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Established-Outside Relations, Crime Problems, and Policing in Oil Boomtowns in Western North Dakota

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ABSTRACT AND ARTICLE INFORMATION

In recent years, many rural communities have experienced significant population growth as a result of increased oil production in the Bakken oil shale region in western North Dakota. Most of the people moving into the area looking for employment are from communities located outside of North Dakota. The current study examines how the influx of new residents has changed police officers' perceptions of their community, citizens living in their community, and crime problems in eight oil “boomtowns” located in western North Dakota. Interviews with 101 police officers and sheriff's deputies from four counties located in the Bakken region, crime data, and population data serve as data sources. Elias and Scotson's (1994) theory of established-outsider relations explains the changes in police officers' perceptions.

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In 2012, North Dakota became the second largest oil producer in the United States (Gebrekidan, 2012). Over the past several years, the oil “boom” occurring in western North Dakota has generated a \$2 billion surplus reserve for the state (Prah, 2012). The steady increase in oil production has created thousands of jobs contributing to North Dakota having one of the lowest unemployment rates in the country (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2013). Experts in the oil and natural gas industry predict that North Dakota will produce another 30,000 jobs by 2020 (American Petroleum Institute, 2012).

Oil production has provided economic stability to North Dakota; however, it has also contributed to

social change occurring in communities in the Bakken oil shale region. One of the most noticeable changes occurring in these communities is rapid population growth. Several communities in western North Dakota have been named on top ten lists of the fastest growing counties (Williams County, Stark County) and micropolitan areas (Williston County, Dickinson County) in the United States from 2011-2012 (United States Census Bureau, 2013). Rapid population growth has created problems with housing, schools, and social services (Holeywell, 2011). Recent crime statistics show that western North Dakota's oil-producing counties are experiencing an increase in drug-related crimes,

assaults, property crime, and driving under the influence (North Dakota Attorney General's Office, 2012).

Rapid population growth has changed the population demographics in many communities in western North Dakota. There has been an increase in racial/ethnic diversity in communities across western North Dakota (Schmidt, 2009). North Dakota is now one of ten states that have male-majority populations (Kurtzleben, 2013). People working in western North Dakota also earn a higher annual wage compared to the rest of the state. The 2013 average annual wage for North Dakota was \$47,892, while several counties in western North Dakota earned significantly higher annual wages (Williams County, \$77,636; Slope County, \$70,720 and McKenzie County, \$72,072) (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2014).

It is evident that there are financial benefits resulting from the oil boom in western North Dakota. It is also the case that rapid population growth has changed many communities in this region. To date, there is no published research on how these community changes affect the perceptions of people living and working in oil boomtowns in western North Dakota. The qualitative study presented in this paper explores this issue using multiple data sources including official crime statistics, census data, and interviews with 101 sworn police personnel working in eight agencies across the Bakken region. Elias and Scotson's (1994) theory of established-outsider relations is used to explain how rapid population growth influences police perceptions of changes in their communities, residents living in their communities, and crime problems in western North Dakota. Police officers provide a unique perspective as they interact with both longtime and new residents in their communities when they are on duty working as police officers and off duty as private citizens. In addition, the police have direct experience dealing with crime problems in their communities as they respond to calls for service from the public.

The Impact of Rapid Population Growth on Citizen's Perceptions in Energy Boomtowns

Several studies have examined how rapid population growth affects the perceptions of people living and working in energy boomtowns. Research has found that rapid population expansion can result in elevated levels of fear of crime (Brown, 2011; Kennedy & Krahn, 1984), weakened social ties, and reduced social interaction among residents (Freudenburg, 1984). A recent study by Ruddell and Ortiz (2014) used longitudinal data to examine how

residents perceive crime and disorder in a Canadian region experiencing an oil boom. Using citizen telephone surveys from 2008-2012, this study found an increase in the percentage of residents reporting that they feel safe or very safe in their communities. Perceptions of personal safety improved over time in this region. When asked about the top ten neighborhood concerns, citizens ranked violent crime, specifically gang and gun violence, ninth and tenth on the list. Non-violent offenses ranked in the top three spots on this list including drug use, speeding/aggressive driving, and residential burglaries. The top three policing priorities identified by citizens living in this region included drugs, speeding/aggressive driving, and drinking and driving (Ruddell & Ortiz, 2014). This study is important as it reveals that citizen perceptions of crime and personal safety in energy boomtowns can improve with time.

O'Connor (2015) conducted a study on perceived social change in a boomtown in Fort McMurray, Canada using the perspective of young people. Using 60 in-depth interviews, O'Connor found that young people believed that their once small town was rapidly growing into a big city. The population composition in Fort McMurray was changing as it was becoming more diverse. Many young people reported that increased diversity in their community was good; however, they identified a clear distinction between migrants who moved to the community for work and planned to make it their home (insiders) and migrants who came to the community for work and contributed little to their community (outsiders). Young people blamed increasing crime and disorder problems in their community on the migrant workers categorized as outsiders. The interviews also revealed that young women and men perceived risks to personal safety differently. Women were aware of the increasing male population in their community, which influenced their perceptions regarding an increased risk to their personal safety. This study adds to the existing literature as it highlights the importance of community integration of migrant workers becoming insiders within rapidly growing communities.

There are also studies focused on how rapid population growth affects community leaders' perceptions in energy boomtowns (Anderson & Theodori, 2009; Brasier et al., 2011). These studies show that community leaders have both positive and negative perceptions of energy resource development. Some of the positive outcomes of energy development identified by community leaders include a stimulated local economy, low unemployment, and increased housing values. Negative outcomes identified by community leaders

include an increased demand on local police, lack of housing, increased diversity, conflict among residents, and increased crime in their communities.

There is limited information on the impact of rapid population growth on police officers working in energy boomtowns. Some of this literature discusses police officers' perceptions of their communities, residents living in their communities, and crime problems resulting from rapid population growth.

The first article published on the impact of rapid population growth on policing featured interviews with police officers working in Evanston, Wyoming (Taft, 1981). Evanston police officers stated that significant changes were taking place in their community because of rapid population growth associated with energy development. Traffic congestion, increased cost of living, and an increase in crime are some of the changes identified by Evanston police officers. Officers said that they responded to more alcohol-related calls, aggravated assault calls, and an increasing number of calls that involved firearms (Taft, 1981, p. 12). The crimes they were dealing with were becoming more violent as the population grew in their community. They reported having a heightened sense of danger associated with their work because of the influx of new people in the area (Taft, 1981, p. 13).

Officers stated that some of the longtime residents did not welcome the changes taking place in Evanston (Taft, 1981). Tension was building among longtime residents and new residents who moved to the area for employment in the energy industry (Taft, 1981). Officers said that some longtime residents referred to the new residents as "oil field trash" and blamed them for the increase in crime in their community (Taft, 1981, p. 10). Most of the oil field workers were young men who moved to the area without family. Many longtime residents resented the oilfield workers because they believed that the workers had no investment in the community (Taft, 1981, p. 10). Taft's article provides important information on how rapid population growth affects police officers' perceptions of their community, citizens living in their community, and crime problems.

A few years later, Covey and Menard (1984) conducted a study that examined changes in crime, characteristics of criminal offenders, and police practices resulting from rapid population growth associated with an energy boom. They utilized face-to-face interviews with police personnel from five sheriff's departments and nine police departments in the Rocky Mountain region in the United States. In this study, police officers reported that rapid population growth in their communities resulted in more reported crime. Officers also mentioned an

increase in alcohol-related crimes (Covey & Menard, 1984). Several police officers attributed the increase in crime to the increase of new residents moving into the area. They said that many of the calls for service for domestic violence, physical assaults, and alcohol-related crimes involved new residents (Covey & Menard, 1984). Officers stated that longtime residents were more likely to report crimes than they were in the past. This study shows that rapid population expansion can influence police officers' perceptions of crime problems in their communities and new residents living in their communities.

