point out that there has been one pit mine outside Gillette since 1920 and there has been no adverse effect from that. They also say the new mine is taking measures to reclaim the land and the mine officials are working with the city and county governments to help plan and relieve any impact they are causing. Many city residents, especially businessmen, view the increasing coal activity as a boon to the community. These are often people who made a great deal of money from the oil boom and view the coal boom as a continuation of that. Even though the oil activity has seemed to have reached its peak and is now quite steady, the businessmen know that this situation can change rapidly. Coal is offering a continuation of the good times.

The conditions of the oil boom have been the primary factor of life in Gillette for nearly 15 years. Adjustments have been made by the residents. Life, although not life as usual, had to go on. These conditions have accustomed people to rapid growth, crowded conditions, lack of some services and facilities, and changing social relationships. People point out that they somehow adjusted to these things because there was no other way. One had to shop at usual hours or else stand in long lines. Parking suddenly became a problem. Many report they no longer see familiar faces as they walk down their streets. As mentioned earlier, there have been several different ways of coping with the change, but people generally feel they have done a good job of adjusting. They also point out that the monetary benefits they have derived have made it much easier to adjust. Now some people feel that any changes brought about by coal development can't cause as much turmoil as the oil boom brought. They say that coal activity is a steady thing with none of the ups and downs earlier experienced. The employment is steady and reliable so there won't be the great movements of people in and out. They also say that the coal mines won't bring as much "riff-raff" as the oil fields did. They believe the miners will be permanent-type people.

The continued good life for some, then, depends upon continued growth and development. Some want the money it

will bring, and some also want the activity and excitement it brings. However, many oil field workers and some ranchers deplore the way they were treated by the business community. Oil workers say the merchants took advantage of them by charging such exorbitant prices. One said, "We made this town what it is today, and they are still trying to take advantage of us." Another said he felt the local residents were at first jealous of them because they were making a lot of money and had a lot to spend for things at the very inflated prices. More than one oil worker said, however, that nearly every town they had worked in had done the same thing and Gillette wasn't nearly as bad as some had been.

Many ranchers feel they have lost Gillette as their community and the good relation they had with the business community is gone. On the other hand, some businessmen don't lament the loss. They say the ranchers kept them dependent. One said he could put on a sale and the ranchers wouldn't respond; they might feel they could wait until they went to Sheridan and get a better deal. The oil workers, though, would come out on the stormiest day of winter for a sale and outfit the whole family. This was the kind of business the merchants dreamed of.

The newcomers rather than the old-timers express more concern over the environmental consequences of large-scale coal industrialization. Very few of the old-time locals

thought that strip mining will hurt the land or that the air and water pollution will be great enough to affect them. Several informants in this category have said that the land is not worth enough to spend any money reclaiming it, or that so few people would ever see it why not just leave it after mining. One person said, "You see all these little hills and buttes we have around here; well they can just bulldoze those into the holes after they get the coal out."

The younger newcomers are much more aware of the environmental concerns throughout the country and they are most often very skeptical whether this land can be stripped without doing irreparable damage to both land and water, and they are certain they don't want the air degraded by several coal-fired generating plants. Too many of them have come from larger cities or have at least experienced severe air pollution. Several of the high school students interviewed were concerned about the environmental problems and they especially question the coal companies' professed good intentions. One boy said, "They will come and tear up Campbell County at a huge profit to themselves and then be gone in 30 years and nothing will be left." Another girl said, "The companies cause the problems around here, but it's Gillette that gets the bad name."

Most ranchers are very pessimistic about the chances of the land being reclaimed after it is mined. They are intimately knowledgeable of the fragile ecological conditions.

They point out that the 10-12 inches of rainfall is hardly enough to get a good stand of grass growing, even on soil that hasn't been totally disturbed. Some mention the National Academy of Sciences Report that said reclamation of stripped land in areas of rainfall of only 10 inches per year is highly improbable. Many ranchers are better informed of the environmental studies that have been done than their Gillette counterparts because they feel they will be more directly and adversely affected.

By 1974 several ranchers, at least 20, had sold or optioned to sell their land to coal developers. Some that sold were well-off before they sold and didn't need the money. However, being business-oriented, they may have been unwilling to turn down the nearly 1000 percent profit the companies were offering them. Many ranchers agreed that a man would be a fool to turn down that much money. In some cases the coal companies would buy a much larger ranch for the owner and trade him. This was in lieu of making an outright payment and for purposes of avoiding a large capital gains tax. Some of the ranchers who have sold were older and were trying to sell their ranch and retire for many years. This offered them a chance at a much higher price than they could have gotten previously. There are a few townspeople who had small ranches they sold, and they considered themselves very lucky.