Ruddell (2011) also studied the impact of rapid population growth on crime and policing in an energy boomtown in Fort McMurray, Canada (Ruddell, 2011). Using police and crime data from 1986-2008, this study found that police strength lagged behind both population growth and increasing crime in this location (Ruddell, 2011). Police officers working in Fort McMurray were dealing with crime rates three times higher than the national average in Canada. The quality of life for residents living in Fort McMurray was deteriorating as crime rates continued to increase (Ruddell, 2011).

A review of the relevant literature suggests that rapid population growth can influence the perceptions of people who live and work in energy boomtowns. The current study contributes to this limited body of literature, as it is the first of its kind to examine the impact of rapid population growth on police officers' perceptions of their communities, citizens living in their communities, and crime problems in western North Dakota. Elias and Scotson's (1994) theory of established-outsider relations provides a theoretical framework for understanding how a rapid influx of new residents can influence police officers' perceptions.

Established-Outsider Relations and Energy Boomtowns

Norbert Elias and John Scotson's book, *The Established and The Outsiders* (1994), presents a theory that explains social relationships among groups within a community. This book features a study conducted in the late 1950s - early 1960s in Winston Parva (pseudonym), a small town located in central England. Charles Wilson built Winston Parva in the 1880s. From the 1880s through the 1940s, the population of Winston Parva consisted of multiple generations of local families. There was little population mobility in Winston Parva until a military industrial factory moved into town in the 1940s. Immigrant workers moved into Winston Parva looking for employment. The town that was once home to several generations of local families was

changing because of the rapid influx of new residents.

A division existed among the residents of Winston Parva. Elias and Scotson wanted to know why this division occurred. They began their research by studying several social and demographic factors associated with the residents of Winston Parva. Their initial investigation revealed little variation among these factors. Upon further examination, an unexpected characteristic emerged as the underlying cause of the division among residents – “social oldness.” Social oldness, or length of residence in the community, served as the defining factor among the groups in this study, not the common demographic indicators that often serve as the basis for social exclusion (such as race, gender, social class, or religion).

Length of residence in Winston Parva divided the community into two general categories: established residents and outsiders. The established group enjoyed social cohesion and long-term social networks because of their longevity in the community, while outsiders did not have as much time in the community to create strong social ties. Further, the established group held many positions of power, which allowed them to define community norms. Elias and Scotson (1994) argued that the established group characterized an entire group of outsiders according to the actions of a few who strayed from what the established group believed to be socially acceptable behavior. Members of the established group wanted to hold on to a way of life that had always been present in their community (Elias & Scotson, 1994). They believed that the outsiders posed a threat to their quality of life.

Three elements maintained the divide between outsiders and the established group in Winston Parva: First, the established group consisted of “the old mother centred family” type, which involved several generations of large families living in the same neighborhood (Elias & Scotson, 1994, p. 43-50). Members of the large “old mother centred families” married members of other large families which resulted in extensive kinship networks within the community. Longevity in the community, coupled with strong kinship networks, gave members of the established group power over the outsiders. Second, the established group held most of the positions of power within the community. Their affiliation with local social clubs and community organizations contributed to what they believed was a superior status over the outsiders. The established group viewed outsiders as less invested in the community because they were not actively involved in community organizations and activities. Third, Elias and Scotson (1994) believed that gossip played an

important role in establishing and maintaining social order in Winston Parva. Established group members used gossip to create a negative image of the outsiders (Elias & Scotson, 1994). Gossip consisted of discussions regarding outsiders’ involvement in crime and disorder in the community, and the perception that outsiders lacked morals, character, and self-control.

Elias and Scotson’s (1994) established-outsider relations provides a theoretical context to understand how social change and alterations to population composition can affect social dynamics within communities. Scott, Carrington and McIntosh (2012) used the established-outsider relations theory to explain how the social oldness of residents created divisions among residents living in a mining region in Western Australia. The main data source for this study consisted of face-to-face and group interviews with 38 people. The sample included key stakeholders in the region, along with longtime residents who held leadership positions in their communities (Scott et al., 2012).

Scott et al. (2012) produced findings that support Elias and Scotson’s established-outsider relations theory. For example, there was evidence of a division within the mining communities based on social oldness. Longtime residents defined community by the extent to which neighbors knew each other. FIFO (fly in, fly out) workers were temporary, non-resident workers who spent limited time in the area for work, which resulted in weak social ties in the community. Tension existed between longtime residents and FIFO workers because longtime residents believed that the mining industry drained resources from the community and gave little back in return. FIFO workers earned significantly higher wages than longtime residents who did not work in the mining industry. This meant that FIFO workers could afford the increasing cost of living in the area, while long-term residents could not. Traffic flow increased significantly because of the trucks and machinery used by energy development companies. Longtime residents did not like the changes occurring in their communities resulting from the presence of the mining industry. Longtime residents reported having negative perceptions of FIFO workers, which justified and maintained the existing division between the two groups.

Elias and Scotson (1994) stated that the established group used gossip to create and sustain negative, stereotypical images of outsiders in Winston Parva. Similarly, residents interviewed for the Scott et al. (2012) study linked social problems in their communities with FIFO workers. Longtime residents identified excessive alcohol consumption,

violence, and use of illegal drugs as some of the activities that FIFO workers participated in while they were not at work. Many of these incidents occurred in the evening in or around local nightclubs and pubs. Gossip about FIFO workers being sexually aggressive and disrespectful toward local women created a negative image for this group and increased women's fear of FIFO workers.

The Scott et al. (2012) study illustrates how the established-outsider relations theory is applicable to communities that experience rapid population growth from energy resource development. The qualitative study featured in this paper does not test established-outsider relations theory; instead, this theory was used as a conceptual guide to shape the analysis and interpretation of the research findings. The current study responds to the following research questions: (1) How, if at all, has rapid population growth associated with the oil boom in western North Dakota affected police officers' perceptions of their community? (2) How, if at all, has rapid population growth associated with the oil boom influenced police officers' perceptions of citizens in their community? (3) Has rapid population growth associated with the oil boom affected police officers' perceptions of crime problems in their community?

Methodology

Data

This study utilizes methodological triangulation, which involves the use of more than one method to gather data. Triangulation validates qualitative data by cross verifying concepts and themes from two or more sources (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). The current study utilizes several data sources: face-to-face interviews with 101 sworn police personnel, official crime data, and census data.

Annual reports generated by the North Dakota Attorney General's Office provide data on reported crimes and crime rates in North Dakota from 2004-2013. The U.S. Census Bureau provides population data and estimated population information for all of the research sites in this study.

Face-to-face interviews with police personnel took place on October, 2012 through March, 2013. Three researchers conducted interviews independently, resulting in each researcher conducting one-third of the total number of interviews (n=101). On average, each of the interviews lasted 45 minutes. Police personnel

responded to the following interview questions: How (if at all) has your community changed because of the rapid population growth associated with the oil boom? How (if at all) have citizens in your community changed because of the rapid population growth associated with the oil boom? Based on your experiences, how have long-term residents handled the increase in population in your community? How (if at all) has crime in your community changed because of the rapid population increase associated with the oil boom? Open-ended questions allowed police personnel to provide "thick descriptions" (Geertz, 1973), or rich, detailed responses, that include examples from their professional experiences and informal interactions with residents in their communities while off-duty.