The selling of land is affecting every rancher in the county several ways. Ranchers say they have had to keep expanding to stay in the business, and in the past there has been a certain amount of land available as some people retire and sell out. Neighbors would strongly compete for this land so that, even before the coal companies started buying land, the price of good grazing land was up to \$35 per acre. A rancher could make this land pay only if he had enough land already that he had bought very cheaply that would bring his average price per acre down. Now that coal companies are buying ranches outside the coal bearing area to trade with ranchers whose land they bought with coal under it, they are paying from \$50-\$70 per acre for them, and the average rancher can no longer compete. Already it is impossible for the average rancher to buy more land in Campbell County and perhaps in a 200-mile radius around it.

Besides being stopped from expanding, those ranchers who want to stay on their land and continue their way of life feel they are going to be tremendously hampered by the coal activity, even to the point where they can no longer operate. If they are close to the strip mines, they are worried about their stock water wells and springs as these usually originate in the coal seams. The coal serves as a water aquifer to carry the water underground, and if these are disrupted by mining the flow of water and consequently the wells and springs

will be disrupted. As any rancher will say, if you have the best grass in the world it won't do any good if your stock can't get water. Ranchers generally feel that the disruption caused by the mining of coal, building of roads and railroads, and construction of power plants will be so much greater than that of the oil activity that they will be affected much more than the people of Gillette, especially if their ranches are close to the coal area. The numbers of people involved and the pressure they put on the land for leisure and recreation will be a deciding factor. Ranchers are also very concerned about the tax situation. If coal land is now selling for \$500-\$1,000 per acre and ordinary grazing land is worth \$70, does this mean that their land will be assessed at these coal values even though they can expect no more cattle income or production from their land? A problem that ranchers and their heirs have had for some time now is holding the land together after the owner has died. With the huge amounts of land found here in single operations, often the estate taxes are so high the land, or part of it, must be sold to pay the taxes. Now that the price of the land has gone up so drastically there is the question of whether estate taxes will go even higher. Ranchers are quick to point out the difference between price and value. Even though the price of ordinary noncoal bearing land has doubled and trebled, the value of that land

hasn't changed in terms of what it can produce. However, for tax purposes, it is the price rather than value that forms the basis. These are a few of the problems ranchers feel they face with the coming development.

There are a few ranchers who have leased a small portion of their land to the coal companies because they feel they can control the scope of the mining by the amount of land they lease so that they can still continue their ranching operation without much disruption. None have yet had any mining done on their land, however, so it remains to be seen whether they can continue ranching while the mining is going on.

Environmentalists have been talking about many of the same potential problems related to coal development as the ranchers, but the ranchers usually mistrust and downgrade the environmentalists as a bunch of "radicals." In Wyoming, environmentalists have long been unpopular with the ranchers because of the former's stand on the protection of coyotes and eagles. Ranchers have viewed them as much an enemy as a coyote. They fear the environmentalists want to take away all their federal lease land and turn it into public recreation areas. So even the common grounds the two groups now find themselves on isn't perceived by the rancher as enough grounds to trust or work with his old adversary.

There have been two rancher-dominated groups formed in the study area that are opposed to coal development. One

group, whose members all live in southern Campbell County and are members of one specific rural community, is specifically opposing a railroad spur line across the members' lands that would link the strip mines with the main routes. The other group is opposing the development because of what they perceive its effects would be on their rural, ranching way of life. This group is made up of ranchers, and also some townspeople, of Campbell, Johnson, and Sheridan counties. They point out the folly and inconsistencies of mining western coal. For one thing, they are opposed to destroying the land by stripping at a time when the world's ability to produce food is decreasing. Most of the coal reserves are deep, and they wouldn't object to deep mining if the need for coal is that great. Their greatest objection to coal development is the necessity of shifting the labor force from Appalachia to here, creating a devastating social upheaval here and leaving that area economically depressed with the population depending on welfare. Even though this western coal is low in sulfur, it is also low in BTU heat content so, therefore, the purpose of developing these resources is unfounded. It takes more of this sub-bituminous to produce the same quantity of heat as the higher sulfur eastern coal, so the total amount of sulfur released upon burning it is almost the same. The coal companies who are talking about the low cost of mining this coal are only taking into account the immediate

economic costs and are not looking at the long-range social and environmental costs of developing western coal.

Nearly every informant in the study area was in agreement that "people pollution" would be the biggest problem they would have to face. Everyone who had read or heard about the North Central Power Study⁸ was aware of the large construction force necessary to build an electrical generating plant. They knew how many people had moved into Rock Springs, Wyoming, and Colstrip, Montana, to work on the plants. Even those residents who had no idea how many people might be moving to Gillette expressed a fear that the town couldn't handle many more people. Besides, Gillette was a good size now; the schools had finally caught up; people were feeling that the newcomer-old-timer gulf was narrowing; and many people weren't looking forward to going through another boom and having the same problems all over again.