Research sites

Eight police agencies located in four counties in western North Dakota served as research sites for this study. A combination of factors influenced the selection of research sites: First, limited resources narrowed the scope and sample of this study. A small, university-sponsored grant was the only source of funding for this project. Geographic location was another factor that influenced the selection of research sites. Since the focus of this study is the impact of rapid population growth on policing in western North Dakota, all of the sites had to be located within the Bakken oil shale formation in western North Dakota. Oil production was another factor considered when choosing research sites for this study. McKenzie County (#1), Dunn County (#3) and Williams County (#4) are ranked as some of the highest oil producing counties in western North Dakota, while Ward County ranks fifth on the list of the lowest oil producing counties in the Bakken region (North Dakota Department of Mineral Resources, 2013). This variation in the sample allows for comparison of experiences of police personnel working in both high and low oil-producing counties. Population growth also influenced the choice of research sites for this study. All research sites had to experience some population growth in recent years. Table 1 shows that all eight research sites have experienced population growth since 2010, ranging from 1.1% to 42.3%. Finally, police agencies had to agree to participate in this study. Only two out of ten police agencies contacted for this study declined our invitation to participate.

Table 1 - Population Data 2000-2013*

	2000	2010	2013 (estimate)**	% change in population 2010-2013 (estimate)
Williston	12,512	14,716	20,850	+41.68%
Sex: Male	5992	7507	-***	
Female	6520	7209	-	
Race: White	11723	13634	-	
Black	21	51	-	
All other races	489	592	-	
Hispanic (any race)	154	328	-	
Median Household Income	\$29,962	\$56,836	\$77,636	
Watford City	1,435	1,744	3,284	+88.30%
Sex: Male	675	892	-	
Female	760	852	-	
Race: White	1362	1633	-	
Black	3	2	-	
All other races	56	81	-	
Hispanic (any race)	16	33	-	
Median Household Income	\$29,668	\$48,100	\$64,639	
Killdeer	713	751	975	+29.82%
Sex: Male	322	375	-	
Female	391	376	-	
Race: White	670	701	-	
Black	0	1	-	
All other races	36	31	-	
Hispanic (any race)	5	7	-	
Median Household Income	\$32,750	\$43,500	\$66,813	
Tioga	1,125	1,230	1,565	+27.23%
Sex: Male	520	625	-	
Female	605	605	-	
Race: White	1,096	1,192	-	
Black	2	1	-	
All other races	12	16	-	
Hispanic (any race)	1	8	-	
Median Household Income	\$29,740	\$49,300	\$59,506	
Minot	36,567	40,888	43,746	+ 6.99%
Sex: Male	17,626	20,165	-	
Female	18,941	20,723	-	
Race: White	34,074	36,863	-	
Black	490	933	-	
All other races	1,440	2,008	-	
Hispanic (any race)	539	1,117	-	
Median Household Income	\$32,218	\$45,140	\$55,759	

Table 1 - Population Data 2000-2013* (cont.)

	2000	2010	2013 (estimate)**	% change in population 2010-2013 (estimate)
Williams county	19,761	22,398	29,595	+32.13%
Sex: Male	9,687	11,548	-	
Female	10,074	10,850	-	
Race: White	18,367	20,639	-	
Black	24	63	-	
All other races	934	1,052	-	
Hispanic (any race)	185	436	-	
Median Household Income	\$31,491	\$51,781	\$74,842	
Ward county	58,795	61,675	67,990	+10.23%
Sex: Male	29,284	31,250	-	
Female	29,511	30,425	-	
Race: White	54,327	55,718	-	
Black	1,305	1,542	-	
All other races	2,162	2,725	-	
Hispanic (any race)	1,125	1,869	-	
Median Household Income	\$33,670	\$46,536	\$57,703	
McKenzie county	5,737	6,360	9,314	+46.44%
Sex: Male	2,878	3,282	-	
Female	2,859	3,078	-	
Race: White	4,438	4,792	-	
Black	4	8	-	
All other races	1,227	1,460	-	
Hispanic (any race)	58	139	-	
Median Household Income	\$29,342	\$40,554	\$59,391	
			Total Change	+282.82%

*United States Census website: www.census.gov

**Estimates do not include people living in semi-permanent housing structures (such as “man camps”) or campers; thus, the population increase might actually be higher than officially reported by the U.S. Census Bureau.

***No demographic information is available for 2013 estimates

Description of the Sample

Police agencies of various sizes were included in this study. Three agencies employed fewer than ten employees, three agencies employed 10-20 employees, and two agencies employed 30-40 employees. More than half of all sworn personnel from each police agency voluntarily participated in face-to-face interviews. Overall, 73% (101/138) of all sworn police personnel employed by the eight police agencies participated in this study.

Police personnel of various ranks participated in interviews. In smaller agencies, people in supervisory/management positions respond to calls for service alongside patrol-level officers and

sheriff’s deputies. Most (76%) of the sample consisted of patrol officers and sheriff’s deputies, while 24% consisted of personnel serving in positions ranging from the rank of sergeant up to chief of police. Over half (55%) of the police personnel interviewed for this study had 36 months or less of policing experience at the time of the interviews, 11% had 37-72 months, 7% had 73-119 months, and 27% had 120 or more months of experience. More than half (58%) of the police personnel were married, and over half (55%) had children. Approximately one-third (35%) have earned high school diplomas and/or some college credits, while 40% have two

year degrees, 24% have four year degrees, and 1% have graduate degrees.

Coding and Analysis

Transcription facilitated the conversion of hand written interview notes into electronic word files after each interview. The research team utilized Glaser's (1992) *grounded theory* approach, or constant comparative method, where researchers begin their analysis with the first data collected and then continuously compare themes, concepts, and categories for the duration of data collection. Members of the research team identified patterns and themes in the interview data as they conducted interviews independently, but they also convened at the end of every day of interviews to compare and discuss themes from the interviews.

Intercoder reliability is the extent to which multiple independent coders agree on the coding of data using a similar coding scheme (Cho, 2008). Some suggest that one or more additional coders should examine a subset of the original sample and maintain agreement with the main coder for at least 90% of the subset (Carey, Morgan, & Oxtoby, 1996). In this study, two people conducted the final coding for all interview data included in this paper. Any discrepancies were resolved through discussion.

Final coding and data analyses followed six general steps (Creswell, 2003): First, the organization of interview data involved grouping the responses to each individual interview question together and then grouping individual responses to the interview questions by police agency. Second, a thorough reading of all interview notes resulted in several general categories based on the responses provided for each interview question. Most of the general categories are similar to those identified during the preliminary data analysis described in the preceding paragraph. Third, detailed coding occurred during several additional iterations of review of the interview notes. Coding categories consisted of responses that directly and indirectly fit into themes associated with each research question. Fourth, specific information found within the detailed coding categories provide descriptions of police officers' perceptions of their communities, residents living in their communities, and crime problems in their communities. Fifth, the calculation of percentages represents the aggregate responses for each interview question. Several quotes from individual interviews accompany the aggregate findings to provide examples of the main themes. Randomly assigned codes (such as PO 7, PO 42, etc.) are placed at the end of each quote to show that the quotes come from a wide range of police officer interviews, as opposed to using quotes from only a select few interviews. In

the findings section of this paper, these codes follow each of the selected quotes in parentheses. The percentages for the responses provided for each interview question do not always equal 100% as police personnel provided more than one answer for most of the interview questions. The sixth step in the process included the final interpretation of the research findings. This step involved the application of Elias and Scotson's (1994) theory of established-outsider relations to explain research findings derived from police interviews, census data, and crime statistics. A comparison of research findings from the current study with findings from previous studies (Covey & Menard, 1984; Ruddell, 2011; Ruddell & Ortiz, 2014; Taft, 1981) is also included in the final interpretation of the data.