There are some who subscribe to the dictum, growth is progress. These people want to see Gillette continue to grow. They are often newcomers who feel that for Gillette to be able to offer the services, shopping, and entertainment they would like it has to grow. Teachers are most often in this category. Some feel that as more permanent and better educated people move in the town will become a more interesting place to live. Even a few ranchers have said they

believe Gillette is a better place now because of its growth and new prosperity. It has better streets, more stores, a new courthouse, and good schools. Some of the ranchers even feel that the oil people have brought some fresh ideas and a chance to meet new friends. Bridge is played a lot, and ranchers and the nonlaboring oil people often get together to play. One rancher said now many ranchers' sons and daughters marry oil people's children whereas before they would usually marry another rancher's son or daughter.

The idea of progress as growth and growth as progress is also coupled with the belief that, "you can't stop progress." This is a phrase I often heard when asking the reaction to coal development. Even an informant who would point out the problems and potential harm to be caused by coal industrialization would often end by saying, "But, then, you can't stop progress." A rancher might say it in a downcast, disheartened manner. A merchant or real estate agent might say it with gusto, knowing the kind of progress he is speaking of means a continued good life for him.

Because most people believe that coal development will be stable and long-lasting, they are puzzled that housing contractors aren't coming into Gillette and building apartments and houses to accommodate the people who will be coming. They also wonder why large chain stores haven't established outlets in Gillette yet. Other informants say

there are obvious reasons for this. Some business people say houses won't be built until the people are there to buy them. Even a large contractor can't afford to have a newly built house or apartment standing empty for six months waiting for the work force to move in. Also, the high cost of materials and labor makes the housing market unstable. The inflated housing prices of Gillette are already 50 percent higher than in even larger cities like Denver. The banks in Gillette have been criticized for not providing more loans for home building. One old-time resident said if a rancher wanted to buy land he could always borrow money, but if a towns person wanted to build a house he would have to go to Rapid City or Casper to borrow the money. One merchant said that Gillette isn't yet an established trade center so, consequently, large stores won't establish there until the population is large enough to assure them a market. They won't be speculating before then.

The trailer courts in and around Gillette that were full during the peak of the oil boom in 1970 are now filling up again. One court owner said she knew of people who owned houses who were selling them and moving into trailer houses. She said they could get so much for their house now and could live in a trailer for so much less that it was simply a matter of economics, a good way to make some money. While loans for down payments on houses have been difficult to get, it is possible to move into a brand new trailer for \$500 down.

All the oil field laborers interviewed lived in trailer houses and most enjoyed them. One hand said, "This is the way us people have to live." None of them seemed to care much about the criticism of the sloppy trailer courts although they agreed there were a few things that could be done to make living in them much more comfortable. One thing, for example, is paving. They would rather have paving than grass or more room between the trailers, because the dust and the mud are the biggest discomforts. Many of the Gillette residents who were critical of the appearance of the trailer courts said most of them are still in the same condition they were in at the start of the oil boom. They say it was understandable at first to hastily put up courts to handle the large number of new trailers, but in most there has since been no improvements made. There is still only one court in Gillette with paved streets and grass planted. People felt strongly enough about this that the county commissioners did pass a mobile home park resolution that sets minimum standards and quality of trailer courts. There are city codes that prohibit wrecked cars and appliances being left next to houses and in trailer parks, but they have never been enforced. One trailer court resident said they wouldn't mind keeping them clean and free of junk if the city would enforce its regulations and make the old-time residents clean up the junk they were responsible for even before the oil boom started.

Because of the high wages and salaries that most newcomers are making, they can afford to shop in Gillette at the inflated prices. Often, however, people travel to the larger surrounding towns to shop. Many people interviewed see the coal development as a boon to them because it will bring more stores, more competition and, therefore, lower prices. There is talk of the effective ways the local businessmen have had of keeping larger stores out of Gillette. With little competition they have been able to raise their prices four to five percent higher than comparable ones in Sheridan or Casper. An informant in a position to know costs and price margins said he knew that merchants were charging far more than the normal markup necessary to override greater costs of getting merchandise and selling in smaller volumes than can be done in larger towns.

Some people point out the improvements made possible in the last few years, like the recreation center, the water treatment plant, the sewage treatment plant, the new zoning and development ordinances, and several smaller things. They believe that the tax money generated from coal is going to make possible further developments and improvements.

A growing number of Gillette residents are becoming concerned about the magnitude of the new growth and whether the tax money will be there in time to prepare. There is already some evidence that the construction taking place in Gillette

just to handle the coming work force is again stretching Gillette's housing and service resources to its limits. Some who were previously saying that because Gillette came through the last boom it could handle the coming one are beginning to ask exactly what is the magnitude and what are the consequences. They are beginning to voice concern that perhaps some effort should be made to slow down the development so it could be taken a little at a time and the preparation efforts could be more coordinated and directed. The politicians are looking at ways money could be diverted to the community, either from the state or from the companies that plan on moving in.

The residents of Gillette and Campbell County didn't understand the values and lifestyles of many of the people who came with the oil boom. Even those who weren't working in the oil fields were different. They brought more urbane and sophisticated ideas. Newcomers were different, and their presence and activities put a tremendous strain on old relationships and social patterns. Just trying to tolerate, let alone learn to understand them and become friendly with them, was a chore. Now there is a new potential for strain, but this is not the same community as it was in 1960. Most residents now don't feel their social values challenged as they were in 1960. The attitudes of the old residents have changed, and the residents themselves have also changed.