Findings

Changes in Communities

The first research question inquires about how rapid population growth affects police officers' perceptions of their communities. When asked how (if at all) rapid population growth from the oil boom has affected their community, approximately one-third (34%) of police personnel said that the physical landscape of their community has changed because of the oil boom. The addition of new businesses, hotels, and apartment complexes, along with increased traffic, oilrigs, and natural gas flares shooting out of the ground are some of the visual changes to the landscape. The increase in traffic has quickly eroded highways and roads in the area. The increased presence of recreational vehicles (RVs) and campers is also something that has changed the look of communities in western North Dakota. People who move to the area for employment park their RVs and campers in parking lots, streets located in residential areas, and in other random public spaces. The high cost of living coupled with limited affordable housing contributes to the increased presence of this type of mobile temporary housing.

There has been a significant increase in size even in the last year. There is a lot of new housing and more motels going up in the city. We are starting to see more families moving here. It is nice to see some families instead of herds of dudes. We are supposed to get more restaurants (there are long waits at restaurants now). The town is growing and the options for entertainment are increasing at the same time, but they need to improve the infrastructure. (PO 76)

The infrastructure is the biggest change. New hotels, apartments, man camps[,] and gas stations are all being built. It is a problem because the restaurants and businesses cannot keep or get good people to work for them. Now there is a different mix of people in the area. It's also a lot dirtier, especially on the county roads. People just throw their trash everywhere and it is hard to keep up with the cleanup. (PO 35)

It is now a bigger community in size and it has some issues...like crimes that are more common in larger cities. There is a longer wait everywhere you go in town due to the traffic and also more people everywhere. It looks different. There are places outside of the city limits that used to be beautiful, open prairie that are now filled with gravel, trucks, trailers, and workers. (PO 1)

Police personnel also identified rapid population growth as another change occurring in their communities. One-third (33%) of the police officers stated that their communities are changing because there are so many new people moving into the region. Most of the new residents are young men moving from places located outside of North Dakota. Recent statistics show that men in their twenties account for 29% of the recent population growth in western North Dakota (Mather & Jarosz, 2014). Some of the new residents also come from diverse racial/ethnic backgrounds. When police personnel discussed the increased presence of new residents in their communities, they frequently associated it with negative consequences including traffic problems, deterioration in the quality of life, increased fear of crime, and an "us versus them" mentality among longtime residents and new residents. Rapid population growth has increased the level of anonymity among residents; thus, it is less likely that people will know their neighbors. This is a departure from the small town lifestyle that many longtime residents are accustomed to and comfortable with.

There are no locals (long-term residents) left here. We seem to only deal with the new people. The locals have moved away. If they owned housing, they made money and then left. However, for people who were renting, they could no longer afford to stay here. (PO 70)

Nobody knows anybody else anymore. There is a sense of hostility in the

community between the locals and the new people. There is always conflict between oil field workers and the locals at some of the businesses in town. They sometimes get into shoving and hollering matches. (PO 16)

There is a misconception among residents that all of the oil field workers are bad. People draw that conclusion based on what they see in the media. If something goes wrong, they immediately think it is an oil field person. People also see the new people coming into the state as a bunch of rowdy hillbillies. (PO 27)

Interviews with police personnel suggest that the rapid influx of new residents has had a negative impact on some longtime residents. Specifically, one-third (33%) of the police officers reported that the fear of crime in their communities has increased since the oil boom began in 2008. Officers based their assertions on interactions and conversations they have had with residents in their communities while they were both on and off duty. Longtime residents frequently talk about crime problems in their communities and blame the new residents for the increase in crime. Officers reported that some longtime residents have changed their daily routines because of an increased fear of crime. People now lock the doors to their homes and garages, they no longer go out alone during the evening, and some people now carry mace or guns for personal protection. Female residents have expressed concern over their personal safety because most of the new residents are men. In general, residents are more cautious and aware of their surroundings.

Many people are locking the doors on their houses and cars. Women are more careful after dark. Rumors are floating around town about rape. Apparently, people are saying that women are being attacked in retail store parking lots. I have female friends that carry mace at all times now. People in general are more careful. (PO 96)

We used to be able to move around more freely, but not anymore. It is not safe anymore. I have a younger sister and I will not let her go to the store by herself. There are nasty people that hang out there. And after that kidnapping and murder of that Montana woman, I am not taking any chances. Most of the locals are naïve to what is really going on – they don't see what I see every day at work. People are

monsters. They don't care about the town and they don't care about other people. (PO 3)

Women in the community are uncomfortable walking around at night because there are so many people from out of town, especially men. There are rumors going around town. There was a rumor that there was a rape at one of the local stores. These rumors are things that have not happened in this community. The media makes us out to be the Wild West, when we are just an agency that is under staffed and over-loaded with calls (most are not crime-related calls). (PO 6)

Some police officers (27%) reported that the quality of life in their communities has deteriorated because of the changes associated with the oil boom. Specifically, residents are not as friendly as they once were before the oil boom; their communities no longer feel like small towns, and their communities are not as family-oriented as they were in the past. Many officers discussed how some longtime residents believe that their small town is turning into a "big city with big city problems." The sense of community is diminishing among residents as the population continues to increase.

The locals are very upset. Some people are waiting for it (the oil) to dry up so that their town can go back to normal. People struggle to understand why they cannot get immediate service from us, but they do not understand the high number of calls we deal with. People should be cautious here, but this is by no means a big city. The media has blown it out of proportion. There are a lot more people, a lot more homeless people, but overall it is not that bad. There are either a few or no spots open in homeless shelters. Some churches help, but then their parking lots become packed with people living out of their cars. (PO 73)

The community is busier – more cars, more traffic and more people. The quality of life is not very good for most people that have lived here a long time. They do not like the bad attitudes of the people that have moved here for work in the oil fields. This city no longer feels family-oriented anymore. Moms and their kids are not out in the parks or walking around as much anymore. I hear

complaints like these from the locals when I am both on and off duty. (PO 2)

People used to wave. That's not how it is right now. If you wave at someone who has out of state plates, they'll look at you like you are crazy. Neighbors do not look out for neighbors anymore. People lock their front doors, and they didn't use[d] to do that in the past. People used to leave their car running when they would run into the store. Not anymore. That can't happen here. It has gone from a very small town, like a best-kept-secret kind of town to more of a mini-metropolis. It is very different than it used to be. (PO 14)

Police personnel linked changes occurring in their communities with the increasing presence of the oil industry in the region. Physical deterioration of roads and open prairie, a diminishing sense of community, a declining quality of life among residents, and a loss of small town living are some of the negative outcomes identified by police personnel. The oil industry in western North Dakota attracts workers from all over the United States. Police personnel stated that the influx of new residents moving to the area for employment has changed their communities. The changes in the communities in western North Dakota are similar to changes that occurred in Winston Parva as people moved into the community for employment in the military factory (Elias & Scotson, 1994).

Changes in Residents

The second research question inquires about police perceptions of changes in residents in their communities resulting from the oil boom. Police personnel first responded to a general question about changes in citizens, and then a second question that specifically asked about longtime residents' reactions to changes in their communities. When asked how (if at all) citizens in their communities have changed, many police officers (41%) reported that longtime residents are not happy about the changes taking place in their communities. Specifically, longtime residents are not happy about the new people moving into their communities. There is an "us versus them" mentality among longtime and new residents. Longtime residents are suspicious of new residents and blame them for the increase in crime in their community.