The face of the community is changed. The process of going from rural to urban is very nearly complete. In this sense, it is now easier for the residents to comprehend change and what it will mean for them.

There are some old-time residents who are unwilling or unable to accept change. These have often been the powerful people who have remained behind the scenes but have kept Gillette from changing any more than it has. Most newcomers might now even recognize their names. When it becomes evident that they and their friends have lost complete control, they will withdraw even farther and rely on the old ways as much as possible. It will remain possible for them to do this because they are generally well-off, people who made their money in ranching before the oil or coal activity started. It is important for them to keep the old social patterns, and they are gradually finding it harder and harder to do so, just as they now find it harder and harder to control what takes place in their town.

Planning

During the eight-month period that the research was carried out, one of the greatest changes I observed in the study area was the increased awareness of both the possible magnitude of the coal development and its problems and the need for planning. Long-term planning is needed for the impact that thousands of new workers would have on Campbell

County. When a company spokesman announced that studies that his company and others had done showed that Gillette could grow to 28,000 people by 1979 with just the already firm company plans, the town was incredulous. No one had thought of the growth in those terms, and many scoffed and said it was impossible and they weren't going to believe it. The figure may have been too high, but the town had something to think about.

Very little planning had been done up to that point. The city council and county commissioners had shied away from zoning for zoning still had the bad connotation of taking away an individual's rights to do as he pleased with his land. Free enterprise and no controls were upheld as the basic principles of our system, and the elected officials certainly didn't want to endanger their positions by going against them. The western land ethic was strong. Many old-timers pointed out that it hadn't taken planning to get through the oil boom. The kind of planning that was being talked about as necessary now would take away too many individual rights. Some officials said, "We made it through the oil boom and we can make it through this coal development," meaning we did it by free enterprise and we don't need a lot of planning and zoning now. Things will take care of themselves. More than one informant said they were afraid of seeing a "do-good planner" come in and tell

everyone what they had to do. It seems that the type of planner these people had in mind was one from the state or federal level sent out to plan people's lives for them.

The school administration and school board seemed to be the most farsighted. Even though many ranchers and old-time locals were still smarting from the loss of their own schools and disgusted at the waste of building costly "monuments to architecture" for schools, the school board had the community backing to catch up and try to prepare for the future. Land was obtained for future school sites, and plans for new schools were drawn up. The school board and administration spent a great deal of energy successfully helping defeat a state constitutional amendment that would have taken money from petroleum and mineral rich counties and dispersed it equally throughout the state. They argued that, of course, these counties had more tax money but they needed it now to prepare themselves for the rapid growth expected in the future.

A city/county planning board has been in existence for several years, but members have complained that the council and commissioners haven't followed their recommendations. Recently they have begun though. The city has annexed much of the outlying area that is destined to become housing developments. The county commissioners passed a mobile home and a subdivision regulation at the recommendation of the

planning board. Previously these would have been called zoning ordinances, but now they aren't. Several ranchers formed a group to oppose these regulations, but the commissioners disregarded their outcry and passed them anyway. This is indicative of the direction the fairly conservative elected officials will take if they can be convinced of the need.

If they won't be convinced, they will be voted out of office as was the previous mayor. The new mayor ran on a planning platform and won overwhelmingly. There hasn't been enough time since he assumed office to see what he will be able to accomplish. It will be instructive to see if he can enforce some of the city codes and regulations, to see if he can get the cooperation of the old-timers or if, in fact, their power has waned to the point of no more resistance.

With the help of a grant from several coal companies, a city/county planner has been hired. The city has undertaken an expensive project of supplying good quality water in large enough quantities that it will no longer be necessary to drill a new well each year and ration water in the summer as has been the case for several years. The great expense has been incurred because of the depth to which the wells have to go. Also, the water is of such bad quality it has to be treated, and a water treatment plant was recently built. A water bond issue was passed, and with the help of

federal money water will be piped from 50 miles away where wells can be drilled into a formation that will supply large amounts of high quality water.

The companies that are building the mines and the generating plant are helping Campbell County with its planning effort, and they are also constructing permanent and temporary housing. One company has built a 500-unit mobile home park that meets the standards of the new mobile home resolution. Another company is building a sub-division of multiple-family dwellings and plans to build some permanent single family houses. The companies had hoped that private construction firms would provide the housing needs fast enough, but when it was obvious they couldn't, the companies moved ahead with their own construction. From past experience in Rock Springs, for example, the companies learned that if the construction workers didn't have decent housing, the worker turnover rate would be so high as to raise plant construction costs significantly. One company is building a mobile home court between Gillette and Douglas for the mine workers in that area. Without this the workers would have to commute 100 miles everyday. The county expressed fear, and the company agreed that without a centralized court provided, there might be trailers spread out all the way between Gillette and the mines.

There are coal company officials on the city/county planning commission, and some of the other company representatives have been working closely with them and also with the planner. It now appears that the growth projections may have been slightly high, but the need for planning is still there.

Newcomers and the business community have been the ones to express the needs for planning most openly. The Gillette Chamber of Commerce has taken on several projects to help prepare for growth. Foremost has been a doctor recruitment program in which members actually traveled to medical schools and tried to interest new doctors in the community. This has been done in conjunction with a hospital study funded by the county commissioners and the building of a new medical clinic to house the new doctors. The same problems of doctors' reluctances to come to a place like Gillette still exist, but they are hoping to attract some young men who want to go into a group practice.

The new mayor was backed by the business community when they felt the old administration wasn't prepared to do the type of planning necessary nor willing to accept the need for it. If there had been no coal in Campbell County, most likely the changes now taking place would have been several years in coming. People would have more or less let the government go on running like it had and wouldn't have

expended the energy necessary to take hold like they have. The business community may have felt their needs could be met by the old-type city government, and an organized effort to recruit doctors and hire a planner could have been put off. The new growth, however, demanded that something be done, and a new philosophy is taking over. According to one informant,

The old philosophy of Gillette was that 'the squeaky wheel gets greased.' Problems were taken care of only when enough prominent people complained about them. Stop-gap measures were used, and very little foresight was in evidence in the meeting of new problems. Even on a day-to-day level, if you needed a plumber you had to call him again and again before he would come and he wasn't always that busy.

This same informant said that new people coming into Gillette don't realize they are going to be left waiting a long time before they get things done. One young newcomer said, "Gillette is cleaning up its act." This somehow summarizes the new urgency felt everywhere there that, without foresight and bold new action, Gillette will never be the kind of place that many are hoping it will be.

SUMMARY

To better understand the effects and consequences of energy development, baseline data must first be gathered so that future analysis and solution will have a starting point. This study attempts to provide data for later decisions and possible comparative studies.

The residents of the communities of the study area have been placed in categories according to their attitudes concerning coal development. The broadest conceivable categories in these terms would be pro-development people and anti-development people. These breakdowns are so broad as to be almost useless in depicting the present situation. So I have presented the data here by identifying several categories of people, describing their reactions to coal development and what has tended to shape these attitudes, and discussing the planning activities that are taking place and what else many people feel must be done to prepare Gillette for another boom.

The businessmen are still mostly old-time locals or at least were residents before the oil boom, and they are generally in favor of coal development. They profited greatly by the oil boom, and they see the coal development as a continuation of the good economic times. Of all the old-timers, businessmen have expressed the greatest concern

over the need for planning. They are having to plan for their future by possibly expanding their stores or moving to new locations and, through the Chamber of Commerce, they have more information concerning possible development than do most residents of Campbell County. Businessmen in the past have felt little need to become involved in city or county politics because they felt they could make their views and needs heard well enough, but they have now taken an active lead in directing politics and the political actions that are being taken concerning coal development.

Ranchers stand to be more adversely affected by coal development than they were by the oil boom, although they have been greatly changed by the oil activity and oil money and this has led them to accommodate coal development to a greater extent than they would have without the experience of the oil boom. By leasing and selling to the coal and energy companies, the ranchers have exposed themselves and their neighbors to problems that many of them feel will spell the end to their traditional way of life. Even though very few would concede, their way of life had already changed significantly with the business-oriented outlook toward ranching, seeing it as a means rather than an end, that accompanied the large amounts of money brought in by oil leasing and oil production. The ranchers who wouldn't sell or trade their ranch for a much larger or better one in some part of the state or region are a minority. Even some of

those who would like to get out are opposed to coal development, but they can't see themselves remaining in Campbell County with the production they know will take place and still carry out the kind of ranching operation they would like.

Newcomers and old-timers form an interesting dichotomy of categories. They were obviously at odds during the early oil boom years when most of the newcomers were not planning on becoming permanent residents. Neither appreciated the other's values and life style nor did they care about trying to learn more about each other. The confrontation was hardest on the old-time residents in some ways because they had never experienced dealing with people in their own community that they didn't know, whereas the newcomers were at first mostly oilfield laborers and they had experienced the same sort of reception they got in Gillette in other places they had worked. However, the newcomers also had many difficulties, especially in obtaining housing and other services.

As Gillette attracted more and more people in businesses peripheral to, but dependent upon the oil activity, the permanent newcomers gradually came to outnumber the old-timers until today they have a great influence upon the activities of Gillette and in some instances even have control. Newcomers are generally more receptive to coal

development than old-timers because they see the good things it will bring to Gillette, such as more shopping, more entertainment, a greater diversity of people, and more money. Newcomers are also more aware of and open to the need for planning than are old-timers because they also see the problems that development can bring, especially the great influx of people and the need to provide services for them.