People are frustrated with the additional activity and traffic. They are suspicious of the new people and what is going on in

town. Their perception of crime is worse than it really is. They may have wanted Mayberry, but it was never that way before this oil boom anyway. There is a perception by out of state folks that the locals don't like them. (PO 84)

The longtime residents tend to keep to themselves because they are leery of outsiders. The citizens tend to believe what they hear or what is in the newspaper and become more nervous. As far as the composition of the citizens, there are more Haitians, African Americans, Hispanics and Indians (from India). On a daily basis, I see 20 different state license plates and have even seen a European tag on a vehicle. (PO 38)

The local people are more irritable these days. They do not like the "oil trash." (PO 68)

Increased racial and ethnic diversity was identified as another change to residents by approximately one-third (32%) of police personnel. Census data indicate that all eight of the research sites in this study had populations that consisted mostly of white residents (90% or more) before the oil boom began in 2008. Populations in all of the research sites are still predominately white today; however, many of the new residents moving into the region are not white, which results in greater racial and ethnic diversity in these communities (see Table 1). Police personnel stated that racial diversity is a positive thing for their communities, but they believe that some longtime residents are not happy about the changing faces in their communities.

There are many new people from different cultures moving to town. The town is now comprised of Asians, Hispanics, African Americans, Haitians, and Samoans just to name a few. Some of the new people moving to town have no commitment to the community and no roots here. Many of them have become homeless in the city because they are not hireable due to drug use or a criminal background. I have not seen much racism or problems between the different groups, however. Law enforcement treats all groups the same regardless of their background or race. (PO 40)

It is very diverse. There are license plates from everywhere. There are a lot of Mexican oilrig workers and some of them are not legal, which means that we have interaction with Border Patrol quite a bit. One time, we had several illegal immigrants in custody. There were five of them working in town. When I called the Feds to come and pick them up[,] they told us that they were not driving all the way out to western North Dakota to pick up the illegal people. I asked the federal officer what I should do with them then. He told me to let them go.....so I did. (PO 11)

The community is more diverse now, which is a good thing. One thing I have noticed is that there are more ethnic food places coming to town and now you can buy movies that are completely in Spanish. Businesses in the area have started to cater to the new, growing diverse population. It is good that they recognize this because the oil companies are located in areas where the populations are primarily Spanish speaking, such as Oklahoma, New Mexico[,] and Texas. (PO 53)

An increase in fear of crime is another change among residents identified by approximately one-third (30%) of police personnel. They believe that fear of crime among citizens is higher due to the rapid changes in the size and composition of community populations. Many of the longtime residents are used to knowing most of the other residents in their communities. The rapid influx of people who are unfamiliar to longtime residents has put some of them on edge and has made them concerned about their personal safety. As a result, officers said that more people are carrying concealed weapons because they are fearful of becoming crime victims.

The citizens have become more guarded and are more apt to lock their doors and cars these days. The oil companies have been moving toward trying to get the workers to bring their families with them. This helps keep the oil field workers in line and helps the community by bringing workers into town to assist in the service industries. The businesses definitely need people to work and the spouses and girlfriends are the perfect employees. (PO 49)

Women around here are not as likely to leave their houses alone anymore because there are dudes everywhere. And the dudes are not from here so they do not know what to expect from them. There are some people that do not mind the change in town. They are the locals that are profiting from the oil boom though. Everyone else is tired of the traffic and all of the new people moving into the city. (PO 2)

I see many safety programs now. People are organizing neighborhood watches without the police. They actually do it on their own. There is a huge increase in the number of gun permits. That has gone up. People tend to keep to themselves, but they can also be nosey too. If they don't know their neighbors, they are very nosey. They don't trust anybody. We get a lot of calls for suspicious people because people will look out the window, see someone they don't know or that looks different from them, and then they will call the police because they think the person looks suspicious. (PO 23)

Police personnel responded to a second interview question that specifically asked about how longtime residents are reacting to the rapid population growth resulting from the oil boom. Over half (56%) of police personnel stated that most longtime residents are unhappy with changes taking place in their communities. As a result, some longtime residents have moved out of their communities. The rapid population expansion in the region has disrupted the small town lifestyle coveted by many longtime residents.

[]The long-term residents hate it. They complain about the traffic and the different cultures that have moved into the area. The rumor mill is a big problem. The citizens may be exaggerating the crime rate because of this rumor mill. Citizens do not go out at night as much because they are scared. There has been a huge increase in the number of concealed weapons permit applications. There is a stack this high [six inches off the table] in the office. The residents are mad because a lot of the money from the oil is going to the east side of the state and not staying local. (PO 34)

People are planning to move. They want to sell their homes because they are worth more now than they ever could be or have

been in the past. Most are not happy. They do not like to have to wait in line at stores. You cannot get a post office box in the city. There is a wait list seven pages long because there are so many people from out of state getting post office boxes because they are not able to set up an established residency. The long-term residents are pissed. (PO 6)
Local people have become bitter. They do not like the oil people coming in. It creates fights in bars. They want their small town back. They are frustrated with all the traffic. (PO 87)

The remaining 44% of police personnel reported mixed emotions among longtime residents where some longtime residents are happy, while others are not. The longtime residents who are happy are benefiting in some way from the oil boom. Some residents have benefitted financially because they own land that has oil on it, they secured jobs working in the oil industry, and/or they own local businesses that have become more profitable because of the rapid increase in population.

It seems to be 50/50 among long-term residents. Half of them are happy because it brings good business and they benefit from that, but then the other half bitch and complain about the traffic and crime. The long-term residents seem to call us more about stuff such as people parked in cars near their homes. Other complaints are that the residents have to lock up their stuff now where they didn't have to worry about that in the past. In general, they (citizens) complain that it is not a safe community anymore. (PO 39)

It has been okay. The media coverage tries to blame it on oil. Some long-term residents have a chip on their shoulder. Others are happy to get a good job. Some resent the increased cost of housing though. (PO 88)

There are a small number of people who are moving. There is a large percentage of people who actually welcome it. What is interesting is that we now have a person in town who used to be known as the town drunk. But because the town drunk lives on a piece of land where there happens to be oil, the town drunk is now a millionaire. Where can you find that? Where can you

find a community where someone who used to be, sort of, a drunk loser is now the drunk millionaire of the town? The farmers are not very happy about it. They are very tired of all the traffic. There is way too much traffic. It is difficult for them to move their equipment around, especially the large farm machinery. (PO 14)

In contrast, some longtime residents can no longer afford to live in their communities because of the dramatic increase in the cost of living. This is especially the case for people who rent their homes. A recent report by Craig (2014, February 17), identified Williston North Dakota as the city with the most expensive rent in the United States. The report states that a 700-square-foot, one-bedroom, one-bath apartment in Williston costs more than \$2,000 per month. A three-bedroom, three-bath apartment costs as much as \$4,500 per month. Longtime residents not employed by or associated with the oil industry cannot afford the high rent. In addition to high rent, the cost of food and other services has also increased in communities in western North Dakota. Overall, there has been a significant increase in the cost of living in western North Dakota.

Nearly one-third (30%) of police personnel mentioned an increased fear of crime among long-term residents because of rapid population growth resulting from the oil boom. Some long-term residents are suspicious of people affiliated with the oil industry who live and work in their communities. When there are problems in their communities, longtime residents quickly place blame on the new residents. Some longtime residents stereotype new residents who work in the oil industry as criminals.