Old-timers, being more established in their business or job, are usually more cautious about development. They don't see a larger population as being advantageous, and they often feel that too much planning will interfere with individual rights. Having developed a "live and let live" attitude about handling the problems of the oil boom, they tend to say, "We handled the oil boom (without all this planning) and we can handle the coal boom."

Possibly the main difference between the old-timers and the newcomers is that the former already have their community established and don't care to broaden it while the latter are trying to establish a new community for themselves and are willing to put much effort into making it as good as possible and to put controls on the potentially harmful aspects of development.

Oil people have gradually become a substantial portion of the Gillette population with the stabilization of the oil activity. Many of the oilfield laborers are able to work

year around in Campbell County and call Gillette their home now. As the production phase of oil activity increased relative to the exploration and drilling phase, more highly paid, skilled, and permanent production and service people came to Gillette. These are part of the newcomer category of people who are becoming more and more involved in Gillette as a community. Some of the oilfield laborers are looking to the coal industry to provide work for them when the oil activity slows down or to provide more stable types of jobs with the protection of a union.

Teachers are another group of the newcomer category who feel very strongly that coal development will, in many ways, make Gillette a better community in which to live. As a group, however, they are much less active in community affairs outside the school, than businessmen for example, such as politics or planning groups unless the school system is being directly affected.

Some services in Gillette are still very inadequate for the present population. Efforts are being made now to upgrade and expand the water and sewer systems to meet the growing demands. The schools are perhaps the best prepared of the social services now to meet the present demands, although much building and expansion is needed to adequately meet the demands of a coal boom. The schools were the

hardest impacted of all during the oil boom, but a forward-thinking school board and administration and a definite change in attitude of the voters toward school needs rectified the situation and will most likely keep the schools in a position to at least meet the needs of a rapidly growing population.

The change in attitude of the voters toward the schools has been only one aspect of the political changes in Campbell County. Even though voter attitude toward such issues as school unification, school bonds, recreation bonds, and others was changing, the old-time locals still controlled the local political positions. Newcomers were included only in advisory or appointive positions. This was due partly to lack of registration and voting by a majority of the newcomers and partly to a lack of exposure and general knowledge of newcomer candidates. That has now changed also. The newcomer majority in 1974 was able to elect a young newcomer businessman who expressed the need for planning as mayor of Gillette. Thus, after about 14 years from the first arrival of newcomers in Campbell County, they have taken complete political control of the county, especially in the city of Gillette.

CONCLUSION

It is the thesis of this paper that Gillette and Campbell County are, in many ways prepared for a large-scale coal development and the problems that will accompany it because, partially, it has had experience with rapid growth during an oil boom and, especially, because the newcomers that the oil boom brought to Gillette are prepared, in a way the old-time locals are not, to plan for the development and cope with the problems that the future will bring. The newcomer population has gradually grown to become a majority until now when they are asserting their desires and making them into realities at the polls and in the decision-making processes at the local level.

Gillette finds itself in a unique situation. No other town or area in the Great Plains that is undergoing coal development, or will soon be, has had the experience Gillette has had previous to the development, namely an oil boom. Forsyth and Colstrip, Montana, and Buffalo, Sheridan, and Douglas, Wyoming, are "babes in the wood" compared to Gillette when it comes to the harsh realities of fast industrialization. The people of Gillette feel they have been through their initiation even though "people pollution" due to coal development is seen to be much worse than that which accompanied the oil boom, and no matter how painful it was

it has better prepared them for a future of large-scale energy production.

Most Gillette and county residents are now realizing the need for planning. They are giving up their traditional opposition to "zoning" and land use planning. They have reached a point of recognition that they must take steps to plan for themselves or else it will be legislated and imposed upon them from the state or federal level. Often it is a matter of the choice of the lesser of two evils for some won't admit that planning is all that necessary, but rather than chance having it imposed on them, they will agree to do it themselves or, at least, not stand in its way. The traditional ideals are falling before the press of development. I would suspect that Buffalo and Douglas, where development is still just a threat, will experience much more turmoil than Gillette now will in modifying the private land ethic. This will be so even with the example of Gillette before them. Gillette has the influence of many newcomers whose voting power is becoming increasingly potent, who, in fact, are the voting majority.

That judgments one year ago as to the needs and demands of the future were based on the experience with the oil boom can't really be faulted. The people in power weren't prepared to think otherwise. Some have said they should have taken upon themselves to know, but perhaps that was too much

to ask of people who had undergone ten years of rapid change. The county commissioners were thought to be progressive ranchers, and they were also given credit for some progressive county programs such as the Day Care Center and budgeting over \$200,000 per year for a recreation program. The past city administration was felt to be hindering planning efforts and was replaced. Elected officials who were open to new ideas needed help. The influence of industry on planning efforts has been felt, and the hiring of a full-time city/county planner who is under the control of the commissioners and city council is cautiously pointing the way to a planned rather than haphazard future.

Even with the general tone of optimism, there is also much underlying skepticism. Some believe the energy industry is only giving token cooperation. This may be tied to the state-wide surge of pride and need for self-determination. The skepticism is generally shared by the conservation minded young and by the ranching community, although for different reasons. The conservative ranchers are fearful of any change, and the young conservationists want change, but not in the direction it is going.

The actions of many of the ranchers may manifest their fears that the county has already changed from agricultural to industrial.⁹ By selling their land they are not only realizing huge profits but conceding that they can no longer

continue their way of life in this area. Many ranchers interviewed said they would sell and move away from the coal areas because life will never be the same as it was. Those who are lucky enough to have land desired by the coal companies will be able to do this, but their neighbors who don't have coal under their land may have to stay whether they want to or not. Moving out of Campbell County has never been as hard to do as moving away from more scenic areas, but the isolation has made it a good ranching area, although perhaps not a good area in which to retire. Now the isolation is gone, and there is one less factor in making it good ranch country. It is becoming an easier place for a rancher to move away from.

While ranchers and some old-time Gillette residents feel they have more to lose than gain from coal development, the opposite is true of most businessmen and professionals. This group has seen the town as an industrial center for some time now, and they have profited financially from the change. They were often better educated and had more worldly experience; they could change as the town changed and could accept new people and new ideas. They often welcomed the change and did what they could to accommodate it. In a statistical study done by the Sociology Department of the University of Wyoming, this group showed the least concern over any environmental damage that might be done in the country.¹⁰

Many residents have shown themselves to be more present-oriented rather than future-oriented. These are the people who also show little concern for the environment and have shown little concern in the past for the living conditions of many Gillette residents. Even though several studies show that coal development will probably be short-term, from 30 to 40 years, these people are willing to accept the boom conditions of industrialization with little apparent concern for the future economy of the area. They see the advantages for themselves in the coal development such as better business, higher wages, better shopping and entertainment. This also includes some old-timers who some oil workers accuse of making the most "fast bucks" off a bad situation during the oil boom. By opting for a prosperous present, some feel these people are diminishing the chances for a stable future.

In the past, some ranchers saw ranching as a means to an end in a strictly business-oriented way and were willing to exploit the land, in a sense "mining" more from the land than they were putting back. Now some of his city cousins, businessmen and professionals, are the ones willing to go along with the present exploitation, the mining of coal. The past exploitation by the rancher, although he may not have viewed it as such, was tempered by the fact that his sons and daughters might want to continue in the ranching way of life. Something was left for them. Now, however,

the question is whether or not the exploitation will be complete, leaving nothing in the end and forcing a mass exodus from the area.

Perhaps one reason for the apparent acceptance of industrialization by most Gillette residents is the feeling that the boom part of it will only last a few years while the construction of the power plants and coal mines goes on and then there will be a long stable and prosperous period. As of now, most of the construction projections go to 1985. Then there is a falling off of construction work force and a leveling out of population growth. This doesn't take into account a second or third construction phase after the present plans are completed. Nor does it take into account the secondary industries that will probably grow up around the gasification and liquefaction plants. These will all necessitate new surges of population for the construction phases and more permanent people needed to operate them. In other words, those opting for industrialization have only a short sighted view of the consequences and probably don't realize the extent to which the development could be carried.

In the past the old-time locals have shown a lack of feeling and consideration for the people whom the oil boom brought to the area. The conditions in which the oil people had to live were dismissed by the locals as, "That's the way those people like to live"; or "they didn't have to come

here." The trailer park owners' reluctance to improve their parks and the city's and county's refusal to enforce regulations that would have improved the living conditions show some of the lack of feeling. The locals now, whether they be newcomers or old-timers, seem as little concerned about the living conditions which face thousands of men and their families coming to Gillette and vicinity in the next few years. Even with the planning and construction that are now taking place--and some consider these only catch-up measures--Gillette will be physically no more prepared to double her population in five years than she was in the early 1960's to accept hundreds of oil workers. Most of the preparation is in physical aspects such as schools, sewage and water treatment plants, and housing developments, and little effort is seen to prepare for full, or even normal social life for the growing population.

So while most believe that coal development will be good for them because it will bring better shopping and more recreation and entertainment, they will probably be competing with more people for the facilities that are present now. People's hopes and expectations about the coming growth may be met with the harsh reality of more years of coping with a bad situation. This is why it will be terribly important to return to the study area preferably for a short time each year or at least after three years to recontact the same

informants to test whether their expectations of the coal development were warranted and to see whether their attitudes of 1974 were consistent with their attitudes of 1977 and whether their actions of 1977 were actually based on their attitudes of 1974. A longitudinal study will also give an opportunity to observe some of the social changes that are taking place in the community. I have had to rely on, for the present study, what people said was the impact of the oil boom and what they say they expect the impact of the coal development to be. A chance to return to the study area in the future would give an opportunity to see what new social groups are forming and to what extent the old ones are disintegrating or getting stronger. It would give an opportunity to look at the process of urbanization in a boom situation and the continuing effect industrialization will have on ranching as both a business and a way of life. These are innumerable processes that will warrant study. One question that comes to mind as needing an answer is whether the sense of community that Gillette had lost with the oil boom will be regained as the people struggle to accept the new challenge of industrialization, or if the wedge that separates social groups will be driven even deeper and the pressures of more people and greater anonymity will cause community feeling to deteriorate even further.