The long-term residents wonder what happened to their small community. The older residents tend to be more fearful now because of the media presentation of crime in the area. The media only portrays the negative stuff and this is what they [residents] think is reality. They have been calling about suspicious people more. For instance, the other day I received a call about suspicious black people staring at people near a storage facility. (PO 53)

It is really tough for them [long-term residents]. They felt that it was a small town and they knew everyone. There were low levels of crime and now there is more crime. Really, it is just increasing with the population, but it scares them. People are blaming the “out of staters” for the crime.

Some people are more accepting. The reality is that locals also commit many crimes, but long-term residents do not like to hear that. (PO 72)

I can tell you that most people who are long-term residents assume that the oil field people, or, as they call them, “oil field trash” or “rig pigs,” are causing a lot of trouble. There seems to be kind of a mixed perception here. People are very happy about what it is doing for the economy, but they are not happy about having to fix the roads and the wear and tear on their community. (PO 30)

Elias and Scotson (1994) described a division among residents of Winston Parva based on “social oldness” or length of residency. Interviews with police personnel revealed that a distinct division exists among longtime residents of western North Dakota and new residents moving to the region for employment. Police officers stated that some of the new residents are easy to identify because they come from diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds that are not native to the communities in western North Dakota, which were predominately white before the oil boom began in 2008. Out of state license plates and southern accents also serve as indicators for identifying new residents. Officers described an “us versus them” mentality among the longtime and new residents in their communities.

Changes in Crime

The third research question examines police perceptions of changes in crime in their communities. When asked how (if at all) crime has changed in their communities since the oil boom began, over half (66%) stated that crime has increased in general, while the remaining 34% said that crime has increased in proportion with the increase in population. Most (85%) police personnel stated that new residents are responsible for or are involved in the increased crime in their communities.

Crime has gone up. With more people there is more crime. Low-level crime has always been around. Violent crime hasn't gone up that much, but more criminals are attracted to the work here and the type of person arriving is more likely to be violent. The employers are much less selective now. The proportion of criminals is higher among those attracted here than the local population. Some of the new people have

more criminal tendencies, looking for thrills, and more exciting lifestyle. (PO 77)

Crime has gone up a lot. It is mostly alcohol related. A lot more thefts, a lot more drinking going on. Many of the oil workers drink and want to prove how tough they are and get in a lot of fights at the bars. The bars have been forced to hire bouncers by either the city or the county, but they are not always good and that can cause more problems than they solve. A lot of the people who have come to the area are the lowest of the low from other parts of the country. They are hard up people. There have been a lot of stories done around the country about how there is work here and it brings these people in. Some are sent from other places. A guy was sent here on a bus by a judge somewhere. He went to a bar and was arrested within 20 minutes of being here. (PO 60)

Much of the increase in crime is related to the scavengers and con artists that have come to town taking advantage of people. (PO 52)

There was a consensus among police personnel in all of the research sites that violent crimes are not increasing to the extent that local, regional, and national media outlets report. They believe that rumors and exaggerated media accounts contribute to the increased fear of crime among residents and the perception that western North Dakota has become “the wild west.”

Following their assessment of general changes to crime, many police officers identified crimes that they believe have increased in recent years based on the calls for service they respond to while on duty. Over one-third (37%) reported that they respond to more alcohol-related crimes than they had in the past including driving under the influence/DUI, bar fights, and disorderly conduct. An increase in drug-related crime was also mentioned by nearly one-third (31%) of police personnel.

There are more bar fights. The bar fights used to be one person against one person. Now it is a bunch of people against a bunch of people. It is more of a group fight. The fights seem to be much more physical and violent. It is usually oil field workers against other oil field workers. The locals or long-term residents do not go out as much

anymore. They do not want to deal with the out of state people. (PO 8)

The amount of reported crime in the city has increased. There are a lot more fights “monkey dances” with locals and oil workers. The fights don’t seem to be that frequent anymore. Also, there are more drugs in the city such as marijuana and meth. (PO 57)

There is a lot of violence, especially in the bars. The males seem to be fighting over the females in hand-to-hand combat. There was, for a time, a lot of alcohol driving offenses such as DUIs. The department recognized those rising statistics and put more officers on the street to combat and hit DUIs hard. I believe that this has made a difference and people are catching on. (PO 51)

Approximately 25% of police personnel identified an increase in thefts, burglaries, and traffic-related crimes such as driving under the influence of drugs and/or alcohol. Others identified increases in domestic violence (18%) and prostitution (14%). Officers said that the use of weapons and the level of violence used during domestic violence incidents have increased in recent years.

Domestic complaints are often oil field related. The oil field workers have also increased the DUI arrests and hit and run accidents. There are more serious calls, more weapon calls, and more violence involved in the calls we handle. Domestic disputes seem to escalate more quickly, even to a shooting in one case. (PO 89)

The amount [*sic*] of calls for service has changed, but the crimes have not changed. More aggravated assaults, usually people drinking and getting in fights. There are more domestic violence calls, but that has to do with the housing shortage and cramped living quarters. (PO 5)

There are prostitution businesses popping up in the oil patch. Many advertise on Craigslist. One method is to advertise as a “cleaning service.” The ad suggests they will clean your apartment or trailer, but the insinuation is that it is a lot more than cleaning being offered. Servers at a local bar said that women were handing out business cards for their house cleaning

services, but they were not dressed like housekeepers. (PO 85)

Official crime statistics support most of the changes in crime identified by police personnel in this study. Tables 2 – 7 provide crime rates and number of reported crimes for Williston, Watford City, Minot, McKenzie County, Williams County, and Ward County from 2004-2013. There are no tables for Killdeer and Tioga as both cities have only recently began to collect crime data. Ruddell, Jayasundara, Mayzer and Heitkamp (2014) also encountered problems with inconsistent data collection by police agencies located in boomtowns when they examined the boom-crime relationship in the Bakken.

With the exception of Minot (located on the outer edge of the Bakken), most of the research sites in this study reported only a few (one to three) homicides per year from 2008-2013. It is important to note that many of the research sites reported zero homicides in most years. Reported sexual assaults

either remained the same as before the oil boom or have declined since the oil boom began in 2008 in Minot and Ward County. Watford City and McKenzie County have experienced a slight increase in reported sexual assaults since 2008. Williams County and Williston have experienced the greatest increase in sexual assaults since the oil boom began. Aggravated assaults increased significantly in all of the research sites. Officers reported that many of the aggravated assaults occur during bar fights. The greatest increases in crime in the research sites come from property-related crimes such as theft/larceny and burglaries. All of the research sites experienced significant increases in these two types of crime since 2008. Reported robberies have only increased in two of the research sites (Williston and Minot). The general pattern found in Tables 2-7 indicates that the types of crimes that have increased the most include property-related crimes (burglaries and larceny/theft). The most common violent crime involving physical harm to citizens is aggravated assault.

Table 2 – Crime Rates and Reported Crime in Williston, ND, 2004-2013*

	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Homicide	0	0	0	0	0	0	7.4 (1)	0	0	5.0 (1)
Sexual Assault	24.5 (3)	24.5 (3)	49.3 (6)	32.6 (4)	113.0 (14)	118.5 (15)	81.1 (11)	106.9 (16)	73.3 (12)	65.2 (13)
Robbery	0	8.2 (1)	8.2 (1)	8.2 (1)	16.1 (2)	31.6 (4)	22.1 (3)	13.4 (2)	12.2 (2)	40.1 (8)
Aggravated Assault	106.3 (13)	89.9 (11)	57.5 (7)	97.9 (12)	104.9 (13)	134.3 (17)	191.6 (26)	260.6 (39)	299.3 (49)	285.7 (57)
Burglary	163.5 (20)	212.5 (26)	205.3 (25)	122.3 (15)	137.2 (17)	292.2 (37)	199.0 (27)	187.1 (28)	268.7 (44)	401.0 (80)
Larceny Theft	1487.7 (182)	980.9 (120)	1001.9 (122)	1305.1 (160)	1267.5 (157)	2116.6 (268)	1805.6 (245)	1951.3 (292)	3689.0 (604)	3433.8 (685)

*Crime rates and reported crimes published on the North Dakota Attorney General website.

<http://www.ag.nd.gov/Reports/BCIReports/CrimeHomicide/CrimeHomicide.htm>

Table 3 – Crime Rates and Reported Crime in Watford City, ND, 2004-2013*

	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Homicide	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	50.8 (1)	0
Sexual Assault	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	56.4 (1)	50.8 (1)	107.4 (3)
Robbery	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	35.8 (1)
Aggravated Assault	217.9 (3)	148.7 (2)	73.8 (1)	72.9 (1)	37.0 (1)	0	137.9 (2)	338.4 (6)	660.9 (13)	286.4 (8)
Burglary	290.5 (4)	223.0 (3)	73.8 (1)	72.9 (1)	0	72.4 (1)	413.8 (6)	394.8 (7)	254.2 (5)	572.9 (16)
Larceny Theft	2904.9 (40)	520.4 (7)	369.0 (5)	583.5 (8)	185.1 (5)	72.4 (1)	1862.1 (27)	2425.3 (43)	2643.6 (52)	2363.1 (66)

*Crime rates and reported crimes published on the North Dakota Attorney General website.

<http://www.ag.nd.gov/Reports/BCIReports/CrimeHomicide/CrimeHomicide.htm>

Table 4 – Crime Rates and Reported Crime in Minot, ND, 2004-2013*

	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Homicide	2.8 (1)	2.8 (1)	0	15.2 (3)	0	0	2.7 (1)	14.4 (6)	0	0
Sexual Assault	95.9 (34)	85.0 (30)	45.8 (16)	55.1 (19)	56.9 (20)	34.0 (12)	71.8 (27)	16.8 (7)	46.0 (20)	26.9 (12)
Robbery	19.7 (7)	11.3 (4)	25.8 (9)	14.5 (5)	8.5 (3)	14.2 (5)	13.3 (5)	12.0 (5)	13.8 (6)	40.3 (18)
Aggravated Assault	107.2 (38)	136.1 (48)	94.5 (33)	185.6 (64)	150.9 (53)	255.0 (90)	212.7 (80)	247.7 (103)	174.9 (76)	201.6 (90)
Burglary	434.4 (154)	306.1 (108)	403.6 (141)	406.0 (140)	364.4 (128)	289.0 (102)	183.5 (69)	283.8 (118)	179.5 (78)	403.3 (180)
Larceny Theft	2391.8 (848)	2437.8 (860)	1997.8 (698)	1899.3 (655)	1585.8 (557)	1385.5 (489)	1600.9 (602)	1445.5 (601)	1389.8 (604)	1586.2 (708)

*Crime rates and reported crimes published on the North Dakota Attorney General website.

<http://www.ag.nd.gov/Reports/BCIReports/CrimeHomicide/CrimeHomicide.htm>

Table 5 – Crime Rates and Reported Crime in McKenzie County, ND, 2004-2013*

	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Homicide	DNR	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sexual Assault	DNR	24.0 (1)	0	0	0	0	0	42.6 (2)	0	33.3 (2)
Robbery	DNR	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	19.2 (1)	0
Aggravated Assault	DNR	47.9 (2)	47.3 (2)	0	0	0	0	127.8 (6)	134.3 (7)	299.9 (18)
Burglary	DNR	311.5 (13)	165.4 (7)	137.8 (6)	94.1 (4)	69.3 (3)	0	21.3 (11)	134.3 (7)	266.2 (16)
Larceny Theft	DNR	646.9 (27)	756.1 (32)	574.2 (25)	564.3 (24)	577.2 (251)	21.8 (1)	1171.7 (55)	1419.5 (74)	983.0 (59)

*Crime rates and reported crimes published on the North Dakota Attorney General website.

<http://www.ag.nd.gov/Reports/BCIReports/CrimeHomicide/CrimeHomicide.htm>

**DNR = Did not report

Table 6 – Crime Rates and Reported Crime in Williams County, ND, 2004-2013*

	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Homicide	0	0	14.1 (1)	0	0	0	0	0	11.7 (1)	26.2 (2)
Sexual Assault	0	28.1 (2)	14.1 (1)	0	27.8 (2)	27.2 (2)	12.9 (1)	12.8 (1)	58.4 (5)	39.2 (3)
Robbery	0	0	0	13.7 (1)	0	0	0	0	0	0
Aggravated Assault	42.3 (3)	0	28.2 (2)	55.0 (4)	139.1 (10)	108.7 (8)	90.3 (7)	230.4 (18)	467.3 (40)	392.3 (30)
Burglary	253.6 (18)	323.4 (23)	183.6 (13)	247.5 (18)	570.4 (41)	258.3 (19)	271.0 (21)	192.0 (15)	560.7 (48)	928.5 (71)
Larceny Theft	648.1 (46)	604.5 (43)	805.1 (57)	577.4 (42)	723.4 (52)	407.8 (30)	658.2 (51)	1420.9 (111)	2056.1 (176)	3099.3 (237)

*Crime rates and reported crimes published on the North Dakota Attorney General website.

<http://www.ag.nd.gov/Reports/BCIReports/CrimeHomicide/CrimeHomicide.htm>

Table 7 – Crime Rates and Reported Crime in Ward County, ND, 2004-2013*

	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Homicide	0	4.7 (1)	0	0	0	0	5.5 (1)	0	0	0
Sexual Assault	28.2 (6)	0	9.6 (2)	15.2 (3)	25.5 (5)	30.2 (6)	10.9 (2)	27.8 (5)	26.6 (5)	5.3 (1)
Robbery	4.7 (1)	4.7 (1)	4.8 (1)	0	0	10.1 (2)	0	0	0	0
Aggravated Assault	23.5 (5)	23.6 (5)	48.2 (10)	86.2 (17)	66.3 (13)	50.4 (10)	81.9 (15)	150.0 (27)	85.1 (16)	106.1 (20)
Burglary	126.7 (27)	179.7 (38)	236.1 (49)	147.0 (29)	198.9 (39)	141.2 (28)	169.2 (31)	272.3 (49)	244.7 (46)	291.8 (55)
Larceny Theft	642.8 (137)	496.4 (105)	510.7 (106)	289.0 (57)	311.0 (61)	504.1 (100)	666.0 (122)	577.9 (104)	574.6 (108)	514.7 (97)

*Crime rates and reported crimes published on the North Dakota Attorney General website.

<http://www.ag.nd.gov/Reports/BCIReports/CrimeHomicide/CrimeHomicide.htm>

Police personnel reported that they frequently respond to calls involving DUI, disorderly conduct, drugs, thefts, domestic violence, and prostitution in recent years. Arrest statistics published by the North Dakota Attorney General's Office from 2004-2013 indicate that there has been an increase in arrests for larceny, DUI, drug violations, and disorderly conduct. The number of arrests for domestic violence and prostitution has only slightly increased since 2008. Police personnel may be responding to more calls for service involving domestic violence and prostitution, but it does not appear that they are making a greater number of arrests for these types of crimes.