One tentative conclusion of the paper is that the newcomers in Gillette are preparing Gillette for new growth not because they are newcomers but because they are a particular kind of newcomer. Many of the people who have moved to Gillette in the last ten years and have made it their home are from Wyoming or at least from the region. They are familiar with the general attitudes of Wyoming, but have traveled and lived in enough different areas of the country to have had their outlook broadened. They still, however, hold some of the same feelings and attitudes as the Gillette natives. Others in the newcomer category have moved to Gillette from larger cities and from different areas but have adopted many of the Western ideals and Western habits. These have liked what they found in Gillette and believe it is important to maintain the integrity of the area. In other words, there are two categories of newcomers, but only their backgrounds are different; their aspirations for Gillette are essentially the same.

This tentative conclusion needs further testing. If it were found to be basically correct and a common phenomenon in other towns in the Great Plains and Rocky Mountain regions that are undergoing industrialization or development due to energy resources, it could have important value in predicting how these towns would handle the problems of rapid growth. Perhaps it might be used as an indicator to

predict the rate of social change. At the very least, the presence of these kinds of newcomers in other boom areas would allow government officials and planners to estimate how much support they would have in a planning effort.

The purpose of this study is to describe and, as far as possible, analyze the impact of coal development on the residents of Campbell County, Wyoming.¹¹ The description is done mostly in terms of how the residents conveyed it to me. The practical purposes of a social impact study are many. It can give elected officials a better feeling for the concerns of the local residents so, hopefully, their decisions will reflect the felt needs of the community. It can give the industries that are planning on locating in a certain area an idea of local sentiment for or against development and under what conditions it might be most acceptable. Other communities that are about to undergo industrialization may want to know how Gillette and vicinity has handled her problems, those caused by the oil boom and those impending ones with the coming coal boom. They might want to know how long to expect their present social patterns to hold up under the onslaught of construction workers. They may want to know how long they can expect their political structure to remain unchanged; in other words, how long they as the old-time locals can expect to retain control. They will surely be interested in how Gillette has been able

to finance improvements that have taken place. Another important use of such a study is to give the people of an impacted community an idea of how their views compare to others in the community. In a rapidly changing situation, it is important for some people to know that their concept of the situation isn't isolated, that there may be many others with the same views. But they may be hesitant to talk about their views with old friends or even new acquaintances for fear they won't be accepted and they can come to know their changing community only by talking to an outside observer or by reading his report.

This study will also provide valuable base line data for future social change studies aimed at the effects of industrialization of this area of the country. This kind of base line data wasn't available for a comprehensive look at the effect of the oil boom on Campbell County.

One concept that must be mentioned in relation to rapid change brought about by industrial development or technological change is "social engineering." Whether it be done in Campbell County, Wyoming, or Isabela Province in the Philippines where the "green revolution" is affecting the social life of the rural barrios and whether it be done by applied anthropologists or sociologists, base line data is needed from which to make a start. An impact study can supply some of this base line data. The next step in the

practical realm seems to me to be the application of knowledge gained to direct necessary changes so as to minimize the breakdown of social structure and maximize the chances of directing change so it can actually be of benefit to the local residents. Left to the inclinations of business and economics, the chances for a better social life in a rapidly industrializing area are slim, so the social scientists are compelled to not only study change and its effects but to help direct it.

A social impact study should also add to the process of generalizing about social life and about change, for the basic premise of this study is change and the effect this change is having on the residents of the study area. In order for change to be directed, we must have some general principles of change to direct us.

I would like to conclude with a note of appreciation to the many people of Campbell County who gave their time and their feelings and who were always willing to have me come back and test my ideas on them.

NOTES

¹This definition of society comes from Dr. Ray Gold in my conversations with him while doing field work together.

²See Glaser and Strauss (1967), Chapters II and III.

³See also Institute for Social Science Research (1974).

⁴The census data in this study comes from the Wyoming Data Book (1972).

⁵From a speech originally given before the Montana Coal Forum in Helena, February 1973. See Kohrs (1973).

⁶See Institute for Social Science Research (1974), p. 64.

⁷See Denver Research Institute (1974), p. 10.

⁸The North Central Power Study was prepared by the U.S. Department of Interior and several utilities and energy companies. It predicted there would be ten 10,000 Megawatt coal-fired generating plants in Campbell County.

⁹See Institute for Social Science Research (1974), p. 64.

¹⁰See Blevins and Thompson (1974) for a statistical study of the attitudes of different categories of residents toward different aspects of coal development.

¹¹See Institute for Social Science Research (1974), pp. 6-9 and pp. 246-254. The method and purpose of this research was set forth by Dr. Gold in his proposal to the Northern Great Plains Resource Program.

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