Elias and Scotson (1994) believed that gossip played an important role in establishing and maintaining social order in Winston Parva. Members of the established group used gossip to create a negative image of the outsiders, including the idea that they are involved in crime and disorder in the community. In the current study, interview data revealed that most police personnel believe that the increase in crime in their communities is a result of the new residents moving to western North Dakota. Officers also reported that many longtime residents believe that the new residents are to blame for in the increase in crime. This negative view of the new residents has led to an increase in fear of crime and

suspicion toward new people moving into their communities. Officers stated that exaggerated media reports coupled with community gossip contributes to the perception that western North Dakota has turned into the "wild west."

Conclusions

Findings from the current study are similar to those found in previous studies that examined the impact of rapid population growth on police officer's perceptions in energy boomtowns. The distinction of two groups (longtime residents and new residents) by police personnel was a dominant theme in the responses to all interview questions asked in the current study. Similar to the division in Winston Parva (Elias & Scotson, 1994), "social oldness" is a major factor creating a division between longtime residents and new residents in communities in western North Dakota. Similarly, Scott et al. (2012) discovered a division between the longtime residents and FIFO (fly in, fly out) workers in the mining region in Western Australia.

In the current study, police personnel reported that their communities look different due to the addition of new businesses, houses, apartment complexes, increased traffic, and new people moving

into the area. Covey and Menard (1984), Ruddell and Ortiz (2014), and Taft (1981) all mentioned similar changes in their energy boomtowns. Police personnel in western North Dakota also stated that citizens living in their communities have changed since the oil boom began in 2008. Specifically, there has been a rapid increase in new residents moving into the region in recent years, most of whom are men, and some are from diverse racial/ethnic backgrounds. Officers believe that some longtime residents of western North Dakota are unhappy with the changes to their quality of life and with all of the new residents moving into their communities. Police personnel said that the number of “suspicious person” calls have increased because longtime residents do not trust new residents; they believe that the new residents are responsible for the increase in crime in their communities, and they are more fearful of becoming crime victims. Covey and Menard (1984), Scott et al. (2012), and Taft (1981) also found that longtime residents disliked the rapid influx of new residents moving into their communities. They did not trust the new residents; they believed that new residents were responsible for the increase in crime in their communities, and they too became more fearful of becoming crime victims.

Fear of crime was a common theme in police responses to all of the interview questions asked in the current study. Previous research shows that communities that experience rapid population growth may experience an increase in fear of crime, regardless of an actual increase in crime (Brown, 2011). In some cases, an increase in new residents from diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds can lead to an increase in fear of crime (Krannich, Berry, & Greider, 1989). Kennedy and Krahn (1984) argued that the fear of strangers could result in an increase in fear of crime among residents.

An increase in fear of crime among residents can lead to a decrease in the density of social circles (Freudenburg, 1984), lower levels of community trust and social cohesion among residents (Freudenburg, 1984; Hunter, Krannich, & Smith, 2002), and suspicion of new residents based on the belief that they are involved in criminal activities (Hunter et al., 2002). All of these negative results from increased fear of crime reduces the likelihood that residents, both old and new, will build strong social ties with others and become involved in social and civic activities (Brown, 2011). Brown, Forsyth, and Berthelot (2013) contend that the negative outcomes from increased fear of crime can lead to “a dichotomous relationship between long-standing residents and newcomers” (p. 2).

Rapid population growth associated with energy development often brings greater diversity to

communities. Census data show that there has been an increase in racial and ethnic diversity in all of the research sites in the current study. Some police personnel interviewed for this study reported that some residents are not happy about the changing face of their communities. Community leaders should organize cultural awareness workshops, create diversity committees, and provide English as a Second Language (ESL) services to new residents in an effort to educate the public about living in diverse communities. Broadway (2000) notes the importance of these actions by communities leaders in his study focused on planning for change in small towns experiencing rapid population growth due to the arrival of the meatpacking industry.

For better or worse, rapid population growth will continue to accompany energy resource development in the future. For this reason, it is important to look for ways to reduce the negative consequences that can accompany rapid population growth. One possibility is resident involvement in civic and community activities. New residents can acquire social capital through social interaction and networking with others in their community. Social capital is “the network of social connections that exist between people, and their shared values and norms of behavior, which enable and encourage mutually advantageous social cooperation” (“Social Capital,” 2014). Community organizations (such as the Knights of Columbus, Chamber of Commerce, Rotary) that sponsor community-wide events provide opportunities for new residents to acquire social capital within their new communities.

A recent study conducted in several coastal communities in Louisiana examined the impact of rapid social change resulting from energy resource development on civic community and perceptions of crime (Brown, 2011). This study proposed that negative effects of social change (including fear of crime) could diminish if new residents become involved in civic and social organizations in their new communities. The main data source for this study consisted of 156 face-to-face interviews with people who had knowledge of the oil industry in this region (Brown, 2011). Interview data revealed that longtime residents’ perceptions of new residents influenced the integration of new residents into the community. Longtime residents identified two groups of new residents in their communities: white-collar professionals and non-skilled seasonal workers. Longtime residents did not accept the white-collar professionals when they first moved into the community. Once longtime residents began to see white-collar professionals becoming involved in their communities, purchasing homes, and contributing to their local economy, they became

more accepting of this group (Brown, 2011). Longtime community members viewed the non-skilled, seasonal workers negatively as they believed that this group did not invest in their communities and that they were involved in criminal activities. Gossip and rumors stigmatized members of this group. There was a general lack of trust toward the seasonal workers, which contributed to an increased fear of crime. Members of this group were less likely to join community and civic groups in the community (Brown, 2011). Brown (2011) concluded that community involvement could lessen some of the negative effects of rapid social change, including citizens' fear of crime.

A visual indicator of change in communities in western North Dakota is the increase in men moving to the region for employment. It is possible that the rapid increase in men moving into these communities has resulted in an increase in fear of crime among residents. In an effort to balance the demographics of the new residents moving to the Bakken region, some of the oil companies are beginning to recruit entire families to move with newly hired oil field workers. The human resources director for B&G Oilfield Services in Williston North Dakota tries to recruit families and spouses of oilfield workers to move to the area in an effort to retain quality workers (Dalrymple, 2014). Some oil companies are also helping newly hired workers find affordable housing in the region to encourage them to bring their families to western North Dakota (Dalrymple, 2014). The ability to purchase homes in the oil boom communities in western North Dakota could make integration into the community easier for new residents moving to the area for work in the oil industry. When new residents purchase homes in energy boomtowns, this signals to longtime residents that they are investing in the community (Brown et al., 2013).

City and county agencies are also involved in recruiting families to move into communities in western North Dakota. Recently, the Williston Parks and Recreation District opened the largest parks district-owned recreational center in Williston to attract families to the area (Visit Williston, 2014). The recreational park features an indoor water complex and playground, rooms to host birthday parties, and an indoor track that surrounds four basketball courts (Visit Williston, 2014). Many communities in western North Dakota are greatly expanding childcare services to retain and attract families to the region (Killelea, 2014). There has also been an expansion of schools to accommodate children moving into the region. In 2013, the Board of University and School Lands (Land Board) set aside \$12.5 million for k-12 education grants

(specifically for expansion of infrastructure in k-12 institutions) (Energy Infrastructure and Impact Office, 2013).

It has been predicted that the oil boom in western North Dakota could last for another 100 years (Perry, 2013). Continued oil production will lead to the creation of more jobs, which means that new residents will continue to move into the Bakken region in the future. It is important for community leaders and civic groups to help new residents assimilate into their new communities and provide opportunities for positive interactions with longtime residents. This effort by community leaders could result in the outsiders becoming members of the established group in their communities

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